

BLACK POLITICS —

1991 JUNE

ANC stands by leader ^(11A) accused of being 'spy'

Star 1/6/91
STAFF REPORTERS

AS the furore surrounding allegations that African National Congress Youth League leader Peter Mokaba worked for the security police gathered momentum this week, the ANC said it stands by him.

In a statement, the ANC said it regarded "comrade Peter Mokaba as a fully-fledged member of the ANC, in good standing". It also said it "did not doubt the bona-fides of Peter Mokaba".

However, the movement has still not denied the allegations that Mr Mokaba worked for the security police or that he confessed to being a security police agent after being interrogated in Lusaka in August 1989.

Director of the ANC's intelligence and security department, Joe Nhlanhla, this week denied he had spoken to any journalists regarding the allegations. He rejected the implication that his department was involved in the issue.

The ANC claimed it had investigated reports in the Weekly Mail, The Guardian and the Saturday Star that high-ranking ANC officials had spoken to the media, and said the reports did not reflect the official viewpoints of the movement.

However, the Weekly Mail stands by its report that it had approached top national executive committee officials who had confirmed the story before it was published.

And the Saturday Star can say that senior intelligence sources and top ranking officials have either confirmed the Peter Mokaba spy allegations "off the record" to journalists close to the ANC or informed other ANC members who in turn leaked the information to the media.

Mr Mokaba this week continued to deny the allegations outright. This week he went on the air, saying he had never been interrogated in Lusaka and knew nothing of an ANC investigation into his alleged activities as a security police agent.

He also declared "political war" on journalists and newspapers which had printed the spy allegations.

But according to ANC sources, a seven-month investigation into Mr Mokaba's credibility as a political activist began after suspicion about the circumstances of his various arrests and the apparent inability of the State to jail him.

He had also become a suspect when he was a senior commander in the Northern Transvaal political divisions developed in the area between 1985 to 1988. Courier networks were blown by police in this area and indications were that the organisation had been infiltrated at a high level.

PAC slams African states for SA links

(11A) CT 11/6/91

ABUJA, Nigeria. — A senior official of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday criticised African countries trading with South Africa and challenged them to put their actions to national referendums.

"Those who are stampeding into our country are stampeding on us for crumbs," PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim told a news briefing ahead of an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting here.

"I will challenge any African country to put it to a referendum and see if they will get the support," he said.

The PAC broke away from the African National Congress (ANC) in 1959 after accusing it of being too moderate. It believes armed struggle is the only way to end apartheid.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was formulating policies on how to deal with any country that traded with South Africa, but did not elaborate.

The OAU's council of ministers, meeting in Abuja before the group's June 3-5 summit, called this week for sanctions against South Africa to remain until apartheid was dismantled.

PAC and ANC officials addressed the council on Wednesday and called on the OAU to mobilise the world community to put pressure on Pretoria to end apartheid.

Any relaxation of sanctions would prolong the anti-apartheid struggle and increase violence in South Africa, they told the meeting.

OAU officials said unilateral moves by some African countries to end sanctions could hamper anti-apartheid moves.

Madagascar named

However, they said the organisation would not impose sanctions against member nations with links to South Africa.

Mr Ebrahim mentioned only Madagascar by name in his remarks on trading with South Africa.

He said he regretted a Madagascan statement that no one had the right to question its links with Pretoria because it was a sovereign state.

He said he accepted that some countries with historical links had to trade with South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

LOOMING PRESENCE ... A cardboard cut-out of President F W de Klerk — which was later burned — is held up above anti-Republic Day marchers on the Grand Parade yesterday. In the foreground are Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

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The mock coffin, carried in the march by two bearers, bore the words, "Bury the racist Republic." One of Mr Sisulu's bodyguards was seen carrying a gun.

On the Parade Mr Slovo warned that if any of the hunger strikers died, "the danger is that with them will die the peace process in this country".

Mr Billy Masethla, assistant general secretary of the Youth League, said: "The young lions will not be found wanting if the time comes to go back to the drawing board, or to review the suspension (of violence) to which we committed ourselves in August last year."

He said that if a hunger striker died "we should like to call on our leadership for a general strike in this country".

Women's League national organiser Ms Nosiwe Maphisa said her delegation had also told President De Klerk during a 5½-hour meeting at Tuynhuys this week that he would be faced with a crisis if a hunger striker died.

Sapa reports that the march started over an hour late. Organisers claimed trains and buses were stopped and searched for tickets by police in the townships.

● In Pretoria a strong police and army presence was evident as several hundred ANC supporters, among them Mrs Winnie Mandela, the SACP's Mr Essop Pahad and ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, marched to the Union Buildings.

In her address, Mrs Mandela said she had long since closed the chapter on talking.

She said that when the ANC Women's League met President De Klerk recently, the State President said he did not understand people like her who kicked doors down when they were open.

In reply she had told him South Africa would face mass action never seen before if their demands were not met.

● In Bloemfontein, police barred about 1 000 ANC supporters from marching to the Appeal Court, saying permission had not been granted for the march.

Dr Allan Boesak and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Chris Hani negotiated with the police for several hours, after which the marchers were allowed to proceed to the nearby Heidedal Stadium.

Mr Hani and Dr Boesak addressed the protesters at the stadium and the gathering dispersed peacefully. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

SA flag, coffin burnt

By PETER DENNEHY

PICTURES of South African state presidents, on a cardboard coffin draped in the colours of the South African flag, were burnt by ANC marchers outside Parliament yesterday.

Later a life-sized cardboard cut-out of President F W de Klerk was also ceremoniously burnt on the Grand Parade.

Both incidents happened during an anti-Republic Day march by about a 1 000 people on Parliament yesterday. The crowd was smaller than expected.

Organised by the ANC Youth League, the march was led by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife Mrs Albertina Sisulu, SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo and Chief Mwelo Nonkonyama, Transkei regional chairman of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

The coffin burnt at the top of Adderley Street was draped in an orange, white and blue cloth and bedecked with pictures of Dr H F Verwoerd, Mr B J Vorster, Mr P W Botha and Mr F W de Klerk.

Police watched but did not intervene.

BURNING IMAGE ... Flames lick at the pictures of South African prime ministers and presidents after a mock coffin draped in the colours of the South African flag was set alight by ANC marchers in Adderley Street on Republic Day yesterday. In the picture are SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo (centre) and ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu (second from the right). The pictures of the former prime ministers are, from left, Mr P W Botha, Mr B J Vorster and Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

Picture: ADL BRAI



LOOMING PRESENCE ... A cardboard cut-out of President F W de Klerk — which was later burned — is held up above anti-Republic Day marchers on the Grand Parade yesterday. In the foreground are Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Picture: RICHARD BELL



Slovo: Republic is 'criminal'

THIS was the 30th year of a disgraceful, criminal republic in South Africa, the general secretary of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, said in the city yesterday.

He addressed a crowd of about 600 on the Grand Parade after an ANC-organised "anti-Republic Day" march from the Parade to Parliament.

Mr Slovo said President F W de Klerk claimed on his overseas tours that apartheid was dead, but that was a lie.

"What has changed? The government is still controlled by whites, the yellow trucks (referring to the police) are still the same as in Dr Verwoerd's days, the Defence Force is still the same, the civil service is still the same — we have had a few victories, but basically nothing has changed."

He said Mr De Klerk has said his government would have to go back to the drawing board should a negotiated settlement not be acceptable to whites.

"I must warn, we too could be forced to go back to the drawing board."

He said the government and police sided with Inkatha.

Referring to the hunger strikers, Mr Slovo warned that if a protester should die, the peace process in South Africa could also die.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu also warned that the government should give serious attention to the hunger strikers to avoid a catastrophe. — Sapa

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Alliance is the key — ANC

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The alliance formed by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC and the South African Communist Party would dictate change in the country, a senior ANC Youth League official said yesterday.

Mr Mpo Lekgoro told the league's first Southern Natal regional conference: "Neither De Klerk nor Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be allowed to lead us."

He said the tripartite alliance was growing and the government was "decaying".

But, he said, the alliance was not at this stage capable of seizing power. It had to outmanoeuvre the traps brought about by the new set of political conditions.

The ANC Southern Natal vice-chairman, Mr Jeff Hadebe, said the organisation supported plans for a peace conference which would deal with a code of conduct for political parties and police.

ANC stands to lose by stalling on talks

I clearly understand the ANC's rationale in insisting that the Government must seriously address the problem of violence and take all the other relevant steps to normalise the political situation.

What I regard as a dangerous strategy, however, is the ANC's view that the most effective way of pressurising the Government to do something about these issues, is to suspend talks about talks that would lead to constitutional negotiations.

I invite the ANC to consider the following thoughts:

Firstly, the ANC alleges among other things, that the Government is using violence to weaken and destabilise it so that when constitutional negotiations begin, the Government and its allies will be in a far stronger position.

This may be so but for me, the logical reaction of the ANC under such circumstances should have been to deny the Government all the time it needs to weaken it.

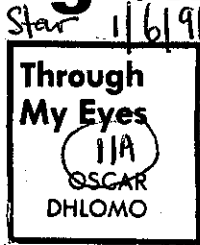
It is these negotiations and nothing else that will hasten the political empowerment of the ANC and lead to its participation in the legislative and executive process.

Secondly, it seems the ANC might be misreading or exaggerating the Government's eagerness to reach a constitutional settlement. If indeed the Government is eager to negotiate its political abdication that situation might soon change.

With the Government aiming to complete its anti-apartheid legislative programme this session, one could expect sanctions to be lifted by most countries and world pressure on the Government to abate.

Once this happens, the Government might not feel the urgent necessity to go to the negotiation table.

Moreover, with sanctions and



apartheid gone, the economy beginning to pick up and President de Klerk's support base growing at the rate it is growing now, the Conservative Party threat would recede and National Party would be in a position to win a whites-only election with ease.

The ANC would remain politically excluded and without any opportunity to negotiate its political inclusion with a confident National Party, that would no longer be in a great hurry to negotiate itself out of power.

Thirdly, the ANC is also risking a danger of being totally excluded from negotiations.

We all rightly believe that negotiations without the ANC would be like Hamlet without the prince. But we should not rule out a scenario in which sanctions and apartheid are removed, and the Government consequently gains more respect, sympathy and support from the world community.

The Government could then argue (and perhaps be believed by the international community) that the decks had been cleared for negotiations to begin, and that those parties that still refused to come to the table would automatically exclude themselves.

This scenario is commonly described as the "Muzorewa option", but people forget that Muzorewa's government failed because it did not win international recognition as a result of the effective lobbying of the Zanu and Zapu leadership in exile, and also because it failed to end the war of liberation.

Our case could be different.

Local civic members get first-hand taste of

Bloom 1/6/91

11A

JESSE WASHINGTON

HARTFORD (Connecticut) — A group of black South Africans visiting this country to learn the art of governing got a glimpse of how chaotic democracy can be during a visit to the state capital.

"I thought there is no order here," said Sandy Lebesse, one of 15 black civic leaders who toured Hartford this week.

It was one of the most tumultuous and confusing days of the session, as the Democrats and Republicans fine-tuned a plan to balance the state's budget by raising nearly a billion dollars (\$2.8 billion) in new taxes.

"We could not understand exactly what was happening," Mr Lebesse said.

"People are talking everywhere, and then there are votes going on. But in our country, we wouldn't be allowed inside."

The South Africans arrived in Connecticut two weeks ago for a month-long management and leadership programme at the University of Connecticut's International Institute of Public Service in West Hartford.

They are taking courses in management, strategic planning, financial analysis, budget administration, human relations

and basic computer use.

They have visited Boston and Harvard University, and plan to stop at CIGNA Insurance in Bloomfield, New York City and Washington DC, where they will tour Howard University, one of the most distinguished black colleges in America.

The participants are eager to at least get an introduction to the basics of self-government while they are in the US.

The South Africans said they believe full political participation by the country's black majority is still years away, but they want to be ready for it

when that day comes.

"We are faced with the big challenge of restructuring local government," said Aubrey Mali. "We have to learn how to develop this system for the time when we are allowed to participate in it."

The group was introduced on the House and Senate floors this week, and talked with governor Lowell Weicker for about 40 minutes.

"We are here so the very peo-

ple who are denied the right of voting can go into the local government process and do the right thing," said group spokesman Albert Tleane during the meeting with Mr Weicker.

Mr Weicker is a staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid movement.

In 1985, while still a member of the US Senate, he was arrested in a demonstration outside the South African Embassy in Washington.

One participant, Lizo Zake, received a scare outside the governor's office when a white

democracy in action

state trooper walked up to him and put a hand on his shoulder.

Mr Zake tensed, then broke into a smile when the trooper grinned and asked if he was with the South African delegation.

"I just wanted to meet you," the trooper said.

The participants were selected for the programme by their local civic organisations, which address problems in South African townships.

The visiting South Africans are from black townships all

over the country, including Soweto.

The programme is sponsored by the International Institution of Education, a non-profit organisation dedicated to international educational exchange.

The IIE has been bringing black South African professionals in various fields to the United States for short-term courses since 1987.

"For South African professionals, there are very few training opportunities," said Lori Girvan, the assistant manager of South African Programmes at the IIE.

"We want to give established and future South African leaders a chance to upgrade their skills in areas like governance."

When asked how it made them feel to see black men and women participating in government, members of the group raised their fists in silent approval.

"It encourages and inspires us," Mr Lebesse said.

"The kind of democracy we advocate in South Africa is not very different from that practised in the US," said Mr Tleane. "One person one vote, with no strings attached." Sapa-AP.



Picture: LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus.

Demos torch the apartheid coffin

□ CARDBOARD HEROES: SACP leader Joe Slovo and ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu help lower a cardboard coffin adorned with pictures of Mr F W De Klerk and other past presidents, and a paper South African flag, at a protest called by the ANC Youth League to mark the 30th anniversary of the Republic.

DEMONSTRATORS burned a coffin adorned with the faces of three South African prime ministers and State President F W de Klerk in an anti-Republic Day march near parliament yesterday.

About 600 supporters of the African National Congress were led by ANC executive members Mr Walter Sisulu, his wife, Albertina, and general secretary of the SA Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo.

Back on the Grand Parade, Mr Slovo said that day was the 30th anniversary of "a disgraceful, criminal republic".

"(President) De Klerk goes around the world telling his friends apartheid is dead. We all know that is a lie. The people who govern the country now are the same as those who governed it in 1961."

Mr Slovo held up the coffin, which was draped in an imitation national flag, while toyi-toying ANC supporters lit it in Wale Street.

A note with the words "Bury the racist republic" was attached to the coffin alongside photographs of President De Klerk, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, Mr P W Botha and Mr B J Vorster.

Mrs Sisulu told the crowd they had been given an "unwanted, racist holiday" but what was desired was freedom for political prisoners and unconditional indemnity for exiles.

LENORE OLIVER and DALE KNEEN

Weekend Argus Reporters

ARGUS 1/6/91

Sapa reports that police barred about 1 000 ANC supporters from marching to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in protest against Republic Day.

After police said the march had not been given permission, Dr Alan Boesak and Mr Chris Hani negotiated for several hours before the marchers were allowed to go to the nearby Heidedal Stadium.

Mr Hani and Dr Boesak addressed the protesters at the stadium and the gathering dispersed peacefully.

In Pretoria, police and troops were present when several hundred ANC supporters marched to the Union Buildings in support of demands for a constituent assembly.

Among the marchers were Mrs Winnie Mandela; the SACP's Mr Es-sop Paha; ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, and a delegation from Contralesa, the organisation of traditional chiefs.

Mrs Mandela said when the ANC Women's League met Mr De Klerk he said he did not understand people like her and she told him that South Africa would face mass action never seen before if their demands were not met.

About 4 000 people, mostly youths,

marched on the Seshogo police station, near Pietersburg, to demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the setting up of a constituent assembly and an interim government ahead of negotiations for a constitution of a new South Africa.

A three-member delegation, led by the league's honorary president and former Robben Island prisoner Martin Schlapelo handed over a memorandum to the police station commander, Capt A M Ngoepe.

About 300 ANC refugees from Ndaleni at Richmond converged on the Richmond police station in Natal on Thursday.

They demanded that police arrest the "well-known warlords" who were perpetrating violence in the area so that they could return to their homes.

Carrying placards reading "Stop police bias" and "Seize all Inkatha weapons", the crowd marched on the Ndaleni turn-off to the police station where they handed a petition voicing their complaints over to the station commander.

The police gave the protesters 15 minutes to disperse and gave them their undertaking that they would do all in their power to prevent further outbreaks of violence.



Paso comes out of the shadows

FOR a time it has lived in the shadow of the older and more established Congress of South African Students, but in recent weeks the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania has made its voice heard in student politics.

Formed in 1989, and regarded as the student wing of the PAC, Paso is seen to be much more militant than Cosas.

And it could be that this reputation for militance was one of the reasons why some of the blame for the recent student unrest in Khayelitsha has been put at its feet.

Paso's national deputy president Mr Junior Taliwe said this week that the ideological differences between the ANC and PAC was being replayed on a smaller canvas in student politics.

"In Azania we have two liberation movements, the PAC and the Charterists. Our schools have been divided into two camps. Those who believe in Africanism will be accommodated in our structures."

He defined an Africanist as "a person indigenous to the soil" and anyone who identified with the aspirations of the people of Africa.

Whites could be regarded as Africans as well.

Nationally the ANC and PAC are talking about forming a patriotic front. But Mr Taliwe claimed no official consultations were taking place between Paso and Cosas.

He dismissed allegations that Paso was anti-white. "We believe there's only one race: the human race. We don't believe people are black, coloured, Indian or white."

The PAC has dissociated itself from the slogan "One settler, one bullet".

Mr Taliwe said: "The Azanian People's Liberation Army use this slogan in the battlefield. Because we are Apla inside, we feel we should use the slogan, even if it has been discredited by the PAC."

"But it does not mean we are fighting

settlers. We are reminding them they must return our land ... then there will be no settlers and bullets."

He rejected allegations that Paso had been involved in the recent unrest in Khayelitsha or that members had been seen making petrol bombs, as alleged in a newspaper report.

"That is untrue."

Allegations were also made that Paso students had gone looking for white teachers to "fix the settlers".

"That's untrue because card-carrying Paso members are not party to the directionless and unexplained programme of Cosas. I was surprised to read Paso was out to attack white teachers."

Paso was concerned that some qualified African teachers were jobless.

"Our African brothers who are qualified must be employed by the Department of Education and Training. They should not be roaming our locations' streets."

ANC have in mind, would be possible if more political tolerance was displayed in the ground, he said.

Colour is not important to Cosas, he added.

Colour not an issue

"We can't run away from the fact that we are a non-racial organisation. To us colour is not important. We have so-called whites in our regional executive committee and we are represented at some white schools."

Cosas does not adhere to the slogan of "One settler, one bullet" and neither is it involved in any witch-hunt against white teachers.

"White teachers are members of the non-racial South African Democratic Teachers Union and uphold the organisation's principles. So we have no problems with them."

"But we say that we have many qualified teachers sitting without jobs in the townships. The Department of Educa-

Student

Argus 11/6/91
IT used to be said that one had to be detained, banned, or harassed if you wanted to be someone or something in the liberation struggle.

If this is true, then the Congress of South African Students, which has bounced back from a banning, is BIG in black student politics.

Unbanned on February 2 last year, Cosas is back in the forefront of student politics, but this time it does not have a monopoly on the terrain. A rival in the shape of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania is the new kid on the block.

But Mr Siphso Kussie, publicity secretary of Cosas in the Western Cape and the organisation's acting chairman in the townships, asserts that there is no rivalry between the two.

"We have political tolerance at leadership level, but not at grassroots," he said.

A united student front, similar to the patriotic front which the PAC and the

tion and Training must employ them."

Cosas' plan of action has drawn fire from some quarters and youths have been criticised for stoning vehicles.

"We are discussing this with Paso. We have found that people who are not members of either organisation are doing these things. Afterwards they claim that they are involved with Paso or Cosas. We are discussing how to avoid this because we don't want any conflict."

He said students were angry that nothing had been done to improve conditions at schools.

"We've reached the middle of the year, but we are not ready for our mid-year exams. The DET must take note that our grievances have not been met. The conditions are not conducive to schooling. The DET must change them."

Politically, Cosas shares the views of the ANC. It wants a non-racial, non-sexist, non-discriminatory democracy in a free and united South Africa.

congress back in spotlight

The heat is on for the African National Congress as the countdown begins for its crucial first national conference to be held next month. Decisions at the conference could have a profound effect on the future course of events in South Africa. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** looks at some of the prospects.

All eyes on the ANC's crucial congress



11A
ARCTUS 1/6/91

THERE are good reasons why the peacemakers in the ANC are making themselves heard above the din of political conflict and violence.

If a note of urgency is detected in their voice, it must be due to intense behind-the-scenes activity in the run-up to the ANC's first national conference to be held in Durban from July 2 to 7.

If anybody knows just how crucial this meeting is going to be for peace and stability in South Africa, it is the peacemakers themselves — from ANC president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela down to local leaders and their supporters.

The conference is of extraordinary significance in that it will be faced with a choice between two powerful streams of thought inside and outside the movement — negotiation or revolution. More than that: the conference will also have to decide on the future leadership and direction of the ANC.

The theme of the conference will be "Transfer of power to the people for a democratic future". And according to one of the top organisers, Mr Josiah Jele, it will focus on two key questions: how power is to be transferred and what the ANC's vision is of a future democratic South Africa.

Who will have the upper hand in such decisions — the doves or the hawks in the movement? And will the ANC emerge as a strong, united political force, or will it fail to cope with its internal tensions and start on the downward path of squabbles and disintegration?

AS one of the main players in future constitutional negotiations and peace initiatives, the ANC is in a position to make or break the country's future. Most analysts agree the decisions it takes at its first national conference could have a profound influence — directly or indirectly — on the future of all who live in Southern Africa.

In this context a peace message which came this week from ANC president Oliver Tambo gains special significance. Coming from the movement's top leader at a time of tension and uncertainty, it can hardly be interpreted as anything but a guideline to the movement for its July conference and, perhaps, as an urgent signal of solidarity with other peacemakers.

A central theme of Mr Tambo's message: the "armed struggle" is OUT.

He made it clear he regards it not only as unlikely but also as highly undesirable for the ANC to "go back" to the armed struggle which it suspended during its meeting with President FW de Klerk in Pretoria in August last year.

"We must adhere to the suspension of the armed struggle. To go back means defeat and it would be a tragedy because it would also mean the destruction of a new South Africa," Mr Tambo told former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Raymond Louw in an interview in the latest issue of his weekly newsletter Southern African Report.

Speaking in his home in north London, Mr Tambo described a return to the armed struggle as "so unnecessary because it is right that we should live peacefully with one another and sort out our problems man to man."

ANALYSTS say Mr Tambo's message is even more significant when viewed against a background of other voices inside the ANC with distinctly "hawkish" tones — voices saying loudly and clearly the "armed struggle" is only being held in reserve and can be brought back at any time, if needed.

As Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani put it only weeks ago: *"We must keep the army in place. We must maintain its morale both politically and materially. We must provide all the necessary logistical support to ensure that our army is ready to act when called upon to."*

Like others in the ANC who put heavy emphasis on war-like militarisation and preparedness of the movement's own army, Mr Hani hastens to add the qualification that "we hope such a situation won't arise, but..."

Another prominent figure in the ANC's "security establishment", Mr Joe Nhlani, director of its intelligence and security department, says: "Building self-defence units is crucial. And we are not talking about any outside force or 'private army', but about action by communities — of which Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres are part — to protect themselves."

While the movement is now stepping up its programme of "mass mobilisation for peace" and mass demonstrations, a clear strategy of "brinkmanship" is reflected by the attitudes of at least some elements of the ANC. This has already raised fears among analysts that unless the build-up of "private armies" and related defence or vigilante groups is stopped, South Africa could be heading for a catastrophic Lebanon-type conflict situation.

VIRTUALLY at the same time as Mr Tambo was formulating his peace message from London, yet another ominous sound came from the inner circles of the movement in South Africa — an assurance to ANC members that "MK remains in place" and "the armed struggle may need to be resorted to."

An ANC "political education" specialist put it like this in the May issue of the movement's official publication *Mayibuye*: "Our goal remains the transfer of power to the people. In order to facilitate the creation of a proper climate for nego-

tiations the ANC suspended armed activities. However, MK remains in place and if the situation changes and negotiations are no longer a viable mechanism, then other forms of struggle, including the armed struggle, may need to be resorted to."

Yet only this week ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela found it necessary to counteract the negative image of the ANC among business leaders as a potentially violent movement with scant regard for the country's economy.

Like Mr Tambo in London, Mr Mandela had a message of peace in Johannesburg. He told a meeting of stockbrokers of his commitment to economic growth and the negotiating process. He acknowledged that sanctions were hurting and promised the ANC would reverse its pro-sanctions stand "as soon as possible." He also repeated steps the ANC would take to reduce conflict and violence.

Good news for the peacemakers is that Mr Tambo, aged 73, who has been steadily recovering from a stroke suffered in Lusaka in August 1989, is planning to return to South Africa in the last week in June to take part in the ANC's July conference in Durban.

DURING the recent interview with him, he remarked that he could not say now whether he would offer himself for re-election as president of the movement. He would not elaborate, but his decision will clearly depend largely on health factors.

The Durban conference is expected to

be attended by about 2 000 delegates. They are to be chosen by way of regional allocations worked out proportionally on the basis of the size of membership.

According to the ANC's Mr Josiah Jele, members have been expressing concern about how delegations will be selected. Regions have also raised problems with the organisation's election procedures and the composition of the national executive committee (NEC).

A special meeting is to be convened this month to discuss the ANC's proposed constitution in the face of mounting internal criticism of a proposal that the NEC be more than trebled in size.

One of the central documents for the conference is a strategy document entitled "Advance to national democracy." A first draft of this document was presented at the ANC's consultative conference last December.

Other documents include: ANC draft constitution, "Constitutional principles and structures for a democratic South Africa"; documents on ANC education policy, economic policy, health policy, the ANC's position on the land question, and local government.

In addition, documents are now being prepared on international relations and violence. These are expected to be distributed to the organisations's regional offices within the next few weeks.

The conference will be the biggest and most representative gathering of the ANC in more than three decades since the organisation was banned.

ANC in a tiz over where to hold July indaba

By SIBU MNGADI

City Press 2/6/91

11A



Ferry Harry Gwala in the race for the No 2 spot.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's intervention this week saved the organisation from a crisis over the venue for its forthcoming national annual conference.

City Press this week learned that Natal's three ANC regions last week met and threatened to withdraw from the conference should the venue be changed from the province to elsewhere in the country.

The conference is scheduled to be held at the University of Durban-Westville from July 3-7.

Mandela, accompanied by Walter Sisulu, Alfred Nzo, John Nkandimeng and Thomas Nkobi, travelled to Natal

on Wednesday to try and pacify the regions.

The delegation met executive members of the three Natal regions and the Joint Working Committee (JWC), consisting of Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP - but the Natalians refused to budge on the change of venue, City Press was told.

Trouble within the ANC began last month when some Transvaal regions expressed fears about the conference being held in Natal.

According to top ANC officials, some personalities in the Transvaal feared the conference might come under attack from Inkatha or the "third force" if it went ahead in Durban. They reminded the ANC's National

Executive Committee of the fate that befell the National Education Crisis Conference in Durban in 1986. The conference was attacked by Inkatha imps, three of whom died and about 15 were injured.

Natal ANC officials this week said they suspected the venue issue was prompted by fears that Transvaal delegates would be influenced by their Natal hosts to vote in a certain way during the election of national office bearers.

"Transvaal regions fear manipulation of their delegates by Natal ANC activists with whom they would spend four days before electing the NEC," said an official. Natal leaders said this fear was com-

pounded by the fact two leaders from Natal would be standing for deputy presidency when Mandela takes over from ailing president Oliver Tambo.

As the debate within the organisation over Mandela's successor heightened, southern Natal ANC chairman and ANC intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, and fiery Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, have become the only strong contenders. However, there is opposition to their candidacy from other regions.

Dr Nkosazana Zuma, executive member of the ANC Southern Natal, told City Press yesterday the issue over the conference had now been resolved and it was going ahead as planned in Durban.

THE ANC recently startled many when it said that a new democratic South Africa would have 14 official languages.

As it turned out, the statement was made by individuals not involved in making ANC language policy and no official ANC stand on the issue has yet been taken.

But the incident, and the emotional response of some, raises important long-term questions about South Africa's future language policy – not least being the relationship between power and language.

It is for this reason that, for the last year or so, the National Language Project has been preparing to hold a three-day conference in Cape Town in September to examine alternatives in the language policy of a democratic South Africa.

Conference organiser Nigel Crawhall said the aim would be to bring together South Africans from all walks of life as well as representatives of about 10 countries worldwide who have had

Babel rules as official language debate hots up

C/P News 2/16/91

(11A)

experience with multilingualism. They will be asked to set an agenda for future consultations on language policy.

“It is the NLP view that language and power are closely related and if the idea of a democratic South Africa is to empower all its people, then the language of the people should be central in any new language policy,” said Crawhall.

But there are many sensitivities and misconceptions. Language policy has been central to the system of

apartheid and the ensuing anti-apartheid struggle. One result has been the total abhorrence by anti-apartheid groups of the language of the oppressor – Afrikaans.

But Afrikaans, in various pure or more colourful forms such as are found in the Cape, is the first or second language of a considerable number of South Africans, not just white Afrikaners.

Should it, because of its political connotations in the past, be forgotten or ignored in a new South Africa?

Here, says Crawhall, the experience of Namibia has some useful pointers. Despite the fact that Afrikaans is the language most Namibians know second best, Swapo, for political reasons, decided to make English official.

This top-down approach, which ignored the reality on the ground as it affected most people, has left many Namibians who do not speak English at a distinct disadvantage.

In South Africa, the debate so far has been not just an “either English or Afrikaans” one. As the ANC statement –

official or not – indicated, there are a multitude of languages in the country and whatever choice is finally made about which are the official languages, NLP wants that choice to be well-informed.

Crawhall said many black South Africans would favour English as the official language. This is not because they hate Afrikaans, but because present class structures indicate that an English-speaking black South African might have a better chance of getting a good job. So they would want their children to be taught in English.

But what about the other languages in South Africa? And why must one or the other language dominate in what is undoubtedly a culturally rich and diverse nation?

NLP wants to start a debate on these issues now. It hopes this will clarify the issues at stake and may persuade the leaders of a new South Africa not to inflexibly make a choice before the wider ramifications are understood. – AIA

**'Trouble' if
they die,**

ANC warns

By **DESMOND BLOW** *2/6/91*

THE ANC yesterday warned that the situation in the townships was "explosive" because of the government's refusal to release political prisoners on hunger strike.

"There are several prisoners in a critical condition and if one of them should die the situation could become explosive," an ANC spokesperson said.

A prisoner by the name of Tsakane has been admitted to Baragwanath Hospital in a critical condition.

According to Gill Marcus of the ANC, Tsakane, a member of MK, has been an awaiting trial prisoner for several months, and is "a clearly defined political prisoner".

The Department of Correctional Services said yesterday that only 39 prisoners were still on hunger strike and not 104 as claimed by the ANC.

However, Marcus said the ANC and the Human Rights Commission agreed the number was 104.

Minister of Justice and Correctional Services Kobic Coetsee is adamant he will not release prisoners merely because they are on hunger strike.

State President FW de Klerk said in a statement after meeting an ANC Women's League delegation in Cape Town that he was satisfied all prisoners who clearly qualified had been released.

He said those who remained had committed serious common law offences like murder and rape.

Coetsee released documents showing a sample of 30 of the prisoners on hunger strike and their offences.

The documents showed all 30 were found guilty of murder, attempted murder and kidnapping.

The ANC said yesterday the government was renegeing on the Pretoria Minute agreement.

"It was agreed that all political prisoners should be released by April 30, there was no talk of there being any exceptions for common law crimes."

Marcus said there appeared to be no logic in the government's release of prisoners.

"Some prisoners who were sentenced to death for murder were released while others who were found guilty of lesser offences are still in jail. In other cases prisoners have been released while their comrades sentenced with them are still in jail."

She maintained the government was well aware from their prison records who were political prisoners.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibuya, headlines and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

Hunger-strike row simmers

ANC, PAC join hands at funeral

CP Res 21691
By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

UNITY between the ANC and the PAC came a step closer this week when members and officials of the two movements joined hands to bury victims of the recent Swanieville massacre.

Members of both organisations - currently involved in talks towards the formation of a "Patriotic Front" - marched for about 10km from Kagiso Stadium to the Kagiso Cemetery.

Police watched from a distance. Kagiso Hostel dwellers watched from the hostel roof.

The funeral was for six of the 28 Swanieville massacre victims.

Those buried were: Sam Mohlamme, Johannes Chauke, Shadrack Miya, Alfred Khwinana, Lucas Kgowe and Samuel Mehlomakhulu.

The coffins were draped in ANC colours.

Clerics pleaded for an immediate halt to black-on-black violence, while political leaders called for peace among the township residents and war against "the enemy".

ANC official Vusi Mavuso, of the movement's Mohlakeng branch, told more than 4 000 mourners that if there was no peace, his organisation would be forced to re-enter the armed struggle.

Mandela flies to Nigeria

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela flew to Nigeria on Saturday to attend a meeting of Frontline States.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu will also be present. *Sowetan 3/6/91* (11A)

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus confirmed Mandela had flown to Lagos.

The Frontline States meeting is in preparation for an OAU summit next week. One of the issues to be discussed will be whether to maintain sanctions against South Africa. - *Sapa*.

Fear could aid Inkatha cause

Sowetan 3/6/91.

11A



NERVOUS residents of the PWV area rarely wear African National Congress T-shirts anymore.

In a recent opinion poll by *Drum* magazine which asked people about their political intentions, 24 percent replied that they were too terrified to vote. The category came second after the ANC which topped the poll with 39 percent.

Political analysts say that in South Africa's atmosphere of fear, Mandela's main rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, could eventually prove tough competition for the loyalty of the black majority.

At least 1 800 people have died since August in the worst urban violence in decades in clashes around Johannesburg between pro-Inkatha Zulu migrant workers and ANC-supporting residents.

Building ties

Although Inkatha won only four percent in the *Drum* poll, in line with other surveys, it stood to pick up support from blacks fearful of the future, the analysts say.

Potential recruits were blacks who felt Inkatha had proved itself the strongest in the battles and should be backed out of prudence, and people of all races with something to lose from apartheid reforms and anxious about a future under the ANC.

"We are being very much intimidated by the civics," said Inkatha recruiter Mr Joshua Mojaki, referring to pro-ANC civic organisations.

He said his Tswana people were joining Inkatha, adopting Zulu ways but "in the Tswana culture" and building ties with local rightwing whites to combat

what he called ANC violence.

Inkatha spokesman Mr Musa Myeni said he was recruiting hard among black town councillors, policemen, priests and miners in the industrial heartland around Johannesburg.

Twelve township mayors recruited to Inkatha "are now making things easy for us to penetrate their townships even in areas where we have never existed", he said.

Members

Inkatha, which Buthelezi once described as a group where "the dove of peace sits easily on the point of a spear", was for years a local power ruling the KwaZulu tribal territory.

But membership has grown to two million, a quarter of that around Johannesburg, from about 30 000 in the mid-1970s. The ANC is believed to have fewer than half a million members.

Stooges

Asked whether Inkatha was protecting township councillors, widely reviled as stooges of the apartheid system, Myeni replied: "No, we are not in the security business. But as soon as they (councillors) join Inkatha, members of Inkatha in their areas will not fold their arms when they are attacked."

Lawyer Nicholas Haysom said Inkatha was taking up the cause of many potential losers from apartheid's end, functionaries in local government, tribal homelands and municipal black police.

"Inkatha may also use its position as an armed protector to create a national base among a more ethnically and regionally disparate group of persons," he said.

All sides agree there is no point in creating a multiparty democracy if people vote not for who they believe in but for those they fear most. But analysts say that is the danger.

"If we could go to elections while we are trapped in a culture of violence, people would vote on geographic lines, depending on who is strongest in that area," said Mr Khaba Mkhize, a newspaper editor in Natal.

Another analyst in Natal who declined to be named said: "People will decide which is the more powerful, the ANC or Inkatha. Then for security reasons Inkatha will pick up votes."

New recruits

"Inkatha has come to stay in Soweto. The presence of Inkatha in people's minds is incredibly strong," said the pro-ANC analyst, who toured Soweto recently.

"They have also penetrated the Free State in the most incredible manner.

"Inkatha now represents the politics of being conservative. It is not a matter of being Zulu. The violence creates the picture of (ANC) failure. It creates doubt."

Inkatha spokesmen also said they drew "tremendous" support from churchgoers after Buthelezi last year publicly declared belief in God and Mandela spoke ambivalently on the same topic.

New recruits include 100 000 whites who cite respect for Inkatha's pro-business, anti-sanctions stance, its proclaimed

emphasis on free choice and the proud history of the Zulus.

Township residents report that Zulu migrant workers in some areas extort taxes from people living beside their hostels.

Those who refuse are generally attacked. Inkatha is also accused of coercive recruiting in KwaZulu.

Inkatha denies all this. But Myeni caused a stir when he said Inkatha would field 250 000 warriors to combat crime and ANC violence unless the ANC ended the township conflict.

The threat was repudiated by Inkatha's leaders but they said it remained a possible subject for internal debate.

Ethnic hostility

"Inkatha has enormous capacity to disrupt community life and threaten the peace process," Haysom commented.

He said violence created strong ethnic hostility towards Zulus, ensuring that Zulus apprehensive of attack turned to Inkatha for support.

"That would consolidate a more far flung support base previously not interested in Inkatha."

Business Day newspaper said that for President FW de Klerk and Mandela, Myeni's comments "must have been the political equivalent of a cold bath ... the realisation is dawning that the ANC and the Government are not the only parties capable of reverting to violent solutions".

On Tuesday, Mr Samuel Jamile, a deputy Minister of Interior in the KwaZulu homeland government was found guilty of murder and attempted murder.

Although Jamile is not the only Inkatha member to face such serious charges, he is the most senior to be convicted. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has flown to Nigeria to attend the OAU summit where he is expected to call for the maintenance of sanctions against SA.

Sapa reports PAC president Clarence Makwetu will also attend the summit.

An ANC spokesman said Mandela left SA on Friday for Lagos, for the three-day OAU meeting which takes place in the federal capital Abuja from today.

He was to meet ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki in Abuja.

Mandela had been expected to attend a Frontline states' meeting before the summit, where the question of sanctions was also expected to feature prominently.

TIM COHEN reports ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad

ANC, PAC leaders off to OAU summit

said Mandela would also brief the summit on the state of the transition process in SA.

On Saturday African foreign ministers in Abuja decided to urge the continuation of international sanctions.

Their resolution said sanctions should be maintained until SA had a new constitution and had set a date for free elections. Sapa Reuter reports.

They also accused the SA government of orchestrating the violence in SA townships. Their resolution condemned OAU countries with diplomatic ties with SA.

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11A 239

WHILE the government has reacted with outrage and horror to the burning of pictures of presidents and prime ministers during a march on Friday, the ANC sees it as part of the normal political process.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said from Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC Youth League had organised Cape Town's anti-Republic Day march, led by SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter and Mrs Albertina Sisulu of the ANC.

The Youth League had also planned the ceremonial burning of a coffin inscribed with the words "bury the racist republic", a cloth in the colours of the South African flag and later a cardboard cut-out figure of President F W de Klerk.

On the coffin which was burnt were pictures of Dr H F Verwoerd, Mr B J Vorster, Mr P W Botha and Mr De Klerk.

Ms Marcus said: "To our knowledge, nobody was aware in advance of these planned burnings except the youth."

But she did not wish to dissociate the ANC leadership from such actions.

ANC Burning in effigy 'normal, healthy'

Although such incidents "caused an outrage" in South Africa, they were in fact a normal part of the democratic process, she continued.

"Think of the Muppet Show in Britain, or Spitting Images, or the programme 'Yes, Prime Minister'. These take the mickey out of politicians, but they are part of a healthy democratic tradition."

The leadership needed to know it could be spoken about or treated irreverently, she said.

Effigies were a common part of protest

marches in other countries, she said. Burning an effigy or a picture of someone was very different from being violent towards them.

Politicians also had to put up with being cartooned, she said.

Both Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen and NP director of information Mr Renier Schoeman had a full go at the ANC for the burnings over the weekend.

Mr Schoeman said it was "a repulsive and scandalous act, in extremely poor taste". The Youth League was making vulgar attempts to attract attention though unacceptable behaviour which would impress nobody, he claimed.

Dr Viljoen said: "The presence of prominent leaders of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party implies that they apparently had given their approval to this behaviour."

"This kind of inciting behaviour places a large question mark over the serious intent and sincerity of the ANC leaders towards the fight against violence and intimidation." — Staff Reporter and Sapa

No boycott for PAC



CT 3/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has failed to win the backing of the PAC in its consumer boycott campaign in the Border region scheduled to begin today.

PAC members in the region met last week to consider the ANC request and "resolved that we should not be party to this programme", Mr T T Nyobo, regional PAC chairman, said in a statement on Saturday.

"Any proposed programme of action by any organisation in the region should be jointly initiated and analysed for joint endorsement by all participating organisations," Mr Nyobo said.

He added consultation over the boycott had not been "broad enough".

The PAC notified the ANC of the decision in a letter on Thursday, he said. The SACP and Cosatu have joined hands with the ANC to mount the consumer boycott.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, stepping in to avert a crippling boycott, on Friday ordered that activists forcing nationals to observe the call be handed over to the police. — Sapa

THE political process which is unfolding in South Africa can only be successfully concluded if certain underlying assumptions and realities are taken into account.

The government wants this to be a negotiated settlement which results in a form of power-sharing. Minority white control has to come to an end, but power will not be handed over to a black majority. What they want is a new dispensation which will be legitimate, stable and internationally acceptable — but in which a democratically elected majority government will not rule on its own. They want the power of the state to be shared with other groups such as the National Party.

There may or may not be sound political reasons why this is a realistic approach. There has not been a successful revolution and power has not been wrested from the old regime. South Africa is also a deeply divided society which needs compromise and reconciliation in order to survive. The achievement of such an ambitious goal will however not come about if all the relevant factors and players are not recognised and accorded their proper roles.

Transforming South Africa from apartheid domination to a democracy will require boldness, courage and honesty. The vast extent of the compromise which will be needed becomes clear when one listens to Dr Gerrit Viljoen's constitutional shopping list.

In Parliament last week he referred to his government's absolute commitment to a dispensation based on all the time-honoured tenets of the rule of law, human rights and liberal democracy, as well as additional devices which will provide the minority with direct access to the levers of power and control.

Stark contrast

He wants complete separation of powers (not the present symbiosis between president, cabinet and parliament through the party system), complete judicial review by the courts and the right to test laws against the new constitution (not the present sovereignty of parliament), judicially enforceable human rights, special powers of control for minorities over the adoption of legislation (through the second legislative chamber), multi-party participation in the executive and a "spreading" of the powers of the president instead of the present concentration.

"Justice" and "Christian values" must dominate the new South Africa. The stark contrast with the old system is obvious. The ANC also supports the concepts of enforce-

Govt must help ANC be a credible partner

CT 3/6/91

Viewpoint
by GERHARD ERASMUS

able human rights, judicial review and the rule of law. Their constitutional proposals are premised on exactly these principles. In his recent speech to Stellenbosch students Mr Mandela even accepted that a simple "one-person, one-vote" system might not provide the necessary answers for South Africa's dilemma and that specific devices will have to be adopted in order to provide for the constitutional accommodation of whites, for example.

Although important areas of disagreement still exist (such as the powers of a second legislative chamber) this signals a significant gesture and preparedness to compromise.

The government wants these changes to come about through negotiations. This has certain immediate implications for the politics of the new South Africa.

They need each other

The second implication calls for serious consideration by the government. In order to reach a worthwhile compromise you need a credible negotiating partner who will be able to deliver and explain the result of the negotiations to the majority of the people. If the new constitution cannot rely on the support and allegiance of a substantial majority of South Africans, there can never be stability, nor, in its wake, peace, international acceptance nor economic growth. The end result will also have to be a "new" South

Africa where the socio-economic plight of black South Africans will be squarely faced and addressed. A new government will have to be able to defuse unrealistic expectations. This shows the vastness of the task ahead and demonstrates the undeniable need for strong negotiating partners who will be able to take the majority with them.

Who are the credible negotiating partners? What determines their credibility? Realpolitik has cast the ANC in that role. It has the required internal, historical and international credentials. This does not mean that only the ANC is important. It will be the first to insist on as wide a participation in the process as possible.

Keep goodwill alive

If not the ANC, who then? It is not denied that other parties such as Inkatha are also important players. The ANC's distinctive participation however is essential for this historical compromise to be reached. It is the most important partner which the government needs in order to bring about a settlement. They need each other in order to usher in the new South Africa.

This is even more so as a consequence of the government's unyielding opposition to the idea of international involvement.

The government's official response will be that the ANC is indeed recognised as important and necessary. But more is required. The credibility of the main partner is primarily determined by its status in its own constituency. It is the support of that constituency which is necessary in order for a settlement to be successful. Here plain figures and surveys on the degree of national support are important.

Before its unbanning it was often argued that support for the ANC was overrated and that it was about to split. There are signs that the same argument is again cropping up, even to the extent that it is suggested that the government can muster enough support from other communities and parties to defeat the ANC.

This is a tempting but dangerous approach. There is a fundamental difference between the present situation when the settlement is still to be worked out and a future dispensation when "normal" party political opposition under a new constitution will be possible. What we need now is a negotiated settlement; an agreement on the rules for a future democratic dispensation which will guarantee party political contest.

The negotiating partner is necessary in order to get to such a set of rules that will be generally honoured and which will provide for peaceful political contest with the very same former partner.

Different roles are to be played at different stages. The recognition of the ANC as the main partner implies that its standing within its own community should be given serious consideration. It is not difficult to criticise the ANC from a white perspec-



GERRIT VILJOEN: A detailed constitutional shopping list and a desire to see "justice" and "Christian values" dominate the new South Africa.

But while support does not determine the ANC's status. A greater degree of sensitivity is required with respect to those factors which influence black politics.

We lack understanding for the devastating impact of the present violence on the fibre of black society. The ANC is confronted with the demand to do something about this and other urgent problems of the black community. It has to act as if it were indeed the government's credible partner.

It must be possible for the ANC to show a *quid pro quo* for its co-operation with Pretoria. What the ANC needs in order to demonstrate its status as a negotiating partner can be influenced by the government. It is for the latter to assist the ANC to be its credible partner. Not to do so will only drive support away to more radical alignments. A better alternative must be kept alive. What should be protected now as a political asset is the goodwill which President De Klerk and Mr Mandela have created since February last year. Otherwise the prospect of a peaceful settlement is at stake.

□ *Gerrit Erasmus teaches in the Faculty of Law, University of Stellenbosch.*

ANC 'has doubled its membership'

CT 3/6/91



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC expects that it has more than doubled its national membership to about 500 000 before its consultative conference next month.

The head of the conference planning committee, Dr Simon Makana, said in an interview at the weekend that membership figures submitted by branches so far indicated that the ANC now had about 470 000 members.

According to the movement's proposed constitution, 90% of delegates to the conference — the first inside South Africa in three decades — will be elected by secret ballot at regional conferences, where each branch will be represented in proportion to its membership.

The size of each region's delegation to the national conference will be determined by the national executive

committee, in proportion to the paid-up membership of each region.

Earlier this year, the ANC announced that it had only about 200 000 paid-up members.

The ANC has set itself the task of enrolling one million members, although senior members differ on how desirable this membership level would be.

Dr Makana said the proportional representation mechanism proposed in the ANC's new constitution was partly adopted to encourage branches to increase their membership.

He said the total membership figure had not yet been finalised, because some branches were still to be formally constituted and therefore still had to submit their membership figures.

Some ANC leaders, who oppose a high membership, are concerned about the possibility of the organisation becoming unwieldy. — Sapa

By Brendan Templeton

ANC/Govt rift over burning of effigy, pictures

The burning of an effigy of President de Klerk and pictures of his predecessors at a Cape Town march on Friday has caused a major row between the ANC and the Government.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said the presence of ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu at the

Star 3/6/91
march placed a major question mark against the sincerity of ANC leaders with regard to fighting violence and intimidation.

Responding yesterday, the ANC said the Government had over-reacted to a means of protest seen as normal in democratic countries.

ANC liaison officer Gill

Marcus said the anti-Republic Day march was organised by "the youth" and the burning was part of their protest.

The ANC's dedication to fighting violence could not be questioned, she said.

In a statement issued by Mr de Klerk's office at Tuynhuys, Dr Viljoen said that Mr

Sisulu's presence implied the ANC approved of the burnings.

"It also shows it was no uncontrolled initiative by irresponsible youths.

"The question is whether this unsavoury action also has the approval of the ANC's deputy president Nel-

son Mandela," Dr Viljoen said.

Expressing disapproval of the burnings, Dr Viljoen added: "Such inflammatory action places a major question mark against the sincerity of the ANC leaders with regard to fighting violence and intimidation."

Ms Marcus denied the

leaders are ridiculed, from any quarter. It is only in an authoritarian society that leaders react in such a way."

ANC's sincerity could be questioned: "We are the ones calling for peace, we are the ones working for it and it should be seen in that context."

She said the Government's reaction was typical of an authoritarian society.

"In a democratic society,

Similar protests were held in other countries without raising eyebrows.

"It's certainly not something which would put the talks in jeopardy. I think that the opening up of our society a little bit means all leaders will have to expect more criticism," she added.

ANC is aiming to double membership to 500 000

TIM COHEN

(11A)

THE ANC hopes to announce a membership of 500 000 before its conference next month. This would mean it has more than doubled its membership this year.

The head of the committee overseeing arrangements for the conference, Simon Makana, said in an interview at the weekend that most ANC branches had submitted membership figures. These indicated the ANC now had about 470 000 members. *Blom 316191*

According to the ANC's proposed constitution, 90% of delegates to the conference — the first inside SA in three decades — will be elected by secret ballot at regional conferences at which branches' representation will be determined by their membership.

Numbers of regional delegates will be fixed according to each region's paid-up membership.

Earlier this year, the ANC announced it had about 200 000 paid-up members.

The ANC has set itself the task of enrolling a million members, although senior ANC members differ on how desirable this membership level would be.

Makana said total membership figures could not be calculated yet as some branches still had to be formally constituted and submit membership figures.

Some ANC leaders who oppose a high membership are concerned that the organisation may become unwieldy.

They also argue that even with a membership of a million or more, the ANC will still have to gain significant support outside its membership in an election.

Patriotic front to be launched

11A

Star 3/6/91

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — More than 40 political, community and church organisations will attend a meeting in Cape Town in August where a patriotic front will be launched.

The main objective of the patriotic front will be to campaign for the establishment of a constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution for the country.

The idea of the patriotic front was discussed by the national executives of the PAC and ANC at a meeting in Harare few weeks ago.

Rejected

PAC foreign affairs spokesman Ahmed Gora Ibrahim told newsmen in Abuja that 44 organisations would attend the Cape Town conference in two months' time.

He emphasised that the sole purpose of the front was to campaign for a constituent assembly which would then draw up a new constitution.

The Government has already rejected the whole concept of a constituent assembly. The two organisations have in turn rejected President de Klerk's call for a multiparty conference.

Mr Ibrahim said the two organisations have already established a liaison committee which would oversee the convening of the Cape Town conference.

He added that the organisations had estab-

lished a liaison committee on sanctions headed by himself and Thabo Mbeki of the ANC.

Mr Ibrahim also launched a scathing attack on African countries which he said were falling over themselves to establish contacts with South Africa.

"Some African countries used to trade with South Africa at midnight. Now they do it in broad daylight," he said.

He reserved particular venom for Madagascar. Foreign Minister Jean Bemananjara, who told a closed meeting of African Ministers last week that nobody had any right to question his country's dealings with South Africa as it was a sovereign state.

"We were extremely disappointed by his remarks. I'm surprised he has only discovered his sovereignty lately. I thought Madagascar was sovereign years ago.

"Be that as it may, the position of the PAC is that we will continue to talk to these countries, to point out to them that their actions in no way assist the liberation struggle in our country.

"And if they have decided to join the ranks of those who betray African aspirations, that is their sovereign right to do so. It is also the sovereign right of our people to deal with them accordingly."

Mr Ibrahim added that the Government was responsible for fanning violence.

"To date there has been no response from De Klerk," he said.

ARG 3/6/91

ANC-PAC reach sanctions deadlock

ABUJA (Nigeria). — Southern African leaders meeting in Nigeria before an OAU summit to shape a new policy towards Pretoria reached a deadlock early today over a disagreement between the ANC and the PAC.

The southern African presidents — holding the talks on the sidelines of the annual Organisation of African Unity summit opening later today — failed to agree on a common position on anti-apartheid sanctions, delegates said.

Relations with Pretoria are widely expected to dominate the three-day summit in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital.

One senior delegate said the impasse was because of the widely divergent positions of the ANC and the more radical PAC.

"The PAC accuses the ANC of weakening sanctions," said a senior ANC delegate, speaking on condition of anonymity.

He said the PAC was totally opposed to the ANC's inclination to accept a partial lifting

of sanctions if Pretoria fulfilled certain conditions, including releasing political prisoners.

The ANC would have favoured an end to visa restrictions for visitors to South Africa and the lifting of the sporting boycott of the country if such conditions were met, the delegate said.

Leaders of the Frontline states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania and Namibia — decided to take a neutral position until the movements resolved their differences, he added.

ANC chief spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki declined to go into details of the meeting.

He said there was growing sentiment in the European Community, the former communist bloc and Asia in favour of at least an easing of sanctions.

"The question is, how do you keep the rest of the world maintaining the present position?" he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See pages 2 and 11.

PAC, ANC join forces for funeral

Sowetan 3/6/91

MORE than 4 000 PAC and ANC members on Friday marched about 10km from Kagiso Stadium to the cemetery where six victims of the Swanieville squatter camp massacre were buried.

Unity between the two organisations moved a step closer when members and officials of the movements joined forces to bury six of the 28 people who died in the incident.

Police kept a low profile while hostel dwellers watched the proceedings from hostel roofs.

Those buried were Sam Mohlamme, Johannes Chauke, Shadrack Miya, Alfred Khinwana, Lucas Kgowe and Damuel Mehlomakhulu.

Peace

Churchmen conducting the service pleaded for an immediate end to the violence and political leaders called for peace among township residents and war against the "enemy".

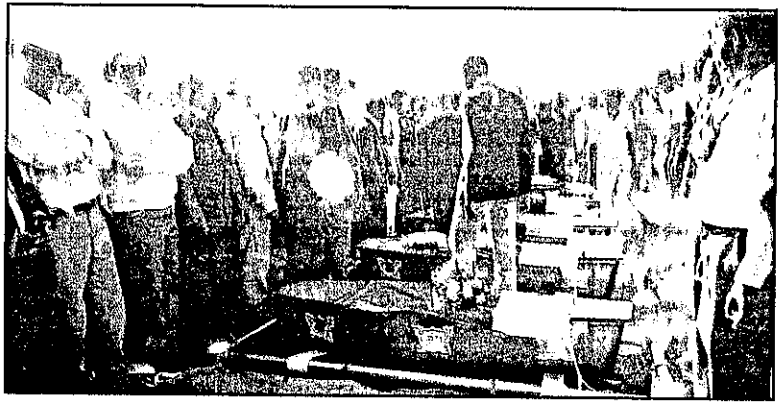
ANC Kagiso branch official Mr Vusi Mavuso told mourners that if there was no peace, his organisation would be forced to re-enter the armed struggle.

Massacre

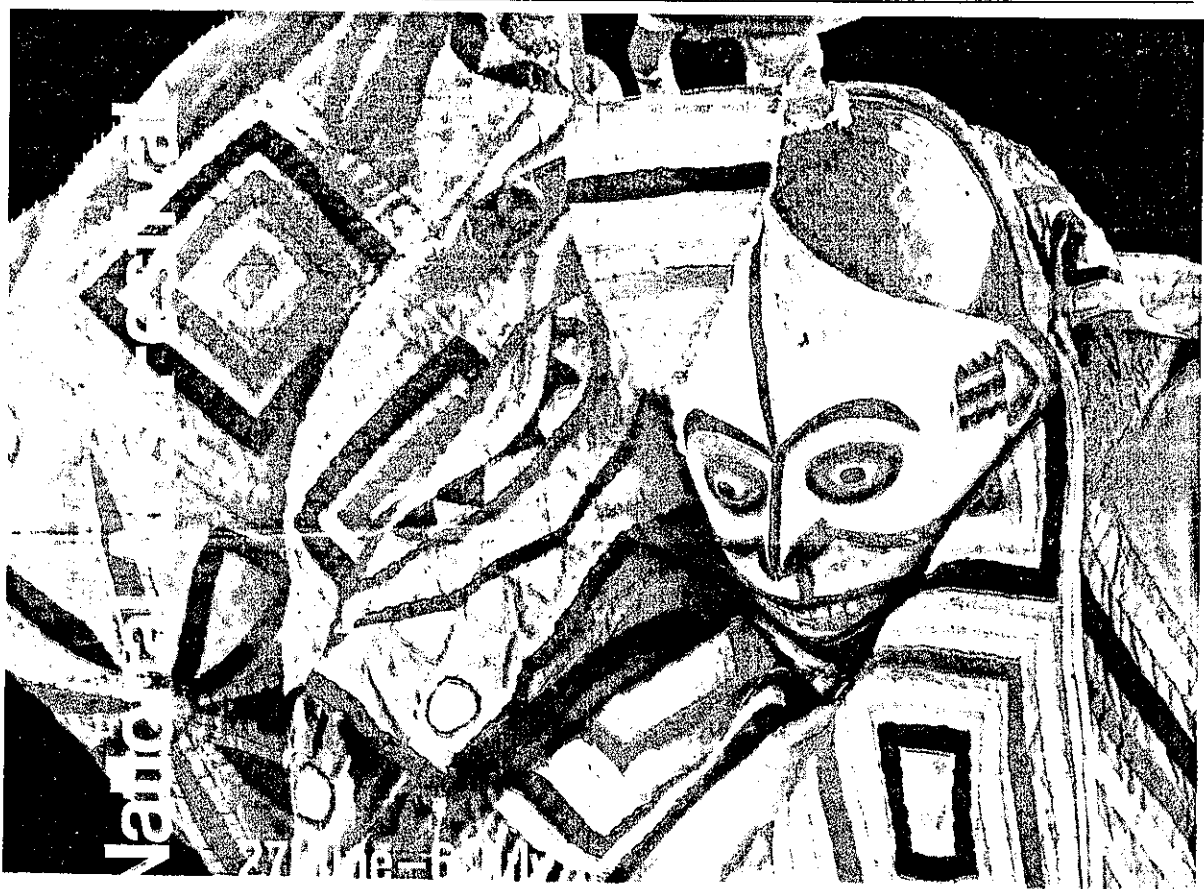
Meanwhile, the owner of the Swanieville farm where the massacre occurred, Mr Sarel Swanepoel, appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on a charge of contravening the Illegal Squatting Act. The case was postponed to June 28.

Dawn

Four men arrested in connection with the dawn slaughter also appeared in the Krugersdorp Regional Court last Thursday. Their case has been postponed to June 13. - Sowetan Reporter.



Mourners pay their last respects to six of the victims of the Swanieville massacre who were buried in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, at the weekend. Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE



LABOUR

By DICK USHER and Elnews ^{w/may 4/16-20/6/91}
THE 130 000-member Food and Allied Workers' Union has fully supported as a democratic right the wearing of "many hats" by union leaders.

The position, adopted at Fawu's national congress last week in Umtata, holds that there is "absolutely nothing wrong" with worker leaders being elected to posts in other progressive organisations which advance worker interests.

The wearing of many hats — and, specifically, overlapping leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and its allies, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party — is a hot issue and will be aired at Cosatu's July national congress. While some affiliates hold that dual leadership threatens union independence, Fawu has tradi-

Fawu endorses dual leadership

tionally identified closely with the congress movement.

Also at its congress, Fawu adopted a comprehensive policy on Aids — becoming the first union in the country to do so.

Among other features, the policy demands negotiated Aids agreements with employers, aimed at combating fear and prejudice, and a ban on discrimination against or dismissal of infected workers. (For full details, see *The Weekly Mail* May 24-29.)

The congress also called for an economy

based on socialist principles, saying socialism had not failed but that Eastern bloc leaders had departed from Marxist-Leninist theory.

Delegates also resolved that the Cosatu national congress should not adopt an economic policy, but that this should be done at a special conference once the relevant documents had been translated and circulated among workers.

● A possible merger with the National Union of Leatherworkers will be discussed at the national congress of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union this weekend.

A merger would be the last link in the chain towards one union for all sectors of the industry.

A Sactwu spokesman said congress would also spell out Sactwu's position on economic policy, the two-hats issue and the national minimum wage.

11A

ANC stance on sanctions startles PAC

blow 4/6/91

TIM COHEN

DISSENSION between the PAC and the ANC on sanctions sparked "wide differences" between African countries at the OAU annual summit which began in Nigeria yesterday.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday that members of the PAC delegation at the summit were startled at the ANC "somersault" on sanctions at a pre-summit meeting.

News agency reports have indicated that the ANC will propose a partial lifting of sanctions. This is likely to include the end of SA's sports isolation and the restoration of visa rights to SA citizens if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and satisfies other ANC demands.

Differences of opinion between African nations on sanctions also surfaced in the run-up to the summit, with some coming out in favour of full trade links with SA.

Alexander said it was unfortunate the ANC had decided to spring its new policy on the OAU without prior discussion.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu would address the OAU today, and his speech would include a plan for dealing with countries that did not heed the sanctions call.

Southern African leaders who held talks yesterday on the sidelines of the OAU summit to try to shape a new policy on SA deadlocked over disagreement between the PAC and the ANC, Reuter reports.

The leaders of Frontline states failed to agree on a common position on sanctions, Sapa-Reuter quoted delegates as saying. Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe heads the pro-sanctions drive, while he is opposed most strongly by Madagascar and Kenyan delegates.

Reports said the ANC favoured dropping sporting barriers and relaxing visa demands for South Africans if government met certain demands.

But Alexander said that the ANC's apparent about-turn also related to economic

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela would spend three days in the Soviet Union from Sunday, the ANC said yesterday. After the OAU summit ended tomorrow, he would visit France.

sanctions. He declined to provide details.

But in any case, the majority of OAU members supported the draft resolution prepared by foreign ministers prior to the meeting which, in line with the PAC position, calls for sanctions to be maintained until SA had a new constitution and a date had been set for elections.

But the vehemence of the language of the draft resolution, which also condemns

□ To Page 2

Sanctions

blow 4/6/91

11A

□ From Page 1

the SA government for "orchestrating, coordinating and abetting" the violence in SA, reportedly surprised some observers.

The ANC's head of information and publicity, Pallo Jordan, denied yesterday that there was any change in the organisation's position of sanctions but added that "at this point in time these differences should not be aired through the Press".

However, some senior ANC members are known to support a phased lifting of sanctions, in order to maintain control over the issue and to ensure that Pretoria is not prematurely rewarded for reforms.

Sapa-Reuter reports ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as saying after the meeting of Frontline leaders that the ANC still wanted full economic and political

sanctions maintained.

Sources who attended Mandela's meeting with the southern African leaders and host President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria were quoted as saying there was a strong lobby to relax Africa's sanctions.

These leaders fear that the international community is poised to normalise relations with SA and that Africa risks being stuck with an unenforceable policy.

"The trouble is that neither Mandela nor the OAU wants to be seen as the author of a resolution relaxing sanctions," one delegate said.

The OAU is divided between pragmatists who want to make peace with a wealthy SA and radicals who say sanctions must stay until apartheid goes.

which it came across. It added that the burning of the effigy of Mr De Klerk had been done to "show our absolute rejection of his continued illegitimate rule".

The ANCYL also said in its statement that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerit Viljoen, had reacted "hysterically" to the burning of the effigy.

"It was incorrect and mischievous of Dr Viljoen to drag the leadership of the ANC into a matter which is clearly a Youth League one and for which only the Youth League should account," the statement said.

The ANC said it had received and studied the ANCYL statement yesterday, before issuing its statement.

Although the ANC did not directly criticise the Youth League for its actions, it is clear that there are tensions about the incident within the organisation, particularly because Mr Sisulu and Mr Slovo, who participated in the march, were not consulted but were directly implicated.

Dr Viljoen said in a statement at the weekend that the presence of prominent leaders of the ANC and the SACP "implies they apparently had given their approval to this behaviour".

The ANC statement, however, says that this was not the case.

Dr Viljoen added that "this kind of behaviour places a large question mark over the serious intent and sincerity of the ANC leaders towards the fight against violence and intimidation".

Staff Reporters

THE ANC yesterday distanced itself from the effigy-burnings of Nationalist leaders by its youth league during an anti-Republic Day protest in the city on Friday.

During the incident, at which both SACP boss Mr Joe Slovo and ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu were present, a mock coffin, festooned with pictures of Pres F W de Klerk and former presidents and prime ministers and draped with a replica of the SA flag, was burnt.

The ANC said yesterday: "We confirm that comrades Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo were neither involved nor consulted about the incidents of effigy-burning that occurred on May 31 in Cape Town."

"The ANC Youth League took its own decisions and gave neither comrades Sisulu nor Slovo notice of their intentions," the ANC said in a statement.

In a first reaction to the incident, on Sunday, the ANC by word of its spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus, said the organisation did not wish to dissociate the leadership from the burnings.

Although such incidents "caused an outrage in South Africa they were in fact a normal part of the democratic process".

She also said: "Nobody was aware in advance of these planned burnings except the youth."



BURNING . . . Mr Joe Slovo (in the foreground) and Mr Walter Sisulu at last week's burning of an SA "flag".

11A CT 4/6/91

ANC distances itself from effigy-burning

To page 2

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ANC leaders under fire — UK journal

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The ANC leadership is to come under heavy fire from grassroots members and cadres at its conference in Durban on July 2, the journal Africa Confidential predicted yesterday.

Intense anger at the failure to protect communities from Inkatha violence and to expose Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's poor anti-apartheid record will be expressed by militant demands for major executive changes.

The report predicted that Mr Nelson Mandela would take over from Mr Oliver Tambo as president, and that his stature would persuade the conference back to negotiations with President F W de Klerk's government and away from militant demands for withdrawal.

The journal was not willing to predict the outcome of a critical two-way battle it expects for the deputy presidency between the sophisticated foreign secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki and

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela will visit the Soviet Union for three days from Sunday, June 9, the ANC announced yesterday.

Mr Mandela, who is at present attending the Organisation of African Unity summit in Nigeria, will travel on Thursday to France, where he will spend three days before leaving for the Soviet Union. — Sapa

the charismatic Umkhonto we Sizwe leader and SACP executive member Mr Chris Hani.

The main targets for sacking, the report said, are the "Alexandria mafia" of secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi, military leader Mr Joe Modise and Mr Josiah Jele who are "blamed for the aberrations of the ANC in exile".

The report said Mr Nzo's powerful post may go to Mr Hani or one of the MDM trio of Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Patrick Lekota.

Africa Confidential said that, with more key concessions expected from Mr De Klerk, the ANC leadership group opposed to continuing sanctions — including Mr Oliver Tambo — may even succeed in Durban, by arguing that it would regain the initiative for the ANC.

New chairman at odds with hardliners

Victory for OAU hawks

Star 4/6/91 (230) 11A
By Barney Mthombho
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — An offer to send a team of African Foreign Ministers to South Africa to help promote change was dropped at the last minute yesterday from the keynote speech of the new chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian President Babangida.

The dropping of the offer is thought to have been made under pressure from hardliners who objected to the conciliatory tone of General Babangida's speech, which contrasted sharply with the hardline note taken by his predecessor, President Museveni of Uganda.

The fact that the new OAU leader was prepared to make the offer in the first place is seen as indicative of the conciliatory attitude that he will bring to his office.

In his address to the summit, he said the OAU was ready to convene a meeting "of all shades of political interest in South Africa" to help achieve this unity.

General Babangida also appealed to South Africans of all colours to forget the bitterness of the past.

"I call on President de Klerk — whose courage is not in doubt — and his government, to remove the remaining apartheid legislation and to allow majority rule in South Africa.

"This organisation stands ready to convene a meeting of all shades of political interest in SA to facilitate their pulling together as one people with one destiny. The world expect us to give leadership. We shall give it."

General Babangida said the OAU would respond appropriately to the repeal of core legislation in SA. He said the organisation would have to "come to terms with the realities of today".

Earlier, President Museveni told the summit President de Klerk's reforms had so far been peripheral and therefore irrelevant.

"The core of the problem is and has always been that Africans don't have the vote. Everything else is irrelevant," he said.

"The core of the problem is power ... (which) comes from either the ballot or the gun. In South Africa we have chosen the ballot," he said.

"The lifting of sanctions should be linked to how far the Government had gone in satisfying this crucial issue. I'm not interested in lying next to a white man on a beach or in going with him to the same toilet," he said.

President Museveni, however, appealed to black leaders in South Africa to deal with the question of white fears "imaginatively".

● Keep up pressure, OAU told — Page 2.

(11A) ARGUS 4/6/91

FW effigy burning: ANC Youth League takes responsibility

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE ANC Youth League has taken full responsibility for the burning of an effigy of President De Klerk and vowed to continue to "decimate any image of De Klerk" it comes across.

In a statement, the League said the Republic Day burning was part of its campaign to demand an interim government and to show its rejection of President De Klerk's "illegitimate rule".

The League said it knew what it was doing and demanding. "We are not a bunch of irresponsible youth or out of control."

The Youth League was an autonomous body within the ANC and the movement's leadership did not have to account for its actions, the League said.

"The League has a constitutional right within the ANC to map out and implement its own campaigns."

It wanted to place on record that President De Klerk was no different from his predecessors, the League said.

"Thousands of our people continue to die at the hands of vigilantes who are scavenging our townships with his apparent approval.

"It is for this reason that we vow we will continue to decimate any image of De Klerk that we come across, be it through the use of fire or any other instrument," the League said.

The African National Congress said yesterday that its leaders had not beforehand been told of effigy-burning plans.

It was reacting to sharp criticism by government spokesmen of events at the protest attended by ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

In a statement the ANC said Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Slovo and Mr Sisulu had neither been involved nor consulted about the incidents of effigy-burning.

"The ANC Youth League took its own decisions and gave neither Comrades Sisulu nor Slovo notice of its intentions."

ANC, PAC appeal to support sanctions

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa
News Service
ABUJA (Nigeria)

THE ANC and PAC yesterday jointly appealed to African heads of state to support their call for a constituent assembly and for the strict application of sanctions until a democratic society has been established in South Africa.

Addressing the OAU summit on behalf of both organisations, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, said any relaxation or lifting of sanctions before a democratic mechanism to draw up a new constitution was in place would be a recipe for perpetuating violence and apartheid.

Mr Makwetu said sustained internal pressure, including the armed struggle, and international isolation had compelled the government "to change tactics while preserving the fundamentals" of apartheid.

"Only sustained pressure and isolation can compel De Klerk to move from wanting to reform apartheid to actually eradicating apartheid", Mr Makwetu said.

11A
4/16/91 ARGUS

Mr Makwetu said he was disappointed by the actions of some African countries which had established trade and air links with South Africa.

Mr Makwetu's speech seems to have put paid to any hope that the tough stand against South Africa will be relaxed in this summit. It is also significant that he addressed the summit on behalf of both the ANC and the PAC.

Attempts by the ANC to introduce a plan for the phased lifting of sanctions seems to have been aborted. A meeting of frontline foreign ministers

to look at the plan, after the inconclusive meeting by frontline leaders on Sunday night, failed to take place yesterday.

This means the tough and uncompromising stand taken by African foreign ministers on Saturday will now be endorsed by the summit.

The resolution, introduced by Zimbabwe, calls for all forms of pressure, including the armed struggle, to be employed against the Republic.

Mr Makwetu yesterday said the onus was on the South African Government to create a climate conducive for a negotiated settlement. He said the

government had failed to comply with preconditions such as the release of all political prisoners, return of all exiles and removal of troops from the townships.

He said the government was "principally" responsible for the violence. It had imported the Buffalo Battalion 32 from Angola, Koevoet from Namibia and Renamo from Mozambique who were now, he claimed, behind the violence in the townships, he said.

"They were trained to murder and destabilise in Angola and Namibia, how could they keep peace in South Africa", he said.

These troops would have to be disbanded.

Mr Makwetu said the debate within the country was who should draw up the new constitution.

"Will it be people chose by De Klerk, or representatives of people who have been elected democratically?"

The two organisations would therefore be launching a Patriotic Front in August later this year so that they could speak with "one united powerful voice" in their call for a constituent assembly to draw up the constitution.

BCMA ^{11A} thumbs up for sanctions

Soweto
stance
by OAU

5/6/91.
By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has applauded the decision by the OAU Council of Ministers to recommend that sanctions against South Africa be continued.

In a statement released by the BCMA media liaison officer, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, the organisation called on the heads of state attending the summit in Abuja, Nigeria, to accept and ratify the Ministers' call.

Struggle

The statement said it had taken the struggling masses of black South Africans a long time to gather support for the isolation of the regime in the areas of arms, finance, trade, tourism, sports and culture.

"These measures were taken in order to help remove the oppression, exploitation and discrimination suffered by black people in Azania. All those conditions still exist.

"The settler colonialist leader, (President FW) De Klerk, must not be allowed to wriggle out of the noose of isolation until colonial oppression is abolished.

Difficult

"If De Klerk is reprieved on the basis of the hope that he has said he will do certain things, and released certain prisoners that he should not have held in the first place, it will be very hard to reimpose sanctions if he reverts to old-style oppression without cosmetics," the statement added.

The recommendation by the Ministers' council is to be discussed by the summit.

Divided

The BCMA, which is recognised by the OAU, is not attending the summit. The ANC and PAC are represented by deputy president Nelson Mandela and president Clarence Makwetu, respectively.

The OAU is said to be divided over the issue with some countries, including Ivory Coast, Malawi and Zaire, in favour of lifting sanctions.

While European governments are lifting sanctions, "it is the African people and governments who must help us to defend the gains that we made in the international arena", said the BCMA.

New row over Oxfam

LONDON - A new controversy threatens to engulf the British-based charity organisation Oxfam over its alleged support of a campaign to raise funds for the ANC.

According to the conservative International Freedom Foundation, Oxfam supported a campaign to raise more than R80 000 to finance new offices in Durban for the ANC.

Sowetan 5/6/91
Oxfam was recently censured by the Charity Commission for campaigning against apartheid as part of its fight against poverty in the Frontline States. In terms of British charity law, the organisation may not take part in politics.

IFF executive director Mr Marc Gordon said Oxfam had disregarded British charity law and guidelines set out by the charity's own trustees.

"It can only be hoped that the Charity Commissioners now take the punitive action necessary, including the withdrawal of its tax and other financial benefits," said Gordon. - *Sowetan Foreign News Service*.

Alexandra smear tactics attacked

By DON SEOKANE

THE Alexandra Civic Association yesterday disassociated itself from a smear pamphlet criticising its counterpart, the Alexandra Civic Organisation.

ACA chairman Mr Mike Beea said 5 000 pamphlets vilifying the ACO were distributed in the township.

The pamphlets claimed that the ACA viewed the ACO as a "sellout" which had caused the deaths of innocent children and residents.

Both civic bodies are aligned to the ANC.

Beea said this was the second time in eight months "the forces of destruction" had tried to create animosity and hatred among residents in Alexandra.

"The first pamphlet vilifying the ACO was distributed in Alexandra last September when equally malicious suggestions were ascribed to ACA about ACO.

"I want the residents of Alexandra to know that we are not responsible for these pamphlets," he said.

Secretary 5/16/91

11A

PAC fights ending of sport ban

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Sowetan 5/6/91

THE Pan Africanist Congress would oppose any move to end South Africa's sports isolation until apartheid has been totally eradicated.

The organisation's secretary for culture sports and recreation Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana, addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, said speculation was rife that South Africa's sports isolation would soon be over.

This was fuelled by visits to the country by overseas sports administrators and reconciliatory statements from the Confederation of African Football and the international Olympic movement.

"Nothing can be further from the truth."

The PAC, he said, had not called the

political staff

sports boycott off and regarded the sports and cultural boycotts as weapons for the scrapping of apartheid.

"For as long as our people remain landless, oppressed and exploited in their country, there is no question of the liberation movement relaxing economic sanctions and the sports and cultural boycotts," Ngcukana said.

He said he had written letters to the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) and other organisations inviting them to a meeting at the PAC head office in Johannesburg next Thursday to discuss the matter.

ANC fails in OAU sanctions appeal

11A (10) 285 CT 5/6/91 230

ABUJA, Nigeria. — In another blow for Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC has failed in its bid to convince African leaders that the time had come to agree on an easing of economic sanctions and ending the sports boycott.

The PAC has instead claimed victory at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit here in persuading African heads of state to reject ANC proposals on a lifting of sports and cultural sanctions in exchange for concessions by the South African government on its security laws.

The final draft of a resolution hammered out by the frontline states, the ANC and PAC, to be presented for final approval to the OAU summit before it ends later today, said sanctions should continue until apartheid has been completely eradicated.

One minor concession is a clause stating that the new OAU chairman, Nigeria's

OAU chief 'would meet FW'

ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigerian President and OAU leader Mr Ibrahim Babangida said yesterday that he would consider a meeting with South African President FW de Klerk, if it would help bring majority rule to South Africa.

"The situation is very fluid. If the need arises we are not opposed to this, provided it can lead to one-man-one-vote," Mr Babangida told a news conference during an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit.

In a speech circulated on Monday, Mr Babangida deleted a paragraph which proposed sending a fact-finding team of African foreign ministers to South Africa.

● The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that the South African government was following an "open-door" policy regarding a possible visit to the Republic by an OAU delegation.

As long as visitors understood that they could not dictate to the South African government, "that is fine", he said.

● Western diplomats confirmed yesterday that Mr De Klerk would spend Saturday and Sunday as the guest of Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi. — Sapa-Reuter

president Mr Ibrahim Babangida, may review the situation during the year and report back to the frontline states if political circumstances funda-

mentally change in South Africa.

There was no immediate comment available from Mr Mandela, who is attending the

conference and has been warmly received by all leaders.

IAN HOBBS reports that in London last night political sources expressed disappointment which he said was likely to be shared by nearly all European Community governments — and a number of African countries which agree with the ANC that the time had come significantly to ease economic, sports and cultural bans.

But the view in Europe appears to leave more room for manoeuvre in the final draft today and the debate will continue at a high level when key Commonwealth heads of state meet in London next week.

A meeting of the International Olympic Committee executive in Manchester next week is also expected to endorse calls for the sports boycott to be lifted as soon as President FW de Klerk's promise to eliminate remaining apartheid legislation has been fulfilled.

Battle for posts on ANC executive

South 6/6 - 12/6/91.

11A

By Mono Badela

THE race for the ANC leadership is on as key figures in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) make a bid for top positions.

With a month to go until the ANC's landmark national conference in Durban, serious jockeying for positions has begun and it is likely that a range of new faces in a "new look" ANC will emerge.

Also likely to stake a claim to top posts are ex-political prisoners.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the charismatic official of the National Union of Mineworkers, is tipped to be a strong contender for the post of general secretary currently occupied by Alfred Nzo.

Other unionists who are potential NEC candidates are Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo and assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi.

"Internals" likely to feature in the NEC are Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, the former general secretary of the South Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, ANC political education department head Raymond Suttner, former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF former national treasurer Azhar Cachalia, senior UDF official Mohammed Valli Moosa, UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak, ex-political prisoners Barbara Hogan, Arnold Stofile and Harry Gwala. Also Western Cape ANC leaders Trevor Manuel and Christmas Tinto.

Proposed changes to the ANC's draft constitution will leave a gap for a "new" look NEC to emerge.

These proposals include an expansion of the size of the NEC to 96-person committee.

One of the key election objectives is a more militant leadership which will ensure a tougher stance on negotiations with the government.

This follows widespread unhappiness over the handling of negotiations

LIKELY NEW FACES IN LEADERSHIP?

NEW PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA



HARRY GWALA



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



ARNOLD STOFILE



POPO MOLEFE



BARBARA HOGAN



TREVOR MANUEL



VALLIE MOOSA



PATRICK LEKOTA

ANC CONFERENCE COUNTDOWN: First in series of issues on agenda See Page 25

To Page 10

Challenge for posts on ANC national executive

South 6/6 - 12/6/91.

From page 1

by the present leadership. A second and perhaps contradictory thrust will be to re-establish the unity which characterised the ANC under president Oliver Tambo.

Nelson Mandela, despite his stature, has appeared unable to maintain Tambo's careful balance.

Tambo, now 73 is reported to be recovering steadily from the stroke he suffered almost two years ago.

He will be returning to the country later this month but it is not yet certain whether he will offer himself for

re-election as president — a move some observers believe is necessary to maintain unity and provide Mandela with back-up support.

Already several ANC regions, including the Eastern and Western Cape have, held conferences where the composition of the new NEC was discussed.

11A

Apartheid is not dead yet - ANC

sowetan
6/6/91 . By IKE MOTSAPI

V/A

APARTHEID as law will be scrapped in the new South Africa but will still remain a force, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Mr George Negota of the ANC's department of manpower development was addressing more than 1 000 delegates at Sun City at the 40th annual congress of the National Occupational Health and Safety Association.

He said the "evil system of racial segregation" would take a long time to be eradicated.

"The new South Africa does not depend on the politicians to shape it but needs the grassroots workforce," he said.

Industrialists should also contribute by training the workforce.

"If this is not done then we should forget about the new South Africa. It will be useless because the economic power and decision-making will still be in the hands of the white minority," Negota said.

ANC agrees to smaller executive group

15 May 6/6/91. (11A)

THE ANC's national executive, bowing to pressure from regional leadership, yesterday agreed to reduce its National Executive Committee (NEC) from 126 members to 100 in the draft constitution to be debated at next month's national congress.

It also agreed to a proposal that at least 30% of directly elected NEC members be women. Representation for each Women's League region would be withdrawn.

The special meeting of the NEC and regional representatives, held in Johannesburg, was called after it was said the proposed 126-member NEC, which included 15

ALAN FINE

co-opted members, was designed to accommodate NEC members otherwise likely to lose their positions.

In terms of the new proposal, the NEC would be made up of 50 directly elected members (at least 15 women), 14 regional chairmen and secretaries, the presidents and secretaries of the Women's League and Youth League, and up to three co-opted members. It would also include the president and secretary-general and their deputies, and the treasurer-general.

The day-to-day running of the organisation would be in the hands of a 26-member national working committee, employed full time.

It was agreed that the NEC would not have the rights enjoyed by regions to nominate candidates for leadership positions.

A source at the meeting said decisions were taken in a spirit of co-operation.

Regional representatives initially wanted even fewer directly elected members, but agreed to 50 when it was pointed out it was desirable that most of the NEC be elected by congress, the source said.

Mugabe, Mandela differ over sanctions

Star 6/6/91

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258

By Barney Mthombothi
Star Africa Service

ABUJA (Nigeria) — Serious differences between Nelson Mandela and Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe have arisen here over an ANC document arguing the case for a progressive lifting of sanctions on South Africa.

The five-page document, circulated privately to "sympathetic" delegates at the OAU summit, suggests "sanctions

will ... be lifted in step with changes".

Publicly, the ANC is still committed to the maintenance of sanctions, with Mr Mandela chiding those African countries involved "in a headlong rush" to normalise relations with South Africa.

But privately certain senior ANC officials have been arguing for a mechanism to enable them to control or manage the lifting of sanctions.

The document is understood to have been compiled principally by Thabo Mbeki and close advisers.

Mr Mbeki gave the document to some Foreign Ministers in Abuja a week ago. It was discussed at the pre-summit meeting of the Frontline states on Sunday and led to the clash between Mr Mandela and Mr Mugabe, who expressed surprise the ANC was pushing for lifting sanctions.

Stages

Mr Mugabe told the meeting his country was committed to sanctions and that was the line he was going to take at the Commonwealth meeting in Harare in October.

The document recommends a three-stage approach to the lifting of sanctions.

The first stage involves the removal of obstacles to negotiations. These are enunciated as the release of political prisoners and the agreement among all parties, including Government, to end violence.

Once the Government has satisfied these measures, air links and tourism would be allowed, and cultural and sports boycotts would be removed.

The second phase involves the SA Government agreeing to an interim government. Once this has been achieved, economic boycotts would go and sanctions and trade and investments allowed.

The third and last phase, the establishment of a democratic government, would lead to the removal of the arms and oil embargo and restrictions on computers, technology and scientific exchanges.

The document calls on the OAU to establish a mechanism for the "detailed and continuous monitoring" of the process of change.

A brave man wants the truth about MK camps to be confronted, writes R W Johnson

Will the ANC let him speak?

See 6/6/91

(11A)

HERE are times when one man's life can encapsulate all the dramas and problems of a wider movement, even of a country. Omry Makole is such a man. He is hardly a name to conjure with — he is a 34-year-old black South African working on a low level industrial mechanics course in Cologne, desperate to go to England to pursue his studies. But watching what happens to Omry over the next few months will tell one a great deal about the future of South Africa.

Omry sat in class in Soweto with Murphy, Morobe and other stalwarts of the 1976 children's revolt. In the face of the State's brutal suppression he, like so many, fled the country to join the ANC's guerilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). But the new wave of Soweto recruits, eager only to acquire the training to enable it to return to fight apartheid, did not much like what it found. For many within the ANC leadership had grown fat and heavy-handed in exile, some of the top cadres were involved in diamond smuggling and car-stealing rings;

others were a byword for sexual exploitation, and the high command often seemed less concerned to step up the armed struggle against apartheid than to lend MK guerillas out to fight other people's wars in Angola and Zimbabwe.

Omry ended up in an MK camp in Luanda before becoming a personal bodyguard to the ANC president, Oliver Tambo. But within the MK camps discontent simmered — against leadership corruption, against the failure to send guerillas back into South Africa, and against the authoritarian and repressive style of control in the camps.

Down the years the litany of complaints return always to the same names: Joe Modise, the ANC army commander; his nominal deputy, Chris Hani; Andrew Mazondo, then ANC national commissar; and Mzwandile Piliso, the dreaded chief of ANC security.

In 1979 discontent flared into rebellion at the Fazenda MK camp in Angola, leading to the camp's closure and the setting up — by a greatly strengthened security apparatus — of the dreaded Quatro prison camp.

Omry's sympathies lay with the guerilla rank and file and when similar discontent led to a confrontation with the ANC leadership in Zambia in 1980, Omry was elected to represent the MK's June 16 detachment in its demand for the calling of an ANC conference — for in flagrant breach of its own rules the movement had held no conference since 1969.

When this demand was angrily rejected, Omry resigned in disgust from Mr Tambo's bodyguard and returned to the Angolan camps where he rose to become district commander.

Meanwhile, dissidence within MK was met with increasing repression by the security apparatus which now ruled all the camps. Beatings and torture became routine and interrogation was so brutal that men often died during the first day of questioning.

Many guerillas committed or attempted suicide and desertion rates soared.

In January 1984 one MK camp after another mutinied until 90 percent of the guerillas stationed in Angola were in open revolt against the leadership. Omry was elected to a leading

position on a committee to put forward the dissidents' grievances and to demand a proper, democratic ANC conference. His reward for this was consignment, with the rest of the ringleaders, to the dreaded Quatro camp.

In Quatro torture was virtually a way of life: everything had to be done at the double and prisoners were routinely whipped and beaten as they worked.

Often, the men's tormentors would torture men in one cell while making those in neighbouring cells sing to drown the screams.

Rape, trampling with military boots and murder were all fairly routine practices in Quatro.

Meanwhile, at the heavily stage-managed ANC conference held at Kabwe in 1985, Chris Hani was able to prevent any airing of the dissidents' views.

Somehow Omry survived nearly five years in Quatro before finally being released into the MK camp at Dakawa, Tanzania. Here again he was elected to represent the grievances of the men and in 1989 when all the MK camps in Tanzania were allowed to pick a regional political committee

Omry was elected to head it.

This outraged the ANC security apparatus and Mr Hani simply disbanded the committee rather than allow Omry so prominent a platform.

But the issue of what happened in the MK camps won't go away. Exiles are returning to South Africa with a tale to tell and even the murder of a leading dissident, Sipho Phungulwa, has not silenced them.

Nelson Mandela himself has admitted to the practice of torture in the camps — but Mr Hani, now closely linked to Winnie Mandela, has risen to the position of Mr Mandela's probable heir.

The big question is whether this most explosive of issues will be aired at the ANC conference to be held in Durban in July. Last December, when the ANC's consultative conference was held, ANC members in Germany elected Omry as their delegate — but the central apparatus refused to accept him as such. Now the same constituency has elected Omry again — and he, brave man that he is, has announced his determination to attend the Durban conference to bring the issue of the

camps squarely before the movement.

Meanwhile, another ex-mutineer, Zoyisile Gamahl, has been elected by ANC members in Britain, while yet a third dissident has been elected by an ANC branch inside South Africa.

What is at stake here is the whole question of democracy in a future South Africa. It is extremely heartening that men as brave as Omry Magoale exist, perhaps as sections of the ANC willing to affront men as powerful as Modise, Piliso and Hani by selecting dissidents as delegates. But will Omry and his comrades be allowed to attend the conference? Will they be allowed to speak? Will their demand for an inquiry be heard? And will they be physically safe from harm when they return?

Nelson Mandela has, to his credit, admitted to the fact of torture in the ANC camps but the issue can hardly be seen as closed until Mr Modise, Mr Hani and company have answered for what has occurred. Until July we must wait — and watch. □

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State is using Inkatha - ANC

By GRACE RAPHOLO

THE transformation of cultural organisations like Inkatha into political ones was part of a Government strategy to undermine the ANC, an official of the organisation said yesterday.

ANC department of political education official Mr Mandla Nkomse said yesterday that the Government was promoting the politicisation of cultural groups to bolster its argument that the ANC was not the only organisation to negotiate with.

Speaking at the Medical University of South Africa, Nkomse said: "The ANC will never transform into a political party because it was established to be a liberation movement and it will remain so."

Strategy

He said the IFP was important in the current political situation because it had made itself felt through aggression and intimidation.

Nkomse accused the Government of equating the ANC with socialism and economic disaster, which had resulted in disillusion among the masses.

While negotiations were the swiftest route to the transfer of power, mass action had to remain part of ANC strategy.

Action

"Mass action and negotiations have to be complementary."

He said if South African liberation movements were to learn from Nicaragua and other countries, they would realise that mass action was important.

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman



Civics should have a 'watchdog' role

W/Mail 7/6-13/6/91

11A

CAN activists who fought to win power for the resistance movement check the power they fought to win?

That question has been posed by a meeting of civic associations in Bloemfontein. The meeting, a few weeks back, agreed to unite civics in a national body — a sort of Congress of South African Trade Unions outside the workplace.

The national civic says it plans to be independent of political movements and one newspaper has proclaimed that a "new force" has been formed to challenge the African National Congress.

In one sense, this was totally wrong. The civic leaders are firmly in the ANC camp and will work to win power for it. But it was partly right, since civic leaders do say the movement will curb the power of the government they hope the ANC will run.

For much of their life, civics have mobilised township residents to demand better services and conditions in the cities. But this was a means to an end: civic activists hoped these campaigns would weaken the state and hasten majority rule.

Now that majority rule seems winnable, civics have begun rethinking their role. Key activists realise that majority rule will not automatically mean power or better conditions for people at the grassroots. If they want it, they will still have to fight for it.

To do this, they argue, they will have to insist on their independence from the resistance movement and the new state. They hope the national federation will give them the power to do it. The ANC insists it supports this. It says an independent movement is needed to act as a "watchdog" on the state.

On the surface, this seems to be a breakthrough for democracy. It suggests a key part of the resistance camp will not rely on the movement to take decisions for people in the townships, but will insist on holding it to account.

But it's not yet clear that all civic activists see the national civic in this role. Some see it as a stronger vehicle for action to achieve majority rule. Will they still mobilise once it is achieved?

And even if the civics want to act as an independent watchdog, they may not be able to do it. Rent boycott talks have shown that many civics are weak. Many have not been able to negotiate favourable settlements. And negotiations have also shown that most civics don't enjoy widespread organised support: where they have negotiated settlements to boycotts, few residents have begun paying.

Civics have enjoyed few opportunities to build an organised base or to negotiate effectively. Some have become more independent and effective as they gained power and skills. But there is no guarantee that training and negotiating experience will turn civics into an independent force.

Their historic links with the ANC may ensure that, once white rule goes, their senior activists will take office in the movement. Some civic strategists fear also that ANC activists who don't gain posts in the new government will turn to the civics to win a base.

If civics are to become a vehicle for all people in the cities, they will have to recruit members of all movements. Members of rival movements still see them as ANC vehicles and won't join.

But the greatest obstacle may be the nature of civics themselves. Unlike unions, which are likely to be a check on a new state's power, civics don't try to represent a group which has a clear common interest, whatever political system is in place. If white rule ends, the "glue" which binds them could come unstuck.

This does not necessarily mean civics cannot play the independent role many key activists hope they will play. But they may have to rethink their role further.

Civics seek to speak for all residents: workers and business people, house owners and tenants, homeless and housed. They don't do that now. But they are even less likely to do this if majority rule comes.

This may leave them with two options. They might accept that they can speak for only some and that the others will form their own organisations. Or they can choose a more modest role.

While people in the cities have varied interests, there are issues on which they may have common concerns — cheaper services, for instance.

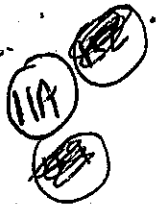
Instead of seeking to be the mouthpiece for all interests, civics could become coalitions of interests which are organised separately, voicing those demands they have in common.

By accepting that they can represent only some of "the people" — or that they can represent all only on some issues — they could become a stronger and more independent voice.

■ NEXT WEEK: Ameen Akhalwaya

A curious tendency comes out the closet

W/Mant 7/6 - 13/6/91



A NICE guy out to lunch," scoffed a colleague who had eavesdropped on my four-hour part-interview, part-argument with Weizmann Hamilton, member of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress.

For those who can't see that immediate nationalisation of the economy's "commanding heights", worker self-management, "soviets" and an armed populace will magically dispel South Africa's problems, it is a common reaction to Trotskyist certitudes.

Numerically insignificant, incorrigibly sectarian and with little or no support among the working masses they claim to champion, the disciples of Leon Trotsky are a bad joke in the advanced capitalist countries of the West.

But in South Africa it would be a mistake to dismiss them. In many ways, conditions are pre-revolutionary: huge inequalities amid economic decline and surging political hopes are fertile ground for fundamentalist and millenarian ideas of all kinds.

South African Trotskyism is often seen as a foible of coloured and Indian intellectuals — particularly from the Western Cape — but Hamilton insists that most MWT support is to be found in the black townships. "There's a climate of opposition developing in the ANC to the strategies of the leadership," he says. "The rank and file are unable to understand opposition to our ideas."

By submitting to an interview under his own name, Hamilton broke with MWT practice and appeared to signal that the tendency is emerging from the closet.

An "entryist" group working from within to push the ANC leftwards, it is proverbial for its secretiveness. This is partly a response to official intolerance: four of its leading lights, including historian Martin Legassick, were expelled from the ANC at a special conference in Zambia six years ago.

With "Stalinist" stifling of dissent now in disfavour on the left, the tendency has new room to manoeuvre.

The MWT's journal, *Congress Militant*, epitomises the paradox of the far left: high-brow and scrupulously researched, it is shot through with a kind of biblical zeal. "What Marx said about minimum wages" trumpets a recent headline, suggesting that the views of this bearded 19th century German sociologist must be the last word on the

The Marxist Workers Tendency, a secretive far-left grouping operating in the ANC, appears to be emerging from its closet. In what may be its first open contact with the press, **DREW FORREST** spoke to one of its adherents

subject.

Elsewhere, "our science of Marxism" is invoked to attack SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo for daring to suggest that enterprise has a role in wealth-creation. Judged by its predictive powers, Marxism has as much claim to scientific status as I Ching — but it is "our science", a source of certainty for the faithful.

The world crisis of socialism, far from spurring self-doubt, is seen as a triumphant vindication of Trotsky. Like free marketeers who hold that South African capitalism is not the real thing, Hamilton argues that failed Eastern European regimes were Stalinist perversions of a true socialism still in the wings.

Indeed, the claim that there has never been a genuine socialist order makes Trotskyists exceedingly slippery customers — debate tends to be conducted at a stratospheric level of abstraction.

The result is a programme for a future South Africa resting heavily on a quasi-religious appeal to authority which makes only glancing contact with the real world.

Whatever the shape of the future, it is unlikely that political power will be exercised by a network of workers' councils (soviets), that all major industries will be instantly nationalised under worker control, that people's militias will replace the police and army and that to prevent the crystallisation of a bureaucratic elite, official posts will be rotated and state officials paid no more than a skilled worker's wage.

It may also be reasonably doubted that a "class appeal" to white workers will succeed in undermining support for the security forces.

The irony is that Hamilton attacks the Congress of South African Trade Unions' moves towards co-operation with business and the state as "utopian". Based on an antagonistic relationship, the pact between labour and capital in the European social de-

mocracies is inherently unstable, he argues. "It's a post-war phenomenon — a bat of the eyelid in the context of human history," he says, pointing to Sweden's worsening economic straits.

The fact is that there is no sign of revolutionary ferment in social democratic Europe: the lesson of Thatcher's Britain is that economic difficulties characteristically spark a rightward shift.

Hamilton believes the labour movement has fallen under the baneful influence of "reformist" elements in the ANC and, particularly, the SACP, which he concedes has working class support despite being "indelibly tainted with Stalinism". "The party is the right wing, not the left wing of the ANC," he says. "It provides a justification for reformist policies — this is why De Klerk has no objection to Slovo's involvement in negotiations."

There is no doubting Hamilton's sincerity or intelligence, and he has suffered for his convictions — detained and held in solitary confinement for nine months in 1975, he was banned for five years and has just returned from 15 years in exile. And there are libertarian elements in the MWT's programme: it favours free speech and assembly and a multiparty system.

But its drive to convert the ANC into a revolutionary socialist party poses a real threat to the movement's multi-class appeal.

In one Johannesburg branch, for example, a hard-line MWT clique, organising around domestic workers' wages, is said to be driving conservative Indians into the arms of the National Party. Writ large, this could threaten an ANC majority in a future election.

Hamilton says the MWT favours negotiations with the state "if they can achieve true democracy and address the problems of working people, such as education and unemployment".

But one of its conditions is the dismantling of state forces and the arming of the people — which will clearly not be met. Hamilton also dismisses proposals for the integration of the South African Defence Force and Umkhonto weSizwe as a "reactionary idea".

The risk is that by fuelling millenarian and militarist fantasies in the black townships, the far left may embroil the enormously complex and delicate task of reaching political settlement.

Mandela pleads for end to prison fasts

~~WILSON ZWANE~~ WILSON ZWANE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday threw his weight behind the calls for hunger-striking prisoners to suspend their fast. (11A)

In a statement issued by the ANC on his behalf, Mandela said he was convinced the hunger strikers had made it clear to government that all political prisoners should be released. Biocay 7/6/71

Conflicting reports on the number of hunger-striking prisoners range from the 30 of the ANC and Human Rights Commission (HRC) to the Justice Department's 16. The ANC says 14 have been fasting for 37 days, three for 36 days and six for 34 days.

Mandela said: "Our movement and people require the hunger strikers as active participants in the struggle to transform our country into a non-racial democracy. For this reason, we appeal to all our comrades to terminate the hunger strike so that none of them die or suffer permanent health damage."

He also called on ANC supporters to join a mass action campaign aimed at securing the release of all political prisoners and implementation of all agreements reached between the ANC and government.

The ANC eastern Transvaal branch this week called on prisoners at Barberton and Bethal hospitals to suspend their hunger strike as it had launched a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in the region in a bid to secure their release.

□ To Page 2

Mandela

Biocay 7/6/71 (11A) ~~WILSON ZWANE~~ □ From Page 1

Six prisoners at Barberton Hospital had suspended their strike, the HRC said.

But 12 prisoners at the Bethal Hospital were among the 30 prisoners who were still on hunger strike yesterday, it said.

The Correctional Services Department said yesterday there were only 16 hunger-striking prisoners.

Hunger Strike Committee lawyer Willie Hofmeyr said thousands of people were expected to march on Justice Minister Kobbie Coetsee's Cape Town offices today to

protest against the Minister's statement that all political prisoners had been freed.

Sapa reports that SA Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco) spokesman Dr Aslam Dasoo said yesterday medical bodies, the ANC and government departments had agreed on a programme for the care of hunger strikers.

With immediate effect, all prisoners who have been on a hunger strike for more than two weeks, or who have lost more than 10% of their body weight, will be taken to hospital.

Mandela in France as Soviets cancel

et 7/6/91

3000

PARIS. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that economic sanctions against South Africa must be maintained.

Mr Mandela arrived yesterday for a three-day private visit during which he will see President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Ms Edith Cresson.

Mr Mandela had been on the way to an official visit to the Soviet Union.

However, the Soviet visit has been postponed at the last minute for the second time.

Dispelling rumours that the postponement was due to Soviet reluctance to meet Mr Mandela, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday that the trip was postponed because of the busy schedules of Mr Mandela and President Mikhail Gorbachev, and would be rescheduled for a later date.

A local Soviet diplomat confirmed that his country's official invitation to Mr Mandela still stood.

● In Abuja, Nigeria, meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity yesterday adopted a declaration promising to review sanctions "should the South African government adopt measures which lead to a positive, profound and irreversible" abolition of apartheid. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Reuter and AP

APARTHEID

THE WALKING DEAD

The withdrawal of a Bill to scrap the Population Registration Act, and its replacement with a less ambiguous measure, followed intense diplomatic and opposition pressure on government. The Act is now expected to be scrapped by the end of the month with the support of all parliamentary groups except the Conservative Party.

The original Population Registration Act Repeal Bill, published last month, contained a clause that was widely interpreted as permitting the maintenance of the status quo with regard to race classification after the repeal. It was later amended by a joint parliamentary standing committee — but remained unacceptable to critics.

Government argues that certain technical aspects of population registration — such as race-based voters' rolls — need to remain in force to ensure the functioning of the current constitution. Now it has accepted, however, that the intentions of the transitional clause in the repeal Bill were vague and created suspicion about its motives.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw told parliament this week that representations "regarding possible problems with the interpretation of the proposed measure" had been received from a number of quarters, including Foreign Minister Pik Botha and members of the Democratic Party.

It is understood that Botha came under pressure from diplomats to change the clause, or face hostile foreign reaction to what would be perceived as an attempt to maintain race classification.

Louw says the Repeal Bill and another measure — the Further Abolition of Racially Based Measures Bill, which scraps apartheid provisions in various Acts — will be combined.

The new Bill provides simply for the retention of the population register compiled in terms of the Identification Act until the repeal of the current constitution.

It is still not clear, however, how the repeal of the Act will affect conscription into the SADF.

If there are no more "whites", how can the call-up remain racially based? And if the classification remains as part of the present population register, then apartheid will not have been abolished. ■

BOLD QUESTIONS

"Answer please, Mr Mandela" pleads the headline of an advertisement that has appeared in the press during the past month.

The ad, placed by a group called Businessmen for Growth and Stability, asks Mandela some of the bold questions that big business seems to have been avoiding:

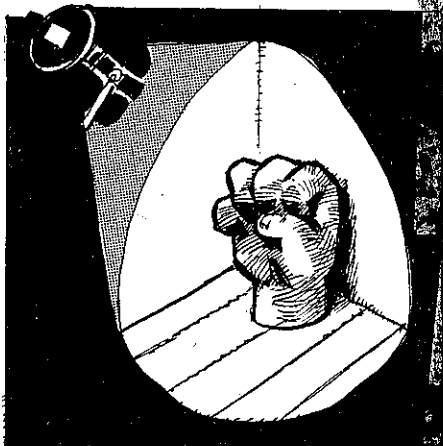
- What degree of nationalisation in the economy is envisaged by the ANC — and what exactly is the mix in the ANC's mixed economy?
- When will the process of transition become irreversible in the ANC's view, and the organisation's continued call for sanctions become a thing of the past?
- Will a future ANC government continue to subsidise unprofitable economic ventures?
- Assuming recognition of the need for renewed foreign investment in SA, how does the ANC envisage itself successfully convincing international investors to do so? and
- How will the ANC implement its affirmative action programme without seriously harming economic productivity and performance?

While these questions may well appear on the agendas of the numerous private meetings held between the ANC and select establishment groups, such as the SA Chamber of Business and the Consultative Business Movement, for many, they remain unanswered.

Businessmen for Growth and Stability's national co-ordinator, Mariette van Niekerk, says the group represents about 150 — and growing — business people from a variety of sectors and professions who are frustrated by the political uncertainty.

"Contradictory and often ambiguous statements from political leadership across the entire spectrum make even short- to medium-term predictions a hazardous business," she says. "The result is a growing unwillingness to contemplate, let alone undertake expansions, and a marked disillusionment among ordinary people with politics."

The group, the idea of JSE stockbroker



FOR THE PEOPLE

Fm 7/6/91

11A 495

Hannes Herbst, is unashamedly pro-free enterprise. "Economic growth cannot be enjoyed without economic security and the best guarantee of economic security is the economic opportunity that the free-enterprise system provides," Van Niekerk says.

She says the group is particularly concerned with the negative economic implications of the ANC's programme for a post-apartheid SA. They decided to place the ad after seeing a recent ANC publication, *Let the people decide: Negotiations and the Struggle for a democratic SA*.

The ad has certainly stirred the pot.

Nelson Mandela called the group on the first day the ad appeared, on May 8, according to Van Niekerk, and he expressed a willingness to address the members.

Pleased with his reply, the group nevertheless insisted that such an address take place in a public forum — on television or radio. "We feel that it is not good enough to hold behind-the-scenes economic talks with the ANC, the PAC and others. Ultimately, what transpires in SA will be determined not by a well-heeled and eloquent leadership-elite, but by the degree to which radical demands remain strong at grassroots level."

Since the initial call, Mandela has been overseas much of the time and no further arrangements have been made. Comment could not be obtained from the ANC this week.

SA Chamber of Business chief economist Ben van Rensburg questions the group's authority to speak on behalf of business.

"Groups of individuals who claim to represent business tend to confuse issues rather than solve problems. An independent movement such as this could weaken organised business rather than give it clout."

Nevertheless, the group claims to have the support of many chambers of commerce around the country, including those in Johannesburg, Germiston, Bloemfontein, Durban, Cape Town, Pretoria and Alberton.

But Van Rensburg believes questions such as these should be asked through existing structures, such as the chamber. "We have regular meetings with the ANC's economic committee and regular feedback takes place, though we often don't see eye to eye." He will not, however, elaborate on the differences of opinion.

He says it is difficult for any opposition party to have a detailed economic policy. "It's easier to criticise because they don't face the day-to-day economic realities." However, Van Rensburg concedes that the ANC needs to sort out who, in its own ranks, is going to rule economic policy. "Is it going to be the socialist-communist thinking or will market-related thinking prevail?"

He does not seem to think a clear statement will be forthcoming soon. "Given the realities of the political implications of making this decision, they are still forced to support this almost split personality in their economic thinking and policy."

Meanwhile, Businessmen for Growth and Stability says it will address any issue that

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could influence growth and stability and will do so with any organisation. Says Van Niekerk: "Therefore, while the ANC was our first target, it certainly is not our last."

Mirryna Deeb

ANC nod for smaller executive

By Patrick Laurence

The ANC national executive has agreed to amend and democratise its draft constitution in the face of popular pressure from regional representatives.

At a special meeting this week, attended by four representatives from each of the ANC's 15 regions, it was decided to reduce the size of the proposed executive from 126 to 90, a well-placed source told The Star.

In a clear recognition of the importance of women to the ANC, it was agreed that at least 30 percent of directly elected executive members should be women.

A proposal to allocate 17 ex-officio seats to representatives of the ANC Women's League will be scrapped.

By agreeing to reduce the number of directly elected representatives from 75 to 50, while pruning back on the number of ex-officio representatives, the ANC set the stage for election contests between incumbent and aspirant members at its national conference next month, the first in more than 30 years.

The executive committee agreed, too, to forfeit its proposed right to nominate members to leadership positions in the ANC, a concession calculated to help open the upper echelons of the movement to the new generation of leaders.

WITH the first ANC congress of the post-banning era now less than a month away, the line-up of candidates for the top posts is becoming clearer, and reflects the organisation's political priorities and internal struggles.

While formal nominations have been made in only a minority of cases, a fair amount of lobbying is occurring and the situation is fluid.

"Nelson Mandela (as president) is probably safe. The rest of us will have to fight for our positions," a NEC member observes. It is expected Oliver Tambo, too ill to continue with the presidency, will be elected as an ordinary NEC member.

Consensus on the size of the new national executive committee was reached only two days ago, with notable concessions being made to regional (read internal as opposed to formerly exiled) leadership — particularly to cut the size of the NEC from 126 to 100. This reflects the growing power of that internal leadership, a power that will be reflected in the post-congress leadership.

The deputy presidency was originally expected to be a hawks and doves contest between Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki. This is now unlikely; the two, and others in the organisation, appear to want to avoid creating potentially damaging divisions. Further, the ANC expects Hani to devote his full attention over the next few years to integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe with the SADF. Mbeki, on the other hand, was likely to lose the contest anyway. Not unlike his NP counterpart Pik Botha, Mbeki is far more popular among those outside the party than those within. Like Botha during the apartheid era, Mbeki has won respect from outsiders for his moderate positions. But he has also failed to gain a following among those who vote in leadership elections.

The deputy presidency looks like becoming a testing ground for ANC policy on violence and relationships with Inkatha. Appropriately, two Natal-based leaders — Harry Gwala and Jacob Zuma — are already in the running and they represent two poles of ANC thinking.

Gwala is representative of the militaristic, hardline wing of the SACP, and is known to have expressed serious misgivings about the ANC's peace talks with Inkatha. This view is believed to enjoy a fair amount of support among the youth.

Zuma, on the other hand, was the

Finding a balance is the challenge of ANC elections

ALAN FINE and TIM COHEN

B10 9/7/91

person who, more than anyone else in the ANC, made possible the January meeting between Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He was also the key ANC operator in preparations for the Groote Schuur talks between the ANC and government. Like Mbeki, he is seen by ANC militants as soft. But he has kept in touch with the grassroots following.

A late contender for the deputy presidency may be Alan Boesak. And, insiders say, one should not rule out the possibility of the post going to one of the ANC's elder statesmen — Walter Sisulu or Govan Mbeki.

If the deputy presidency is emerging as an arena where policies of violence are a key undercurrent, the post of secretary general — held by the unpopular Alfred Nzo — looks like becoming the area where the internal leadership of the '80s is going to assert itself. And it is going to do so, it appears, with the support of the "reformist" (as opposed to mili-

tarist) wing of the SACP.

Among the names mentioned as possible candidates for secretary general are Popo Molefe and Patrick Lekota (who developed the UDF as a national body from 1983 until their detention three years later), Rev Arnold Stofile, an eastern Cape UDF and now ANC leader who spent a long time in Ciskeian prisons, and unionists Sydney Mafumadi and Cyril Ramaphosa. All would be acceptable to Slovo and his supporters.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa did not step down from his union position in April as some predicted he would do to take up an ANC post. It is argued that, while he may be a popular choice, Ramaphosa would not be willing to sacrifice his powerful labour movement position for the difficult and draining task that would befall the ANC secretary general. Others believe he may be willing to enter national politics if it were in a sufficiently senior position, like this one.

However, Cosatu assistant general secretary Mafumadi, together with Lekota and Molefe, appear to be the most likely candidates at this stage.

Finally, ANC finance department head Vusi Khanyile is expected to challenge the ageing Thomas Nkobi as treasurer general. However, Nkobi is not as unpopular as Nzo. Both enjoy the personal support of Mandela. Their future could well depend on the extent to which Mandela is prepared to intervene in support of either during the election.

Beyond this, some insiders are watching for a surprise showing by information director Pallo Jordan. He has won respect from many internal leaders for his work in the last 18 months. "My views are closer to those of Jordan than to those of certain party comrades," an internal SACP "reformist" said last week. However, Jordan's anti-SACP views have earned him many enemies among the exiled party leadership.

As far as the rest of the NEC elec-

tions are concerned, the process will have to fairly reflect the regions of the country. And it appears that at least 15 of the 5 directly elected NEC members will, in terms of the constitution, be women. Internal leaders will monitor elections in the light of suspicions that the ANC has sidelined former UDF leaders.

The dilemma of ensuring a balanced ethnic take-up of the NEC will be a further issue, even though ANC members are reluctant to broach openly the question of ensuring that there are a fair number of white, Indian and coloured members on the committee.

The recent defection of Labour Party members to the NP has made a significant impression on the ANC. Two senior members raised the issue, independently and unprompted, in interviews recently. They raised the issue in the context of a future struggle for votes in a general election — playing a fear that the ANC might be being outmanoeuvred on this front.

There's a fear, too, that potential Indian support for the ANC is slipping towards the NP. This is a reason for the continuing existence of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress as separate bodies allied to the ANC, a decision vigorously opposed by the ANC Youth League.

Even more important — and as unmentionable — is the need for a substantial number of Zulu leaders to pounce on Inkatha accusations that the ANC is a "Xhosa organisation".

Labour defections to the NP, NEC member Simon Makana says: "We are not alone in the field. The NP has now opened its membership to all races for the first time in our history and there are reports of some coloureds joining the NP. We want to say to them: 'why are you joining the NP?' But we must ask ourselves: 'Are we doing our homework?'"

Makana says the struggle has entered a new phase, the era of "diplomatic, political struggle". The ANC, he says, must redefine its role in this new phase.

NEC member Aziz Pahad is even more direct about the task of the new leadership: "It is going to be important for us to begin preparing for elections, whether they come in two years or three. The other side is already doing that. They are building up their electoral machines, bringing in other forces.

"If we do not emerge from this conference with a clear perspective on how to fight this battle, we would have serious problems," Pahad says.



□ GWALA



□ MAFUMADI



□ LEKOTA



□ MOLEFE



□ ZUMA

ANC break-ins still a mystery

Star
8/6/91
PAT DEVEREAUX

11A
~~11A~~

POLICE said this week that the recent break-ins at the ANC offices in Frederick Street could be politically motivated, but they could also be just ordinary burglaries.

Captain Eugene Opperman said the police had made no arrests in connection with the three attempted burglaries but were continuing their investigations.

He said that burglaries were common in central Johannesburg.

During one attempted burglary of the ANC offices on May 10 intruder Carle Nicolaas Roodt (21) was shot dead by a security guard. A video machine was found near his body.

On May 30 the ANC announced that there had been a third attempted burglary of its offices. ANC representative Gill Marcus said security personnel had detected two whites dressed in military or police camouflage uniform.



■ ■ ■ ■ ■

ANC dissidents ^{STimes 9/6/91 (118)} 'in secret society'

Sunday Times Reporter

A GROUP of ANC dissidents has set up a secret society within the organisation to rid it of the old guard members, claims Africa Confidential, an authoritative London-based publication.

The group calls itself *abaphantsi* (ancestors) and has an oath-taking ritual for recruits similar to that used by the Mau Mau in Kenya.

The publication, which is alleged to have close links to British intelligence, claims the group was set up in Soweto in mid-May.

The group's main targets are ANC treasurer Thomas Nkobi, secretary general Alfred Nzo, the head of the military wing, Joe Modise, and Josiah Jele, who is organising the ANC's crucial leadership election in July.

They are held responsible for "aberrations" of the movement in exile.

Africa Confidential claims the development of the group also stems from a growing unhappiness with the leadership and from fears that the election in July will be rigged in favour of the old guard.

KNIVES OUT IN

14 JUN 1991

ANC

UNIVERSITY SALDR

CP Reporters

(11A) CP Press 9/6/91

THE knives are out in the ANC as the organisation prepares for its first congress inside the country in three decades.

The first signs that this could be a bitter, no holds-barred congress came three weeks ago following a mysterious leak of allegations that the Youth League's president Peter Mokaba was a police informer.

And now, with congress only three weeks away and the jockeying for positions hotting up, come even more damaging rumours of marital problems between Nelson and Winnie Mandela.

Rumours surface of Mandela marriage problems

The allegation, which the organisation is trying desperately to keep under wraps, is expected to sharpen differences between two factions in the ANC vying for plum jobs at the July 1 congress.

It is believed the latest rumour has been spread by the same sources which leaked information about Mokaba.

Mokaba denied the charge. The ANC was slow in responding to the allegation and when it did, gave a terse statement claiming that Mokaba was a member in good standing.

Failure to make a clear, categorical statement has lent credence to widespread suspicion that the movement was embarrassed by the disclosures.

Now rumours have surfaced that members of the ANC's intelligence section have spied on Winnie Mandela.

Dali Mpfu, a lawyer implicated in the rumours about Winnie Mandela, yesterday denied these "leaks".

He said he was certain false rumours were being spread by people seeking positions at the forthcoming ANC conference in Durban next month.

He said he was close to Winnie Mandela whom he met while articulated to attorney Kathy Satchwell and had been involved in the defence of Jerry Richardson during his trial for the murder of Stompie Seipei.

Confided

Later he assisted Winnie in the welfare department until he qualified as an attorney last April when he joined the department on a professional basis.

During the Winnie Mandela trial he also assisted her and spent a lot of time in court.

He said Winnie had confided in him. Because of this rumours had arisen.

"I first treated them as a joke, but within the last couple of weeks the stories have taken a different, vicious turn - the story is obviously being put out for political reasons," he said.

Mpfu said he had discussed the rumours with Winnie a few days ago. He had not personally discussed the matter with Nelson Mandela but he understood Winnie had spoken to him and that Mandela was aware of the true position and the political reasons for the rumours.

There is a strong belief among rank and file members of the ANC that both Winnie and Mpfu were set up by members of the intelligence department as part of the on-going war between two factions in the organisation vying for positions at the July congress.

The aim, it is claimed, is to destroy Winnie and by extension a powerful lobby which is expected to put up a counter candidate against Jacob Zuma for the position of ANC deputy president at the July congress.

The pro-Zuma faction is suspected of having leaked the information to the Press that Mokaba had agreed to work for the security police while in detention in 1977.

The Youth League president is known to be a close Winnie supporter and the leaks about the two so soon before the important congress raise serious questions of intrigue and back-stabbing.



One of the last families of squatters is bade farewell from Goedgevonden by Agriculture Department official Johan van Rensburg. All outsiders were barred from entering the farm for a prayer meeting on Friday.

HOMELESS ... Johan van Rensburg, Department official, speaks to one of the delegates at African Council of Churches. ■ Pici AN

Tension at Goedgevonden

By DAN DHLAMINI

TENSION continues to rise at Goedgevonden farm where rightwing farmers were involved in a bloody clash with police three weeks ago following an unsuccessful attempt to evict squatters. CP Press 9/6/91

On Friday, squatter spokesman Levy Segopolo vowed to resist all attempts at eviction. An emotion-charged prayer meeting on the farm heard community leaders reiterate the squatters' claim to the land they occupied legally for 30 years before apartheid laws forced them to move to Bophuthatswana.

On the same day, farmers met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Earlier, the farmers had threatened to take the law into their own hands if

the government failed to squatters from the farm.

This week, Department officials and police officers were involved in a bloody clash with police three weeks ago following an unsuccessful attempt to evict squatters.

The prayer meeting, the South African Council of Churches, was called to support for the families against the judgment removal.

At the meeting, they adamant they would their appeal failed.

ANC Western Transvaal spokesman Zacharia M. organisation was present the land and if Presic was serious about it should start at Goed

Prisoners end fast

HUNGER strikers at the Johannesburg Hospital suspended their 36-day fast yesterday.

The 10 prisoners ended their hunger strike upon the request of the ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who said the struggle for their release continued. - CP Reporter ■ See Page 16

New Lesotho coup foiled

SEVERAL army officers were arrested in Lesotho on Friday after attempting to reverse an April coup which ousted the kingdom's military ruler Justin Lekhanya, diplomatic sources said yesterday. CP Press 9/6/91

The sources said that on Thursday several senior pro-Lekhanya officers, in an apparent counter-coup, had detained four junior officers who were behind the April 30 coup.

The anti-Lekhanya faction, known as the Support Team, regrouped and in

turn arrested their army opponents on Friday night.

Maj-Gen Lekhanya, who had seized power in 1986, was ousted by fellow officers after a row over army pay.

He was replaced by Colonel Elias Ramaema and is now reported to be living in seclusion in Lesotho.

Although there has been no official statement from the Lesotho government, sources indicated there had been no change in the leadership of the ruling military council. - Sapa

De in

STATE Clerk yesterday by K. Daniel. He is several ministers. The is to in agreement. technol.

and (b) when were they brought to his attention;

- (2) whether any steps have been and/or will be taken in regard to these conditions; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

B947E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes. The Magistrate, Cape Town, received complaints from his personnel.
- (a) The conditions complained of were the occurrence of fleas and rats. Cockroaches also frequently occur.
- (b) The Magistrate was aware of the situation and dealt with the matter locally. The matter came to my attention on 19 February 1991 as a result of a report in the newspaper "Die Burger".
- (2) Yes.
- (a) The Magistrate, Cape Town, made arrangements during the summer of 1990 with the Regional Representative: Public Works and Land Affairs, Cape Town, to bring the plague under control. The latter Department contracted a private pest control firm to eliminate the rodents and insects.
- (b) Since October 1990 the pest control is done quarterly.

VAT returns: investigation

362. Mr A P OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of Finance:†

Whether he or his Department has conducted an investigation into the estimated return that Value-Added Tax (VAT) will produce over a period of 12 months; if not, why not; if so, what will the return be at the different percentages that were used for the purpose of the calculations?

B967E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Yes. The national accounts of the South African Reserve Bank were used as the basis of all calculations regarding value-added tax. On the basis of the Bill (ie prior to the exemption in respect of municipal rates) it was estimated that the revenue yield (at a 12%

rate) for the full 1991/92 financial year would amount to R18 240 million. That implies that for every 1% just over R1 500 million would be collected by way of VAT.

Building sold/donated to ANC

366. Mr C UYS asked the Minister of Finance:†

- (1) Whether he has been notified that a certain company, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, recently sold or donated a building to the ANC; if so, (a) what was this building so sold or donated, (b) where is it situated and (c) what is the name of the company concerned;
- (2) whether he will investigate or has investigated the matter in order to ascertain whether there are any tax disadvantages or fiscal implications for the taxpayers of South Africa involved in this sale or donation; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B976E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

- (1) and (2) Yes. By way of reports in the media.

The duties of the Commissioner for Inland Revenue are not limited to the collection of taxes; he must also ensure that there is compliance with the tax laws. He will accordingly consider any tax implications arising from the transaction. In the light of the secrecy provisions contained in section 4 of the Income Tax Act, details of his actions and findings may, however, not be furnished to any person other than the taxpayer or his lawful representative.

In view hereof no further information or comment can be furnished in reply to the hon member's question.

Certain magisterial districts: GST collected

371. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:†

Where were the amounts of general sales tax collected in the magisterial districts of (a) Bloemfontein, (b) Welkom, (c) Odendaalsrus, (d) Virginia, (e) Sasolburg, (f) Kroonstad, (g) Bethlehem, (h) Harrismith and (i) Botha-

ville in the 1989-90 and 1990-91 tax years, respectively? B1001E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

The relevant information is only available in respect of financial years and not in tax years.

	1989/90 financial year	1990/91 financial year
	R	R
(a) Bloemfontein	207 992 308	227 033 751
(b) Welkom	248 634 877	249 257 737
(c) Odendaalsrus	2 372 640	2 466 658
(d) Virginia	3 943 369	3 964 049
(e) Sasolburg	7 942 388	8 950 339
(f) Kroonstad	35 460 057	35 890 913
(g) Bethlehem	22 876 404	19 462 093
(h) Harrismith	8 666 689	8 588 766
(i) Bothaville	3 741 450	4 021 488

Certain magisterial districts: taxpayers/
tax collected

372. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:

Taxable income group	(i) Bloemfontein			
	1988-89		1989-90	
	Number	Tax R	Number	Tax R
12 001 - 20 000	4 086	5 630 667	1 663	1 972 732(a)
20 001 - 30 000	5 466	20 580 114	3 647	12 359 520
30 001 - 40 000	4 858	33 679 538	4 677	33 002 790
40 001 - 50 000	2 609	28 229 967	3 242	34 629 754
50 001 - 60 000	1 506	22 393 456	1 556	22 995 704
60 001 - 80 000	1 148	23 359 547	1 351	27 675 780
80 001 - 100 000	429	12 325 216	394	11 505 859
100 001 +	679	43 139 695	451	26 625 430

Taxable income group	(ii) Welkom			
	1988-89		1989-90	
	Number	Tax R	Number	Tax R
12 001 - 20 000	2 062	2 519 821	611	755 805(a)
20 001 - 30 000	2 515	10 034 669	1 297	4 485 197
30 001 - 40 000	3 141	22 256 469	2 645	19 100 517
40 001 - 50 000	2 260	24 760 593	2 525	27 418 759
50 001 - 60 000	1 376	20 463 459	1 900	28 312 226
60 001 - 80 000	1 071	22 170 454	1 653	33 770 216
80 001 - 100 000	333	9 728 207	488	14 425 812
100 001 +	363	23 145 713	422	24 694 263

Who will lead the ANC? ^{CT 10/6/91} (11A)



From ALAN FINE

JOHANNESBURG. — With the first ANC congress of the post-banning era now less than a month away, the line-up of candidates for the top posts is becoming clearer, and reflects the organisation's political priorities and internal struggles.

"Nelson Mandela (as president) is probably safe. The rest of us will have to fight for our positions," an NEC member observes. It is expected that Mr Oliver Tambo, too ill to continue with the presidency, will be elected as an ordinary NEC member.

Consensus on the size of the new national executive committee was reached only two days ago, with notable concessions being made to regional (read internal as opposed to formerly-ex-

iled) leadership — particularly to cut the size of the NEC from 126 to 100. This reflects the growing power of that internal leadership, a power that will be reflected in the post-congress leadership.

The deputy presidency was originally expected to be a "hawks and doves" contest between Mr Chris Hani and Mr Thabo Mbeki. This is now unlikely — both men, and others in the organisation, appear to want to avoid potentially damaging divisions.

Mr Mbeki, on the other hand, was likely to lose the contest anyway. Not unlike his NP counterpart Mr Pik Botha, Mr Mbeki is more popular among those outside the party than those within. Like Mr Botha during the apartheid era, Mr Mbeki has won respect from outsiders for his moderate positions. But he has also failed to gain a follow-

ing among those who vote in leadership elections.

The deputy presidency looks like becoming a testing ground for ANC policy on violence and relationships with Inkatha. Appropriately, two Natal-based leaders — Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Jacob Zuma — are already in the running and they represent two poles of ANC thinking.

Mr Gwala is regarded as a militaristic hard-liner, with serious misgivings about the ANC's peace talks with Inkatha.

Mr Zuma, on the other hand, more than anyone else in the ANC, made possible the January meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He was also the key ANC figure in preparations for talks with the government. While regarded as soft by ANC militants, Mr Zuma has kept in touch with the grassroots membership.

NEW POST ...
Jacob Zuma

Knives out as ANC congress nears

Sowetan 10/6/91

11A

THE knives are out in the African National Congress as the organisation prepares for its first congress in the country in three decades, City Press reported yesterday.

The signs that this could be a bitter, no holds-barred congress came three weeks ago following a mysterious leak of allegations that the Youth League's president Peter Mokaba was a police informer.

And now with congress only three weeks away and the jockeying for positions hotting up, come even more damaging rumours of marital problems between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

Rumour

The allegation, which the organisation is trying desperately to keep under wraps, is expected to sharpen differences between two factions in the ANC vying for plum jobs at the July 1 congress.

It is believed the latest rumour has been spread by the same sources which leaked information about Mokaba.

Mokaba denied the charge. The ANC was slow in responding to the allegation and when it did, gave a terse statement claiming that Mokaba was a member in good standing.



WINNIE MANDELA

Failure to make a clear, categorical statement has lent credence to widespread suspicion that the movement was embarrassed by the disclosures.

Now rumours have surfaced that members of the ANC's intelligence section have spied on Winnie Mandela.

Mr Dali Mpfu, a lawyer implicated in the rumours about Winnie Mandela, on Saturday denied these "leaks".

He said he was certain false rumours were being spread by people seeking positions at the forthcoming ANC conference in Durban next month.

Mpfu said he was close to Winnie whom he met while articulated to attorney Ms Kathy Satchwell and had been involved in the defence of Jerry Richardson during his trial for the murder of Stompie Seipei.

Court

Later, he helped Winnie in the ANC's welfare department until he qualified as an attorney last April when he joined the department on a professional basis.

During Winnie's trial he also helped her and spent a lot of time in court.

He said Winnie had confided in him and because of this rumours had arisen.

"I first treated them as a joke, but within the last couple of weeks the stories have taken a different, vicious turn. The story is obviously being put out for political reasons," Mpfu said.

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ago. He had not personally discussed the matter with Nelson Mandela but he understood Winnie had spoken to him and that Mandela was aware of the "true" position and the political reasons for the rumours.

War

There is strong belief among rank and file members of the ANC that both Winnie and Mpfu were set up by members of the intelligence department as part of the on-going war between two factions in the organisation vying for positions at the July congress.

The aim, it is claimed, is to destroy Winnie and by extension a powerful lobby which is expected to put up a counter candidate against Mr Jacob Zuma for the position of ANC deputy president at the congress.

The pro-Zuma faction is suspected of having leaked the information to the Press that Mokaba had agreed to work for the Security Police while in detention in 1977.

The Youth League president is known to be a close Winnie supporter and leaks about the two soon before the important congress raise serious questions of intrigue and back-stabbing, the newspaper said. - Sapa.

ANC denies Mandela rift

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied reports in yesterday's City Press that there are marital problems between Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus described the report as yet another attempt to interfere in the private lives of the Mandelas.

"There is no substance to these rumours," she added.

Ms Marcus said reports that ANC intelligence agents had spied on Mrs Mandela were false and had probably been spread by people jockeying for positions at the national conference. — Sapa



PARIS IN THE SPRING . . . ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela meets President Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace in Paris on Saturday.

Mandela to meet Delors

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to meet European Commission president Mr Jacques Delors in Brussels today to discuss sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Mandela is concerned that the next EC summit, which takes place in Luxembourg towards the end of the month, will further relax sanctions.

ANC fights a losing battle ^(11A)

PARIS — ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela appears to be fighting a losing battle in persuading Europe to retain sanctions against South Africa. *Star 10/6/91*

He made no progress during his three-day meetings, and left yesterday for talks with EC chairman Jacques Delors in Brussels today.

His meetings with French Prime Minister Edith Cresson, Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and President Mitterrand were described officially as "friendly". But France remains in line with the EC decision in December to relax certain sanctions.

Mr. Mandela told journalists: "The EC was wrong to take its decision over sanctions without prior consultation with the ANC, or advising us in advance."

The media did not give generous coverage to the visit, and only one newspaper, *Journal du Dimanche*, published a picture of him.

— Star Foreign Service.

The NP's perception of the ANC has changed dramatically, writes Hermann Gilhooe

Battle revolutionaries can't win

Star 10/16/91

ONE of the most dramatic changes of the past 15 months is the turnaround in the Government's perception of the ANC. Talking to members of the inner Cabinet just after the legalisation of the resistance movements, one had a sense of warmth and trepidation about the Government's ability to contain the ANC in normal politics.

Over the past three months the mood has changed to one of disillusionment and disdain. The inner Cabinet now sees the ANC as an incoherent assembly of forces without a solid core. The fear now is that the ANC may in fact be too weak to serve as a main pillar for a reconstructed South Africa.

In the striking words of the Economist, the De Klerk administration has embarked on the most difficult task any government can undertake: managing a revolution against itself. What has made the task so daunting is the Government's and the ANC's starkly different interpretations of the dramatic shift signalled by the legalisation of the resistance movements.

The Government feels that it was never close to defeat. What the February 2 speech did signal was its need for a strong partner in governing the country. For this the De Klerk administration was prepared to bury the myth of South Africa as a white homeland, the offensive rhetoric of "white

self-determination" and the luxury of an own community life for whites.

Instead of defending white power, the NP is now engaged in seeking a constitution which would give sufficient leverage to prevent the three great fears of whites about a post-apartheid order from being realised. According to a survey reported in an important new study, "Transition to Democracy" (edited by Robin Lee and Lawrence Schlemmer, Oxford University Press) these fears are: order and safety in society would be threatened, white incomes and standards of living would decline, and standards of public administration would fall.

The NP leadership realises that whites and other minorities would never support a new constitution if representatives of minorities were not securely ensconced in a future government.

The ANC generally has interpreted the events leading up to the February 2 speech quite differently. In its view, the success of its struggle through co-ordinated mass mobilisation, foreign pressure and guerrilla warfare gave the Government no option but to legalise the ANC. It sees the Government as in retreat and negotiations as the final site of the struggle for the transfer of power to the masses. Power-sharing is a term that it is still fundamentally unable to come to terms with.

The widespread violence of the past 15 months is generally put forward as the reason why the ANC has been unable to get its act together. This is part of the truth, but what has often been overlooked are the major strategic blunders that the ANC has made. Top Government members told me that the ANC a year ago offered the Government a deal as long as it was restricted to two parties (the ANC and the NP), but that it turned down the offer. My own feeling is that the Government would have seriously considered this had the ANC been fully committed to a peaceful reconstruction of South Africa in a power-sharing regime.

However, as Mark Swilling and Johannes Rantete, two analysts sympathetic to the ANC, make clear in "Transition to Democracy", the movement is still fairly evenly divided between a negotiating and revolutionary perspective. They observe: "The key strategic choice between revolution and negotiation still needs to be made."

Looking ahead, Swilling and Rantete predict that the chances of the ANC choosing revolution will increase "if it is forced into accepting compromises that are far too great for its constituency to stomach". Compromises are exactly what the Government wants the ANC to sell. What the Government is fiercely determined to re-

sist is allowing a revolutionary Trojan Horse into the inner corridors of state power.

Had an ANC-NP pact been concluded in, say, May last year, we might have been spared much of the violence that is engulfing the country. However, it is equally possible that it would escalate to horrific levels if the NP and ANC, as parts of a coalition government, decided to fight it out to the bitter end.

The current violence is clearly part of the competition for power in the future all-party government which South Africa, despite the present fire and brimstone, will ultimately get. Sensing that the NP and Inkatha are undoubtedly benefiting from it, some analysts argue that these movements are behind the violence. This is the classic fistshake partisan scholars make of turning effects to causes. There is in fact no evidence that Inkatha has the capacity or that the Government has the will to orchestrate widespread violence to weaken the ANC.

If the ANC is in trouble it is because it has done much to arouse Zulu ethnicity by its ill-conceived campaign against the KwaZulu government. Had the ANC been better Leninists, they would have accepted Lenin's main revolutionary injunction which is to promise all national groups in a divided society the right to self-determina-

tion.

Another main cause of the ANC's vulnerability is one that is common to all expatriate organisations. In Lord Macaulay's caustic words: "Exiles miss their country, hence they mistakenly imagine that their country misses them." Hence the ANC's decision to base the leadership of the legalised movement on the prison-and-exile elite. This strategy would only have worked had the State been defeated. With the State still intact, it would have been much more advisable for the ANC to base itself for a large part on the leadership of the internal resistance movement which presented the most formidable challenge to the State in the struggle of the last decade.

For the Government, the question is now what to do in the absence of a well organised and purposeful ANC. A section in Government believes that the best way to go about it is to proceed without the ANC. The Government's claim is now much more credible than a year ago that it can win an election if the ANC remains unable to get its act together.

There is also another school of thought which believes that to have an all-party Cabinet without a strong ANC contingent would be to construct yet another DTA type of regime without the necessary power and legitimacy to address

the fundamental problems of society. This is clearly a much sounder assessment of the situation. Without the charismatic appeal and potential energy of the ANC there will be little hope of confronting the problems in the schools and township administration and of embarking on the massive provision of low-cost housing.

The main challenge to the Government, then, is that of deploying large amounts of political patience and forbearance. Instead of treating the ANC with disdain it should remember that nothing resembles the ANC so much as the National Party in the final years of the Vorster administration, when it was unable to make up its mind about what to do with the blacks.

As the ANC understands that a transfer of power is not on the agenda, and as it realises that mass mobilisation campaigns fail to win itself new members, the revolutionary elements in the movement will become weakened and isolated.

If security for the people becomes the concern of all parties, as it inevitably will have to become, there is no reason why a form of equitable power-sharing by pragmatists will not ultimately prevail.

Hermann Gilhooe teaches politics at the University of Cape Town. □

Mandela marital problems claim

● From Page 1 (114)

ment on a professional basis. Star 10/6/91

During Mrs Mandela's trial he also assisted her and spent a lot of time in court with her.

He said Mrs Mandela had confided in him and because of this rumours had arisen.

"I first treated them as a joke, but within the last couple of weeks the stories have taken a different, vicious turn. The story is obviously being put out for political reasons," Mr Mpfu said.

He said he had discussed the rumours with Mrs Mandela a few days ago.

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discussed the matter with Nelson Mandela, but he understood Mrs Mandela had spoken to him and that Mr Mandela was aware of the "true" position and the political reasons for the rumours.

City Press reported that there was a strong belief among rank and file members of the ANC that both Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpfu were set up by members of the intelligence department as part of the ongoing war between two factions in the organisation vying for positions at the July congress.

The aim, it is claimed, was to destroy Mrs Man-

dela and, by extension, a powerful lobby which was expected to put up a counter candidate against Jacob Zuma for the position of ANC deputy president.

The pro-Zuma faction, City Press said, was suspected of having leaked the information to the press that Mr Mokaba had agreed to work for the security police while in detention in 1977.

The Youth League president is known to be a close supporter of Mrs Mandela and leaks about the two soon before the congress raised serious questions of intrigue and back-stabbing, the newspaper said.

Mandela marital rift claim

City Press yesterday claimed that damaging rumours of marital problems between Nelson and Winnie Mandela were being circulated.

In its front page main story, City Press linked these claims to reports that the knives were out in the ANC as the organisation prepares for its first congress in the country in three decades.

It reported that the rumours about the Mandelas were being spread by the same sources which leaked information alleging ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba was a police informer.

The claims were strongly denied last night by the ANC, which dismissed them as unsubstantiated and an intrusion into the Mandelas' private lives.

Commenting on claims that the Mandela marriage was on the rocks, ANC liaison officer Gill Marcus said: "There is no substance to the rumours and it (the City Press article) is an intrusion into the private life of them

Rumours of trouble . . . the ANC has denied claims of problems between Winnie and Nelson Mandela. Star 10/6/91

as a family."

She described claims that the rumours had been spread by a faction inside the ANC as "pure press speculation without foundation".

Dali Mpfu, a lawyer implicated in the rumours about Mrs Mandela, at the weekend denied the "leaks".

He said certain false rumours were being spread by people seeking positions at the forthcoming ANC conference in Durban next month.

Mr Mpfu said he was close to Mrs Mandela, whom he met while articled to attorney Kathy Satchwell and had been involved in the defence of Jerry Richardson during his trial for the murder of Sampie Seipei.

Later, he assisted Mrs Mandela in the Welfare Department until he qualified as an attorney last April when he joined the depart-

● To Page 2

Slovo weathers storm from 'fat-cat' audience

By Brendan Templeton

Star
10/6/91

Communist Party leader Joe Slovo found himself in the hot seat on the SABC-TV's "Agenda" programme last night.

He and Sunday Times editor Ken Owen argued over the pros and cons of capitalism and communism before opening the debate to a studio audience.

What followed provided more entertainment than it did answers to South Africa's problems as chairman John Bishop battled to control interjections and

impassioned questions.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging publicity officer Piet "Skiet" Rudolph swore that the SACP would not take over a Christian South Africa without a fight, liberal politicians and businessmen prophesied economic catastrophe, while church leaders denounced Mr Slovo and his party as heretical.

Mr Slovo rode the storm with a sometimes-strained smile and told what he called a "fat-cat audience" that the SACP was committed to a representative democracy.

He admitted that communism had failed to produce wealth elsewhere, but blamed the failure on the absence of democracy at every level of society in socialist countries.

Mr Owen at one point advised the audience to "pack its bags and run" should Mr Slovo ever take over South Africa.

Following accusations that communism was anti-religious, Jeremy Cronin of the SACP stood up in the audience and said capitalism produced a "dog-eat-dog" mentality which

11A
was anti-Christian. Communism's central philosophy of sharing was more in line with Christian's teachings he said.

Mr Owen argued that capitalism was the only means to generate sufficient wealth which would come about through improved education and increased productivity.

But Mr Slovo felt that the "trickle-down effect" of profits would be just that — a trickle. Representative structures at all levels of society had to be responsible for the management of the country's wealth, he said.

Sisulu briefs Evans on war and peace

8/0am 10/6/91
VIOLENCE and ways of dealing with it were the main topics of discussion between Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and ANC leader Walter Sisulu in Soweto yesterday.

Evans told reporters after the meeting that they had also discussed the issue with government in Cape Town during the past several days.

Sisulu said he was confident about movement towards solving the violence. There was "great potential" for peace, he said.

However, he added that government had to move further on the question of violence. He said the ANC had already taken steps to address the violence.

Sisulu said the two had not discussed the question of sanctions, but the "real discussion" between Evans and the ANC would take place today.

On Saturday Evans met Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Cape Town and assured him that the Australian government had not abandoned SA's blacks in their struggle for political rights.

Evans paid a 40-minute visit to Bishopscourt, Tutu's residence, where the two men had "frank and

very, very friendly discussions", Tutu said.

Tutu said he had expressed the deep appreciation which blacks felt for Australia's role in supporting "the black struggle" and had indicated to Evans his distress at Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke's reported enthusiasm for President F W de Klerk's reform announcements in January.

"But he has reassured me and we needed it because I thought we were being abandoned," Tutu said.

Evans followed his meeting with Tutu by calling on Alan Boesak, director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice.

Dr Boesak said he had asked for Australia's continued support and for understanding of the need for a constituent assembly before the constitutional phase and the first post-apartheid parliamentary elections.

Evans later attended a lunch at Stellenbosch where his guests included University of the Western Cape rector Prof Jakes Gerwel, Peninsula Technikon principal Franklin Sonn, and their wives. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 4

PAC will meet government only after unity talks

JONATHAN REEF *11A*

THE PAC would engage government in talks once liberation organisations had established a common position at the patriotic front conference scheduled for August, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said at the weekend.

The PAC was not opposed in principle to negotiations with government, but would only engage in talks as part of a united bloc.

He said the PAC had written to government in December to say the organisation would only discuss details of a constituent assembly, including its composition, details of election dates, voting age and international involvement.

Reports recently said senior government negotiators hoped the PAC might yet be persuaded to join the negotiating table.

Alexander said this was based on a false premise because there were no negotiations. Solutions to SA problems would only come from a democratically elected constituent assembly. *8/0am 10/6/91*

The ANC, he said, had instructions from its members that constitutional negotiations should only take place within that assembly.

The PAC had no policy or tactic preventing it from seeking a democratic solution for SA, but this would depend on decisions taken at the patriotic front conference.

The PAC and ANC executives had decided at the Harare Conference they would not engage government on a bilateral basis.

"Any talks on negotiations or the way forward must follow the conference on the formation of a united front. We don't see ourselves sitting down and deciding for the whole country," Alexander said.

Nine more hunger strikers start eating

8/10am 10/6/91
NINE hunger strikers have ended their fast at the Johannesburg Hospital after more than 35 days. A correctional Services spokesman said this left five people still on hunger strike.

Yesterday six National Union of Metalworkers members who are awaiting trial for murder ended their 36-day hunger strike, superintendent Dr Trevor Frankish said.

On Saturday three men convicted in 1989 at Delmas began eating at the Johannesburg Hospital. Correctional

Services said three others ended their fast at the weekend.

A police spokesman said that in Baragwanath Hospital, Thabiso Thekane and Molefe Metsing entered the 40th day of their strike yesterday — the longest hunger strike yet in SA.

Human Rights Commission spokesman Safoora Sadek could not confirm how many prisoners had suspended their fast during the weekend.

TANIA LEVY

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Polarization in politics

1. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the State President:

Whether he views with concern the increasing political polarization between non-Parliamentary bodies and those involved in establishment politics; if so, how does the Government propose to reduce such polarization and pave the way for renewed and fruitful negotiations?

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The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the reply is yes. The situation is viewed with concern. At the same time I have to point out that the hon member's question obviously does not reflect or analyse the problem adequately.

Firstly, there are a number of non-parliamentary bodies striving for constructive co-operation. Not all of them are involved in so-called establishment politics.

Secondly, the polarisation to which the hon member refers is not taking place only between non-parliamentary bodies and those involved in establishment politics; there is also serious conflict within the parliamentary system itself. It should be patently obvious to anybody that the actions, behaviour and excesses of the CP, both inside and outside Parliament, constitute a consistent and concerted campaign to engender hostility and polarisation, irrespective of the risk of violence which may result. [Interjections.]

Thirdly, the polarisation to which he refers is not always as serious as it would seem on the surface. In the present situation I believe one should distinguish between propaganda, posturing and political positioning on the one hand and fundamental polarisation on the other.

Hon members may not be aware of it, but the interaction between the Government and the ANC has continued fairly normally, even after the ANC issued its much publicised ultimatum. The reality of the matter is that the Government and the ANC are continuing to communicate with one another by means of various channels about the same issues they were dealing with before the ultimatum. The ANC remains involved. It is involved in working groups in which it and the Government have been addressing certain specific issues.

Secondly, the problem is not a question of renewed negotiations either. As the hon member well knows, multiparty negotiations in any real sense have not yet begun. Nor is it a question of renewing the preliminary and exploratory discussions in which the Government has been engaged with a wide variety of parties, including the ANC. These discussions, as I have indicated, have not at any stage really been terminated.

In particular, gratifying progress has been made in discussions with extra-parliamentary political leaders who operate positively within present governmental structures. What is really at issue is the speedy conclusion of the present phase of talks designed to remove obstacles which are still in the way of negotiations proper.

From the Government's point of view there is, for example, the need for the ANC to move from a mere suspension of the armed struggle to a final termination of that struggle. What is required is that the ANC should cease posturing as a semi-military movement and rather concentrate its endeavours on activities befitting a political party.

The Government will continue to do all it can to remove obstacles in the way of negotiations as expeditiously as possible.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, let me say at once to the hon the State President that I believe that the CP are a sideshow. I believe he realises it as well. They are a nuisance, and not a veto in the South African context. [Interjections.]

I take note of the reassurance which the hon the State President is giving us, but I want to say to him that the danger is that what he perceives as posturing and positioning could indeed become fundamental differences in that process. He

speaks of the things that the ANC has to do, and we share that with him. We have no difficulty with that.

However, let us talk about the things which need to be done here. The hon the State President has hung his hat on power-sharing. He has done that from the outset, but the contradiction inherent in this is that one cannot confront and compete with those with whom one intends to share power, or at least one cannot confront and compete on an indefinite basis through a period of transition.

The central problem is a simple one: The system of apartheid and the struggle against it have fought each other to a standstill. The central truth is that power is largely in this place, and legitimacy largely outside of it.

Skills are largely represented here and numbers there, haves here and have-nots there. The challenge is how to get a synergy of power and legitimacy, a synthesis of system and struggle together, because if we do not do that, we resolve nothing in South Africa. Otherwise we simply modernise domination.

Instead, we have polarisation. I hope it is not as serious as the hon the State President suggests. I am reassured. But we have the development of a patriotic front which is largely Black and largely struggle, and we have talk and evidence of a Christian democratic alliance of some sort which is largely non-Black and largely system. [Interjections.] Increasingly they charge at each other in what I perceive to be an insane chicken run. A competitive transition will ruin South Africa.

We in the DP call for a further act of statesmanship by the hon the State President. We say: Put aside competition for co-operation. A confident, organised ANC is less dangerous than a demoralised, disorganised ANC. [Interjections.] System and struggle are the Yin and Yang of South African politics, and our only hope lies in their fusion. We say the hon the State President must take up the burden and all reasonable South Africans must support him in bringing about that fusion. In the end we must do it together in South Africa, or die apart.

*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Speaker, we will still react to the arrogance of the DP; it smells to high heaven. We shall leave it at that for the time being.

The extra-parliamentary left-wing groups are becoming increasingly important, thanks to the actions on the part of Government institutions such as the SABC which, in the debate between Joe Slovo and Ken Owen, once again recently gave them an opportunity which is, of course, not allotted to ordinary people. [Interjections.] Even the hon the State President himself already regards Parliament as being of secondary importance, as is clear from the fact that he is more preoccupied with obtaining support abroad than with obtaining it in South Africa. [Interjections.] It is a harsh fact that, as a result of Government action, the security forces are becoming increasingly involved in the internal political struggle in South Africa.

I want to put just one question to the hon the State President this afternoon. What would he do if we right-wing people were to do what he has done, namely to shift the emphasis from parliamentary politics to extra-parliamentary politics? [Interjections.]

The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, let me first say to the hon member for Wynberg that I do not for one moment deny the risks of polarisation.

His contribution, however, was very revealing of his thinking. He thinks in terms of race. He said that the system was largely White and the non-system largely Black, as if those who are not in Parliament are one block of people. There are deep political divisions, however. There is no such thing as Black unity in politics. There are parties with substantial support who are absolutely against communism, and there are parties embracing communism as allies.

There are deep ideological divisions across the colour line throughout our country, and that is the real polarisation. It is, for instance, on that issue that the DP faces very, very particular problems, because some of them are sympathetic in one direction, and others feel very strongly about not pushing in the same scrum with the SACP as an ally. [Interjections.] That is the basis of political division, and that is natural in a democracy.

We cannot get everybody into one kraal, because we do not believe in the same things. What we should do is to have political polarisation on a democratic basis. Politics must be practised

within the framework of democratic principles and not by way of . . .

Mr C W EGLIN: You are not addressing the issue!

The STATE PRESIDENT: No, I am absolutely addressing the issue, because the hon member for Wynberg has said that on the one side there was the system and on the other side the Blacks. [Interjections.] Hon members can read his Hansard. He said that. [Time expired.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, the hon the State President has clearly, deliberately or otherwise, misunderstood what my hon colleague for Wynberg has been saying. The point is quite clear. Either this Government is committed to a broad central alliance that encompasses people of all races with common political views or it believes in people on the one side—those in the struggle—versus those who are at present "inside" on the other.

It is very important that we focus, not on an election in 1994 or whenever or even on a constituent Assembly, but on bringing people together. We have to emphasise the co-operative nature.

The point about the SA Communist Party that the hon the State President makes is as much a sideshow as the CP is. That is not the main issue. The main issue is to bring people together. It is not a matter of the NP continuing to use the good guy-bad guy policy. One day the hon the State President makes very nice pleasing statements, the next the hon the Minister of Defence makes attacking statements. This cannot continue.

What has to be emphasised, is that we have to move towards a non-polarised position in which everybody of this broad sector in the ANC, right through the middle and into the NP are coming together. The hon the State President has the possibility, as a statesman, to bring the people of South Africa together, not the parties.

Mr R V CARLISLE: Mr Speaker, let me say at once to the hon the State President, as we said to four of his predecessors, that he should not worry about the DP. We will stay together. [Interjections.] Here is the evidence!

We say further to the hon the State President that we form a bridge, and that bridge is open to him. I am disappointed in him, because I was saying to him that he above all South Africans

has the power, the personality and the credibility to bring it together.

I accept that there are divisions. They are not always racial or ideological, but of all sorts. However, through the transition, through the first fragile years of the new South Africa we must look for co-operation, not competition. There will be competition, but the thrust must be co-operation. In that no one has a greater responsibility than the hon the State President.

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, first of all I should like to react briefly to the hon member for Sasolburg. He contends that I do not consider Parliament to be important. I have never boycotted or walked out of Parliament. [Interjections.] It is precisely because that party realise that their message can be of no help that they are turning their backs on Parliament and resorting to extra-parliamentary action.

The hon members of the DP are mistaken if they are under the impression that I am not trying to involve all South Africans in a process. All those South Africans, however, will not be able to be part of a single political movement.

*Mr R V CARLISLE: We are not asking for that!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: Then I am delighted. In that case we are in agreement and we are making progress. Therefore everyone will have to make choices. More than half the members of the executive of the ANC, according to all available information, are members of the SA Communist Party.

*Mr J CHIOLÉ: Twenty-six out of thirty-six!

*The STATE PRESIDENT: That does not make them a sideshow, particularly not in view of the value which that party attaches to the impact and the influence of the ANC. It plays an important role. Nobody denies that. We are trying to bring them all together in relation to the rules of the game. Once the rules have been drafted, however, we will still have political divisions. This party, of course, suggests that all important players should be present in the executive authority of the new South Africa.

They need not come and preach to us about co-operation. That is our policy. Our policy is one of power-sharing and we intend to give substance to that policy. We intend to cause power-sharing to work in a just way. I want to

point out, however, that it is impossible to unite all people into a single, powerful political movement. The political movement of those seeking balanced solutions will be part of the team in which the NP finds itself. Those who want to usurp all power cannot be part of that team, and we will be political opponents on the road ahead. There is no obligation on us.

I am not trying to disorganise the ANC. Indeed I have helped them get out of many a tight spot in which they have cornered themselves. [Interjections.] The time has come for them to stop their little power games and to get their house in order. We are not placing any impediment in their way. [Interjections.]

We want them to become a decent, well-organised political party. That is our aim.

Debate concluded.

Walvis Bay/Penguin Islands: administration

*2. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether a South African delegation led by him discussed the possibility of a joint administration for Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands with a Namibian delegation on or about 17 May 1991; if so, why;
- (2) whether the Government agrees that the middle of the Orange River should be the border between South Africa and Namibia; if so, why?

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*The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the reply to the first part of the interpellation is yes. The talks form part of the effort of the two governments to find a solution to the conflicting standpoints each government is adopting on the status of Walvis Bay and the coastal islands. Namibia's Constitution provides that Walvis Bay and the twelve coastal islands are part of the territory of Namibia and that the middle of the Orange River forms the southern boundary.

Internationally there are United Nations Resolutions which amount to Walvis Bay and the coastal islands being an integral part of Namibia and that re-integration of Walvis Bay shall be brought about by the two governments after Namibia has attained its independence.

The standpoint of the South African Government is that Walvis Bay and the coastal islands are RSA territory, but acknowledges that Namibia has an essential interest in a safe deep-sea harbour and furthermore that the change in the status of Walvis Bay has serious constitutional implications. Since we are on the eve of constitutional negotiations, the Government would prefer not to take a unilateral decision one way or another.

The first talks in Cape Town on 14 March ended in a stalemate, but it was decided to arrange follow-up talks. After the second meeting, which took place on 17 May in Windhoek, a joint Press release was issued in which it was stated that the possibility of joint administration had been discussed, but that there would first have to be a report back to both governments. This process has not yet been disposed of.

The reply to the second part of the interpellation is yes, because it is in accordance with the general rule of international law which applies in the case of a non-navigable international river.

Furthermore, the shifting of the boundary to the middle of the river, from a practical point of view, does not have any serious constitutional implication. One of the reasons for this is that Namibia, in terms of recognised principles of international water law, qualifies as a drainage basin state. For that reason Namibia has a claim to the right of use of water from the Orange River. Consequently when the river is empty, or not flowing too strongly, the northern bank is almost a theoretical boundary. In any event, the northern bank was never demarcated.

If private sector interests and rights were to be detrimentally affected by this relocation, protection of the interests and rights will receive attention in the agreement which will have to be concluded between the two countries.

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, South Africa's right to Walvis Bay, to the Penguin Islands and other islands, and to the northern bank as the boundary between South Africa and South West Africa and now Namibia, was indisputable and juridically and otherwise unassailable. This has always been the case. I would almost say that nowhere else in the world are there such clear and pure international law rights as these rights of South Africa. Now the hon the Minister and his Government come along and they are pre-

ANC says it is maintaining its underground 11A

Own Correspondent ET 11/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is maintaining its underground structures, according to an ANC document being distributed to branches around the country for discussion at its July conference.

The cartoon-illustrated document — Guidelines to the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC — says the ANC decided to suspend armed actions in the interests of moving towards a peaceful solution.

“But, we have not totally abandoned the armed struggle. The process of change is not yet irreversible,” the document says.

“For instance, we do not yet have a democratic constitution, and the regime’s army and police still remain. Therefore we need to keep our own armed forces — the people’s army, MK (Umkonktho We Sizwe).

“MK has the responsibility to ensure people’s self-defence at all times,” the document says.

Similarly, it suggests that while most functions of the underground may now be carried out legally, peaceful change is not yet irreversible, and the ANC therefore “has a duty to keep those underground structures which are needed now and may be needed in the future”.

11A **Azapo for UN talks**

AZAPO education head Dr Gomolemo Mokae will attend the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation meeting to be held in Paris from June 23 to 27, the organisation announced at the weekend.

Azapo said the organisation would ask Unesco to maintain the academic boycott, except in institutions serving the interests of black students. - Sapa.

Sapa 11/6/91

ANC 'precedent' in Zim legal battle

9/11/88
C/T 11/6/88
HARARE. — A South African judge's ruling in a case involving ANC activist Mr Ebrahim Ishmail Ebrahim has been quoted as a crucial precedent in a legal test case involving former Randburg security guard Dennis "Sammy" Beahan, 42, in the Supreme Court here.

Beahan was convicted of planning to lead the ground forces in the June 1988 abortive bid to free six South African agents from Chikurubi maximum-security prison outside Harare.

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He is alleged by Zimbabwean prosecutors to be a "mercenary and international terrorist".

Mr Michael Gillespie, counsel for the British-born former Special Air Service paratrooper, yesterday said Zimbabwe's High Court possessed no jurisdiction to impose a 25-year jail term, because Beahan had been illegally deported from Botswana following his arrest in 1988.

When Beahan's appeal against conviction and sentence was yesterday heard by

a full bench of five members of the Zimbabwe Supreme Court, Mr Gillespie cited the recent precedent of ANC activist Ebrahim Ishmail Ebrahim, freed in February because a South African judge ruled he had been abducted from Swaziland in 1986.

He and a companion named as Jim Maguire tried to enter Zimbabwe at the north-western Kazungula border post on June 26, but escaped by jumping into the Zambezi River when officials became suspicious. — Sapa

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(11A) (1988)
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FRANCIS Fukuyama is best known as the End-of-History man. He is the former state department policy planner who in 1989 propounded the notion that history, if defined as a struggle between Hegelian teleology and liberal democracy, was to all intents over, the latter having won in a series of knock-outs that included the destruction of the Berlin Wall.

Earlier this year, the SA Foundation took Fukuyama over to SA. It was an inspired move. Unlike most of the other big and not-so-big name tourists the SA private sector indulges every year, Fukuyama has not only sung for his airfare, chauffeur and hotel bills, he has applied himself to understanding SA's dilemmas.

The result is not just another quickly tossed off column for the Washington Times but an important article in the forthcoming issue of the National Interest, a quarterly journal that helps set agendas. It is not often, these days, that SA warrants such attention.

What appears to have intrigued Fukuyama most was the persistence and deep-seatedness of Marxist conviction in the opposition phalanx. How could this be when the political changes sweeping the rest of the planet exhibited "an almost universal revulsion of elites and popular masses alike to the old socialist system, and a broad consensus on the need to replace it with the democratic, free market system of the West"? Not a bad question.

In its early drafts, the piece was subtitled A Tale of Two Modernisations. This has been edited out, which is unfortunate, since it goes to the heart of Fukuyama's analysis. His starting point is that the reason for the authoritarian crack-up worldwide — from which regimes neither of the left nor right have been immune — is "the logic of modern economic development".

To simplify his argument considerably, the growth of technologically advanced economies, both socialist and capitalist, has obliged societies to urbanise. It has also necessitated the replacement of traditional forms

SA's black rulers doomed to follow in Afrikaner footsteps

B1 Day 11/6/91.

(11A)

(35)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

of association, tribes, clans, extended family and the like, with more "modern" variants — political parties, labour unions, bureaucracies — whose organisational principles "are functional and geared toward economic efficiency".

Equally important, technological-based economies have required universal education since they depend on a "broad mass of workers who must be not only literate but must be increasingly proficient technically". Education and rising socio-economic status "bring in their train a much greater recognition of one's personal status and dignity and thus make people unhappy with authoritarian political systems that fail to recognise them as free adults". That, in turn, "tends to foster belief in the only political system that provides man with rational recognition of his dignity, modern liberal democracy".

Which is not to say that economic development leads in some deterministic fashion to democracy; rather, the former creates an environment for the latter, an environment that needs fostering by wise political leadership. Nonetheless, it is surely self-evident that societies with sizeable middle classes manifest a different form of politics than "pre-modern" and predominantly agrarian ones, the bulk of whose members are uneducated and illiterate smallholders.

"In the latter, it is possible for authoritarian rulers to mobilise poorly educated followers into armies or death squads — one fad that yuppies have been notably reluctant to take up."

Translating this overall thesis to SA, Fukuyama finds that Afrikanerdom has by and large passed through the sequence of modernisation. The National Party may have mortgaged SA's economic future in the process, but by the start of the last decade its initially poor and rural constituents had been "transformed into an urbanised, professional population, little different in educational or occupational terms from their counterparts in other Western countries".

Thus transformed, they began to break with the economic statism and racial totalitarianism upon which the transformation had been based. In ideological terms, they were closing in on "the end of history", as Fukuyama defined it in his earlier article.

Unfortunately, in getting there, they had made certain that the majority of their fellow South Africans would not arrive at the destination with them. For if modernisation crippled apartheid, apartheid stunted the modernisation of black SA.

"No communist apparatchik ever devised a policy so contrary to the fundamental laws of economics" as apartheid which, by the rigorous implementation of pass laws, job reservation and the denial of access to proper education or even business opportunity, effectively said to the majority of SA's population: thou shalt not enter the latter half of the 20th century. The only consolation is that the system was so "insane", so out of sync with the requirements of SA's modernising economy, that it proved unenforceable long before its death notices began to appear.

Nonetheless, the damage has been done. The majority of SA's population has still to make the great journey Afrikanerdom embarked on in 1948. Having been barred from the homogenising effects of economic development, black society remains riven with ancient, often self-perpetuating, conflict.

There remains plenty of scope for mobilisation of the poor and illiterate into armies and death squads. Black politics tend to be as authoritarian and statist as those of Malan and Verwoerd. Much of the ANC/SACP alliance remains wedded to the quaint superstitions of socialism.

Fukuyama sees nothing for it but for "the black population to undergo the same process of social evolution as the Afrikaners", a thought that

does not make him particularly optimistic about the country's immediate future.

"The forces of economic modernisation have only begun to operate on the much larger black community, whose starting point was in any case considerably far behind that of the Afrikaners. In many townships, it is impossible even to recreate the sweatshops of Hong Kong, since potential seamstresses cannot read the instructions of their sewing machines."

Assuming the ANC emulates the NP, maintaining similar levels of nationalisation while keeping its redistributive urges within reason, Fukuyama predicts SA will be doing well if its economy looks like Brazil's a decade from now.

There will be no massive infusion of foreign investment after "democratisation". The belief that Japanese and other investors are lining up in anticipation is "the Cargo Cult of the 1990s". Financing will have to be largely internal, derived from higher taxes, deficits and inflation.

Indeed, hyperinflation, in light of the new government's political imperatives, must be seen as a given, but so long as there is not a massive exodus of skills, the country should be able to sustain a modicum of growth. Even then "Peru, with its constant economic crisis and long-term stagnation, may be a more probable model".

As for what the outside world, and particularly the US, might do, Fukuyama suggests that beyond encouraging the new government to avoid too many socialist precepts — for its own good — there is not much that realistically can be done.

Once sanctions are gone, he believes, Americans will lose interest anyway. For the left, the chief allure has always been the hated white minority. "It will be much less appealing ... to oppose yet another socialist African regime sliding into dictatorship and economic decay." The right, on the other hand, will want to have nothing to do with an ANC government.

"Both are likely to treat post-apartheid SA as just another part of a backward, powerless and unfortunate continent."

Major aid package expected

Blowan 11/6/91
VISITING Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans is likely to announce a major financial aid package today as a prelude to the end of Commonwealth sanctions against SA.

Evans held talks yesterday with ANC officials and said agreement had been reached on "a package of assistance in one particular area of policy". He would not elaborate, but Australian sources said the package could add another R60m to the R30m aid package Evans announced last year.

ANC international affairs deputy head Stanley Mabizela said there was agreement about the need to restructure sanctions in the light of recent developments.

The ANC delegation included general secretary Alfred Nzo, finance head Thom-

11A
PATRICK BULGER

as Nkobi and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

Evans said after yesterday morning's talk that his government and the ANC were in agreement on all major issues.

A phasing out of sanctions — starting with what he termed people-to-people sanctions like the sports boycott and air links — was contingent on government removing obstacles to negotiation.

He listed these as the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the repeal of security legislation, the scrapping of the last apartheid laws and an end to violence in the townships.

Evans stressed that violence had

□ To Page 2

Aid package

Blowan 11/6/91
emerged as a major obstacle.

"We want to see the violence issue resolved before there can be any significant relaxing of sanctions. We take the EC view that the primary responsibility for dealing with the violence is that of the SA government," Evans said.

"This is still an apartheid constitution and until the constitution is rewritten this will still be an apartheid country. Much has been achieved and is in the process of being achieved and none of us want to be churlish about refusing to acknowledge it."

He said he was impressed by the sincerity of government responses to international unhappiness about the violence.

"I have no doubt that from a wide cross section of talks with the SA government that there is a genuine commitment to the democratisation of this country," he said.

Sapa reports the ending of SA's sporting isolation is set to top the agenda at a breakfast meeting today between Evans and SA sports officials in Johannesburg. He will meet the ANC's top sports negotiator, Steve Tshwete, as well as cricket supremo Ali Bacher.

LINDEN BIRNS reports the PAC cancelled a meeting scheduled for yesterday afternoon between Evans and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

11A □ From Page 1

In a letter sent to the Australian embassy yesterday, Moseneke said the meeting was being called off because the Australian government was still going ahead with the prosecution of Kerry Browning — wife of former PAC Australian diplomatic mission chief Maxwell Nmadzivhanani.

Browning was arrested in connection with a bomb explosion outside the US embassy in Australia, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

Moseneke also said that the Australian government was "sectarian" in its support of only one SA liberation movement. He did not name the ANC or any other liberation organisations.

The organisation also claimed that despite receiving several requests, the Australian government had not invited any PAC representatives to visit Australia, while at the same time officials from a rival liberation movement had been invited to visit that country.

"At the end of the day it will not be the Australian government but the African masses in our country who will decide on the liberation movement which will form a future government in our country," Moseneke's letter concluded.

● Picture: Page 4

Stories of ANC divisions 'come from govt'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday blamed the government for supplying information which the media were using to speculate about "factions" and "leadership battles" within the organisation.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said she believed that incorrect information about marital problems between Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie, and allegations of police spies in the organisation, originated from "government disinformation".

"(I) put a lot (of the allegations) down to govern-

ment disinformation. (Their) record speaks for itself," she said.

Responding to Ms Marcus's allegations, the government's information department — the SA Communication Service — denied any involvement in or knowledge of acts of disinformation.

ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said he believed the purpose of the "extensive press speculation . . . (was) to sow division and confusion" in the organisation's ranks, as it neared its vital National Conference in July.

A weekly newspaper reported on Sunday that rumours and allegations were being circulated by factions within the ANC, who were vying for

power at the July conference.

The paper speculated that rumours about marital difficulties in the Mandela household were circulated by the same people who had leaked allegations that ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba was a police informer.

Both Mr Sisulu and Ms Marcus dismissed the claims of a rift in the Mandela marriage as unfounded, adding that the Mandelas were at present on holiday together in France.

The ANC has also dismissed allegations against Mr Mokaba, saying he is a member in good standing.

11A

CT 1116/91

Warrants issued for 'ferry' ANC women

ET 11/6/91

Court Reporter

11A

WARRANTS of arrest for two of the 15 ANC Women's League members arrested in Table Bay Harbour last month when they seized a Robben Island ferry, were issued in Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The warrants issued against Ms Madeleine Fuller, 26, of Observatory, and Ms Zanele Tyintiyi, 27, of Woodstock, were ordered to be held over to the next court date on July 30, when the women failed to appear in court yesterday.

No charges were put to the other 13 women and the hearing was postponed for plea and trial.

Those women present were: Mrs Beatie Hofmeyr, 34, of Claremont; Ms Rhoda Joemat, 43, and Ms Rashida Abdulah, 49, both of Surry Estate; Ms Cheryl Carolus, 32, of Athlone; Ms Nononde Mahoto, 33, of Nyanga; Ms Caroline Makasi, 34, and Ms Jessie Ntsume, 51, both of Crossroads; Ms Winifred Ndaba, 53, Ms Bette Zuzile, 61, Ms Nancy Baduze, 54, Ms Mildred Lesie, 59, Ms Nowethu Tolbert, 23, and Ms Mildred Makasi, 47, all of Guguletu.
The magistrate was Mr M de Vries. Mr W B Tarentaal was the prosecutor.

Sisulu denies Mandela (IA) marriage rift rumours

Political Reporter 11/6/91

Widely reported speculation about a rift in the marriage of Nelson and Winnie Mandela was aimed at sowing division and confusion in ANC ranks, the organisation's internal leader, Walter Sisulu, said yesterday.

In a statement, Mr Sisulu said the ANC noted with increasing concern the "extensive press speculation on 'factions' and 'leadership battles' in the ANC in the run-up to its national conference next month.

An article in City Press on Sunday, which was carried in several daily newspapers yesterday, claimed the rumours about the Mandelas were being spread by the same sources which leaked information alleging that ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba was a police informer.

City Press reported that Mandela and Dali Mpofo, a lawyer allegedly romantically involved with her, might have been set up by members of the ANC's intelligence department who wanted to destroy Mandela and by a powerful lobby which was expected to put up a counter-candidate against intelligence head Jacob Zuma for the position of ANC deputy president.

Mr Sisulu said: "We wish to state that there is no foundation to the rumour that there is a rift in the marriage of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, who are presently on holiday together in France.

"The purpose, in our view, of all this press speculation is to sow division and confusion in our ranks.

"We will not allow the healthy debate and discussion on policy, leadership, strategy and tactics presently taking place to be manipulated and distorted.

"We appeal to our people to remain united while engaging in full democratic debate about all the issues that will face us at our national conference."

Star 11/6/91

Aussie Minister snubbed by PAC

By Helen Grange

11A

The Pan Africanist Congress has refused to meet visiting Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans — a development in stark contrast to announcements yesterday that Australia had offered the ANC a “package of assistance”.

A PAC statement, slating the Australian government for its “consistently sectarian” assistance to South African “liberation movements”, came hot on the heels of Mr Evans’s announcement at a press conference that he had talked with the ANC about a package of assistance on one particular policy, details of which would be released later.

He added, however, that assistance would not be exclusive to the ANC.

Shortly afterwards, the PAC publicly released a letter to the Australian Embassy announcing its refusal to keep an appointment with Mr Evans, scheduled for yesterday afternoon.

'Still need for armed force'

B/Dan 11/6/91

TIM COHEN

THE ANC is maintaining underground structures, according to a document being distributed to its branches around the country for discussion at the organisation's July conference.

The document, called Guidelines to the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC, is a simplified and reprinted version of an already published document by the same name.

In the new document, which contains suggestions on how discussions on the document should take place, the ANC says it decided to suspend armed actions in the interests of moving towards a peaceful solution.

"But we have not totally abandoned the armed struggle. The process of change is not yet irreversible," according to a section on the

armed struggle.

"For instance, we do not yet have a democratic constitution and the regime's army and police still remain. Therefore we need to keep our own armed forces — the peoples' army, MK (Umkhonto we Siswe).

"MK has the responsibility to ensure people's self defence at all times," the document says.

Under the section "the underground", the document says that since the ANC's unbanning last year, most of the tasks that the underground used to carry out can now be carried out openly.

But free political activity is not yet possible and the process of peaceful

change is not yet irreversible.

"Therefore the ANC has a duty to keep those underground structures which are needed now and may be needed in the future."

The document also repeats a statement made in the previous document which suggests that government has been more successful than the ANC at the "game of negotiations", particularly since last August.

The document says the "balance of forces" is always changing and points out that past strengths do not guarantee success in the future.

"Just because we were strong enough to force the government to talk does not automatically mean that we will be strong enough to get what we want from the negotiations," the document says.

SA International

Aussies and ANC agree on sanctions

Sowetan 11/6/91

11A

THE Australian Government and the ANC have agreed on the phased reduction of sanctions against South Africa, with cultural and sporting ties set to be resumed after the current session of Parliament.

This emerged yesterday at a media conference given by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans and senior leaders of the ANC, including Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo and Chris Hani.

Evans said following talks with the ANC that there was no "difference of views on issues discussed".

The Australian Government would relax "people-to-people" sanctions first. He mentioned air links, sporting and cultural contacts and the provision of visas.

Stanley Mabizela, the ANC's deputy head of international affairs, said his organisation and the Australian Government

SA Press Association

had agreed "on the need to restructure sanctions, but they must await the outcome of the current session of Parliament".

It also emerged that the Australian Government would be giving the ANC assistance. However, Evans would not give any details of the package, saying they would be made known later.

Nzo said there had been an exchange of views and Evans' visit to South Africa was "useful as he has gained personal experiences".

Violence

On his talks with the South African Government, Evans said he had conveyed to them the international concern over the violence in the townships.

He added that Australian sanctions would be dropped if the obstacles to constitutional negotia-

tions were overcome. He mentioned the issues of political prisoners, exiles, apartheid legislation and the violence.

Later yesterday Evans was due to meet a delegation of the PAC, led by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke.

However, in a statement the PAC said they would not meet Evans because of the arrest of a PAC member in Australia and the absence of financial assistance to the PAC.

The PAC member being prosecuted in Australia is Kerry Browning, and the PAC said all documents that were removed from its Australian office should be returned.

The PAC also said all their requests for financial assistance had been turned down. It accused the Australian Government of being "sectarian in regard to their assistance and support to liberation movements in our country".

Political marriage will survive rocky times

South 6/6 - (2/6/91)

(11A)

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) has come under scrutiny in recent months.

Leftists claim the party has subordinated workers' interests to that of bourgeois nationalism. Big business says the party's socialist agenda will be an economic disaster.

Liberals are concerned about the human rights record of international communism, and democrats point to the SACP's Stalinist past while religious groups reject the materialist attitude of communism.

Within the ANC, critics have said the alliance is a political liability in winning broad support for the ANC, particularly in non-African areas.

Within the party, in turn, there is concern that the ANC is emphasising petit bourgeois interests at the expense of the working masses.

Is the SACP an invaluable ally or an albatross around the ANC's neck? And how binding is the thread that ties the two?

Just where the thread begins and ends is difficult to determine for the two organisations have become intertwined through years of struggle. The intimacy of the ANC/SACP is more like a marriage than a liaison.

Disciplined

The basis of the alliance is a disciplined relationship between the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, the mechanics of which are being hammered out.

At a national level, Cosatu and the SACP are no longer junior partners but voice independent views and bring pressure to bear on the ANC.

Many, although not all, party members are ANC members and within the ANC party members hold high positions, including portfolios in the NEC, the Political Military Council and various departments. The alliance is also visible in the rank-and-file ANC membership, expressed in banners, T-shirts and slogans.

This bond has deep historical roots. ANC and SACP members both point to the contributions made by individual communists and the SACP as an organisation in building the ANC.

Professor Colin Bundy of the History Department at the University of the Western Cape has listed the SACP's contributions to the ANC.

These include building underground structures, notably Umkhonto we Sizwe, developing military strategies and finding international allies, especially the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Prioritised

The SACP prioritised building the ANC as the vehicle through which South Africa would achieve a national democratic revolution — the fight against apartheid was the first goalpost towards socialism.

While the SACP's medium-term aim is a socialist South Africa, its immediate goal remains national democratic transformation.

SACP leaders point out this goal has still not been achieved and say a parting of the way for the two organisations is therefore premature.

Nevertheless, within the SACP there is now the feeling that the ANC has been built at the expense of consolidating SACP structures — an error now being addressed by the party.

The value of the alliance is not numerical — the party does not bring with it a mass membership.

However, the presence of communists within the ANC is perceived by

The ANC's alliance with the SACP has long been established in South African politics but as old certainties crumble and the political terrain in South Africa shifts, the future of the alliance is coming under the microscope. Critics of the alliance can be found in a variety of quarters, including within the ANC itself. CHIARA CARTER reports:



FLYING HIGH: The red flag flying high

many as ensuring that a "radical voice" continues to be heard within the liberation movement. This is said to be one reason the alliance is likely to continue in the immediate future.

SACP spokesperson Jeremy Cronin says the party is seeking to safeguard working-class interests in the present period of transformation.

UWC rector Jakes Gerwel says the party brings a "working-class perspective" to the ANC.

Both the ANC and SACP reject suggestions that the SACP has a hidden agenda or constitutes a faction in the ANC.

Instead, they say, while SACP members might bring a communist perspective into the ANC, they do not do so as a bloc or caucus and have to win support for their views in open forums.

A separation of the two organisations would cause immense confusion within the ANC and could severely weaken the movement.

A unionist and prominent SACP member commented: "In addition to the ANC losing key leaders and thinkers, there is a strong chance that

militant youth and workers would flock to the SACP."

However, if the alliance wins worker support for the ANC, the drawback is it may alienate broader support.

Events in the USSR and Eastern Europe have underlined this viewpoint and there can be little doubt that in an election the ANC's opponents will capitalise on this.

'Demonised'

ANC leader Trevor Manuel says the SACP has been "demonised" in South Africa.

Ironically state propaganda has also contributed to the alliance on the basis of the "enemy of my enemy is my friend".

Manuel points out that the alliance does not mean the two organisations have the same viewpoint.

He said: "The ANC as a liberation movement must be a home for all South Africans.

"The alliance doesn't mean that the entire ANC agrees with all the viewpoints of the SACP. Just as in a Patriotic Front we might campaign alongside the PAC for a constituent as-

sembly while not holding with the slogan 'one settler, one bullet', so with the tripartite alliance the ANC does not necessarily hold the same views as our allies.

"There is no compulsion on people to accept Marxism but there must be a democratic situation where the party can voice its views and explain its stance — something which has not been the case in South Africa."

Pallo Jordan, the head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, says the extent to which the alliance damages the ANC's broad appeal has been exaggerated.

Jordan, a fierce critic of the SACP's Stalinist past, said in most parts of the country the question of violence was far more important than the ANC's relationship with the SACP.

Party officials concede the party needs to be more assertive in countering anti-communist stereotypes.

"The SACP should be assertive in addressing sectors of the community, but the ANC also needs to put forward a leadership that has appeal to those sectors. The answer, however,

is not to abandon the alliance or create populist messiahs," an SACP member commented.

A key issue is the party's attitude towards religion.

The SACP, which is engaged in a process of redefining itself in the wake of the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, has been at pains to point out it is not anti-religious and has been openly self-critical about its past anti-religious tendencies.

SACP leaders have held meetings with religious leaders and groups.

Hostile

Ebrahim Rasool, an MDM leader and prominent figure in Cape Town's Muslim community, said it was clear there were "definite divergences" at a philosophical level between the SACP and Muslims but these differences were not necessarily antagonistic.

"Muslims insist on a God-centred view of society while the party holds a materialist perspective," Rasool said.

"These contradictions aren't necessarily hostile. Both Muslims and the SACP are fighting the same enemy and we believe the SACP has the right to propagate its views, just as Muslims should have the right to practise their religion.

"The ANC has been responsible for the greatest openness to religious freedom now and in the future.

"Muslims know the ANC has made it possible for them to play a prominent role, whereas other political tendencies have dismissed religion as reactionary," Rasool said.

While critics of the alliance say the ANC's links with the SACP are damaging to international relations, ANC diplomats say the matter is a non-issue.

Gerwel has been dismayed at the anti-communist critics of the alliance and said the ANC cannot make a decision on the alliance on the basis of an "anti-communist" position.

"In the ANC there have always been communists and non-communists; this is different from anti-communists.

He said the discussion would need to include whether the ANC was sufficiently socialist orientated to become a mass movement which would not need the SACP to articulate working-class views.

Threat

He did not see the SACP's recruitment as a threat to the ANC.

"I'm not sure whether a communist party would necessarily want the bulk of people as members.

"Maybe its role is to articulate around and even organise around the silences necessary to the liberation movement," Gerwel said.

The question of a future separation between the two organisations is being discussed within the SACP but no clear answers have yet been reached.

While some believe the ANC can be transformed into a mass-based socialist organisation others feel a point will come where the party will have to disengage from the alliance.

If the ANC becomes the government, it is conceivable that a conflict of interests could occur. Even now the contradictions are being played out.

On balance it seems likely the alliance will continue at least into a post-liberation South Africa. Should the partners separate in a new state it seems likely the move will get more support from the SACP.

Too busy to
Sowetan 12/6/91 (11A)

meet Mandela

MOSCOW - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela postponed a trip to the Soviet Union because President Mikhail Gorbachev was too busy to meet him this week, ANC and Soviet spokesmen said yesterday.

"We think that he will come within the next month," said Gorbachev spokesman Mr Vitaly Ignatenko. He said the Soviet leader "is busy right now" and was unable to meet Mandela, who had been scheduled to arrive in Moscow last Sunday.

The Soviet Union was one of the ANC's main backers and supplied most of its weapons during its 29-year guerilla campaign suspended last year.

An ANC spokesman in Moscow said Mandela's visit would be rescheduled for another time. - Sapa-AP.

FW says ANC must end armed struggle

Political Staff

THE ANC should cease posturing as a semi-military movement and terminate the armed struggle so that proper negotiations could start, President F. W. de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

However, despite the organisation's ultimatum, posturing, propaganda and political positioning, government and the ANC negotiations were still continuing normally.

What was required was that the ANC cease posturing as a semi-military movement and concentrate its endeavours on activities befitting a political party, he said.

"What is really at issue, is the speedy

conclusion of the present phase of talks designed to remove obstacles still in the way of negotiations proper.

"From the government's point of view ... there is need for the ANC to move from a mere suspension of the armed struggle to a final termination thereof," Mr De Klerk said.

He also rejected DP claims that the NP was busy forging a strategy of building a "system alliance" to take on the ANC and thereby dangerously polarising the political stage.

Mr De Klerk also said he viewed polarisation with concern, but it was not as serious as it would seem on the surface.

11A CT 12/6/91

'Working groups still on track'

End posturing and talk, FW tells the ANC

B/Pan 12/16/91

CELA (11A)

CAPE TOWN — The ANC should cease posturing as a semi-military movement and terminate the armed struggle so that proper negotiations could start, President F W de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

However, despite the organisation's ultimatum, propaganda and political positioning, government and ANC negotiations were still continuing normally, the President added.

What was required was that the ANC cease posturing as a semi-military movement and concentrate on activities befitting a political party.

"What is really at issue is the speedy conclusion of the present phase of talks designed to remove obstacles still in the way of negotiations proper. From the government's point of view ... there is need for the ANC to move from a mere suspension of the armed struggle to a final termination thereof," De Klerk said.

He also rejected DP claims that the NP was busy forging a strategy of building a "system alliance" to take on the ANC and was thereby dangerously polarising the political stage.



● DE KLERK

BILLY PADDOCK

Responding to DP MP Robin Carlisle's argument in a mini debate, De Klerk said polarisation was not only taking place between parliamentary and non-parliamentary bodies, "but there is also serious conflict within the parliamentary system itself".

He viewed polarisation with concern but said it was not as serious as it would seem on the surface. "In the present situation I believe one should distinguish between propaganda, posturing and political positioning on the one hand and fundamental polarisation on the other."

Most people were not aware of it, but interaction between government and the ANC "has continued fairly normally even after the ANC issued its much-publicised ultimatum".

The reality was that government and the ANC were communicating with one another at various levels, using different channels, about the same issues they were dealing with before the ultimatum.

"The ANC remains involved, also in working groups in which it and the government have been addressing certain specific issues," he said.

In an apparent reference to Inkatha, he said gratifying progress had been made in discussions with extra-parliamentary political leaders who operated positively within government structures.

Government would continue to do all it could to remove obstacles in the way of negotiations with other non-system parties.

Australia grants SA R4,2m aid package

AUSTRALIAN Foreign Minister Gareth Evans yesterday announced a R4,2m assistance package for the development of economic planning in SA, including a R180 000 grant to the ANC's economic planning department.

Evans said his government was sponsoring the programme to help develop the anti-apartheid movement's capacity to play an effective role in the sound economic management of post-apartheid SA.

Asked whether the Australian government was trying to shape future ANC economic policy, Evans said his government was not seeking to be "pre-emptive, re-

TIM COHEN

strictive or directive.

"We obviously have a view, based on the discussions that we have had with the relevant people in the ANC, that there is a core of good sense and a sense of commitment to real world strategies which could usefully be built upon." However, these strategies had to grow out of SA's experience and perceived needs.

Australia would spend the R4m over the next two years and the funding would be in addition to pledges covering establishment of an ANC economic planning department and economics scholarships.

B/Daw 12/6/91

(11A)

FW: ANC, Govt still talking

CAPE TOWN — Contact between the ANC and the Government had continued "fairly normally" after the ANC's May ultimatum on political violence, President de Klerk said in Parliament yesterday. *Stev 12/6/91*

"The reality of the matter is that the Government and the ANC are continuing to communicate with one an-

other by means of various channels about the same issues they were dealing with before the ultimatum." *(1/1)*

Mr de Klerk added: "The ANC remains involved also in working groups in which it and the Government have addressed certain specific issues." *(3/1/1)*

● ANC must get house in order — Page 8

Aussie cash for liberation movements

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Gareth Evans yesterday announced a R4 million sponsorship for a new programme to prepare South African liberation movements for a "sound economic management of post-apartheid South Africa".

Mr Evans told a press conference in Johannesburg that his government would sponsor a new programme to develop the capacity of the "democratic anti-apartheid movement" to play an effective role in sound economic management of a post-apartheid South Africa.

Overseas visits

The first instalment of R821 000 was given for 1991/92. The last will be made available in the 1992/93 financial year.

Mr Evans said some of the money would finance the establishment of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning, including library and documentation centres. This would "allow the central economic policy arm of the ANC to function more effectively".

Also to be financed will be:

- Visits to Australia by "senior figures" in the black community to expose them to Australian ideals and experience, and short visits to South Africa by Australians who could contribute

meaningfully to the debate on economic policy.

- The establishment of an Institute of Economic Research at a local university.

- Visits by Australian economic experts to South Africa to consult "the democratic movement", and printing costs for the resulting work.

- The upgrading of a black economist at a local university and the provision of student scholarships.

- An ongoing economic policy research project at an academic institution "closely involved in the analytic study of issues of concern to the democratic movement".

- Economic scholarships inside South Africa.

- Money will also be made available in the second year to support follow-up activities identified in the first year.

Asked to comment on claims that his government was favouring the ANC, Mr Evans said that because of the scarcity of resources, it wanted to support the most representative organisation, and the ANC was that organisation.

He said that apart from making expertise and money available to the ANC, his government would not prescribe economic policies to the organisation.

Commenting on the PAC's refusal to see him this week, the Australian senator said the snub was "a recurring phenomenon". The PAC was unhappy about the trial of its member in Australia, and did not like his government's closeness to the ANC.

Stev 2/6/91

IIA

Australia's ⁽¹¹⁾R4,4-m backing for ANC ^{ARG 12/6/91}

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade Minister Mr Gareth Evans has announced a R4.4 million sponsorship for the ANC.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg, Mr Evans said the programme aimed to prepare the liberation movements for "a sound economic management of post-apartheid South Africa" over the next two years.

The first instalment of R821 000 was given for 1991 to 1992, and the last instalment of R700 000 would be paid during 1992 to 1993.

Mr Evans said R63 000 would finance the establishment of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning, including a library and documentation centres.

This would allow the central economic policy arm of the ANC to be more effective.

Asked to comment on allegations that his government was favouring the ANC, Mr Evans said because of a scarcity of resources they wanted to support the most representative organisation — the ANC.

Commenting on the PAC's refusal to see him this week, the Australian senator said the snub was "a recurring phenomenon".

● The mass circulation tabloid daily, the Melbourne Herald-Sun, today sharply criticised the announcement that Australia would give R4.4 million to the ANC.

The newspaper noted that there was no mention about "offering the six-million strong Zulu movement a similar package, despite the rival organisation boasting more than double the membership of the ANC".

It said Australia's "gratuitous gesture was a grave error of judgment given the context that the country teeters on the edge of anarchy as blacks fight not only the white government but each other".

The newspaper added: "It is also a gross breach of acceptable international behaviour."

"How would Australians react in the unfortunate event that a foreign power made a public relations exercise of funding some Aboriginal revolutionary group whose deputy leader was a convicted terrorist?"

ANC must get its house in order, says De Klerk

11A
Star 12/6/91

The ANC should stop posturing as a semi-military movement and concentrate on activities befitting a political party, President de Klerk said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to an interpellation from Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) on the Government's plans to reduce political polarisation, Mr de Klerk said he was not trying to disorganise the ANC.

He had extricated the ANC from many corners into which it had painted itself. It should stop its power games and get its house in order.

"What is at issue is the speedy conclusion of the present phase of talks designed to remove obstacles still in the way of negotiations.

"From the Government's point of view there is, for example, the need for the ANC to move from a mere suspension of the armed struggle to a final termination thereof.

"What is required is that the ANC should cease posturing as a semi-military movement

and concentrate its endeavours rather on activities befitting a political party."

Mr de Klerk said he viewed with concern the increasing political polarisation between non-parliamentary bodies and those involved in Establishment politics.

He had to point out that there was also conflict within the parliamentary system.

"It should be patently obvious to anybody that the actions, behaviour and excesses of the Conservative Party, both inside and outside Parliament, constitute a consistent and concerted campaign to engender hostility and polarisation, irrespective of the risk of violence which may result."

MPs might not be aware of it, but the interaction between the Government and the ANC had continued fairly normally even after the ANC issued its much-publicised ultimatum.

Mr Carlisle said the State President knew that a confident and efficient ANC was far less dangerous than a demoralised, disorganised one.

— Sapa.

Libyan (11A) ARG 12/6/91 millions for ANC 'seized'

From ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — A Libyan gift of US \$1 million (about R2,5 million) to the ANC has been seized by the American Express company according to a report here which says financial institutions and the diplomatic community are baffled by the incident.

The Herald newspaper in its main story today says the money was part of a US \$5 million contribution promised by Colonel Gaddafi's government.

It was sent to Barclays Bank in Harare and the ANC representative here was instructed by ANC headquarters to transfer the money to the National Westminster Bank in London.

The Libyan People's Bureau (the embassy here) was advised a few days later in writing by Barclays that the money had been impounded by American Express without explanation.

The report said a senior Libyan official had taken up the matter with The Zimbabwe Foreign Ministry.

Barclays Bank refused to discuss the matter.

A spokesman for the American embassy said he would check out the allegation with both parties.

The newspaper said a banker was unable to say how American Express came to play a part in a banking transaction. He said the United States had frozen assets belonging to the Libyan government.

● Australian aid package for ANC, page 2.

As the ANC conference approaches, gossip blurs key issues, reports Patrick Laurence

SPW 12/6/91

11A

Old - against - new clash looms

African National Congress leaders have set an auspicious note for the ANC's national conference in Durban next month, the first to be held in South Africa for more than three decades.

Responding to pressure from the ANC's 14 regional branches, the ANC executive has agreed to reduce the proposed size of the national executive from 120 to 90.

The original proposal, contained in the ANC's draft constitution, was to enlarge the national executive from 35 to 120. It was seen as a bid by the ageing incumbent national executive to accommodate younger leaders, who were bloodied in the struggle against President P W Botha in the 1980s, without having to forgo their positions.

Now, however, the proposed size of the executive has been cut back to 90, with the number of elected representatives reduced from 75 to 50, a third of whom must be women.

The effect of the revised proposal is that election contests between the "Old Guard" — the men and women who controlled the ANC in exile — and a new generation of leaders will be inevitable.

The national executive agreed further, at a closed meeting with ANC regional representatives, to sacrifice its proposed right to nominate members to leadership positions in the ANC.

That clause, together with the proposed 120-member national executive, was interpreted as an attempt by the incumbent national leadership to secure its position and protect even incompetent sitting members against democratic challenge from below.

But the changes agreed to with little or no dissent last week have done much to allay those fears and to set the scene for democratisation of the ANC.

The need to re-establish democracy in the ANC as a prelude to its introduction in South Africa, and to reintroduce the important principles of accountability and, if necessary, recall, into the ANC constitution, is acknowledged in the latest issue of the ANC journal, *Mayibuye*.

Referring to the three decades of underground resistance after the ANC was banned in 1960, an article in *Mayibuye* says: "The structures of the ANC had to adapt to the kind of struggle that was being waged. . . . The strictures became gradually smaller and more secretive. . . . decision-making powers were vested amongst smaller numbers."

Under the revealing headline, "ANC constitution: Acid test for democracy", the article adds: "Our priorities now are to build a mass-based democratic ANC



Nelson Mandela . . . poised for presidency.

which can lead the process of transition to the transfer of power to the people."

With elections for leadership positions now in the offing, the focus of attention has shifted, perhaps inevitably, to personalities as the chances of various candidates for high office are weighed by observers and ANC members.

With Nelson Mandela apparently poised to take over as president from the ailing Oliver Tambo, there is intense speculation over who will succeed him as deputy president. With veteran ANC leader Walter Sisulu reportedly not seeking the job, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma has emerged as a strong candidate.

There are good reasons why Mr Zuma might get the nod. He is a competent man who has played a leading role in preliminary negotiations with President de Klerk's administration and in peace talks

with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But, as important, he is one of the few Zulus on the ANC national executive. His election as deputy president will help combat the image of the ANC as a Xhosa-dominated organisation.

That said, however, it is important not to pre-empt the election. Mr Zuma is a strong candidate. But there is no guarantee that he will be the only candidate — nominations to leadership positions are still coming in — or that he will win if his nomination is contested.

Mr Zuma has been linked to two reports or, more fairly, snippets of gossip: the first alleging that ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is or was a police agent; the second alleging that there are problems in the Mandela marriage, coupled with insinuations against Winnie Mandela and the

young ANC lawyer Dali Mpofo.

Mr Zuma's name has been dragged into the scandal: his intelligence department is alleged to have leaked these reports, with the alleged intention of preventing the Winnie Mandela-Peter Mokaba axis from putting up a candidate — the name of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Chris Hani, has been mentioned — against Mr Zuma.

The ANC has officially and strongly repudiated these reports. It should be noted, too, that rumours about Mr Mokaba's alleged double agenda and Mrs Mandela's private life long predate the inevitable politicking over the pending conference elections.

Another key post which has excited intense speculation is that of secretary general. The incumbent is Alfred Nzo. Few observers give him much chance of retaining the post. There are several contenders to succeed him.

One is the calm and lucid Popo Motete, who served as general secretary of the United Democratic Front. His recent marriage to Tumi Plaajie, a descendant of Sol Plaajie, the ANC's first secretary general, will not have harmed his chances.

Another possible candidate is Cyril Ramaphosa, the intelligent and able general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers

who played a leading role in the National Reception Committee which organised the return to freedom of Mr Mandela.

But over and above these intriguing questions about personalities and election contests are broader and, in many ways more important issues with which conference delegates will have to grapple. One, clearly, is what the ANC can and should do to regain the tactical advantage which Mr de Klerk seems to have seized after his strategic retreat from old style apartheid and his momentous decision to unban the ANC and its allies and rivals in the liberation movement.

Another two issues which will have to be resolved are the ANC's policies on economic and constitutional matters. Discussion papers on economic policy and constitutional proposals have been tabled. But, to quote *Mayibuye*: "Nothing has been written in stone."

The decisions faced by the conference on whether or not to nationalise key sectors of the economy are clearly as important as the personalities jostling for power.

So, too, are its decisions on whether or not to accept proportional representation and to limit the tenure of office by South Africa's future President to a maximum of two five-year terms. □

R2,8-m gift to ANC seized

HARARE - A Libyan donation of R2,8 million to the ANC has been seized by the American Express company, according to a report in Harare which says financial institutions and the diplomatic community are baffled by the incident. *Sowetan 13/6/91 (11A)*

The money was part of a R14 million donation promised by Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's government, according to the *Herald* newspaper in its main story yesterday.

It was sent to Barclays Bank in Harare and the ANC representative was instructed by ANC headquarters to transfer the money to the National Westminster Bank in London.

The Libyan People's Bureau (the embassy here) was advised a few days later in writing by Barclays that the money had been impounded by American Express without explanation.

The report said a senior Libyan official had taken up the matter with the Zimbabwe Foreign Ministry.

Barclays Bank refused to discuss the matter.

Sowetan Africa News Service.

Good read but what's new?

Southern 13/6/91

11A

I MAY be wrong in my review of this book but first impressions last long.

I first thought the book was all right for white South Africans and the outside world to read. For township people, there is absolutely nothing new that this book reveals.

Without taking anything away from the author, the book makes good reading but for the majority of blacks in this country his story could be a Sunday school picnic. Some people have been through worse.

Freedom

During the grand old days when freedom for blacks was nothing but just a dream this book could have been a collector's item.

On reading it I came to the conclusion that it has been overtaken by FW de Klerk's thoroughbred.

On the sleeve Mathabane has this to

say: "I have sought to paint a portrait of my childhood and youth in Alexandra, a black ghetto of Johannesburg, where I was born and lived for 18 years, with the hope that the rest of the world will finally understand why apartheid cannot be reformed: it has to be abolished."

Suburbs

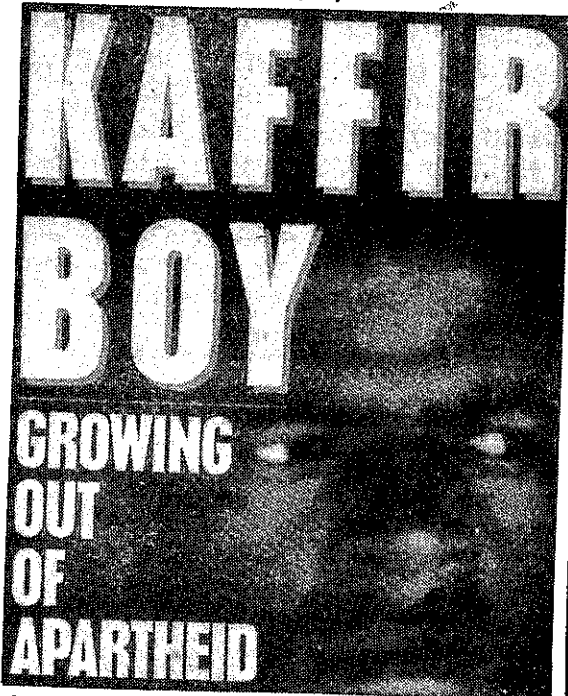
On that score no one can argue with him. That apartheid has to die and be buried is every right-thinking person's wish and it will.

Now for the book. I earnestly believe its main promotion should be in the suburbs where most of those who do not know much about their countrymen can gain a lot.

It will give most whites an insight into what it's like to grow up as a black in this country.

It could also be good

KAFFIR BOY - GROWING OUT OF APARTHEID by Mark Mathabane (Macmillan; R24,99)



for collection by casual readers but I doubt if the critic will enjoy it without

saying: "So, what's new?"

Sello Rabothata

American Express seizes ANC cash

HARARE — The Zimbabwean Foreign Ministry was reported yesterday to be trying to reverse the seizure by the American Express Company of a US\$1m donation to the ANC by Col Muammar Gaddafi's Libyan government.

The Herald, which is close to President Robert Mugabe's government, said ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela had been "infuriated by the actions of the American company". The two-month delay already caused had resulted in serious financial difficulties for the ANC, said the newspaper.

MICHAEL HARTNACK

ANC chief representative in Harare M X Mlonzeni, it said, was instructed to transfer the money, sent from Tripoli to Harare "through normal banking channels", to an ANC account with the National Westminster Bank (Natwest) in London.

The Herald said "the transaction should never have been known to anyone else in the first place (as) the ANC only supplied an account number with Natwest, to which the money was supposed to be transferred".

Harare sources, however, suggested the account with Barclays Bank Zimbabwe was in the name of the Libyan government, not the ANC, thus triggering American Express to act on the requirements of strict US State Department sanctions against Gaddafi's regime. Libya is accused of funding international terrorist organisations, including extreme Palestinian factions.

The Herald suggested the ANC itself might be on a State Department blacklist.

Confidential

The Herald said Barclays Bank Zimbabwe carried out the Libyan request and deducted a Z\$30 000 commission. But a few days later the bank informed the ANC's Harare bureau that the money had been impounded by American Express "without offering any reasons".

Barclays Bank Zimbabwe MD Herbert Swane-poel said he could not comment on a confidential matter involving a client.

Both the ANC and the Libyan People's Bureau in Harare said they had approached Zimbabwean Minister of Foreign Affairs Nathan Shamuyarira and his deputy Stephen Nkomo in the hope Zimbabwe could rectify the matter.

Mlonzeni said he had spoken to the US embassy in Harare and had been promised the matter would be "dealt with expeditiously".

The Herald said Mandela had only been dissuaded by his juniors from taking the matter up directly with the US department because they thought the American embassy in Harare could sort the matter out.

The Herald claimed the Americans had infringed Geneva diplomatic conventions on diplomatic funds by intercepting the Libya-ANC funds.

However, it said financial sources in Harare believed Barclays was bound by banking rules to refund the money to the ANC, as it bore responsibility for the money until it was deposited with Natwest in London.

A time to

Sowetan 13/6/91

11A

remember



Marches, services to mark June 16

By THEMBA MOLEFE, IKE
MOTSAPI and MATHATHA
TSEDU

MASS action, including 48 marches countrywide on Saturday, is planned for this weekend as black organisations prepare to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 students uprising.

This year's commemoration

● To Page 2

P.T.O.

Mass action planned

Sowetan 13/6/91

From Page 1

again underscores divisions that exist among the major organisations.

On the one hand, the ANC and its allies, the SACP and Cosatu, have organised a two-day programme of mass protests beginning with countrywide marches on Saturday.

The action will culminate in a rally at FNB Stadium outside Soweto at 10am, where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will speak.

On the other hand, the

PAC and Azapo join forces with the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action in hosting a major service at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto, on Sunday at 10am.

The events of June 16 1976 and the circumstances surrounding the death of the first victim, Hector Petersen, will be relived at the meeting.

The PAC will hold a vigil at Hector's Soweto home on Saturday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will hold its service

at Diepkloof Hall, Soweto, on Sunday at 10am.

Ironically, the ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare have planned a joint June 16 commemoration programme beginning tomorrow.

Spokeswoman for the six-person organising committee Miss Sesi Baloyi said a march in downtown Harare will end with the handing of a petition at the South African Trade Mission.

On Saturday, there will be a meeting at the University of Zimbabwe.

A service is scheduled for Sunday at the Mbare sports grounds.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance said in a statement issued by ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo that the June 15 and 16 mass action in South Africa was to protest against violence and support peace, freedom and jobs.

The 48 planned marches are to end with memorandums being handed to State President FW de Klerk and the chairman of the South African Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs.

Pik may rebuke Evans over SAP 'insult'

By Peter Fabricius

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is today expected to convey the Government's displeasure to Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans about Mr Evans's alleged insult to a policeman early this week.

This was decided at Cabinet level yesterday after Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok reportedly expressed his anger at Mr Evans's alleged remark to a police escort in Khayelitsha that he was "f..... useless".

Mr Evans has denied swearing at the officer.

At issue was the amount of police protection which should be given to Mr Evans.

Mr Evans was due to meet ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg this morning. Later today he will fly out of Jan Smuts Airport for

Australia. Mr Botha will fly from Cape Town to officially see him off.

Yesterday Mr Botha confirmed that high-level talks with the Australian ambassador, Colin McDonald, had been held.

Mr Evans also came under heavy criticism from the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday for his announcement that Australia would give selective financial aid to the ANC.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit out at Mr Evans for Australia's refusal to give aid to Inkatha and for saying the ANC was the most widely representative black organisation in South Africa.

At a press conference in Ulundi Chief Burhelezi said: "The time will come when the IFP's support is tested at the polls, but until then I think, Sen-

ator Evans, that you should be a bit more cautious in your assessment of who's who in South African politics."

PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said: "It is an open secret that the financial and material support to one liberation movement runs into several million dollars."

● Mr Evans said in Port Elizabeth last night that his trip had been extremely successful and he had held cordial meetings with members of the Government and community groups.

He said Australia's position had been not to directly support any opposition groups except for a R180 000 grant to the ANC's department of economic planning.

There had been no question of giving direct funding to the ANC for political campaign purposes, he said. — Sapa.

Aussie Opposition slams ANC grant

Star Foreign Service

11A

ernment which has made such a mess of its own national economy should now be trying to coach others," he said.

Referring to the allocation to the ANC, Dr Hewson declared: "This game of playing favourites among black representative groups is a dangerous and unnecessary one."

The Opposition's spokesman on foreign affairs, Senator Robert Hill, claimed the grant to the ANC was "unprecedented and unwise" and "further entangles Australia in the internal politics of South Africa without necessarily helping to solve the country's problems".

The Melbourne Age said the amount came on top of R35 million already pledged to educa-

tion and other projects selected by the ANC.

Discussion on the grant was the focus of most media attention today in coverage of the controversial tour of South Africa by Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans.

Considerable space was devoted to an attack on the senator by the president of the Returned Services League, Bruce Ruxton. Noting that Senator Evans had been disgusted at black shanty towns, Mr Ruxton reminded him that they were conditions equal to those in which many Aborigines lived.

"Yet I don't recall the senator, or any other politician, crying crocodile tears at home," said Mr Ruxton.

MELBOURNE — The Australian Government's R4.4-million grant for the development of economic skills in South Africa, including R220 000 to the African National Congress, has drawn increasing criticism around the nation.

Opposition leader Dr John Hewson said Australians enduring the worst recession in 60 years could not understand why money was being given to improve the quality of economic debate in South Africa.

"They simply cannot understand why an Australian gov-

Star 13/6/91

Marches, rallies to mark June 16

B/day 13/6/91

1/17

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SACP yesterday announced that they had planned 48 marches and several rallies countrywide this weekend to commemorate the June 16 1976 uprising.

Their news conference was delayed by a bomb threat, but continued after police sniffer dogs were called. No trace of explosives was found.

The marches, which the organisations hope will be the largest since those on February 2 this year, will take place on Saturday under the banner of "Peace, freedom and jobs".

Rallies would also take place on Sunday, the main rally being addressed by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at the FNB stadium near Soweto.

Permission for the marches has been applied for but has not yet been granted, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said.

The main marches will take place in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said other organisations, including the PAC and Azapo, had been approached to take part in the marches and rallies.

Asked about Inkatha, Nzo said the alliance's position was that anyone who supported the aims of the

TIM COHEN

marches and rallies could attend.

The marches aimed to draw support for a memorandum which would be handed to representatives of President F W de Klerk and Saccola president Anton Roodt.

The memorandum calls for all parties to take part in a multiparty peace conference, for a democratic constitution and for government to create jobs.

"As long as violence continues, there can be no progress towards a non-racial, democratic country," Nzo said.

Asked whether the politics of protest were still valid in the light of poor attendance at recent ANC Youth League marches, league chairman Rapu Molekane said although the marches were small, they included many people who had not participated before.

SACP leader Joe Slovo said the marches would also highlight the issue of political prisoners because the ANC wanted to show it would not be blackmailed by the government on the issue.

He said prisoners still in jail were being "held as hostages" by government in an attempt to force further concessions from the ANC.



At the joint ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party news conference in Johannesburg yesterday were, from left: Carl Niehaus, Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Fighting cholesterol the corporate way

TANIA LEVY

THE cost to a company of replacing a senior executive who dies of a heart attack has been estimated at between R375 000 and R850 000.

To help identify people at risk of early death from coronary heart disease, a Johannesburg pharmaceutical company this week launched a corporate cholesterol screening campaign.

Logos Pharmaceuticals will provide equipment and staff to carry out the cholesterol check, which involves taking a blood sample from a finger prick, at cost of R7 a person tested.

A spokesman said the financial and emotional burden of heart attacks were enormous for individuals and their employers.

"A bypass operation can cost R50 000, not to mention the lost income and produc-

tivity during recuperation."

"One in every three men and a quarter of all women in westernised SA have coronary heart disease by the age of 60. More than 12 000 people die every year of heart attacks. Most deaths are preventable."

Logos product manager Alyson Prowse said a high blood cholesterol level was now known to be the single most important risk factor in heart disease.

More than 80% of South Africans with a westernised lifestyle had raised blood cholesterol levels.

The risk of heart attack could be lowered by as much as 50% by reducing a high cholesterol level by 25%, she said.

Where the ANC cash comes from

Foreign financial support
is not for liberation,
but for social upliftment,
say embassy spokesmen

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

AUSTRALIA has stepped up its aid to the ANC with the latest announcement on support for an economic management programme in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Instead of direct aid to former liberation movements most countries represented in South Africa instead contribute to social upliftment programmes with the focus on education.

The ANC may, however, soon qualify for some R26 million which has been appropriated by the US Congress.

The Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Gareth Evans, has announced that his country is giving about R4 million to sponsor a new programme to prepare the liberation movements for a sound economic management programme in post-apartheid

South Africa. He said the ANC was the most representative organisation.

When Mr Nelson Mandela visited Australia last year he received an aid package of some R15 million.

Mainly the Scandinavian countries have so far given direct aid for political work to the ANC.

A spokesman for the Swedish legation said that his country had since 1972 given financial aid for humanitarian purposes directly to the ANC.

This was primarily meant for the needs of its refugee or



MR Nelson Mandela is introduced to Mr David Tathill, the South African Ambassador to Australia, while Australian Foreign Minister, Mr Gareth Evans, now in South Africa, looks on. While in Australia Mr Mandela was given an aid package of some R15-million. This week, Mr Evans announced a further R4-million deal for the ANC

exile communities.

Part of the aid, which amounted to about R35 million a year, went directly for

political work, mainly for its for its foreign operations such as the maintenance of missions in overseas countries.

None of the aid went for military activities.

Britain has what British embassy spokesman de-

scribed as a "modest programme" to help those who had up to now been unable to be involved in the democratic process to become involved in the constitutional process.

Grants to institutions and movements such as Inkatha, the ANC and the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy were meant to assist them with matters such as the setting up of offices.

It was not meant for direct party political matters such as the running of campaigns.

British aid to South African institutions is aimed largely at education.

In the case of the US no final decision has yet been taken on how the 10 million dollars set aside to aid mainly formerly banned organisations should be allocated.

The ANC and the PAC as well as Inkatha have laid claim to the money.

Earlier this year the US gave R5.2 million to the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Germany gives money through channels provided by the European Community and to non-governmental agencies such as the Urban Foundation and the Kagiso Trust. The focus of German grants are of-

ten on the educational field.

Money has also been given to projects of Cowley House to assist returning exiles and their families.

A German embassy spokesman stressed that no direct aid for political purposes was given to political movements.

Canada has a firm rule internationally that no aid is given to political organisations.

A spokesman said: "Grants from Canada are channelled through politically neutral institutions.

"This applies not only in South Africa, but in all countries."

A Spanish spokesman said: "We give no aid directly to political organisations but through organisations such as the Kagiso and the Sached Trust."

Most Spanish aid was directed towards the educational and training needs of the underprivileged.

The closest Spain came to direct aid for politically-oriented objectives was aid for returning exiles. This aid, however, was given under certain conditions which meant that it would have to be used for the welfare of exiles, rather than political activities.

Joe Latakomo comments on the shackles binding the ANC leader

Waiting for the real Mandela

11A
Star
13/6/91

WHAT has happened to Nelson Mandela, the leader and statesman that the world raved about after his release from prison in February last year?

This is the question I was asked so often in the last few months of my stay in the United States. My answer was simple, and caused my questioners to blink: until such time as Mr Mandela quits the ANC, the world will not see the leader and statesman it has come to expect.

Mr Mandela's release, and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations last year, have had the effect of an anaesthetic before an operation — when it wore off, we started feeling the pain.

Now that the euphoria has died down, and the triumphant world travels are the stuff of history, realpolitik has forced itself upon the ANC. Mr Mandela has to provide answers to tough questions and, more and more, he is finding that it is not sufficient to respond with the old clichés and slogans. At the same time, his own constituency still wants him to do just

that.

Could this be the reason Mr Mandela's stakes have taken a plunge internationally? Could it be the reason he received such a cool reception in France this week?

To my mind Mr Mandela is being made to fight with both hands tied behind his back.

He and Oliver Tambo realised last year that unless they showed more flexibility on the sanctions issue, they would lose the initiative.

For this reason they pleaded for a reconsideration of the strategy at the ANC conference. Their plea was shot down by delegates.

It became quite clear that the tail of the ANC was wagging the dog. Mr Mandela well knew that he had to face the international community without being able to give it the answers it wanted to hear. Instead, he was forced into a radical posture, saying uncharacteristically that if sanctions were lifted unilaterally, the ANC would make the country so unstable no body would want to invest here

anyway. Then he said that he had wanted to withdraw from talks with the Government for some time, but had been over-ruled by his colleagues in the executive.

It seems to me that Mr Mandela, the leader extraordinary that the world at large and many South Africans could look up to, has not yet emerged. He has not yet shown the leadership qualities which he undoubtedly has.

If he is going to be forced to appear more radical than he is to win support, his role will undoubtedly diminish further. Already there are fears that the "young lions" want to take control of the ANC, forcing the "old guard" into an advisory body, known as the Council of Elders.

Already, Walter Sisulu has said he would step down from the internal leadership, but would stand for election in the executive committee.

The broadness of the ANC's base has made it difficult for Mr Mandela to assume a leadership role. Many argue that he will show his mettle once he is elected

president, in which case he will know that the buck stops with him. However, trying to satisfy all the factions within the organisation is an almost impossible task.

He will always be burdened with the baggage of "participatory democracy", of having to seek the approval of the many factions that make up the ANC-SACP alliance.

Mr Mandela's best course, I would argue, would be to trade on his huge personal following, to quit the ANC or split the organisation, and to take on the role of independent statesman whose sole interest is bringing peace to his country.

President Botha, after all, rid himself of rightwing elements in the National Party, clearing the way for the bold leadership of his successor. And what Mr Botha could do, Mr Mandela can do better.

● Joe Latakomo, a senior assistant editor of *The Star*, has just returned from nine months' study at Harvard University as a Nieman Fellow. □

Azapo plans June 16 rallies

Azapo has organised 14 commemoration services country-wide on June 16, the movement announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The main event, jointly organised with the PAC, will take place on Sunday at 10 am at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church.

Some of the issues expected to be addressed at the services are violence in the townships, a constituent assembly and an interim government, acting publicity secretary Lybon Mabasa said. *Star*

In Cape Town, Azapo president Pandelani Nefelovhodwe will address a meeting at St Mary's Church. *13/6/91*

Making the announcement, Mr Mabasa said the organisation regarded June 16 as a national day of resistance.

"From the very beginning, our commemoration of June 16 1976 has never been aimed at proving our particular support or lack of it, but to mark watershed events in the black man's struggle for a birthright and total liberation," he said.

Azapo had also launched a major diplomatic drive to make foreign governments more aware of its political stance and the reasons for its existence independent of the ANC and PAC.

Three top officials were leading teams abroad as part of the diplomatic initiative.

The leaders currently in Europe would meet foreign diplomats as well as address several European and world forums at June 16 services, Mr Mabasa said. — Sapa.

Killing brings schools to halt

Sowetan
By MONK NKOMO
13/6/91

EDUCATION has come to a halt at three Soshanguve secondary schools following the death of a pupil during clashes between "comrades" and local gangsters.

The pupil, known only by his surname Nduma, was murdered about two weeks ago.

Since then, pupils report at their respective schools each day but do not attend classes for fear of further attacks.

A police spokesman yesterday confirmed the death of the pupil, saying the killing was linked to the "current war" between the "comrades" and the "MaSaddam" gang in the township.

Afraid

These gangs comprise students and people who do not attend school.

Northern Transvaal liaison officer of the Department of Education and Training, Mr Geoff Makwakwa, said pupils at Lethabong, Hlanganani and Soshanguve secondary schools were afraid to go to classes for fear they might be attacked.

Makwakwa said they had received reports that there had been no effective education at the three schools during the past two or three weeks.

The police spokesman said they had not yet received reports that pupils would be attacked.

Makwakwa said they could not get proper reports from the affected schools because of the defiance campaign being waged by principals and teachers against the DET.

Row over Aussie aid for ANC

Sowetan 13/6/91

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party have slammed the Australian government for only funding the African National Congress.

On Tuesday, Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans announced a R4,2-million package for the development of economic planning in South Africa, including a R180 000 grant to the ANC's economic planning department.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the Australian government favouring the ANC was not doing democracy a favour.

"If countries want a multiparty democracy in South Africa, they cannot weigh the scales before the people have voted by favouring one party to the expense of others.

"If the Australian government genuinely desire a multiparty democracy, I urge them to realise there should be more than one party," she said.

PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke snubbed Evans because the Australian government did not give any funding to the PAC.

Moseneke said over the past year the movement had directly and

Support

through its representative in Australia made several requests for financial assistance from the Australian government.

"The Australian government has been consistently sectarian in regard to their assistance and support to liberation movements in our country. It is an open secret that the financial and material support to one liberation movement in the country runs into several million dollars," he said.

Moseneke also pointed out that the Australian government had refused several requests to invite PAC officials to Australia, while it had invited officials of "one liberation movement in our country".

"At the end of the day it will not be the Australian government but the African masses in our country who will decide on the liberation movement which will form a future government in our country," he said.

Meanwhile it is reported that Government has begun high-level talks with the Australian Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Colin McDonald, on aspects surrounding Evan's visit.

Evans's behaviour and his attitude towards police protection had given cause for concern.

Mr Pik Botha, has confirmed that his department discussed the question of police protection for Evans.



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CIT 14/6/91

Bank tries to unfreeze ANC assets

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Barclays Bank is trying to unfreeze about R2.5m in Libyan assets reputedly destined for the ANC, but seized in New York during a complex money transfer.

The money was allegedly sent by the ANC in Harare to their London bank account but was seized en route.

A spokesman for Barclays head office here confirmed yesterday that in August last year the Libyan government of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi asked Barclays to raise the money from its New York bank and send it to a Zimbabwe bank account.

Later, he said, the Libyans changed their mind and asked that the money be sent to Tripoli. The money was seized during the transfer.

ANC 'failed' to give input on new bill

26/2 (11A)
et 14/6/91

Political Staff

THE ANC and civic organizations had five opportunities for consultation and representation on the Interim Measures for Local Government Bill but failed to respond, Provincial and Planning Affairs Deputy Minister Mr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

He was responding to criticism of the bill from the ANC, civics and the Democratic Party, which has said it will abstain from voting because there was no consultation or insufficient consultation.

DP MP Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday the government would strengthen militants inside and outside the ANC who did not want negotiations to succeed if it pushed through the bill.

The ANC had already threatened that if the bill was passed, it would withdraw from all local-level negotiations and would encourage civics and trade unions to do the same.

Mr Delport said no one had raised

the issue of consultation during the committee stage of the bill. The DP had not raised these objections when the bill could still be amended.

He said that on August 26, October 24 and November 27 last year, ANC officials had been approached for consultation on drafting the interim measures. He had received no response.

On March 4, Mr Delport had met ANC constitutional committee member Mr Kader Asmal, had provided him with a copy of the draft bill and invited comments and representations. None had been forthcoming.

On May 6, Transvaal MEC for Local Government Mr Oulaas van Zyl had met members of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal and had invited comments on the draft bill, but once again had got no response from them.

Mr Delport said the government had tried at all stages to involve interested bodies in the drafting, but that this had proved fruitless.

Wosa supports *Sowetan 14/6/91* 'assembly' moves 11A

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action supports action towards a constituent assembly to resolve the country's problems.

At its conference in Johannesburg Wosa said the liberation struggle needed a definition for a constituent assembly.

It said a constituent assembly should be based on one person one vote on a common voters' roll, there should be proportional representation, all discussions should be open and public, there should be equal access to the country's resources and the security forces should be disarmed and confined to barracks except for anti-crime policing.

Mobilisation

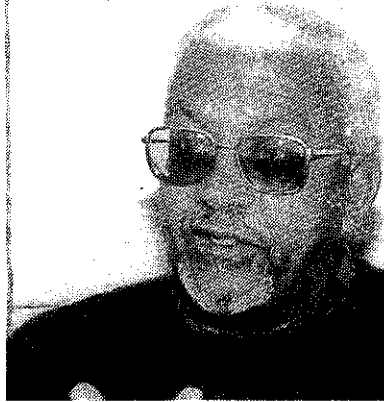
Wosa's newly elected general secretary, Mr Carl Brecker, said the organisation rejected the call for an interim government.

He said Wosa would work ceaselessly towards the destruction of the concept.

"Instead of an interim government we propose a monitoring committee comprising delegates from mass organisations.

"This committee will need to call for mass mobilisation as the only internal guarantor of the electoral process.

"The committee should also be



CARL BRECKER

mandated to invite, as necessary, the participation of progressive governments and internationally respected organisations to ensure free and fair elections.

"The character and extent of such interventions will more appropriately be determined nearer the time when the balance of forces is clearer," Brecker said.

Wosa further called for an immediate end to the violence in the black community. It suggested that a workers' summit be convened to discuss strategies to end the violence.

Messages of support were received from Azapo, Nactu, the SACP and other organisations.

June 16: South African Youth Day

New Nation (Learning Nation) (11A) 14/6-20/6/91



Alex June 1976

June 16 has become a historic day in South Africa. This is the day that marked the start of the struggle of the youth against Bantu Education.

Bantu Education was conceived and implemented as part of the policy to maintain white domination and black subjugation. It was designed by the Apartheid regime to educate Africans only to the extent to which they could serve the needs of the economy. Although the revolt against Afrikaans as the medium of instruction sparked off the nationwide struggle against Bantu education it must not be seen as a separate entity, but in its totality. More than 20 years ago Dr Verwoed had said: "There is no place for the Native in the European Community above the level of certain forms of labour.... It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community..."

Since 1955 it has been the policy of the Bantu Education Department that the two official languages namely English and Afrikaans be used on a 50-50 basis as a medium of instruction in Secondary Schools. This policy however could not be implemented 'efficiently and diligently' because of the shortage of teachers who were thoroughly proficient in both languages. Also, most teacher training colleges for blacks use English as the medium of instruction. At the beginning of 1976 when it became clear that the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was a reality, parent, teacher and student organisations rose up in protest and schools reopened in January 1976 into a situation of conflict and confrontation.

The first open expression of dissatisfaction of students was at a school called Thomas Mofolo Secondary School where students verbally clashed with their principal over the medium of instruction. Hereafter students at Orlando West Junior Secondary, Belle Higher Primary School and many others went on strike to oppose Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This was followed by detentions and police harassment of student protesters. On 10 June pupils at Emthonjeni and Orlando West Junior Sec refused to write their exams.

On 16th June 1976 the isolated school protests were organised into 10 000 students marching peacefully through Soweto to protest against Afrikaans being used as the medium of instruction in schools. The students were confronted by the police and the first of many shots to come were fired, killing Hector Peterson, the first victim. Thereafter pupils in townships and university students staged demonstrations and sympathy marches. The struggle against Bantu education assumed nationwide proportions with students in Durban and the Western Cape also protesting against their education. The reaction of the state was violent and direct. All schools were closed indefinitely; over 400 people were shot and killed; more than 3000 arrested; hundreds of the youth were maimed and some fled across the borders.

Protest continued for months hereafter and students were joined by their parents - workers - who when they returned home from work found the townships torn by violence and their sons and daughters dead or injured.

The workers who have no share at all in the political decisions which are made by the ruling class, had no say in matters concerning the education of their children. They united with their sons and daughters in struggle against Bantu education and

soon the focus shifted from Bantu education to a torrent of protest against the apartheid regime - strikes and stayaways on the Reef and in Cape Town and the biggest national stayaway in the history of S.A. Even though this support started out spontaneously it mobilised the oppressed community and broadened the scope of protest.

The 16th June struggle has acted as a catalyst to the building and formation of organisations. Students realised that without effective organisations and structures through which to voice their demands the struggle for a qualitative change in education would be impeded. The community also realised that also joint action between workers and students builds unity as well as an awareness of each others organisational problems. It also became clear why the education struggle is important for workers and students.

At present the education system does not promote ideas about democracy, it destroys rather than build them. Schools encourage small dictatorships where inspectors, headmasters and prefects rule. Corporal punishment is allowed and parents are only consulted for money. This is why we must support SRC's and PTSA's as a step to democracy. But we also have to go further - teachers, parents and students must all participate because we are all part of the struggle for a free and equal education.

What are our students demands?

- * a free and equal education
- * the right to form democratic SRC's
- * an alternative education
- * an Education Charter
- * a "Peoples Education"
- * a complete revision of the syllabus and the removal of racist and sexist forms of education.
- * a proper system of teaching methods and the way it effects the relationship between teachers and students.
- * the end to corporal punishment.

We have seen that on June 16th the youth lead the struggle against Bantu Education and as a result of this struggle many lives were lost but many valuable lessons were learnt. This will always be a day of commemoration and dedication.

Write to us and tell us about your experiences.

- Where were you in 1976 ?
- How did you respond to the events ?
- Are there any organisational lessons to be learnt from this period, if yes, what are they ?

Our postal address is Learning Nation, P.O. Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000.

New words

- impeded** - hindered, blocked, to stand in the way of
catalyst - something that causes a change or event to happen, especially an important one.



16 June - The Youth remember.

Resistance and division

on June 16

By DREW FORREST

FIFTEEN years after the Soweto student uprising, June 16 remains a potent symbol of black resistance — but also of the divided state of resistance politics.

Key resistance groups are planning separate commemorations in various centres at the weekend.

At a Johannesburg press conference this week, the African National Congress, its Youth League and Women's League, the SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions announced marches in more than 48 centres tomorrow — the most widespread protests since the ANC was unbanned — to demand peace, freedom and jobs.

These would be followed on Sunday by rallies to mark South African Youth Day, including a rally at the First National Bank Stadium outside Soweto to be addressed by ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela, Lebowa leader Nelson Ramodike and Prince Mewazzeni Zulu of the Congress of Traditional Leaders.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo said a co-ordinating committee was seeking to draw the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo into joint activities around June 16.

Asked whether Inkatha would be invited, ANC spokesmen said anyone committed to peace was free to participate.

Azapo this week announced that it is to stage 14 commemorative services countrywide on June 16.

The main event, a night vigil at Hector Petersen's Soweto home followed by a tombstone unveiling at Avalon cemetery and a service at Regina Mundi, will be jointly organised with the PAC. But the PAC is planning its own services in 16 other centres.

Tomorrow's marches by the ANC and its allies will climax with the presentation of memoranda to President de Klerk and Anton Roodt, the chairman of the employer body Saccola, listing concrete demands on violence, the constitutional process and employment.

"Without economic solutions, political change will be meaningless," stressed Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

On violence, the "tripartite alliance" will demand an end to "state violence and state support for vigilantes", a binding code of conduct for security forces and political parties and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

All parties are urged to join a conference aimed at producing detailed agreements and enforcement mechanisms to achieve peace.

An end to violence is critical to breaking the current constitutional deadlock, the alliance says, as are the freeing of political prisoners and an amnesty for exiles.

Why the SACP says no to social democracy

w/mail 14/6-20/6/91

114
SACP

THE South African Communist Party has been talking lately about "democratic socialism". Isn't this a guilty half-admission that we have become social democratic?

That was implied in a question John Bishop put to Joe Slovo in the course of last Sunday's SATV *Agenda*.

Is there substance in the distinction between "democratic socialism" as espoused by the SACP, and "social democracy"? Or is it all just word-play?

In the first place, we should travel back in history. The shot from a Serbian patriot in Sarajevo in 1914 did more than kill an arch-duke and trigger World War I. The shot, or rather the war, proved fatal to the old Second Socialist International as well. The various affiliates, including the South African Labour Party, split into anti-war internationalists, and pro-war groups supporting their respective national governments.

This was the immediate political background to the opening up of two distinct socialist currents, communist and social democratic. Both claimed, at least initially, an adherence to Marxism.

But there was also a deeper background. Within individual capitalist countries, the working class was stratified — here in South Africa quite dramatically so.

Then there were different political contexts. In some countries a relatively stable and formidable bourgeois democratic order and a large, well-organised working class seemed to offer possibilities for a piecemeal advance to an ultimate socialist goal.

But in Tsarist Russia, in semi-colonial and war-ravaged China, in Hitler's occupied Europe, in south east Asia, in Bastista's Havana, and indeed in the mine compounds and townships of apartheid South Africa, incremental advance within the rules of the game didn't look particularly possible. Conditions like these, if nothing else, have always sustained another socialist tradition. It is this tradition, of course, to which the SACP belongs.

So where do we stand in 1991?

In a number of countries, among them Italy, the old 1914 split is being re-evaluated self-critically from all sides. Here in South Africa our party has expended considerable energy in publicly assessing the failures of the Soviet system.

But what is the balance sheet on social democracy? In the decades after World War II it notched up significant achievements in parts of western Europe in particular. The welfare state emerged in countries ravaged by war. Economies were revitalised and

What is the difference between democratic socialism and social democracy? **JEREMY CRONIN** looks at the two concepts and explains the South African Communist Party's stand on the issue



Jeremy Cronin ... assessing the failures of the Soviet system

there were major social gains for the people as a whole.

In power, social democratic parties instituted major progressive reforms in health, education, housing and working conditions. Within the context of social democratic systems, a humane culture of political democracy has taken deep root. This gain has generally been much more profound than in either Eastern Europe, or in the hard-nosed "free enterprise" systems. The moral decline in Brezhnev's stagnant Soviet Union and Thatcher's privatised Britain has often justly been noted.

There is also a South African angle to the international contribution of social democracy. No anti-apartheid activist, communist or otherwise, should ever be allowed to forget the enormous support we have received from many social democratic parties and governments.

But social democracy has profound limitations. Let me note three:

● The first relates to the world we live in. Leaving aside roots and passionate commitments, I guess Sweden would be one of the nicest places to live and bring up a family. But is the Swedish option even vaguely realistic for the greater part of humanity?

The relative success of social democracy

has been in the rich pockets of the globe. Social democratic amelioration is made in the context of a world division of wealth.

The world division of wealth is also a world division of power. When socialist president Salvador Allende attempted to introduce progressive reforms in Chile, external forces, in the shape of the CIA and transnational ITT, simply bankrolled a bloody change in the rules of the game.

● Secondly, many social democrats in the West attribute their relative success to the fact that they have focused on control (through taxation and legislation) rather than on ownership. But this means that they have always only ameliorated some of the worst effects of capitalist ownership. They have never been able to end them.

Mass unemployment and major social inequality have remained features of social democratic dispensations.

● Finally (and to generalise somewhat), there has been a major tendency for social democratic parties to collapse into a narrow parliamentarianism.

When this happens, as it does in the context of a continuing capitalist economy, the goal of socialist transformation recedes ever further. Nowhere could this be more clearly illustrated than in the case of the British Labour Party.

So, when the SACP speaks of a democratic socialism it does so advisedly. We hope to learn from the achievements and shortcomings of both currents of socialism. We want to progressively abolish, not ameliorate capitalism.

But the answer is not to hand over the economy lock, stock and barrel to a highly centralised, bureaucratic state.

The emphasis must be on public (not state) control and ownership. To be sure, nationalisation will be one important mechanism for ensuring public control and ownership. But this depends upon the state itself being democratic and, therefore, strengthened, checked and balanced by a host of independent organs of civil society — like trade unions, civics and consumer bodies.

Besides, there are many more forms of public ownership and control than nationalisation. Co-operative, collective and municipal ownership can all be valid forms of socialist property.

Social democracy has come to mean, at its best, capitalism with a conscience. By contrast, the SACP is committed to a democratic socialism. That is, socialism, which through both electoral and mass democratic means, empowers the great working majority of our people.

11A) the only cert in an open field

If you're betting on the composition of the ANC's NEC after the July congress, then there's only one dead cert — Nelson Mandela will be elected president.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
14/6-20/6/91

FORECASTING the African National Congress executive that will emerge from the July congress is like guessing the Springbok rugby team — a phantom squad whose selection is made all the more difficult and compelling because so much has changed since South Africa was kicked out of test rugby.

Or, to risk another sporting metaphor, it's like predicting the outcome of the Durban July (the other contest in the steamy city in July which invites wild speculation) while the entire field has disappeared behind the drill hall.

At this point there is only one racing certainty — Nelson R Mandela for president, which will formalise the de facto position of the boss.

The rest of the places are incredibly wide open as the ANC, used to being able to make policy and select personnel in the comfort of smokey boardrooms, opens itself up to a process of grassroots democracy that could turn the movement upside down.

Regional differences, the baying for the blood of old guarders by caucuses of "internal" activists, returning exiles who have waited decades for the opportunity to vote against some of their leaders, and loyalists in far-flung corners of the country still worshipping heroes of the struggle that, closer to home, have been found wanting, all add up to an uncertain mix.

The one unifying factor is a general concern among ANC members that the first phase of negotiations has not gone well. The ANC needs to regain the initiative in its dealings with the government which — after the township violence and the debacle of political prisoner releases and exile returns — is viewed with extreme distrust.

The cut and thrust of the tensions in the movement will play itself out in the elections for the 90-member NEC, or at least for the 50 directly elected positions as the other 40 include the 28 regional chairs and secretaries, two leaders each from the Youth League and the Women's League and the five top office-bearers.

This means that the places of regional leaders such as Jacob Zuma, Harry Gwala, Christmas Tinto, Arnold Stofile and Gugile Nkwinti are secure.

Of the 50 NEC members directly elected by

11A) THE GERONTOCRACY AT THE ANC'S HELM

By GAVIN EVANS 14/6-20/6/91
IF retirement age in politics was anything like that in business, over a third of the current African National Congress National Executive Committee would be enjoying their pensions.

This, indeed, is what might well happen to many of the old men and women currently ruling the roost in the movement. Some will be re-elected, a few will retire gracefully and others will rage against the dying of the light.

At least 18 of the current ANC NEC are over 60, 13 of them have passed their 65th birthdays, seven are over 70 and one over 80.

This is in sharp contrast with the National Party, headed by 55-year-old FW de Klerk. Only two cabinet ministers and deputy ministers are over 60 — Gerrit Viljoen (64) and Magnus Malan (61).

The "age factor" is primarily a product of the movement's 30 years in exile. It was important to retain continuity and open democratic elections were not possible in conditions where secrecy was a priority. As a result much of the leadership of 1960 (when the ANC was banned) is still in place.

ANC president Oliver Tambo turns 74 in October and is certain to make way for deputy president Nelson Mandela, who'll be 73 by conference time.

Secretary general Alfred Nzo turns 66 next week, treasurer general Thomas Nkobi turns 69 later this year and internal leader Walter Sisulu is 79.

Then there's Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise (62), Women's League president Gertrude Shope, 66 in August, South African

congress, 15 will have to be women, opening the way for a battle royal for the 35 remaining positions.

Of the woman, the front-runners include Barbara Masakela, Lindiwe Mabuza, Ruth Mompati, Adelaide Tambo, Thenjiwe Mhinto, Ivy Matsepe, Frene Ginwalo, Ivy Ngcina, Hilda Ndundi, Jackie Molefe, and Linda Zama. Also in the picture are Audrey Coleman and — a borderline possibility — Winnie Mandela.

The post of deputy president is the hardest of all to call. This would have been the site of a succession struggle, but — to avoid such an eventuality — it is understood that neither of the two long-term front-runners, Thabo Mbeki or Chris Hani, will put themselves forward.

The search has gone out for a "unity" candi-

11A) Communist Party chairman Dan Tloome (74), SACP general secretary Joe Slovo (65) and SACP and South African Congress of Trade Unions leader John Nkadimeng (64).

Others include Eastern Cape leader and former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki, 81 next month, Western Cape leader Reg September (71), religious head Ruth Mompati, 66 in September.

Other prominent ANC leaders who are getting on include Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala (71), UDF president and ANC Women's League vice-president Albertina Sisulu (70), SACP internal leader and ANC interim leadership group member Raymond Mhlaba (71) and ANC Western Cape leader Christmas Tinto (65).

Six of the current NEC members are under the age of 50 — Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Jacob Zuma and Pallo Jordan (all 49), Thozamile Botha (42) and Jackie Selebi (41).

However, there are several younger leaders in their 30s and early 40s who look poised to be elected to the new ANC NEC.

Younger internal leaders set to take their places on the new NEC include ANC Free State leader and former UDF publicity secretary Patrick Lekota, 43 in August, former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe (39), Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi (32), political education head Raymond Suttner (44), PWV executive committee member Barbara Hogan (40), Eastern Cape publicity secretary Mike Xhego (34), ANC PWV chairperson leader Kgalema Motlanthe (41) and western Cape leader Trevor Manuel (35).

date. Walter Sisulu has been mentioned, despite his own disclaimer on the subject. If he doesn't, an attempt could be made to get his wife, Albertina Sisulu, to stand.

Jacob Zuma is a strong candidate for deputy president, but he has also been mentioned as a front runner for the secretary generalship.

Zuma, who is regarded as a negotiator and a "dove", has the advantage and the disadvantage of being Zulu: for that he will win the support of those who believe the ANC should have a top-ranking Zulu office-bearer, and the opposition of those who believe ethnic allocation is a betrayal of the ANC's principles.

Alfred Nzo, the incumbent (and one of those found wanting), will struggle to retain the post but is gearing up to fight a pitched battle to

keep his job. Miner's union general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa would be a strong candidate, but is reluctant to abandon his union in an embattled industry for the maelstrom of ANC politics.

Also in the running for this and the post of deputy secretary general is former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, who has the strong backing of the internal activists. Another name to watch is the Border's Arnold Stofile.

Thomas Nkobi has a hard fight on his hands to retain the post of treasurer general, and could face a strong challenge from, among others, former cultural head Barbara Masekela.

But for the remaining 35 NEC places the battle will be incredibly hard fought. The only certainties are the obvious big guys like Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Pallo Jordan and Joe Slovo. A lot of exiles could be swept away in these elections.

Newcomers to the NEC could include unionist Ramaphosa, Sydney Mufamadi and Jay Naidoo, as well as Alan Boesak, Terror Lekota and Ray Suttner.

Despite the flights of fancy that some scribers and their sources within the ANC have been driven to in naming individuals, no one knows for sure what the ANC top leadership will look like after July.

At least part of the blame for the huge curiosity surrounding the election lies with the ANC for shielding the press and the general public from the nomination process — setting off speculation made even wilder by its inevitably greater inaccuracy.

No-one wants to turn ANC elections into the kind of American-style horse-race where personalities completely overshadow issues and where candidates are reduced to kissing babies and waving flags rather than putting forward intelligent arguments.

But there's a certain inevitability to that in popular politics. The much maligned masses actually like to see politics personified. Proof of this is the way ANC members are engaging in the elections with a certain relish.

It's much better than the Kremlin style of politics which marks most South African politics, including those of the National Party. Elections are held behind closed doors and ranks close behind the new incumbent as quickly as the succession struggle is over.

The ANC's internal democracy puts it way ahead of the governing party and Inkatha, a feat even more impressive given the short space of time since its return from exile and the greater pressures that it is under to be organised. But the secrecy around the subject ensures that it's still only half the way there.

Settlement 'an NP deal with ANC'

8/10/91 14/6/91
LESLEY LAMBERT

CAPE TOWN — The outcome of negotiations for a political settlement would reflect a bargain struck between the NP and the ANC rather than a consensus of all participants, University of Cape Town Political Studies Professor Robert Schrire told a labour seminar yesterday.

"Decisions will not be taken by consensus of all political factions," Schrire said, adding that extremists would probably not participate in talks.

He said that if the key participants failed to find common ground this would result in an agreement which lacked community support, was unacceptable to power groups and failed to produce a stable system.

"Reformists will not recognise the new SA unless violence, economic decline and right-wing activism are under control."

SSA 11A

Questions

Larry Palk, MD of the seminar's organisers, Andrew Levy and Associates, said SA's re-entry into world markets would be adversely affected by a low productivity rate.

"Low productivity has been protected, even sponsored, by government in the past through protectionism and tariff walls," Palk said.

"If these are lifted now, it will pose questions about our ability to compete on world markets. It is also clear that wage increases have far outstripped increases in productivity.

"Companies with a unionised workforce should employ incentive bargaining to improve productivity. Such incentives, out of the normal annual bargaining arena, are vital if SA commerce and industry are to compete on the international market."

Bl Day 14/6/91 (SIA)

Bid to unfreeze ANC's \$1m

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — Barclays Bank is trying to unfreeze \$1m in Libyan assets reputedly destined for the ANC, but seized in New York during a complex money transfer.

The money was allegedly sent by the ANC in Harare to its London bank account but seized en route.

A spokesman for Barclays Bank head office in London confirmed yesterday that in August last year the Libyan government asked Barclays to raise the dollars from its New York bank and send the money to a Zimbabwe bank account.

This account, apparently, also belonged to the Libyan government. Later, he said, the Libyans changed their mind and asked that the money be sent to Tripoli.

However, instead of sending the dollars via London, where there would have been no problems, he said, the dollars went back to New York to be sent on to Tripoli. "At that stage the US froze the funds".

But, with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reportedly furious at the delay in securing the funds, it is not known why Libya asked for the money.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports that ANC Harare bureau head Max Mlonyeni disclosed yesterday he had received a telephone call from the headquarters of American Express in New York, saying they had no knowledge of the impound-

ing of the donation when it was transmitted in March from the Libyan embassy's account with Barclays Bank Zimbabwe to an ANC numbered account with National Westminster Bank.

The American Express Bank said it was trying to trace where the mistake might have happened.

American Express is believed to be terrified it has aroused the wrath of the powerful black lobby in the US, say sources.

Banking circles speculated earlier that once American Express become involved as an intermediary, it was forced by strict US State Department sanctions rules to freeze funds emanating from Libya.

Evans leaves SA on discordant note

TIM COHEN

AUSTRALIAN Foreign Minister Gareth Evans flew out of SA on a discordant note yesterday after Foreign Minister Pik Botha repudiated his claim that Australia had never before given money to the ANC.

But after meeting Evans Botha said the trip was "a step forward" which could improve relations. He described an incident in which Evans allegedly swore at a policeman during a visit to Khayelitsha as "something of the past".

At a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Botha disputed Evans' claim that the R4m donation made to the ANC and other bodies was the first time Australia had given money directly to the ANC.

It had contributed R15m before Evans' trip, Botha said. *10am 14/6/91*

He criticised the Australian government's grant to the ANC because, he said, it would make other political groups feel left out and this would incite violence.

Botha excused Evans' outburst in Khayelitsha, saying his counterpart had been working under a very tight schedule and had met more than 300 people in SA.

Evans had said he regretted the unpleasantness and offered his apologies to any officials he might have upset, Botha said.

Evans, who wanted his visit to the township to be a low-key affair to avoid the "zoo syndrome", allegedly told a policeman who joined his convoy he was "f..... useless".

"Let us let the matter rest ... we have

To Page 2

Evans *10am 14/6/91*

more important matters to deal with," Botha said.

At an earlier news conference also at Jan Smuts, Evans said he was leaving SA with a sense of optimism and real hope.

"It is true the trip hasn't been without a few bumps," he said, adding that this could have been because of some "Aussie bashing" but this was understandable because Australians themselves had been engaged in some "SA bashing".

Asked about sanctions, Evans said: "I do think that the European decision (to lift certain investment and trade sanctions) was premature, but the logjam that had occurred in the Danish parliament means that the European decision has not been able to be executed.

"It does create an opportunity for international sanctions policy to get into line as between the EC, the Commonwealth, the US and Japan."

Asked whether he shared Evans' view that sanctions had encouraged change in SA, Botha said this view was "totally wrong", and sanctions had in fact impeded change government had started years ago.

"It would be grotesque, incongruous to claim that Australia did anything to bring about any change in SA. She didn't. She messed up things. But that is in the past."

Asked about Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawk's proposed visit to SA, Botha said: "SA does not withdraw invitations on the basis of what I would hope to be isolated ad hoc incidents under circumstances of stress".

Regarding his stormy meeting with Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Evans said he got the feeling that Buthelezi's response was well scripted long before his visit.

● Picture: Page 3
● See Page 6

From Page 1

LEST WE FORGET . . .

HECTOR Pietersen, the first victim of the June 16 1976 pupil uprising, would have been 28 years old today, but was his death and those of hundreds of others, in vain?

Last year at the funeral of Tsietsi Mashinini, the founding president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, then president of Azapo, said:

"The difference between students of 1976 and today's is that in 1976 they took the struggle from the classroom into the streets while today's students take the struggle from the streets into the classroom."

"They confuse anarchy with revolution."

When they dared the Government and took the bull by the horns, these children said they were declaring war on fear and putting confrontation on the agenda.

Education

Thabo Ndabeni was the only executive member of the SSRC who could be traced this week.

Reflectively, he said: "We addressed black education problems at the time and we have seen many changes in this country as a result."

"This we achieved because we were speaking with one voice and we were disciplined in line with the teachings of black consciousness at the time."

"Today's youth are using their energy on vengeful attacks and direct their anger at black families and property."

By THEMBA MOLEFE

"School disruptions for reasons that are sometimes not related to education have become common. There is chaos in the schools which needs to be redressed."

In 1976 Mashinini was scarcely 18 years old when he led black pupils in a protest against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in their schools.

He had this to say during a newspaper interview and in between hiding from the police: "This festering sore of oppression had to be pierced open and we the youth did it."

Sowetan
14/6/91
Parents

11A

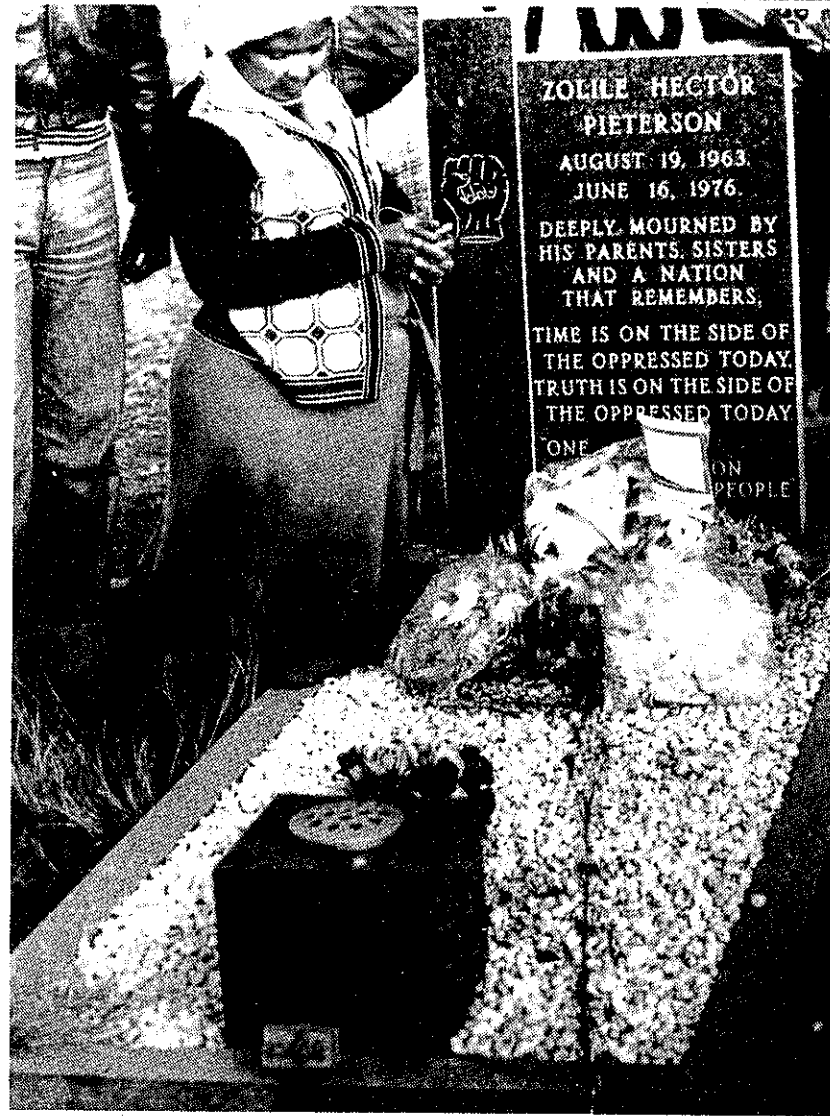
Our kids took the struggle onto the streets

The only girl in the SSRC executive was Sibongile Mthembu, now Mrs Mkhabela. She is furthering her studies at a Natal university.

Mashinini's successor, Khotso Seatholo, who was released last year after serving 10 years of a 15-year term on Robben Island, is now in Europe where he is to address several meetings on Sunday about the events which led to his imprisonment.

On Sunday June 16 will be commemorated throughout the world. But in South Africa, it will not be with one voice as major political groups hold their own services and do not even agree on a common title for the day.

The ANC will be commemorating South African Youth Day, Azapo National Resistance Day and the PAC the June 16 Soweto uprisings.



FLASHBACK: Mrs Dorothy Pietersen kneels at her son Hector's grave at the Avalon Cemetery. Hector would have been 28 years old today.

Govt 'hindering ANC moderates'

By pressing ahead with the Interim Measures for Local Government Bill, the Government was making it impossible for the leaders of the ANC to sell the concept of negotiations to their followers at the organisation's conference in Durban next month, Jan van Eck (DP Claremont) said in Parliament yesterday. ~~386-9~~ (11A)

Speaking in second-reading debate on the measure, he said: "You are tying the hands of the moderates in the ANC and strengthening the hand of those who want to see negotiations land up on the rocks."

South Africans today had an opportunity to end the political conflict in the country through negotiations. ~~387-9~~

"Anyone who takes steps that can damage or even fatally wound this unique opportunity is playing with the future of our country and all its people."

"It is my opinion that that is what the Government is doing by forcing this piece of legislation through Parliament."

It was doing so in spite of knowing the magnitude of opposition to the Bill from its potential negotiating allies. — Sapa.

Huddleston invited to ANC conference

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Star

14/6/91

Renowned anti-apartheid veteran Bishop Trevor Huddleston plans to return to South Africa next month — provided he is granted an entry visa.

Bishop Huddleston told The Star from London yesterday that he had been invited by the ANC to attend its first national conference in South Africa since its banning in 1961.

However, the Anti-Apartheid Movement president was not prepared to discuss his visit because he had agreed with the ANC "to await

official publication of the invitation list" of guests invited to the Durban conference.

Bishop Huddleston arrived in South Africa in 1943 to serve as an Anglican priest in the Community of the Resurrection.

He also campaigned against Bantu Education and the removals from Sophiatown and was honoured by the ANC at the 1955 Congress of the People.

In 1956 he was recalled to Britain in what was widely seen as a response to pressure from Pretoria. Since then he has been prohibited from entering South Africa.

11A

Settlement 'an NP deal with ANC'

By Lesley Lambert
14/6/91

CAPE TOWN — The outcome of negotiations for a political settlement would reflect a bargain struck between the NP and the ANC rather than a consensus of all participants, University of Cape Town Political Studies Professor Robert Schrire told a labour seminar yesterday.

"Decisions will not be taken by consensus of all political factions," Schrire said, adding that extremists would probably not participate in talks.

He said that if the key participants failed to find common ground this would result in an agreement which lacked community support, was unacceptable to power groups and failed to produce a stable system.

"Reformists will not recognise the new SA unless violence, economic decline and right-wing activism are under control."

Questions

Larry Palk, MD of the seminar's organisers, Andrew Levy and Associates, said SA's re-entry into world markets would be adversely affected by a low productivity rate.

"Low productivity has been protected, even sponsored, by government in the past through protectionism and tariff walls," Palk said.

"If these are lifted now, it will pose questions about our ability to compete on world markets. It is also clear that wage increases have far outstripped increases in productivity.

"Companies with a unionised workforce should employ incentive bargaining to improve productivity. Such incentives, out of the normal annual bargaining arena, are vital if SA commerce and industry are to compete on the international market."

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Star 14/6/91

100 women march for unity and peace in SA

By Montshiwa Moroke



Taking up the burden . . . women marched through Johannesburg yesterday to call for peace. Picture: Karen Fletcher

About 100 women from different religious denominations and other organisations yesterday brought traffic to a standstill as they sang their way through the streets of Johannesburg in a march for peace and unity.

The march, which was organised by the Interdominational Prayer Womens' League (IPWL) and the SA Council of Churches Womens' Ministry, was led by IPWL president Masechaba Mabaso.

The women represented most of the major political organisations as well as hunger-striking prisoners. Among them were leading activist Sister Mary Bernard Ncube and French-born Father Senatla Lafonte of Soweto.

The march started at the corner of Simmonds and Pritchard streets and wound its way to the Central Methodist Church, where a service was held.

Police kept a close watch on the marchers and filmed the entire procession.

The march received approval from many by-standers and shoppers.

Traffic officers in several vehicles and on motorbikes controlled traffic during the hour-long march.

A spokesman for the women said the march had been called to "bury apartheid, press for the release political prisoners and the return of exiles, as well as to pray for unity and peace".

The women held placards, some of which read: "Release all political prisoners now", "Peace, unity among all races, God bind us all together" and "Apartheid must go, our people are dying from violence, apartheid destroys people".

Major players plan to attend peace meeting

Star 14/6/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

11A

Next weekend's crucial peace initiative seems to be getting off the ground — and hopes have been raised that the meeting might achieve a breakthrough in the fragile church-led process to find binding solutions to the township violence.

Five major players have already announced they will attend the meeting at Barlow Rand's head office in Sandton.

The meeting will be closed to the media.

The country's two major trade union federations, Cosatu and Nactu, as well as the South African Communist Party and the black consciousness-aligned Azapo, have confirmed they would attend the June 22 meeting.

And a Democratic Party source said "there is no ways in which we will not be there".

However, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party declined the invitations.

The meeting is being organised by the facilitating committee,

under the chairmanship of Dr Louw Alberts, set up at the Government's peace summit in Pretoria last month.

However, facilitating committee spokesman Val Pauquet cautioned: "Until we receive all the responses, we can't say anything. If we are assured of full representation, the meeting will go ahead."

Nactu said yesterday that its president, James Mndaweni, and treasurer, Bob Mashele, would represent the federation.

Azapo acting publicity secretary Lybon Mabasa said his organisation would attend the meeting "as part of the various initiatives to solve our country's problems".

Cosatu and the SACP earlier announced their attendance.

The ANC yesterday still declined to confirm or deny whether it would attend but chances are slim that it will not attend, since its alliance partners — Cosatu and the SACP — will be present.

The Government, the PAC and Inkatha — three crucial forces — have not announced whether they will attend.

Inkatha to join in June 16 services

Sowetan 14/6/91
POLITICAL organisations have organised venues for services on Sunday to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 students' uprising.

And for the first time the Inkatha Freedom Party will also be holding a June 16 rally at Diepkloof Hall, Soweto, at 10am on Sunday.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance has listed departure points where members will begin 48 marches tomorrow.

The Johannesburg march will begin at the corner of Wanderers and Plein streets while the one in Pretoria will start at Cosatu's offices in Brown Street.

However, the Pietersburg Town Council has turned down an application by the ANC to stage a march through the town tomorrow.

The organisation said no reasons had been given in the refusal letter signed by the council's head of protection services,

By IKE MOTSAPI, MATHATHA TSEDU and THEMBA MOLEFE

Mr WCC Brandt.

It is understood the council also turned down an application by the AWB to stage a march on the same day.

The ANC's Northern Transvaal spokesman, Mr Stan Motimele, said efforts were still being made to get the decision reversed. If all failed the march would be called off, he said.

Separate

The ANC said the marches in Potgietersrus and Burgersfort would continue as scheduled.

Meanwhile, the ANC and PAC have scheduled separate services for Umtata on Sunday. The ANC will hold a rally at the Umtata Stadium while the PAC will

● To Page 2

lazi Stadium, Claremont, Stanger Town Hall, Inanda Stadium, Amanzimtoti Catholic Church, Port Shepstone's Gamalake Sportsground, Georgedale Sportsground and KwaMashu Stadium.

Azapo

Regina Mundi Catholic Church (Soweto) 10am; St Hildas Anglican Church, Senaane (Soweto) 12 noon; Dobsonville International Assemblies of God 10am (Soweto); Kimberly Lime Acres 10am; QwaQwa (Phuthadijhaba) 9am; KwaNdebele Stadium 10am; Venda Stadium 10am; Coligny Community Hall 2pm; Standerton Social Centre 9am; St Mary's Anglican Church, (Cape Town) 2pm; St Aidan's Anglican Church (Durban) 11am; Centenary Hall, Eastern Cape 12 noon; Kroonstad Mothlodi Stadium 10am; Mndanisane Hall 12noon.

Azapo will also hold other services internationally at:

Amsterdam where Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley will speak;

London - Professor Inumeleng Mosala will address a major rally;

Tripoli - Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng will speak.

PAC/Pan Africanist Student Organisation

Morojaneng Community Hall (Dewetsdorp); Kurlonong Stadium (Odendaalsburg); Khotsoeng (Bothaville); Mashayeng Stadium (Fouriesburg); Lindley Nth Catholic Church; Lionel Kent Social Centre (Daveyton) all at 12 noon.

Leangar Civic Centre (Micheal's Plain) 11am; Sisa Dakashe Stadium (Mdanisane); Dan Qoge Stadium (Zwide); University of Venda Independence Stadium; St Peter's Seminary (Hamanskraal); Turfloop University Stadium; Sebokeng Stadium; Tembisa Moentsho Stadium; Durban Westville University.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP Alliance marches departure points tomorrow.

All marches begin at 10am
Verreiging, Klerksdorp, Cardenaville, Secunda, Witbank, Burgersfort, Standerton, Lydenburg, Barberton, Nelspruit, Carolina, Bushbuckridge, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Vryburg, Welkom, Kroonstad, Vrede, Bloemfontein, Qwa-Qwa, Harrismith, Pretoria, Warmbaths, Phalaborwa, Potgietersrus, Pietersburg, Durban, Vryheid, Maritzburg, Kokstad, Lady Smith, Fort Steyn, Newcastle, Port Elizabeth, Alice, Butterworth, King William's Town, Umtata, Cape Town, Ashqop, Mossel Bay, Atlantis, Worcester, Pamp, Kanyaga, Rietburg Bay, George and Oudshoorn.

From Page 1
go to the Independence Stadium.

The only joint service will be at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto with the PAC, Azapo, Nactu, the New Unity Movement and Workers Organisation for Socialist Action collaborating.

The ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance will hold a service at FNB Stadium outside Soweto.

The general secretary of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, Mr Lawrence Ngandela, called on all students to observe the day with dignity. Paso holds its rally at Daveyton's Lionel Kent Centre at noon.

The ANC, PAC and Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in exile will host a joint June 16 programme beginning today in Harare.

A spokesman for the organisers, Miss Sesi Baloyi, said a march in downtown Harare will culminate in speeches on the steps of the South African Trade Mission.

A suggestion that a petition be handed to the South African representative was rejected by the PAC and BCMA.

The venues for Sunday's services are: ANC-Cosatu-SACP

FNB Stadium (Johannesburg); Botshabelo, Bloemfontein; Thabong, Welkom; Khotsoeng, Bothaville; Zamdela, Sasolburg; Bethlehem and Qwa-Qwa. All begin at 10am.

Services are also planned for the Western and Eastern Cape and in Umtata.

In the northern and Southern Cape and Border regions, all starting at 10am, will be held in Port Elizabeth, Cradock, Cookhouse, Colesburg, Mooiplaas, Duncan Village, Zwelitsha Stadium, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Pedit, Queenstown, Burgersdorp, Sutterheim, Kimberley, Matifeng, Vryburg, Riche, Postmasburg, Barkley West.

In Southern Natal the venues are Um-



DENNIS BRUTUS

Brutus wary to return

Sowetan 14/6/91
 WASHINGTON - Exiled South African poet Professor Dennis Brutus says a document he signed as a condition for being allowed to leave the country 25 years ago would make it risky for him to return home now.

Brutus writes in *USA Today* newspaper that prior to his departure for the United States he was required to sign a document agreeing to go to prison if he set foot on South African soil again.

He has been granted a South African 60-day tourist visa, but Pretoria has ignored his request for an assurance that

his 1966 deal with the SAP would not be invoked, he says in an article in the paper.

"I do not want to go to South Africa if I might be jailed on arrival," writes Brutus.

Political changes

In the article he poses the question of whether the political changes in South Africa are real.

Brutus cites his own case as cause for tempering optimism with caution. - *Sapa*.

'Milestone congress' for Azanyu

Sowetan 14/6/91
 THE Azanian National Youth Unity, the youth wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, holds its third national congress at Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto on June 22 and 23.

The congress has been organised by Azanyu's steering committee formed in Soweto shortly after another group in the organisation held an "unconstitutional national congress" in Transkei in January.

The Transkei congress passed resolutions which are not recognised by the steering committee. It also elected a new national executive committee and "expelled" four senior officials of the organisation.

The four are Ntsie Mohloai, Mpuka Radinku, Mawanda Jack and Vuyani Mbinda, who were accused of tribalism, sectionalism and co-operating with the Bureau of Information.

The committee's chairman Terrence Serero, told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that they were expecting about 1 000 delegates from 150 bran-

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

ches all over the country at next weekend's congress.

"This milestone congress will clarify confusion within the ranks of Azanyu. It is also expected to offer a new 'revolutionary, uncompromising and militant youth leadership' that will lead the youth, in conjunction with workers, to a way to crush settler-colonialism, capitalism and imperialism," he said.

The theme of the congress is: "One Settler! One Bullet! Forward with Armed Revolution."

Linked to this theme will be a major resolution on the controversial issue over a constituent assembly adopted by the PAC at its December congress.

Serero said invitations had been sent to several political, cultural and other organisations in and outside the country.

They include, Azapo, the New unity Movement, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, Nactu, Cosatu as well as the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party and the Zimbabwean Zanu Youth League.

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China gives PAC support

JOHANNESBURG. — China has pledged its support to a PAC delegation currently touring the country. (M)

The PAC said the assurance was given to its president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, when he met Mr Zhu Liang, head of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party.

The PAC also announced yesterday that its internal head of foreign affairs is to address the UN Special Committee on Apartheid on the 1976 Soweto uprising. — Sapa CRIS/67

PAC pull out of ^(11A) joint rally

CT 15/6/91
UMTATA, Transkei.

The Pan-Africanist Congress has pulled out of a joint PAC-ANC rally scheduled here tomorrow, citing the inclusion of the SA Communist Party in the event as the major obstacle.

Publicity secretary of the PAC in Transkei Mr Z Mkabile said his organisation had long-standing fundamental differences with the SACP.

Although the invitation for the joint rally was mooted by the ANC, it was not revealed that the SACP would join in until the PAC forwarded conditions of acceptance, he said.

ANC regional publicity secretary Mr Pumzile Mayapi said the failure of the joint rally was due to the ANC's uncompromising stand on the SACP's participation.

He expressed hope of another joint ANC/PAC rally in the future.

Tomorrow's ANC rally goes ahead as planned.

ANC 'not asked' to comment on bill

By PETER DENNEHY

THE ANC and the recently formed National Interim Civic Committee said yesterday that they had not been consulted on the controversial Interim Measures for Local Government Bill, despite government claims to the contrary.

Professor Kader Asmal, a member of the constitutional committee of the ANC, said in a statement yesterday that Planning and Provincial Affairs Deputy Minister Mr Tertius Delpport had given him a copy of the draft bill "in the strictest confidence" earlier this year.

He had not broken this confidence, he added. He had in no way been acting as an ANC pleni-

potentiary when he met Mr Delpport.

Professor Asmal was reacting to Mr Delpport's statement in Parliament on Thursday that the ANC and the civics had had "five opportunities" to be consulted and make representations on the bill.

Professor Asmal said: "I would like to state categorically that the ANC has never been formally approached for comment on the bill. In spite of this, the ANC commented publicly on the provisions of the Thornhill Committee Report in October last year.

"These comments were totally ignored in the drafting of the bill."

He said the government must be aware that formal consultation and democracy entailed re-

quests for comments and observations between departments and organisations.

"At no stage was the ANC afforded the courtesy, which we believe was extended to white municipalities, of a formal request to comment on the bill."

Ms Zohra Ebrahim, the national civics co-ordinator, said contacting individuals was not the same as approaching organisations. The National Interim Civic Committee had publicly expressed its view on the bill at its Bloemfontein conference early in May, when it had called for it to be withdrawn.

"We are not rejecting any sort of involvement (in local negotiations) out of hand, but we want national guidelines to be agreed to first."

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CT 15/6/91



NELSON AND WINNIE: Their marriage has had to withstand long years of separation caused by banning orders, detentions and jail.

The Mandelas: love story or tragedy?

Star 15/6/91
PAT DEVEREAUX

YESTERDAY Nelson and Winnie Mandela celebrated their 33rd wedding anniversary.

For some, their marriage will go down in history as one of the great love stories — but others believe it is a “tragic union” that has had to weather some severe batterings.

On the political front, the partnership has endured the detentions of Nelson and Winnie, nearly three decades of imprisonment for Nelson, the banishment of Winnie to Brandfort in the Free State, and the political isolation of Winnie by the Mass Democratic Movement, which included the United Democratic Front and Cosatu.

More recently, Winnie's trial for kidnapping, in which she was given a six-year jail sentence (she is currently out on bail), has also taken its toll.

When 40-year-old Nelson and his 22-year-old second bride, Winnie, took their marriage vows on June 14 1958, few suspected the larger-than-life role their love story would play in the black struggle.

The marriage was only four years old when ANC leader Mr Mandela was jailed for five years on Robben Island for incitement to strike and leaving the country without a permit. The next year, during the Rivonia trial, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage, along with Walter Sisulu and others.

Right after the trial the stunningly beautiful Winnie, who had little political experience and not held any official ANC position, became a figurehead for the black struggle. In 1964 she and Albertina Sisulu, Walter's wife, were banned.

In 1977 Winnie was banished to Brandfort for eight years. This fanned black anger and heightened media attention.

On the personal front the marriage has survived much

trauma, including family objections to Mr Mandela's taking a second wife and objections from Winnie's family over her youthful marriage to a man with a high political profile.

In Fatima Meer's book “Higher Than Hope” Mr Mandela's first wife, Eveline, tells how she first heard of the start of the love affair that has captured international attention:

“In a way I continued to delude myself, that since there were children between us, there was a marriage between us.

“But this changed when a friend drew my attention to a notice in the paper a whole year and more after I had moved out of my house. ‘Your husband is divorcing you,’ she said.

She was dazzled by the bronze giant with his mop of thick matted hair, parted on the side, and a smile that affected her in a way nothing else had up to that point in her life.

“I froze, unable to respond. I had heard vaguely that Nelson was going out with a social worker from Baragwanath Hospital. It was just one more woman, I had thought. He would discard her like he had the others.”

Nelson had three children from his marriage to Eveline. Tembi, their elder son, was killed in a motor accident; Makgatho, the younger son has joined his mother in running her Transkei store; and Makaziwe, the oldest of Nelson's daughters, now lives in Massachusetts with her husband and

three children.

The young Winnie Madikizela first set eyes on Nelson as she waited for a bus. He was in a passing car with two medical students. She met him a while later after her hostel mate, Adelaide Tsukudu, who was going out with the equally famous Oliver Tambo at the time, introduced her.

She was dazzled by the bronze giant with his mop of thick matted hair, parted on the side, and a smile that affected her in a way nothing else had up to that point in her life.

The magnetic attraction between the two meant the couple were soon seeing a lot of each other. He invited her to use his office if she needed a quiet place for studying.

Nelson's feelings for Winnie were revealed after an incident one night at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. They were attending a fund-raising ANC dance; suddenly knives were flashed and shots fired. Winnie ducked under a table. Nelson was there, beside her, dragging her out, leading her into his car. She could not help but notice his concern for her safety.

At the Drill Hall, where the preparatory examination for the Rivonia Treason Trial was in progress, Nelson first introduced the woman he was going to marry to his friends. They were all charmed by her, but taking Nelson aside a friend said to him: “Such intimidating and seductive beauty does not go with a revolutionary.” Nelson laughed and, turning to her, asked if she had heard. She was looking at him and smiling, but when he repeated what had been said she flared up in anger. “You have no sense of humour,” he chastised her.

Nelson's divorce from Eveline came through in 1957 and in early 1958 he announced his pending marriage to Winnie.

He did not propose — he took it for granted they would marry. That was what the long courtship had been all about, according to Fatima Meer's book.

Nelson then told Winnie she should inform her parents of her decision. Plucking up courage to tell her parents, Winnie produced a photograph of Nelson in boxing gear. “Ma,” she said “this man wants to marry me. I've come to get your approval because I also want to marry him.” Hearing that it was Nelson Mandela, her mother said she was mad — the man had a charge of treason hanging over his head.

Winnie's father said he admired Nelson and would be the last to stand in his way, but he said Nelson had chosen a difficult road and she was far too inexperienced to accompany him on it. He then blessed her anyway.

They were all charmed by her, but taking Nelson aside a friend said to him: “Such intimidating and seductive beauty does not go with a revolutionary.”

They were married in Bizana on June 14 1958. Nelson had to apply for a relaxation of his banning order so he could attend his own wedding.

During that first year of their marriage the treason trial dragged on and because of the time it took, the legal practice of Tambo and Mandela had almost closed down. The family struggled to survive on a meagre income.

In July 1958 Winnie became pregnant and in October she marched with the ANC Women's League on the offices of the Native Commissioner, protesting against passes. The

women were arrested and locked up in police cells.

During the second week of their imprisonment, Winnie began bleeding profusely but Albertina Sisulu allayed her anxiety. The bleeding stopped.

On February 4 1959, Winnie's daughter Zenani was born. She miscarried her second pregnancy but a couple of months later was pregnant again with a second daughter, Zindzi.

The strong-willed Winnie had vowed never to lose her individuality. But Madiba, as she calls him, was overpowering.

“In the little time I spent with him, I discovered too soon how quickly I would lose my identity because of his overpowering personality — you just fizzled into being his appendage, with no name and no individuality except Mandela's: Mandela's wife, Mandela's child, Mandela's niece. I vowed that none of this would apply to me,” Winnie said.

She was true to her word. She has never stood in Nelson Mandela's shadow.

Winnie now commands almost as much media attention as her husband.

There is a deep loyalty between them. She has stood by her husband throughout his imprisonment and Mr Mandela stood by his wife during her trial — at great risk to his political profile. After she was convicted he was immediately at her side, kissed her on the lips and asked how she was.

However, it remains to be seen whether the romance can outlast still more batterings lurking on the horizon. Mrs Mandela faces six years' jail for kidnapping — if her appeal against her conviction and sentence fails. And there have been ongoing rumours of unfaithfulness and lately of a rift between the couple — strongly refuted by the ANC.

Slovo, Nzo, Naidoo ^(11A) to lead Jo'burg march

SEVERAL high-ranking members of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions will lead a march through Johannesburg today.

In a news release yesterday, the ANC said the national secretaries general of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu — Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo and Jay Naidoo — would be leading the march.

Other leaders would include the regional chairman of the ANC PWV region, Kgalema Motlanthe, and Albertina Sisulu of the ANC Woman's League.

The march, scheduled to begin at 10 am, would be from Park Chambers to police headquarters at John Vorster Square.

Pretoria will also hold a march, due to be led by Dr Abe Nkomo and Joan Fubbs.

Winnie Mandela would lead a march due to be held in the Vaal Triangle. — Sapa.

This is hampering the ANC — Dhlomo

□ PRESSWATCH

What the Afrikaans
papers are saying

TWO "inexplicable errors" are hampering the ANC's transition from a liberation movement to a political party and are mainly responsible for the movement's failure to dominate the political scene in the past 16 months, Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy told *Vrye Weekblad* this week.

Dhlomo, a former senior Inkatha member, said the ANC's first mistake was its failure to recognise and apply politically the ethnic factor in South African politics.

Black people in the rural areas, he said, saw the ANC as an elitist organisation whose leaders only spoke English and who looked down on traditional customs and culture.

The second error, Dhlomo said, was the ANC's failure to integrate the large number of experienced internal leaders with returning exiles and freed political prisoners.

The top leadership of the ANC consisted almost exclusively of returnees and former prisoners, he said, which excluded internal leaders of the UDF, Cosatu and the MDM who had carried the banner for the ANC under difficult conditions during the period of banning and the states of Emergency.

□ □ □ □
AFTERNOON tabloid *Transvaler*

this week slammed the community service sentence pronounced on three white teenagers who had beaten to death Patrick Matlhale in Krugersdorp early last year.

The three had their five-year prison sentences wholly suspended for five years by Judge B O'Donovan, and have to perform 1 200 hours of community service at the Krugersdorp SPCA. They also have to undergo compulsory psychiatric therapy.

"Is this a sufficient punishment to deter other thugs and to reform those implicated?" the newspaper asked, saying it was doubtful unless community service was done properly and the compulsory therapy brought them to other insights.

□ □ □ □

THE best news about the visit of Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, is that he is leaving today, *Beeld* told its readers in an editorial on Thursday.

"He must have succeeded in pampering the ANC, but his visit was a failure and an irritation in the view of millions of South Africans," the Transvaal morning daily said.

The paper added that the ANC probably was not that excited about the R180 000 donation towards the formation of a department of economic planning, as "an organisation that is as ideologically confused as the ANC needs far more than that".

Beeld said that if it had been the government, it would behave as if Evans had not been here at all. "What he needs is a top-class diplomatic snub," it said.

ANC buys Soweto mansions

THE ANC has bought two luxury Soweto homes - one from Kaizer Motaung and the other from Sello "Chicco" Twala.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said former exiles had moved into the houses in Bever-

ly Hills and Diepkloof Extension.

Motaung confirmed the sale but did not reveal details of the transaction.

■ Meanwhile, the ANC is reportedly eyeing Anglo Ameri-

can's Springfield Colliery in the Heidelberg district.

Anglo spokesman James Duncan said ANC representatives had been shown the property.

Press 16/6/91

11A

Evans leaves South Africa with 'horror' and hope

9 press 16/6/91

~~SECRET~~ (A) (11A)

AUSTRALIAN Foreign Minister Gareth Evans jetted out of South Africa on Thursday leaving a trail of controversy over his support for the ANC and his verbal clash with security forces during a visit to Cape Town's squatter camps.

Despite this, his week-long fact-finding mission — the first official Australian visit in 20 years — was encouraging, Foreign Minister Pieter Botha told the press after Evans departed for Harare.

"I believe the relationship between our two countries will improve ... Australia will take a positive position once the last pillars of apartheid have been removed," Botha said.

He described as "regrettable" an incident in Khayelitsha where Evans allegedly swore at a security officer over obtrusive police presence when he had requested a low-key security approach.

On the issue of the Australian government's pledge to provide R4-million in post-apartheid aid of which R180 000 would go to the ANC — Botha said he had warned Evans against providing aid to only one party.

Echoing Botha's conciliatory comments, Evans said at Jan Smuts Airport that he was leaving with "a sense of optimism".

He was "extremely impressed by the extraordinary commitment to the reform process".

His most vivid impression of South Africa was the "horror in the townships", he said, but de-



Gareth Evans

spite this his lasting impression would be positive.

Evans said he thought the partial relaxation of some European Community sanctions in December had been "premature" and that his government favoured the gradual phasing out of sanctions based on the reforms achieved.

It was unfortunate that controversy had blown up around his visit, but it must be looked at in the context of relations between South Africa and Australia, Evans said.

"It's true the trip hasn't been without a few bumps", he said,

adding that this could be due to some "Aussie bashing".

But this was understandable because the Australians themselves had engaged in some "South African bashing" in recent years.

The Khayelitsha incident should not outweigh the basic successes of the trip, he said.

He was unrepentant about the allocation of funds to the ANC, reiterating that his government viewed the ANC as the largest representative organisation in South Africa.

Australian relations with Inkatha had never been good, he said.

Back home Evans came under fire, with the editorial of one newspaper, *The Australian*, describing the visit as "appalling diplomacy".

Evans' trip was designed to pave the way for a visit later this year by Prime Minister Bob Hawke, the newspaper said.

But his decision to emphasise contacts with the ANC upset other black groups, and news reports focused on the minister's temper.

"Senator Evans alienated the National Party government, most black organisations bar the ANC, and much of the business community.

"He had little time for anyone with views different from his own.

"This is appalling diplomacy. Australia has effectively placed all of its South African eggs in the ANC basket, but no one in South Africa has yet to cast a ballot for the ANC." — Sapa

Ramodike still on at ANC rally

By THEMBA KHUMALO

BEHIND-the-scenes negotiating by ANC officials prevented Lebowa's Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike from boycotting an ANC rally in Johannesburg today, where he is sharing a platform with Nelson Mandela.

Trouble started on Thursday when the Northern Transvaal Civic Association called for a stayaway in the region and threatened to march to the Lebowa Legislative Assembly in Lebowakgomo on Friday to protest against the continued existence of the homeland system.

Ramodike opened the homeland's parliament amid the heavy police presence.

Worried ANC officials, who did not want to jeopardise the relationship between Mandela and Ramodike, pleaded with the civic leaders to call off the march.

Although the march did not take place - apparently because of the police presence - shops and other businesses were closed until 1pm.

Sources claimed that Joel Netshitenzhu, editor of *Mayibuye*, and Phoko Noka, an ANC veteran, approached civic associ-



Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

ation leaders to dissuade them from going ahead with the protest action.

They pointed out that regional disputes with homeland leaders could not take precedence over national issues meant to unite people against apartheid.

Civic leaders were initially unmoved and were adamant they would go ahead with their plans, saying they were not bound by decisions agreed between the Lebowa Government and the ANC.

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It was June 16, 1978. Crowds had gathered outside Soweto's Regina Mundi Church to attend a service commemorating the student protests of June 16, 1976.

A youth near me hurled a rock at a police van outside the church.

"You can't have June 16 without the smell of teargas!" he screamed in provocation.

The youth was one of those who was there when Jimmy Kruger, then the Minister of Justice, had unleashed his wrath on the children who had dared defy apartheid education.

The youth knew that Archbishop Desmond Tutu had warned the crowd to disperse peacefully.

But like many other young people there, he was bitter with the police and the system.

They had witnessed the brutal force used to suppress the student uprising. They had lost loved ones and wanted revenge.

Hostility was so thick in the atmosphere it would have chilled even Kruger himself.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Lest we forget those who died

Clips 16/6/91

11A



I wanted to warn the angry youth that his actions would lead to his death. But the words never came out of my mouth.

And I am glad they did not.

Recently, 15 years later, I shared a drink with the same "youth" in a Soweto shebeen. He is now a 31-year-old father of three who has just returned from exile.

We talked about that day and he admitted he would have branded me a coward if I had have stopped him from challenging the police.

Like so many youngsters who fled the

country after 1976, at the time he was no affiliated to the Black Consciousness Movement, the ANC or the PAC. Neither was he a member of any youth or student movement. He was apolitical.

What drove him from his home was bitterness and anger at the system. He vowed to return and fight the "boers".

So many things that happened in those months after June 16 bring back sad memories.

I will never forget the jubilant faces of the kids who danced over the charred and battered corpse of the first white victim of

June 16.

Sadly, he was a philanthropist who had helped blacks with many projects.

It was a terrible time. Years later those wounds have still not healed.

I will never forget the piles of young corpses in Orlando and Moroka Police stations. Many were given a pauper's funeral while police told their parents they knew nothing about their whereabouts.

How could I forget the look of fear on Jon Qwelane's face when the police assaulted me and put a gun to my head,

threatening to blow my brains out. Our crime? We were newspaper reporters.

I will never forget how the riot police lured people to loot a bottle store and then mowed them down.

I will never forget how police told the Mzimhlophe hostel inmates to go into the township and kill residents.

I will never forget that notorious green '41 Chevrolet whose sinister occupants used our children for shooting practice. The list is endless.

My friend had to agree that challenging the police years ago was suicidal.

We have come a long way since then.

As we commemorate the 15th anniversary of June 16 with many of that generation back from exile, we should remember those who died during that turning point in our history.

It is a shame that Tsjetsi Mashinini - who led the students - could not be with us on this historic day.

May his soul rest in peace.

By **BOGGIE MABOGOANE**
Chairman of Educational
Catalysts of South Africa

A new map for the blackboard jungle

NOW that South Africa is on the last mile to liberty, equality and fraternity, let us not forget to thank the youth this June 16 for starting the journey.

Bravo, I say, to those little Davids (and Delilahs) who rocked the Goliathan National Party government with the outbreak of their rebellion on June 16, 1976.

It was our finest moment as black people in centuries of oppression by whites and a decades-long liberation struggle when on that fateful day our children rebelled as one against the bantu education the government, in its wisdom, was enforcing on us.

I salute and grieve for those – both within and beyond our borders – who paid the supreme price for their part in helping to liberate black South Africa from the tyranny of apartheid.

We did not achieve

nearly as much by our struggles in the 64 years from the birth of the ANC in 1912 to 1976 as we did from 1976 to the release of Nelson Mandela on February 2, 1990.

As Labour Party leader, Allan Hendrickse, said commemoratively in Parliament on June 16 1985: "Because of June 16, South Africa will never be the same again."

Or as the late Alan Paton wrote in *Journey Continued*: "The most important consequence of June 16, 1976, is that the National Party realised that the only hope for Afrikanerdom lay in moving away from apartheid."

Or as John Collings wrote in the June 1989 edition of *Leadership* magazine: "It took rioting by black schoolchildren themselves, beginning in

June 1976, to open most (white) schools."

All black people, and especially my generation, clearly owe a lot to the political cataclysm that was June 16, 1976.

This of course is a meaningless term unless it can be translated into positive action.

In the words of John Drake: "There is a nobler ambition in life than to stand high in the world. It is to stoop down and help lift mankind a littler higher."

We owe it to our children to ensure that they enjoy the liberty, equality and fraternity that has been so bitterly fought for and which has even now not yet fully arrived.

That can best be achieved if we do all we can to provide for them the most precious asset of all, namely education.

Never in the history of our struggle has it been as imperative as now that an effective education be provided for our children.

This June 16 is a perfect time to remember the past and also to dedicate ourselves to active participation in our children's education.

If the verkramptes in Pretoria try to sabotage our children's education by not supplying text books on time, let us as parents buy the books and demand our money back.

Even non-activists can play a role.

If you visit a school to talk to pupils on the merits of your own career, even if you are heard by a tiny audience, you will have played your part.

All educated people have a duty to help in providing education for

the children of the ghettos they themselves were once in.

In the words of Dr John Dube, when accepting the presidency of the ANC in 1912: "We the first borns of this country have now been made the last borns, and we must fight against that."

Unless we motivate for a decent education for our children, black people shall remain the last borns of South Africa – even if we do get the right to vote once every five years or so.

It is vital that the devilish plan by apartheid's architect, Hendrik Verwoerd, to keep black people forever the "flowers of wood and the drawers of water", shall not become a fact by our own negligence and lack of caring.

My favourite freedom song is *Siyaya Epitoli* (We are marching to Pretoria). My generation never quite got there, but our children will – not as protesters but as rulers of the land of their birth.

Sisulu asked to head off bitter clash as election nears

ANC STURDIER FOR TOP JOBS

S/Times 16/6/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and EDITH BULBARRING

ANC radicals have asked ailing veteran Mr Walker Sisulu to stand for the deputy president's position to head off a bitter clash between ANC factions.

The hardliners are trying to prevent Mr Jacob Zuma, chief of intelligence and a moderate, from taking over the number two position in the ANC - currently held by Mr Nelson Mandela - in the leadership elections in Durban in three weeks time.

The radicals regard Mr Zuma as too soft and conciliatory in negotiations with the government.

This week some members of the ANC's powerful PWV region warned they would put up the militant Mr Chris Hanu, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, if Mr Zuma ran.

Such a move would create major tensions in the organisation where rivalry between hardliners and moderates is beginning to dominate the run-up to the Durban conference.

Intense

It is to prevent such tensions, claim hardliners, that they have appealed to the widely respected Mr Sisulu to make himself available for election.

Pro-Zuma sources, however, suggest the hardliners are only interested in getting Mr Sisulu into the position because they believe he can be more easily manipulated by their faction.

Mr Sisulu confirmed yesterday that he was prepared to stand for any position in the organisation - but declined to comment on any approaches he had received.

This week's events highlighted the intense jockeying within the organisation between different factions, regions, personalities and ideologies.

Top figures in the ANC have already been the target of rumours and smear campaigns all believed to be related to the election struggle.

The latest rumours include allegations of marital problems between Mr Mandela and Winnie - allegedly put around by an "anti-Winnie" faction.

While there are essentially three strands - exiles, internal leaders and Robben Islanders - the biggest division lies in the approach to negotiations.

Weak

On the one side are pragmatists determined to keep negotiations on track at all costs, while a more hardline faction believes that further compromise would amount to capitulation.

This group is concerned that the existing ANC leadership has been too weak in its dealings with President FW de Klerk's administration.

The radicals have targeted Mr Zuma, the Zulu-speaking Southern Natal regional representative, as one of the guilty parties.

The approach to Mr Sisulu came in the wake of reports that Mr Zuma's position as deputy president was guaranteed.

But even if Mr Sisulu stands for the post, say ANC insiders, there is still potential for a struggle because he is regarded by members in other regions as being too tied to the PWV leadership and, at 79, too old for the task.

This week - as the ANC branches began submit-

□ To Page 2

Factions in bitter struggle for the top jobs

□ From Page 11A

ing their nominations for the 55 elected positions on the 90-strong national executive committee - the main power groups came into focus.

Factors at play in the election struggle include:

- The exile-internal factor. The former internal leadership, the United Democratic Front, is determined to capture as many of the top positions as possible.
- The regional factor.

Top PWV ANC officials have made it clear they hope this populous and powerful region will be able to take most of the NEC positions - not least of all to ease administrative problems. Against this are powerful regional contingents also contesting positions on the all-important 25-man national working committee of the NEC.

The ethnic factor. Most ANC delegates are strongly opposed to the

idea of token appointments on racial lines, but it is known the party leadership wants the NEC to be representative of the country's population. Representation for minorities like coloureds, Indians and whites is thus important.

The gender factor. The ANC Women's League has thrown its considerable weight behind women candidates.

The only uncontroversial element in the election will be for the presidency.

Mr Mandela is assured of majority support to replace Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo, tipped for nomination as honorary president, will return to South Africa from his London base within two weeks after making stops in Namibia, Zambia and Botswana.

Mr Tambo has made a comeback after a long illness and has been involved in ANC affairs abroad. He is expected to move back to South Africa in the near future, a spokesman for the ANC office in London.

Favourites for the top five positions in the national working group are Nelson Mandela for president, with either Jacob Zuma or Walker Sisulu as his deputy, NUM secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary general with former UDF secretary general Popo Molefe as his deputy and Eastern Cape stalwart, Arnold Stofile, as treasurer general.

See Page 23

ANC despair of 'frozen' R3m

11A
S/T/News
16/6/91.
THE ANC's Harare representative, Mr Max Mlonyeni, said yesterday he had "all but given up hope" of trying to get a \$1-million (R2,87-million) donation from Libya unfrozen by the United States.

He said American Express was "alarmed" at becoming embroiled in a political row involving the ANC, but banking sources in Harare said the matter was out of American Express's hands and was now the responsibility of the Bush administration.

The donation, through the Libyan embassy in Harare, was seized by an American Express computer, which automatically freezes transactions involving Libya.

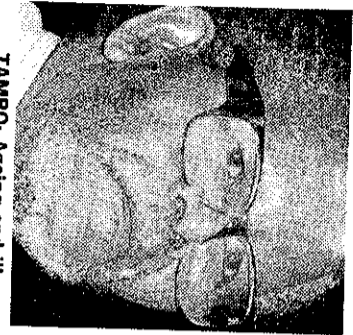
The Zimbabwe Herald reported: "The joke between the ANC and the Libyans is that if the liberation movement manages to get its money back, perhaps it could also convince the Americans to release \$6-billion (R16,8-billion) worth of Libyan assets frozen in the United States."

ANC's candidates for power

THE ANC holds its first national leadership elections in Durban in three weeks. And only two of its top people — president Oliver "Or" Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela — can be sure of positions.

For the hundreds of other hopefuls it is going to be a tough battle for the 55 elected positions on the National Executive Committee.

It will be even tougher to make it on to the 25-member "kitchen cabinet" — the National Working Committee.



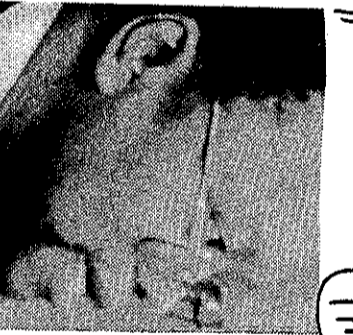
TAMBO: Ageing and ill



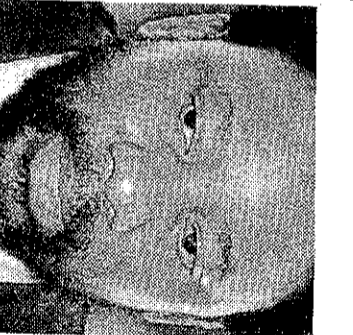
MANDELA: A certainty



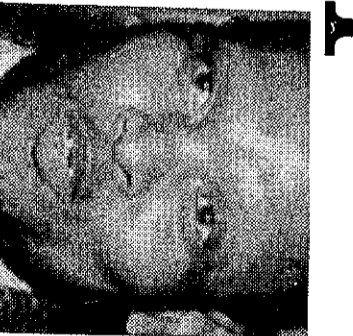
ZUMA: Waning popularity



MOLEFE: Facing tough fight



RAMAPHOSA: Victim of rumours



STOFFLE: A Mandela man

mandar-in-chief of MK from 1962 to 1963. He is a member of the ANC internal leadership group and is chairman of the SACP internal leadership group.

Although his age counts heavily against him, he is one of the few old guard expected to get on to the working committee, because of his great popularity in the Eastern Cape.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a prominent former "internal", is respected for his intellect and is popular for his emphasis on democratic procedure. His election to the NEC will indicate that he has survived the stance he took against Mrs Mandela and her thuggish bodyguard.

Others named as outsiders for the working committee include Mathew Poswa, Geraldine Fraser, Joe Modise, Mzwai Piliso, Dullah Omar and Thomas Nkobi. There is likely to be an attempt to ensure a Western Cape presence. Names here include Cheryl Carolus, Trevor Manuel, Reg September and even Allan Boesak.

The expected line-up of working committee members would give an interesting spread of groupings. The body would have 16 exiles, four Robben Islanders and six internals. Half would be SA Communist Party members.

Age and illness will prevent the much respected Comrade OR Tambo from continuing his duties as president — although there is a small lobby that wants him to stay on in a caretaker capacity. He will probably be given a newly created figurehead position with no real power. During the ANC's consultative conference in December last year he supported moves to relax sanctions, which did not earn him points among younger militants. However, most members regard him with reverence.

Toughest

There are five top executive positions in the ANC — and it is over these posts that the toughest contests are expected.

After weeks of canvassing and manoeuvring, the names of the likely candidates are beginning to emerge from the branches and regions.

The presidency will almost certainly go to Nelson Mandela. His international standing and image among a broad section of black South Africans are his two strongest attributes — and will not be lightly dismissed.

Yet, say some of the younger militants, his close personal rapport with President FW de Klerk and willingness to compromise have cost the movement dearly in terms of political advantage — and image.

The position of deputy president is still up for grabs. The strongest candidate is Jacob Zuma, ANC intelligence chief, a member of the NEC and chairman of the ANC Southern Natal regional executive committee and member of the SACP.

If he runs he is likely to be opposed by Chris Hanu, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff. A strong lobby, however, is in favour of the veteran ANC leader Walter Sisulu running for the position so as to deflect a possibly bruising contest between the moderate Mr Zuma and the militant Mr Hanu.

In his home area Mr Zuma's popularity has waned among the Natal ANC rank and file because of his accommodating attitude towards Inkatha. In his own region he received 17 votes for deputy president against the 300 for the more militant Harry Gwala.

BY EDYTH BULLBRING AND DAWN BARKHUIZEN

He was also recently nicknamed Runmour Zuma after becoming embroiled in the furor surrounding ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba. While Mr Zuma denied leaking allegations that Mr Mokaba was a spy, the incident dented his standing.

Against this is the fact that he is a Zulu — a badly under-represented group in the upper echelons of the ANC.

The most likely candidate for the post of secretary-general is Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers since 1982 and a member of the ANC's PWV region.

Although initially close to Mr Mandela after his release, he has since become estranged — allegedly because of the hostility of Winnie Mandela over his criticisms of her behaviour while her husband was still in prison.

A whispering campaign that he was about to be deposed as NUM secretary-general at the last annual meeting — in fact he was re-elected unanimously — was widely held by his supporters to be part of an attempt to discredit him before the ANC elections.

The deputy secretary-general post could go to Popo Molefe, deputy chairman of the ANC PWV region. He is the former secretary-general of the United Democratic Front.

He was appointed to the Internal Leadership Committee after Mr Mandela's release. He is extremely popular and well known at grassroots level and is most likely to take this position, although he will have to fight a tough battle against Mohammed Valli Moosa of staff. The treasurer-general's job will go to the Rev Arnold Stoffle. Previously the Border UDF secretary-general, he is regarded as a "Mandela man" and enjoys much popular support. Respected for his intellect and pragmatism, Mr Stoffle emerges as an important link-man between the "exiles" and "internals".

He could seize the position from present treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, who has grown increasingly unpopular. Mr Stoffle's election would be seen as a victory for the internals who are determined to remove the old guard from executive positions. The rest of the national working committee is made up of 20 elected members. Again, jockeying for positions on this crucial committee is fierce.

Walter Sisulu, chairman of the ANC's Internal Leadership Committee and a former Robben Island prisoner, is also a member of the ANC's NEC and PWV regional committee. Only his age disqualifies him from a top executive position.

Distant

Another key player in the working group will be Palo Jordan. He is head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the ANC's NEC and PWV region. He is an intellectual but not popular with the SACP or grassroots supporters who regard him as distant.

Joe Slovo is the general secretary of the SACP and a member of the ANC's NEC and PWV region. He is one of the organization's chief strategists. He has a small but highly disciplined band of followers that ensure him a place on the ANC's working committee.

Chris Hanu, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe since 1987 and a prominent communist, holds a position on the NEC internal committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region. He is popular with the youth and close to the Mandela family. His Achilles heel: his role in the brutal repression of ANC dissidents in Angolan camps in the mid-80s.

Thabo Mbeki has been the Department of International Affairs chief since 1989. He holds a position on the NEC interim committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region. While widely respected by outsiders for his pragmatic approach and intellectual prowess, he does not enjoy as much support among militants as Mr Hanu. He has, for example, been criticised for living in a penthouse in Hillbrow.

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Before Patrick Terror Lekota's recent secondment to International Affairs, he established ANC branches in Southern Natal and the Southern Free State. He serves on the ANC's Interim Leadership Committee and enjoys support on the ground.

Barbara Masekela, sister of popular jazz player Hugh, heads the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture. She is an efficient operator and close to the Mandela family.

Joel Neshitenge (alias Peter Mayibuye) is head of the Department of Information and Publicity. This former exile is chairman of the ANC Northern Transvaal region, an SACP member and a member of the Natal working group on violence. In his late 30s, he has growing popularity among the youth and is believed to hold a disciplined hardline position.

Steve Tshwete is head of Organisation and Sport, an SACP member and a member of the ANC's PWV branch. He will make it on to the NEC although he has become highly unpopular among the hardliners because of what is seen as his compromising sport negotiations.

Harry Gwala, a crusty 71-year-old ANC veteran, is the chairman of the Natal Midlands region and extremely popular throughout Natal.

Mr Gwala, who made a name for himself for his work in the unions, is known for his militant, the hardline views in the SACP and is particularly popular among the youth. Although his age and health might count against him, he is being encouraged to stand.

Raymond Suttner, 46, is head of the ANC's Department of Political Education. A former law lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, he has much support in the PWV region among hardliners.

He writes a number of Mr Mandela's speeches and is known to be a disciplined and hard worker — but he may fall victim to Africanist sentiments among some of the delegates. At present on the NEC as MK chief of communications, Jackie

Molefe is a member of the Political Military Council and a former exile. Blade Nzimande is a member of the regional executive committee in the Natal Midlands and an intellectual who lectures at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. His views are not divergent from those of Mr Gwala, who chairs the Natal Midlands region.

Mr Gwala is well known for his hardline views in the SACP. Thejive Mintsu, an MK commander and the chief representative in Uganda, was a former Biko associate and a Daily Dispatch journalist. Her support base lies among the youth and exiles.

Jeff Radebe is a former Robben Islander and vice-chairman of the Southern Natal region. Although not high-profile, he is said to be gaining considerable ground. He is a former attorney. Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general, will lose this position to union boss Mr Ramaphosa. His inclusion on the working committee will be by the skin of his teeth.

Inclusion

Mr Nzo has become increasingly unpopular among hardliners who not only disagree with his moderate and compromising position, but also consider him incompetent at his job. Aziz Pahad, like Mr Nzo, will get on to the working committee despite opposition to his re-election by hardliners within the PWV region.

This congenial man, in his mid-50s, has been part of the ANC's negotiating team and his unpopularity stems from the perception that too much has been given away in negotiations. He has been the ANC's chief representative in Europe and Britain.

The head of the ANC Women's League, Gertrude Shope, is a strong personality. She holds a position on the NEC and is a member of the ANC's PWV region. She won a bitter fight for the presidency of the Women's League against Winnie Mandela. Born in 1925 in Johannesburg, Mrs Shope left the country in 1966 and became head of the ANC women's section. She was elected to the NEC in 1981.

Raymond Mhlaba, born in the Eastern Cape in 1920, was com-

ANC buys Soweto mansions

THE ANC has bought two luxury Soweto homes - one from Kaizer Motaung and the other from Sello "Chicco" Twala.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said former exiles had moved into the houses in Bever-

ly Hills and Diepkloof Extension.

Motaung confirmed the sale but did not reveal details of the transaction.

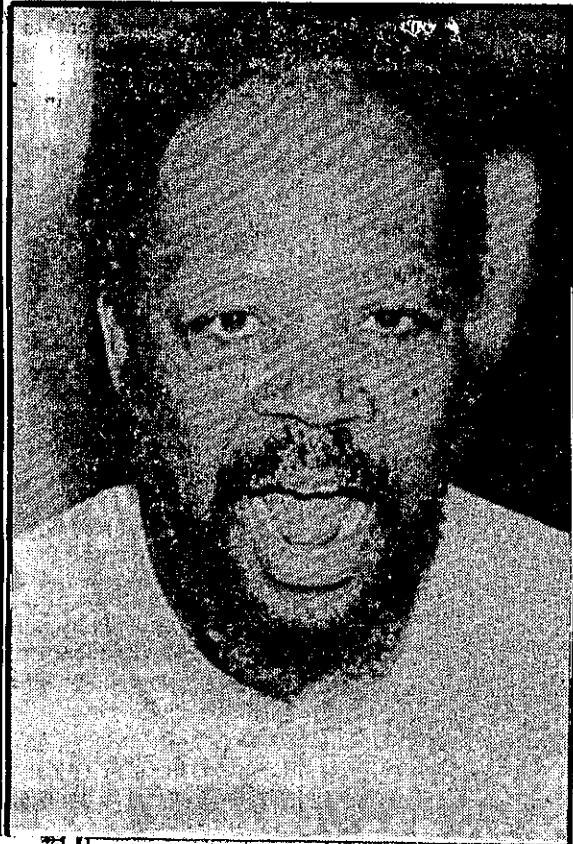
■ Meanwhile, the ANC is reportedly eyeing Anglo Ameri-

can's Springfield Colliery in the Heidelberg district.

Anglo spokesman James Duncan said ANC representatives had been shown the property.

after three days, apparently moving across town to the Royal Hotel.

The prosecutor said Dlamini owed the two hotels about R10 000 for a period of 10 days. A glance at the unpaid bills indicated that he ordered the best of the two hotels' menus and service and also entertained guests.



Black pawns give whites checkmate

CP Correspondent

A PIETERSBURG primary school's decision to bar its pupils from competing against a visiting chess team this week because two black children were members, has angered at least one parent.

The parent said he found it "difficult to believe" that State funding was still available to schools practising racism.

"If people want to take such decisions they should also be responsible for the management and financing of their schools," he said, refusing to give his name.

The chess team of the Pietersburg English Medium Primary School (Pemps) was forced to withdraw from the chess tournament held at the neighbouring Afrikaans-medium Piet Hugo Laerskool.

The two children of black diplomats on the Pemps team were excluded from the tournament because the Piet Hugo Laerskool's management council bans blacks from "taking part in activities on school premises".

The tournament in question was the semi-finals for the Far Northern Transvaal schools championship, to be contested at Piet Hugo Laerskool next Saturday.

Two other Northern Transvaal primary schools - Laerskool Pietersburg and Laerskool Krugerpark in Potgietersrus - also refused to play in the tournament.

Although Pemps has now failed to make it to the finals, Piet Hugo Laerskool headmaster Hennie van Vuuren has however invited Pemps to attend the forthcoming championship finals.

Van Vuuren refused to comment.

ANC would sweep to election win — poll

Si Times 16/6/91

THE ANC would win a one-man, one-vote election hands down if it was held tomorrow, a major new poll reveals.

The poll, by Markinor, involved 1 300 black South African adults and 800 whites. For the first time, respondents were given a secret "ballot" and voted for their party and leader choice.

The Markinor poll showed 71 percent of urban-based blacks would vote for the ANC, three percent for the Inkatha Freedom Party, four percent for the National Party and four percent for the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Markinor poll was conducted in the PWV, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town areas.

While the ANC is unlikely to have such solid support among the 14-million black rural population, areas such as the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Border regions are known to be behind the ANC almost to a man.

Fight

For their second choice, 18 percent of the black sample indicated support for the National Party, against 22 percent for the PAC and 12 percent for the South African Communist Party.

The ANC would, however, have to fight hard to earn support from South Africa's five-million-plus white population, most of whom live in urban areas.

Only one percent indicated support for the ANC

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

against the 58 percent who said they would vote for the National Party, 21 percent for the Conservative Party and 10 percent for the Democratic Party.

A popular second choice for whites was the DP — 20 percent — and the IFP — 18 percent.

A recent Rapport poll, meanwhile, indicates that of the 3,3-million coloured community 49,2 percent supported the NP, 10 percent the Labour Party and 9,3 percent the ANC.

In the choice of leader, Nelson Mandela got the thumbs-up from 65 percent of black people in the sample survey against 13 percent for State President FW de Klerk and four percent for PAC leader Clarendus Makwetu.

IFP leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi was popular with only three percent.

Popular

It was estimated that 54 percent of coloured people supported Mr De Klerk against three percent for Mr Mandela and 0,6 percent for LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Vying for popularity as a second choice by black South Africans were Mr De Klerk, with 26 percent, and SACP leader Joe Slovo, 17 percent.

While none of the white South Africans polled would vote for Mr Mandela, 68 percent supported Mr De Klerk and 17 percent backed CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

A popular second choice for whites was Chief Buthelezi, 31 percent, and DP leader Zach de Beer, 11 percent.

Up for grabs — every ANC position

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! . .
ARGUS 18/6/91

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE era of running the liberation struggle from exile in Lusaka ends officially for the ANC in Durban next month when the movement holds its first national conference in South Africa in more than 30 years.

The conference — most of it will be behind closed doors — starts at the University of Durban-Westville on July 3 and ends on July 6. The movement's new executive committee will be presented at a rally to be held at King's Park rugby stadium on July 7.

The movement's department of information and publicity will brief the press daily on proceedings, and the ANC's foreign affairs section will keep the diplomats informed.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is likely to be elected president at the conference to replace the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo who, it is understood, wants to step down.

Mr James Stewart, one of three national executive committee members charged with organising the conference, declined to comment on Mr Tambo's

plans or who would replace Mr Mandela.

He said every position on the national executive would be up for grabs.

"All of us will resign before the conference. It is important for the ANC, our people and our country that there is some continuity in the new executive."

To ensure that elections are free and fair, above criticism and beyond dispute, the national executive is about to appoint an independent four-man electoral commission.

The ANC indaba would have an important bearing on negotiations, he said.

"This is the most crucial ANC conference that has ever taken place in this country for the simple reason that the future of this country will be decided there. Our people are conscious of the importance of the event and the discussion which will be held."

Mr Stewart expects 2 000 delegates to attend the conference which he estimated would cost R2,5-million to organise.

"ANC members will foot this bill." The decision to hold the movement's first legal national conference since 1960 in Durban was not taken to provoke the Inkatha Freedom Party and neither was it a show of strength.

Requests from the region coupled with the desire to prove wrong the "controversial misconception" that Natal is Inkatha territory played a role in Durban getting the conference ahead of other centres.

"The people of Natal fully support the ANC as a whole series of surveys have shown. Choosing Durban for our conference is to show of gratitude to the people of Natal supporting the ANC."

Security, seeing that the conference will be held in a province where the conflict between the ANC and Inkatha has left a bloody trail of death and destruction, is an important consideration, said Mr Stewart.

"We must secure our delegates, guests from Europe, Africa, America, and the Soviet Union, as well as members of the diplomatic corps who will attend our deliberations."

He declined to name dignitaries invited to the conference because the ANC is waiting for them to confirm that they will attend.

He said invitations would also be sent to "all political formations" and the movement's executive would decide on whether to invite the National Party, Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party to attend.

Marches mark 1976 killings

Soweto 17/6/91

SOUTH Africa's major cities and towns on Saturday witnessed a wave of protest marches, organised jointly by the ANC, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu.

The marches were held a day before the 15th anniversary of the June 16 1976 student rebellions in which hundreds of people died in clashes with police.

Earlier this week, the ANC and its allies announced that 48 marches would be held nationwide on Saturday to demand peace, freedom and jobs.

The ANC-led alliance demanded:

- * An end to "state-sponsored violence";
- * The release of remaining political prisoners;
- * General amnesty for exiles;
- * A binding code of conduct for the security forces and political parties;
- * The setting up of a Constituent Assembly and interim government;
- * An end to "state support for vigilantes";
- * A moratorium on retrenchments; and
- * An end to privatisation and rationalisation.

Thousands of protesters converged on city and town centres and then proceeded to police stations or Government offices to present petitions containing their demands.

The petitions were addressed to State President FW de Klerk.

Leaders of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu led the marches.

Permission for a number of marches was turned down in towns under the control of the Conservative Party.

Despite reports of a heavy police presence at the marches, there were no immediate reports of clashes between police and protesters.

At John Vorster Square, SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo told a crowd: "The struggle for peace is not the struggle for peace of the graveyard, but peace for all the people of this country."

A petition was then presented to police.

Protesters, singing anti-Government songs, dispersed peacefully.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, led several thousand protesters in a march through central Pretoria. She handed in a petition at the local Manpower offices.

The petition included a demand for the resignation of Education and Training Department Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mrs Mandela told the crowd: "The Government has gained the strength of destabilising the ANC and blamed the organisation for having lost control of the country . . . It is the Government that has lost control of the country, not our leaders, who have never had control of the country before." - *Sapa*.

Honour to FW angers 65 groups in Stanger

Sowetan 17/6/91
MORE than 60 organisations in Stanger are bracing themselves for a confrontation with local authorities over a decision to confer the freedom of the town on State President FW de Klerk.

In a strongly worded advertisement, the ANC and 64 local organisations warn the Local Affairs Committee and the town council that residents will mount campaigns to resist an attempt to confer the honour on De Klerk.

The ANC has written a letter to De Klerk asking him to decline the offer to "show respect for the wishes of the people of Stanger".

Attempts by the ANC to meet with the town clerk to resolve the issue have been unsuccessful.

"The Stanger and Groutville branches of the ANC condemn the Stanger LAC and the town council's decision that Mr de Klerk be given the freedom of Stanger. Such a move is insensitive and inappropriate," a joint statement from the chairmen of the ANC Stanger and Groutville branches states.

"The conferring of the honour on the State President is no more than the wish of a few persons and for them to think that they have the support of Stanger's people is presumptuous in the extreme," the statement says.

"Should they wish to proceed without testing the views of the town's people, the local branches of the ANC will mobilise the people and will take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the freedom of Stanger being given to Mr De Klerk."

Stanger town clerk Mr WT Byrnes said the town council had noted the sentiments expressed by the ANC, but stood by its decision.

"Furthermore, the Stanger town council is of the opinion that it is not necessary to meet with representatives of the ANC as it will serve no useful purpose," Byrnes said.

The advertisement taken out by the ANC and other organisations says:

"The LACs in their insistence not to reconsider their decision are ignoring the wishes of the people."

"We say to the LAC and the town council, rescind your decision or face the wrath of the people." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

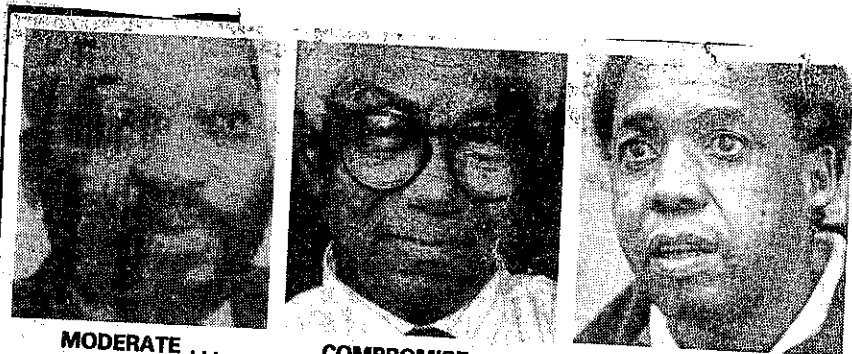
Azapo (11R) man says NP must resign (A) CT17/6/71

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ruling National
Party must resign and
give way to calls for a
Constituent Assembly, a
senior Azapo official
told European audi-
ences at the weekend.

Azanian People's Or-
ganisation publicity
secretary Mr Strini
Moodley, winding up a
seven-day European
tour with Azanian Stu-
dents' Movement hono-
rary president Mr Khotso
Seatlholo, made the call
during an address in
Amsterdam on Saturday
night.

He said blacks de-
manded the right to
choose their own
leaders and called for a
constituent assembly.

In other speeches in
other European cities,
Mr Moodley "warned"
the international com-
munity that State Presi-
dent F W de Klerk and
his government were pa-
rading a "velvet glove
which hid the mailed
fist". — Sapa



MODERATE ...
Jacob Zuma

COMPROMISE ...
Walter Sisulu

HARDLINER ...
Chris Hani

Hani now leads ANC deputy race

By BARRY STREEK

MR Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, has emerged as the front-runner in the contest for the position of deputy president of the ANC.

Mr Hani is regarded within the movement as the person most likely to be elected deputy to Mr Nelson Mandela, who is certain to become the ANC president — unless the veteran Mr Walter Sisulu can be persuaded to stand.

Mr Sisulu confirmed at the weekend that he was prepared to stand for any position in the organisation, but he refused to say for which position he would stand or to comment on any approaches he had received.

ANC sources believe Mr Sisulu will

win overwhelming support if he does eventually decide to run for deputy president.

But he is now 79 and has said before that his family wants him to quit active politics.

The position of deputy president is a particularly demanding one and the pressures on both Mr Mandela and his deputy will increase, particularly when the All Party Conference negotiations start, possibly in September.

Because of these pressures, it is felt by many people within the ANC that the deputy presidency should go to a younger person.

Mr Hani has strong support within the ANC for his grassroots approach,

To page 3

particularly among the youth league and more militant sectors, and his image as a hardliner has been reinforced by attacks on him by people like the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

However, in a number of recent interviews he has unequivocally backed ANC strategies on negotiation and its constitutional proposals for a multi-party democracy.

Although it has been reported that the ANC's chief of intelligence, Mr Jacob Zuma, had already won the support of most of the organisation's 14 regions for the position of deputy president, this is not the case. Even in his own Durban Coastal region he was heavily defeated by Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala when he tried to win endorsement for his nomination as deputy president.

Mr Zuma's candidature has been damaged by press reports that he was conciliatory in his approach to negotiations. It is now suspected that the reports that he was almost certain to become deputy president were a deliberate leak, designed to damage him.

Mr Gwala, another veteran who is known for his militant approach, particularly in his opposition to negotiations with Inkatha, will be entitled to stand for deputy president because of support for him by two regions. His own Natal Midlands region will almost certainly support him.

However, Mr Hani is expected to defeat him if he does indeed stand for the position.

The ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, will almost certainly lose his position and the chances of its treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, being re-elected are also doubtful.

The secretary-general

of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, is tipped as likely to take over from Mr Nzo, partly because of his proved organisational experience, with the former secretary-general of UDF, Mr Popo Molele, being seen as an alternative as the ANC's assistant secretary-general.

Although the ANC's Border leader, the Rev Arnold Stoffie, has been mentioned as a possible successor to Mr Nkobi, it is not clear whether he wants to give up his Eastern Cape base or whether he has sufficient financial experience for the position.

It seems clear that the ANC's foreign spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will not be elected to any of the top five positions. Mr Mbeki is seen as too close to businessmen and too conciliatory, and he has failed to mobilise grassroots support in any of the regions.

The results of the election will be announced on Saturday, July 6 at the end of the ANC's 48th conference in Durban, organisers, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, told a press briefing at Club Mykonos at the weekend.

Soweto Day crowd hears Mandela commend homelands and leaders, chiefs

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid tribute to traditional chiefs and commended homeland leaders who had renounced apartheid, at a Soweto rally attended by more than 20 000 people. Scores of ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist Party demonstrations commemorating the 15th anniversary of the Soweto student uprising of 1976 culminated in yesterday's mass rally at the FNB stadium. The PAC, Inkatha and other organisations all staged rallies and prayer services

in Soweto and other centres yesterday. The Soweto rally was attended by tribal chiefs of KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa and Gazankulu. A message was also read out on behalf of ANC president Oliver Tambo, while Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike was among the speakers. Mandela said the ANC's policy of working with homeland leaders was correct. Despite the countrywide demonstrations, police reported no unrest-related

17/6/81
JONATHAN REES

deaths by late yesterday. About 1 000 people yesterday attended a commemoration service at Soweto's Regina Mundi church organised by black consciousness organisations, including Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement. Hundreds of Inkatha supporters toyed through Soweto on their way to services, while police maintained a high profile. Sapa reports Umkhonto we Sizwe chief

of staff Chris Hani told about 2 000 people at a Durban rally yesterday that the ANC would negotiate for democracy and not for special co-existence with government. SA's major cities and towns witnessed a wave of protest marches on Saturday. Last week the ANC and its allies said 48 marches would be held. Demands made at the marches included an end to "state-sponsored violence", the release of political prisoners and a general amnesty for exiles as well as a constituent assembly and interim government.

However, it was reported yesterday that turnouts at most protests on Saturday were relatively low, possibly influenced by the chilly weather. In Johannesburg, more than 5 000 protesters marched on the city's police headquarters at John Vorster Square. Several thousand joined a Pretoria march led by Winnie Mandela. In Durban, a toyi-toying crowd of about 2 000 protesters took part in a march in the centre of the city, while about 500 marched in Bloemfontein.



Martyr remembered . . . members of the family and the community gather to erect a headstone at the grave of Hector Pietersen. Picture: Alf Kumalo

11A

New tombstone unveiled at Hector's grave

By Montshiwa Moroke ^{Star} 7/16/91

As tens of thousands of people throughout the country woke up to June 16, scores were already gathered at the Avalon cemetery in Soweto to remember Hector Pietersen, the first victim of the 1976 uprising.

A visit to the grave of 16-

year-old Hector is customary at this time of the year, but yesterday, the 15th anniversary of the shootings, it was remembered with a difference as a new tombstone was unveiled.

The first tombstone was vandalised a year ago, and this second one was erected with the

help of American friends.

Scores of residents braved the chilly morning weather to repeat the yearly ritual.

The emphasis of yesterday's graveyard service was on unity, recalling the students who took to the streets with a single voice in 1976.

Sisulu may avert divisive ANC fight

Star 17/6/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

11A

Ageing ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu (79) could take over from Nelson Mandela as deputy president of the organisation, to prevent a divisive power struggle between hardliners and moderates at next month's national conference.

ANC sources say that Mr Sisulu has been asked to become a compromise candidate to avoid a head-on clash between the militant chief of staff of Umkhonto-we-sizwe Chris Hani and the fast rising moderate ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

The deputy presidency is one of the top jobs which will be fought for at the ANC's vital national conference in Durban starting on July 2.

Mr Mandela is almost certain to be elected to the office of president, replacing the ailing Oliver Tambo, who is expected to become honorary president.

Hardliners have warned that if Mr Zuma stands for the deputy presidency, they will nominate Mr Hani against him.

However, the ANC believes that if Mr Hani gets the job, he will alienate moderates and jeopardise party unity.

Mr Sisulu was reported yesterday as saying that he was available for any job.

A former Robben Island lifer and one of Mr Mandela's co-accused in the Rivonia trial, Mr Sisulu is ANC internal leader, a position he was expected to relinquish so as to live a quieter life. Despite his age, ANC insiders say he is still active.

If he does stand for the deputy presidency, it is expected that Mr Hani and Mr Zuma will stand down.

But both are certain to get on

to the new 25-member National Working Committee (NWC) which will be created at the conference.

Low-profile Mr Zuma, privately respected — by Government and ANC alike — for his intelligence and organisational skills, has suddenly risen to public prominence.

Until now he has been a key backroom man, heading the ANC delegation on the steering committee which set up negotiations and underpins them.

Mr Zuma has been accused by some ANC radicals of leaking stories about marital problems between the Mandelas and about radical ANC youth leader Peter Makoba having been a Government spy.

ANC moderates believe that radicals have pointed fingers at Mr Zuma as the source of the rumours to discredit him.

Antagonised

Controversy surrounds recent press reports disclosing that Mr Zuma was a prime contender for the deputy presidency.

The reports prominently mentioned that Mr Zuma was trusted and respected by the Government and moderates suspect the reports were planted by radicals.

Mr Zuma, head of the ANC's Southern Natal region, has antagonised hardliners, especially in his home province of Natal, by his conciliatory stance both to the Government and Inkatha.

However, his abilities are recognised across the spectrum and as the only prominent Zulu speaker in the ANC, he is important to win Zulu support.

Other important changes in the leadership structure which are expected at the conference will probably strengthen the po-

sition of the tougher internal leaders over the more moderate Robben Islanders and the exiles.

ANC sources believe this will create a tougher ANC leadership which will not allow itself to be "messed around" by the Government in negotiations.

Most of the NWC positions and the 55 elected positions on the re-structured national executive committee (NEC) are expected to be contested.

● General secretary Alfred Nzo could lose his job, possibly to respected National Union of Mineworkers chief Cyril Ramaphosa.

● The deputy secretary-general job could go to Popo Molefe, deputy chairman of the PWV region, and former secretary-general of the United Democratic Front.

● Information chief Dr Pallo Jordan and former UDF leader Mohammed Valli Moosa are also being punted for this position — and will probably make the NWC anyway. Both are tough negotiators.

● Treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi could lose his job to former Border UDF secretary-general the Reverend Arnold Stofile.

● Chief propagandist Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's Department of Political Education, and a prominent hardliner and member of the SA Communist Party, could make it on to the NEC.

● Former UDF patron Alan Boesak could be the wild card who gives the conference an unexpected twist.

He has made no secret of his hostility to communism and if elected to executive position may try to curb the influence of the SACP.

PAC, Azapo firm on constituent assembly

11A

Star 17/6/91
Staff Reporters and Sapa

The PAC concept of a constituent assembly was not linked with the idea of an interim government "which enables us to co-manage apartheid", PAC spokesman Carter Seleke said at a June 16 commemoration service at Soweto's Regina Mundi Church yesterday.

About 2 000 supporters of the PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action attended the service.

Mr Seleke said the bringing together of various groupings would not bring about the desired solution to the political problems in the country.

"White domination can only be overthrown through the constituent assembly mechanism

based on the principle of one person, one vote on a common voters roll in a unitary state," he said.

Lybon Mabasa of Azapo said his organisation rejected the concept of a multiparty conference, which he said was similar to a national convention.

The solution to the country's problems was a constituent assembly, which Azapo had proposed long before, he said.

Speakers repeatedly called for unity among the oppressed.

Andile Mngxitana of the Azanian Students Movement criticised the disruption of black schooling, adding that slogans such as "liberation before education" and "one school, one organisation" were disruptive and divisive. "Such slogans make the difference between us and the 1976 students," he said.

Mass action if demands not met – Mandela

ANC will insist on interim govt

11A ~~301A~~

Star 17/6/91

Staff Reporters

The ANC yesterday publicly returned to a hard line on the issue of an interim government after earlier disclosures that it was considering a significant compromise.

On Saturday, Professor Kader Asmal, a top member of the ANC's constitutional committee, said at a press briefing in Langebaan that the ANC was discussing whether the Government should relinquish control of only the security forces and the election process during the transition to a new constitution.

"The view is that perhaps we have to work out effective instruments of control over these two things.

"The rest doesn't matter," he added, saying that all other government functions such as trade and foreign affairs could remain in the hands of the Government.

However, yesterday ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said at a June 16 rally outside Johannesburg that his organisation would continue to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government.

He warned that if the Government did not listen to the demands, then the movement would resort to "mass action".

In an apparent rebuttal of Professor Asmal, Mr Mandela said that although the ANC was committed to peaceful, negotiated change, he insisted there would be no compromise on the demand for an interim government to which all the present Government's functions would be transferred.

Reprimand

Mr Mandela was addressing a crowd of about 20 000 people at the FNB Stadium. He called on supporters to continue their campaign of mass action to bring about change, since this would "strengthen the hands" of those at the negotiating table.

"We are not going to achieve an elected sovereign constituent assembly or interim government simply by going to a conference or asking for it," he said.

He also used the opportunity to reprimand the South African press for "running our struggle and our forthcoming conference".

He asked journalists not to attempt to be "spokesmen for the ANC" and criticised coverage of the alleged leadership struggle.

The ANC was certainly not in a shambles, as had been implied by the newspapers, and its leadership did not "spend its time in life-and-death struggles over personal power".

In Umlazi, Durban yesterday ANC military chief Chris Hani told about 2 000 supporters the ANC was not aiming at special coexistence with the National Party. "The aim of negotiations is to take power from the Government and to transfer power from the minority to the majority," he told the cheering crowd at Umlazi Stadium.

Political observers believe it is possible that the ANC is considering a compromise in

● To Page 3 ■

ANC will insist on an interim govt

● From Page 1 11A

private, while publicly maintaining its official hard line in the run-up to its national conference next month.

It is also not clear how much support there is in the ANC for Professor Asmal's idea.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen indicated that Mr de Klerk had said the Government was prepared to consider transitional arrangements to broaden the basis of decision-making by giving the multiparty conference a

say in government. ~~301A~~

It is possible that Mr de Klerk will touch on the multiparty conference and other negotiation issues when he addresses a joint sitting of Parliament today. Government sources also believe he will talk about violence, sanctions and the end of the main apartheid laws which will all be off the statute books by June 30.

Parliament will vote today on legislation to repeal the last "pillar of apartheid" — the Population Registration Act.

Star 17/6/91

Durban conference must end embarrassing situation, writes **Barney Mthombothi**

Sanctions ghost haunts ANC

Star 17/6/91

PROBABLY the most difficult item on the agenda for delegates at the ANC national conference in Durban next month will be the subject of sanctions.

The erosion of international sanctions, especially the defection by African countries, means the matter cannot be deferred any longer. Next year may be too late. There may no longer be any sanctions to talk about.

There are at the moment conflicting signals coming out of the organisation on this issue. The ANC is publicly committed to the continued application of international sanctions, but to some senior members of the organisation, sanctions are looking increasingly like a tiger that has to be dismounted, and very quickly too.

A face-saving formula to lift them has to be found. The plan circulated by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of international relations, to some African countries at the OAU summit last week, is an

attempt to find such a formula.

The weakness of the Mbeki position is that it does not seem to enjoy grassroots support in the ANC. It was shot down from the floor at the ANC consultative meeting in December.

It didn't get any support from the OAU either, but an increasing number of African leaders are coming over to the view that the argument over sanctions is becoming futile and that the time being wasted on it could be better spent attending to the innumerable problems facing this country.

The OAU summit decided sanctions should remain, but gave a mandate to the chairman, General Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, to review the situation in consultation with the frontline states.

Although the ending of violence has now been included as one of the conditions to be satisfied before the process of lifting sanctions could begin, many summit delegates thought the goalsposts have not been moved — they have

240
11/11/91

Thabo Mbeki ... his plan does not seem to have grassroots approval.



in fact been widened.

General Babangida's main hurdle may turn out to be Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, who is not convinced sanctions should go. Mr Mugabe told a recent meeting of the Frontline states that Zimbabwe would argue for the retention of sanctions at the Commonwealth conference in Harare in October.

But the Commonwealth seems to be backing the three-step strategy advocated by Mr Mbeki.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, its secretary-general, said this week the organisation could begin lifting sanctions progressively as early as July, when its Committee of Foreign Ministers on South Africa will meet in New Delhi.

The fact that the heads of both the Commonwealth and the OAU are Nigerians means there is more likelihood of the two bodies working together on the issue. Most OAU countries are also members of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is, however, different from the OAU in one crucial respect — the presence of Britain, its most influential member. Britain has always taken an independent line on South Africa and sanctions.

John Major takes the same view as his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, that encouragement, and not sanctions, has got South Africa where it is today.

Britain could be expected to campaign quite vigorously at the Commonwealth summit for sanctions to go.

However, the trigger for the lifting of sanctions lies within the country. That is why the forthcoming ANC conference is of crucial importance. It will either have to decide sanctions have to

go, or, if the decision is to retain them, devise a strategy which will stop the current erosion and see to it that the organisation doesn't end up with egg on its face.

Convincing its supporters won't be easy. There is a feeling that the ANC leadership has allowed Mr de Klerk and his Government to walk all over it and that it has nothing to show in return for the concessions it has made.

Instead, the townships have been plunged into dreadful bloodshed, with the Government seen as either being behind the violence, or doing nothing to stop it.

Government behaviour has also not helped the case of those within the ANC arguing for the progressive lifting of sanctions.

Some prisoners have had to almost starve themselves to death before they were released in terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements.

And the Government has been pretty reluctant to allow the UN High Commission for Refugees

(UNHCR) to get involved in the repatriation of exiles. The repatriation exercise has therefore had to depend on the goodwill of countries like Sweden for monies to ferry people home.

ANC delegates will need to be convinced that the Government is not dragging its feet.

Although the OAU at some point in the coming months may want to act on the sanctions issue, it doesn't want to be seen to be out of step with the bulk of black public opinion in this country.

President Kaunda said at the OAU summit in Abuja that Africa would be guided by the "joint approach" of the ANC and PAC on the sanctions issue. This means that even if the ANC were to agree to the lifting of sanctions at conference it would have to get the PAC to come along too.

The PAC maintains that nothing has happened in the country so far to justify the lifting of any embargo. — Star Africa Service. □

Mandelas beat stormy times

Sowetan 17/6/91



WHEN 40-year-old Mr Nelson Mandela and his 22-year-old bride Winnie took their marriage vows on June 14 1958, those around them were unaware of the larger-than-life role their love story - symbolising black resistance to apartheid - would play.

The 33-year-old marriage will go down in history as one of the greatest African love stories ever. Already there are films and books and countless photographs all over the world of this enigmatic couple.

But this, what some would call "tragic union" of the world's most famous political prisoner and his wife, has had to weather severe batterings.

On the political front alone: The partnership has endured the detentions of both - nearly three decades of imprisonment for Nelson, the banishment of Winnie to Brandfort in the Free State - and her political isolation by the Mass Democratic Movement.

Her recent trial - in which she was given a six-year jail sentence and is currently out on bail - has also taken its toll.

The marriage was only four years old when ANC leader Nelson Mandela was jailed for five years for incitement to strike and leaving the country illegally. The next year, during the Rivonia trial, Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment for sabotage along with Mr Walter Sisulu and others.

Immediately after the trial the stunningly beautiful Winnie, who had little political experience and never held any official ANC position, became a figurehead in the black struggle.

In 1964 both she and Sisulu's wife Albertina were banned.

Later in 1977 Winnie was

banished to Brandfort for eight years.

On the personal front the marriage has survived much trauma, family objections to Nelson taking a second wife and objections from Winnie's family concerning her youthful marriage to a man with a high political profile.

Attention

In Fatima Meer's book *Higher than Hope* Nelson's first wife, Eveline, tells how she first heard of the start of the love affair that has captured international attention.

"In a way I continued to delude myself that, since there were children between us, there was a marriage between us. But this changed when a friend drew my attention to a notice in the paper a whole year and more after I had moved out of my house. *Your husband is divorcing you*, she said."

"I froze, unable to respond. I had heard vaguely that Nelson was going out with a social worker from Baragwanath Hospital. It was just one more woman, I had thought."

Winnie first set eyes on Nelson as she waited for a bus. He was in a passing car with two medical students at the time. She met a while later after her hostel mate, Adelaide Tsukudu, who was going out with the equally famous Oliver Tambo at the time, introduced her.

She was dazzled by the bronze giant with his mop of thick, matted hair, parted on the side, and a smile that affected her in a way nothing else had up to that point in her life.

Nelson's passionate feelings for Winnie were revealed after an incident one night at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. They were attending a fund-raising ANC dance. Suddenly knives were flashed and shots fired. Winnie ducked under a table. Nelson was there beside her, dragging her out, leading her into his car. She saw in his concern for her safety that he loved her.

Nelson first introduced the woman he was going to marry to his friends at the Johannesburg Drill Hall, where the preparatory examination of the Rivonia Treason Trial was in progress.

They were all charmed by her but, taking Nelson aside, a friend said to Nelson: "Such intimidating and seductive beauty does not go with a revolutionary." Nelson laughed. Turning to her he asked if she had heard. She was looking at him expectantly but, when he repeated what had been said, she flared up in anger. "You have no sense of humour," he rebuked her.

Propose

Nelson's divorce from Eveline came through in 1957 and in early 1958 he announced his impending marriage to Winnie.

He did not propose - he took it for granted that they would marry.

Nelson then told Winnie she should tell her parents of her decision. Plucking up courage, Winnie produced a photograph of Nelson in boxing gear. Her mother said she was mad and, while her father admired Nelson, he said Nelson had chosen a difficult road and she was far too inexperienced to accompany him on it. He then blessed her anyway.

They were married in Bizana on June 14 1958. Nelson had to apply for a relaxation of his banning order so he could attend his own wedding.

During that first year of their

marriage the treason trial dragged on.

In July 1958 Winnie became pregnant and in October she was jailed following an anti-pass ANC Women's League march on the offices of the Native Commissioner.

During the second week of their imprisonment, Winnie began bleeding profusely but Albertina allayed her anxiety and the bleeding stopped.

On February 4 1959 Winnie's first daughter Zenani was born. She miscarried her second pregnancy but a couple of months later was pregnant again with Zinzi.

The strong-willed Winnie had vowed never to lose her individuality in marriage and to remain her own person. But Madiba, as she calls him, was overpowering.

"In the little time I spent with him, I discovered too soon how quickly I would lose my identity because of his overpowering personality. I vowed that none of this would apply to me," Winnie said in Meer's book.

Winnie remained true to her word. She has never stood in Nelson's shadow; like a Madonna of the Left, Winnie now commands almost as much media attention as her husband, albeit of a negative kind.

She has stood by her husband throughout his imprisonment and it was clear that Nelson stood by his wife during her trial. After her conviction he kissed her on the lips and asked how she was.

However, it remains to be seen whether their romance will outlast still more batterings on the horizon - the media rumours of a rift between the couple, which were hotly refuted by the ANC and the possible jailing of Winnie Mandela for kidnapping - if her appeal against her conviction and sentence fails. - *Sowetan Correspondent*.



June 16 call

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela surrounded by bodyguards as he enters the FNB Stadium yesterday where he called for unity for a democratic South Africa.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

for unity

Sowetan 17/6/91

Thousands listen to appeals for peace

CALLS for unity among all those fighting for democracy characterised yesterday's services commemorating the student rebellion of 1976.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking at an ANC rally at the FNB Stadium, said traditional leaders had a role to play in the struggle.

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

Sharing a platform with Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike and other traditional leaders, Mandela said the homeland leader had realised his mistakes.

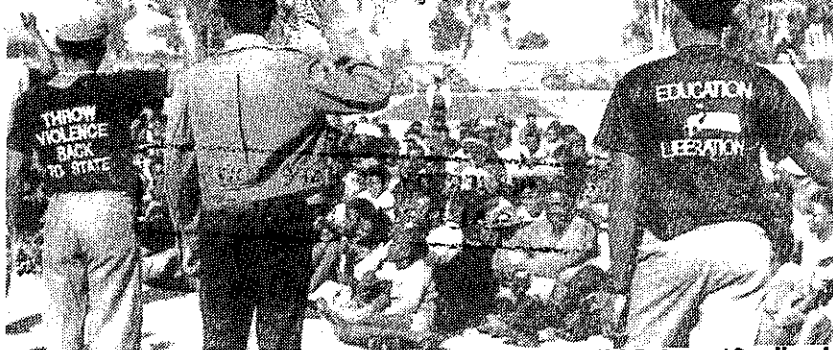
"Comrade Ramodike has realised the mistake of having sided with apartheid and op-

To Page 2



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Jaambo Poets reciting "revolutionary poems" at a PAC June 16 rally at the Zone 7 Stadium in Sebokeng yesterday. Pic: PATTY MOENG

Unity theme of services

Soweto 17/6/91

From Page 1

pressing his own flesh and blood. Like we have made mistakes, we should now unite and forget the past."

Mandela also sounded a strong warning to the Press.

He said the media should refrain from speculating about the ANC's coming national conference in July and commenting on why certain of its leaders stood for election.

He was referring to recent newspaper speculation that ANC stalwarts Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Harry Gwala were tipped for the position of ANC deputy president.

And in the Northern Transvaal, the sounds of Africa yesterday invaded the University of Venda, where more than 2 000 people attended a service organised by Azapo.

Women dressed in traditional Venda attire sang and danced their way into the hearts of activists in the main university auditorium where, on normal occasions, only academic speeches are heard.

Azapo education secretariat head Dr Gomolemo Mokae said the two dancing groups who performed epitomised the survival of black culture in the face of a Western onslaught to obliterate it.

Mokae said it was important that these groups were performing in front of their own people on a day which marked the rejection of white values and standards.

At an Inkatha Freedom Party service at the Diepkloof Hostel, Soweto, speakers told thousands of supporters that no political organisation had the right to claim June 16 as its own day.

The speakers also slammed Press reports that it was the first time that Inkatha had commemorated June 16.

Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, Inkatha's West Rand region secretary, said: "The day belongs to all who fought for the scrapping of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. We have relatives who died on that day as well," he said.

Another speaker, Mr Themba Khoza, leader of the IFP Transvaal Youth Brigade, urged the youth to prioritise education for their benefit as well as that of their parents, community and the country as a whole.

"By doing so, you will be commit-

ting yourselves to a more normalised political climate. If children are in school rather than in the street, people's courts and defence units, they will be giving peace a chance," he said.

In addition, Khoza said people must realise that apartheid is almost dead. He said the days of the gun, bombs and the "necklace" are over.

"We call on people to be united in order to achieve great things. South Africa needs people who are committed to genuine peace and negotiations. The IFP is committed to these principles and urges other parties to look at June 16 and learn from what happened thereafter."

In Soweto, a remarkable degree of unity was displayed at the Regina Mundi Church, where thousands of supporters of Azapo, PAC, and Wosa gathered.

PAC assistant general secretary Mr Carter Seleke said his organisation rejected an interim government because it would make the oppressed people co-managers in their own oppression. He added: "We also dismiss the multiparty conference as a mixed-fruit jam."

Veteran poet Mr Don Mattera read from his work and received applause for his poem entitled *Sea and Sand*.

In Sebokeng and Dobsonville, PAC's Mr Joel Gwabeni and Azapo's Mr Lucky Monnakgotla respectively urged black pupils to go back to school. They also condemned the takeover of school administration by pupils.

At the First National Bank Stadium, ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba said the 1976 revolt was a "milepost" in the path to freedom in our country.

In its June 16 message, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania urged blacks to ensure that the 1976 martyrs did not die in vain.

It said: "Our efforts must continue until people receive true liberation, which will include return of their land, the redistribution of wealth and effective democratic rule.

In Durban, Umkonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani said his organisation would negotiate for democracy and not for special co-existence with the National Party Government.

Hani told about 2 000 people in Umhlabeni, Durban, that the aim of negotiations was "to take power from the minority to the majority."

PAC to meet Govt group

Soetfaan
THE Pan Africanist Congress will attend this weekend's planning meeting for a peace summit.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai confirmed the movement will attend the meeting, called by the facilitating committee established after the Government's peace summit in May.

AWB spokesman Mr Piet Rudolph confirmed the organisation had received an invitation but was still considering its response.

The Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party will not attend.

The SACP, Cosatu, Nactu and Azapo have already accepted their invitations.

Although the ANC has

POLITICAL STAFF

not yet announced its decision, it is likely the movement will attend the conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has received an invitation and is considering its response.

Delegates to the Government's peace summit established the facilitating committee under the chairmanship of CSIR

chairman Dr Louw Alberts.

It was later expanded to be more representative and include former Ned Geref Church moderator Professor Johan Heyns, Pastor Ray McCauley, SACC secretary general the Rev Frank Chikane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The meeting, to take place behind closed doors, will be held in Johannesburg.



BARNEY DESAI

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18/6/91

Tambo 'to return to SA'

KIN BENTLEY

11A



LONDON — ANC president Oliver Tambo will arrive in SA on Saturday with a view to settling permanently in the country he left more than 30 years ago, the ANC says.

Tambo, who suffered a mild stroke in late 1989, has not ruled out standing for re-election to the ANC presidency at the ANC national conference in Durban starting on July 3. However, he is widely expected to stand aside for his deputy and former law partner, Nelson Mandela.

Tambo is on a short tour of southern African capitals and is expected to meet Namibian President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek today. *By day 18/6/91*

An ANC spokesman said yesterday Tambo left London on Sunday and stopped over in Luanda yesterday. He is expected to be in Namibia for three days and in Botswana on Thursday and Friday.

Tambo caused a stir during the ANC consultative conference in December last year when he called for a review of the ANC's sanctions policy.

US firm on ANC's \$1m



SIMON BARBER

11A

WASHINGTON — The US has no intention of releasing Libya's \$1m gift to the ANC which has been frozen as a result of US sanctions on Libya.

American Express, which routed the money, is forbidden under a 1986 presidential order from passing on the funds without a special waiver.

A State Department official said yesterday it would not be granted because it was their view that until received by the ANC, the funds belonged to Libya.

While an ANC representative said at the weekend the organisation would appeal to the State Department, the US official said "if the ANC has a complaint they should go see (Col Muammar) Gaddafi".

8/10/91 18/16/91

Desai ejected from Ciskei radio HQ - PAC

^{Star 18/6/91}
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — PAC publicity and information secretary Barney Desai was allegedly forcibly removed by Ciskei soldiers on Sunday from the Radio Ciskei headquarters while he was being interviewed for a programme.

The PAC office in King William's Town said in a statement

yesterday that Mr Desai, a lawyer, had agreed to an exclusive interview on his life with the organisation — which he joined in 1960 — before attending a June 16 rally to commemorate the 1976 Soweto uprising.

"Comrade Barney was hardly 10 minutes into the hour-long programme when Ciskei sol-

diers, accompanied by one of the station's workers, stormed into the studio.

"With a very hostile attitude, and shouting obscenities, they chucked both Barney Desai and his regional publicity and information secretary in the Border area, Zamikhaya Gxabe, out of the studio and off the station's

premises.

"PAC officials (later) confronted Ciskei Foreign Affairs Minister Sam Manzi, who was 'visibly shocked'."

After phone calls to other officials, he apologised to Mr Desai and the PAC, and assured them the incident would be investigated thoroughly. — Sapa.

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11A

ANC's big shift on land policy

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter (1A)

The ANC, in a new draft policy on land, has abandoned its former hard line stance on nationalisation — and now proposes that land be acquired by the State for redistribution, with compensation, but also be made available for private control.

This shift in the ANC's land policy is contained in a land manifesto finalised two weeks ago for adoption at the organisation's national conference in Durban next month.

The word "nationalisation" does not appear once in the seven-page document, drawn up by the ANC's Land Commission after extensive consultation with grassroots structures.

The document emphasises the need for a productive agricultural sector, a dynamic rural economy which will benefit all South Africans, limited State control, private sector involvement in the provision of housing and community consultation on land allocation.

The draft manifesto was drawn up after a national workshop in Johannesburg, attended by representatives from the ANC's 14 regions.

Commented an ANC source: "Before, people made very crude demands; for example, for nationalisation without compensation. Now there is a far more realistic perception on nationalisation, because the discussion was conducted in the context of the failure of socialism in other countries."

Redistribution

"Of course the demand for redistribution to address apartheid's wrongs remains, but the principle that the State should not necessarily control land has been widely accepted.

"People are realising that we need to move away from unrealistic rhetorical demands and develop a workable policy aimed at raising the standard of living."

The document states that the State should play a key role in the redistribution of land, of which 87 percent is currently in white hands.

The State must have the power to acquire land through expropriation with just compensation, purchase land, make grants of State land or institute land taxes.

On an urban land policy, the document says that the State should address the housing shortage by expropriating land where necessary, buying land and allocating it to the needy, ensuring the building of low cost housing, and passing laws which prevent developers from speculating in land.

The private sector should be encouraged to build and finance low-cost housing and should contribute a proportion of profits towards a housing fund.

The document states that land owned by the mining sector near to cities must be made available for housing.

Because apartheid has destroyed the productive capacity of black rural producers, affirmative action and a comprehensive agricultural support structure should form the basis of the development of the farming sector.

Kasrils to decide on next move after talks

11A

Star 18/6/91

Pretoria Correspondent

South African Communist Party central committee member Ronnie Kasrils, who has been indemnified for his role in "Operation Vula" — an alleged plot to overthrow the Government — has still to decide whether to come out of hiding.

Communist Party spokesman Jeremy Cronin yesterday said Mr Kasrils will decide whether or not to come out of hiding after discussions with the senior leadership of the ANC and SACP.

In terms of a list, available at the office of the director-general of the Department of Justice, Mr Kasrils received indemnity for acts of terrorism committed before October 8, the unlawful possession of arms and ammunition, the unlawful possession of explosives and of a firearm.

Investigated

A list of people indemnified was published in the Government Gazette on Friday.

A police spokesman said on Friday that crimes committed by Mr Kasrils which did not lead to injury or death would not be investigated further, but "regarding other cases which could possibly be proved, police do not want to comment on these at this stage".

Janet Love, who was also wanted in connection with "Operation Vula", was also indemnified for acts of terrorism before October 8 1990 and the unlawful possession of arms and ammunition.

Hugh Lugg, who was arrested with three other ANC members at Broederstroom in 1988, was indemnified for terrorism in Broederstroom in May 1988.

ANC eyes Anglo's Grootvlei village

THE fate of Grootvlei village between Heidelberg and Villiers hangs in the balance following weekend reports that the African National Congress and a consortium of farmers and businessmen had expressed interest in buying the village. ~~ABC~~ 11/19

Owned by Anglo American's Springfield Colliery, the village is to come under the hammer on July 2, according to Mr James Duncan, chief communications officer for Anglo. Sowetan 19/6/91

This follows the closure of the mine which supplied the bulk of its coal to Eskom's Grootvlei power station, now mothballed. ~~ABC~~

Duncan said several prospective buyers had been shown the property. Mrs Winnie Mandela reportedly viewed the property on June 6 and 7.

The property consists of 250 houses, a small hospital and other buildings, sporting facilities and land.

About 30 percent of the colliery's personnel are still employed in activities related to the closure of the mine.

It is planned to complete the major part of the closure at the mine by the end of the year and the property will be vacated by the end of March 1992, Duncan said.

While movable equipment would not form part of the auction, the successful buyer may, however, negotiate to buy items such as hospital equipment.

An offer of some R2 million has reportedly been made but it is not known by whom or whether this would be accepted by Anglo.

Other reports indicate that neighbouring farmers are up in arms regarding the possibility that the ANC might buy the village.

Some farmers fear for the safety of their businesses while some farmworkers have indicated that should the ANC move in they would move to the Free State.

Residents of the village are divided about the effects such a move will have. Some regard it as a sad day, as some families have been there for two generations, while others are glad that Anglo has decided to put the village up for sale before it becomes a ghost town. - Sapa.

Plea to halt class boycott

Sowetan 17/6/77

11/7

AZAPO has called for an end to the continuing class boycott at schools and colleges in the Northern Transvaal.

In a widely circulated letter, the organisation's regional executive says boycotting students were "denying themselves the skills black people will in future require to run this country".

Azapo expressed regret that some organisations did not appear to be throwing their whole weight behind efforts being made to educate black children.

Warning

"Any organisation, person or party calling for the suspension of education, even 'bantu education', is destroying the future of the black nation," the letter adds.

It warned that assaults on teachers, undisciplined behaviour, drug abuse, looting, marches during school hours, illiteracy, disease and hunger resulted in "minimum damage to the oppressor and maximum damage to the oppressed".

'ANC waiting to pounce on whites'

Stein 19/6/91
MARITZBURG — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche last night accused the Government of allowing the ANC to re-form its expatriate camps in the squatter camps on the edges of cities and towns.

The ANC people were waiting to pounce upon whites and their investments as soon as an ANC

11A 310
government took over the country. Mr TerreBlanche told a large crowd.

At Ventersdorp, the ANC Youth League was measuring out plots and allocating them to squatters, he said.

The AWB leader said it was a scandal that squatters were occupying land illegally. — Own Correspondent.

Huddleston to visit SA after 35 years

Star Bureau

(HA) 330

star 19/6/91

LONDON — Archbishop Trevor Huddleston is to make his first visit to South Africa for 35 years.

Despite repeated refusals in the past, the long-time thorn in the side of pro-apartheid governments will return to the scene of his many political, moral and social confrontations as a guest of the African National Congress.

He said yesterday: "I have given most careful thought to the ANC's invitation.

"In the past I have said I would not wish to make such a visit until apartheid had been destroyed, which is clearly far from being the case.

"My actions over the past 35 years since I left South Africa have been motivated by my deep sense of moral outrage at all that apartheid represents and my vision of a new South Africa enshrined in the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955."

But he had decided to ac-

cept the invitation in order to attend the ANC's national conference next month.

He said it was vital that sight was not lost of the goal set in 1955: a new South Africa with a future for all its children.

"With the peace process so seriously threatened by the apartheid regime's failure to remove the obstacles to negotiations and to curb the violence, I feel morally bound to stand side by side with the African National Congress at this critical time."

Tambo on way to SA

11A

Political Staff

Star
19/6/91

ANC president Oliver Tambo is expected to arrive in South Africa on Saturday to attend the ANC's national congress in Durban early next month, it was announced yesterday.

Mr Tambo, who has made a remarkable recovery since suffering a stroke two years ago, flew to Namibia yesterday from Angola, where he arrived on Sunday to hold talks with President Eduardo dos Santos.

In Windhoek, he was greeted warmly by President Sam Nujoma. The two men

laughed over how Mr Tambo had been deported more than 31 years ago when he arrived in the Namibian capital to legally represent Mr Nujoma and other Swapo officials responsible for the Old Location uprising in 1959.

An ANC statement said Mr Tambo, due to be joined by ANC internal chairman Walter Sisulu and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, would have an audience with Mr Nujoma.

Tomorrow Mr Tambo and his delegation will fly to Botswana to meet President Quett Masire.

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ANC spells out policies on land

11A

b/p am 19/6/91

TIM COHEN

THE ANC has proposed a mixed bag of land tenure systems but will call for mining land near cities to be released for housing and for the redistribution of agricultural land.

The proposals are made in the final draft of the ANC's land manifesto which will be presented at its national conference next month.

The manifesto says the skewed development of commercial agriculture has resulted in environmental degradation and inefficient production "leading to a national agricultural crisis of massive proportions".

It lists the goals of a new land policy as redressing injustices caused by apartheid's policy of forced removals by restoring land and, where this is not possible, by making "reparations" through a just legal process.

Another goal is to "ensure that the diversity of tenure forms existing in our country is recognised and protected".

Affirmative action, redistribution and the "key" role of the state are all prominent in the manifesto, but expropriation without compensation is not contemplated.

The state should expropriate land where necessary, buy land and allocate it to people in need, ensure low-cost housing is built and pass laws

preventing developers from speculating in land.

The state should also generate revenue to meet the programme's costs.

The document recognises diverse methods of land title. "Individual freehold ownership, collective and communal forms should be able to co-exist," it says.

"The land and housing markets both have a role to play and must continue to exist harmoniously alongside a state housing sector".

The role of chiefs is recognised and the manifesto calls for their role to be defined locally in consultation with the communities involved. But in a challenge to traditionalism, women are accorded access to land allocations in their own right and also to support services and finance.

The private sector has "an important role to play" and should be encouraged to build and finance low cost housing and contribute to a housing fund. But the document explicitly calls for land owned by the mining sector near to cities to be made available for housing.

Declared nature conservation areas must be respected but the interests of local communities must be considered and benefits shared with them, the manifesto says.

yesterday. People
the cold and walked to
work.

Businesses at Sel-
osesha and other villages
remained closed in the
morning. - *Sapa*.

ANC talks on exiles

GABORONE - The presi-
dent of the African Na-
tional Congress, Mr
Oliver Tambo, arrives in
Botswana tomorrow for a
three-day visit and talks
with acting president Mr
Peter Mmusi.

The discussions will
focus on refugees and ex-
iles from South Africa.

Tambo is to be ac-
companied by seven ANC
officials. He will also be
visiting other Frontline
States. - *Sapa*.

11/7

secretary 19/6/71

11/7

PAC army backs a joint front

Sowetan 20/6/91
THE Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the Harare-based armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, yesterday backed demands for a constituent assembly and a united front of the oppressed.

Apla commander Mr Johnson Phillip Mlambo, in a statement from his Harare office, also reiterated support for the armed struggle.

Apla, said Mlambo, fully supported the PAC's demands for a constituent assembly and a "patriotic front" of dispossessed South Africans.

Armed struggle

Armed struggle was not excluded, he said.

"It (armed struggle) was part and parcel of the PAC strategy of a people's war which must be waged at the political, labour and armed front," the commander's statement said.

"In the view of Apla, armed struggle is the continuation and not the substitution for mass political action. The workers, peasants and youth must struggle for a constituent assembly and a broad united patriotic front of the oppressed." - *Sapa*.

Azanyu (11A)

rift over meeting

Soweto 20/6/91

**By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE**

THE Azanian National Youth Unity, the youth wing of the PAC, has asked members to ignore the "third national congress" called by a faction within the organisation.

The request follows an announcement last week by a group calling itself the "steering committee" that it is to hold a two-day congress at Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto this weekend.

The committee was formed in Soweto shortly after Azanyu held its third national congress in Transkei in January.

That congress passed resolutions which were not recognised by the steering committee.

The congress also elected a new national executive committee and "expelled" four senior officials of the organisation.

Azanyu president Mr Molefi Modiga said his organisation viewed the steering committee as "dissidents" who did not command any support.

Mandela to speak at congress

NA

MC 20/6/11

By SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela will speak on destroying apartheid and building democracy at the third national congress of the 286 300-strong National Union of Metalworkers of S A (Numsa).

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and the demand for a constituent assembly will also come under the spotlight at the congress in Johannesburg this weekend.

"The union's commitment to struggle for the establishment of a democratic socialist system will also be discussed," the union said in a statement.

About 1 100 delegates and international visitors, including delegates from the world's largest trade union, the German metalworkers' union, I G Metall, are to attend.

PAC military wing endorses 'struggle'

Argus Africa News Service

(118) ARG 20/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Johnson Mlambo, commander of the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has endorsed the view that efforts to obtain a constituent assembly in South Africa need not exclude an armed struggle.

In a statement issued through the external mission of the PAC in Dar es Salaam, Mr Mlambo said the military wing, the Azania People's Liberation Army (Apla), supported the PAC stand on a constituent assembly and a patriotic front.

According to the statement, Mr Mlambo said a constituent assembly "did not exclude the armed struggle. It was part and parcel of the PAC's strategy of a people's war which must be waged at the political, labour and armed front".

Time to shine 'somewhat tarnished image'

South 20/6 - 26/6/91.

Seldom has an organisation faced the variety and intensity of pressures confronting the African National Congress as it prepares for its national conference in July. Seldom has the result been more critical. **CHIARA CARTER** reports on the views of Professor Colin Bundy, a specialist on ANC history:

11A

THE ANC conference in July faces the challenge of mapping out a guiding policy while shaping a modern organisation which has both muscle and coherence.

This is the view of Professor Colin Bundy of the History Department at the University of the Western Cape.

Speaking at an Idasa-hosted discussion about the conference, Bundy, a specialist on ANC history, said the ANC's conference would deal with two broad groups of questions — one dealing with policy, the other with organisational capacity and coherence.

Bundy said decisions on how the organisation would function were critical.

The conference would have to examine organisational values and practices, including the accountability of leadership, the degree of participation by members and the level of internal democracy.

Relationships

The conference needed to iron out the relationship of branches to regional leadership, and regions to the national leadership, as well as representation for women and youth within the ANC.

Also important was the relationship between an enlarged National Executive Committee (NEC) and its inner core or "kitchen cabinet".

The answers delegates came up with would determine whether the ANC would be able to deal simultaneously with the politics of negotiation and mass mobilisation.

The conference's decisions would influence how closed the decision-making process was, and how much independence and flexibility leadership had or how closely mandated leaders would be.

The conference's answers on capacity and coherence would influence whether the ANC was able to repair its "somewhat tarnished public image" and "arrest a slow deterioration".

"The answers will determine

whether demobilisation is replaced by the sense of collective determinism and militancy that characterised the 1976 to February 2 period," Bundy said.

The leadership tussle in the ANC is less a struggle between hawks and doves than between pragmatists and populists, according to Bundy.

Ideally the leadership emerging from conference would balance the different groups.

"It is less significant who fills the posts than whether a competent and modern organisation and leadership emerges," Bundy said.

He said questions about how the organisation would function were linked to questions on policy.

"If the ANC is able to achieve unity, manifest a clear sense of purpose and demonstrate the capacity to translate this into action, this will ensure the policy package is more focused and defensible and less contradictory," Bundy said.

Policy issues

Key policy issues to be discussed would include the constitution, negotiations, the economy, land, the constituent assembly and the Patriotic Front.

Bundy said there was likely to be intense debate on whether to continue negotiations and how these should be conducted.

Those opposed to continuing the negotiating process would argue that the ANC had made concessions which had not been reciprocated, and further, that the ANC had lost the strategic initiative as mass pressure



Colin Bundy

was subverted by negotiations.

Bundy predicted that the conference was likely to favour continuing negotiations, but division on how this should take place was probable.

Up for debate would be the nature of further concessions, the level of secrecy, the frequency and manner of report-backs and the degree to which negotiators would be tied to set positions.

Bundy said there was likely to be overwhelming support for an elected constituent assembly whose delegates were accountable to their constituencies and whose debates were open to public scrutiny, as opposed to an assembly that met behind closed doors or an assembly formed out of an All-Party Conference.

Violence

While there was likely to be total unanimity on ending the violence wracking the Witwatersrand and parts of Natal, there could be division on how to deal with the issue, with some delegates favouring militarist solutions and others supporting a political approach.

There would also be varying views on how to deal with the continuing complicity of the security forces in the violence.

Another area likely to be the subject of intense debate was economic policy.

Delegates were likely to ask whether the draft economic manifesto produced by the ANC's Department of Economic Policy represented a retreat from the Freedom Charter.

Bundy said that while there was broad agreement within the ANC on the need for growth and redistribution, there were a range of positions on how this could be achieved, with strongly divergent views on issues like nationalisation and the relationship between capital, labour and the state.

Another highly emotive and politically volatile issue which confe-

rence would debate was the land question.

Bundy said a range of external pressures and pitfalls complicated the process of shaping policy and organisation.

He said the most important pressure facing the ANC was the "inherent, inescapable difficulty of transforming the organisation from the politics of secrecy, illegality, exile and the underground".

The different historical experiences and outlooks within the ANC were another complicating factor.

Leadership

These included differences between the exiled and internal leadership, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Robben Island traditions, the diplomats and the soldiers, the lawyers and the trade unionists.

There was also a tension between different generations — the Rivonia generation represented by ANC president Oliver Tambo, the Soweto generation represented by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, and the Youth League "young lions" represented by Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

There were also the different experiences of ethnic groups divided by the lived realities of apartheid.

Another pressure arose from the different demands and expectations of the ANC's alliance partners, overseas supporters, Western governments, big business, and, most importantly, the organisation's own members.

Finally there was the pressure of a wide spectrum of criticism, suspicion and enmity to which the ANC was constantly subjected.

Bundy said the answers conference arrived at were crucial not only to ANC members but to the country as a whole, since the ANC had emerged as the "major historical player" in the transition process in South Africa.

Regional split looms in ANC

A CONTROVERSY is brewing over a breakaway attempt by rural towns from the Western Cape region of the ANC.

Last week, the Regional Executive Committee (REC) of the ANC in the Western Cape sent letters to their branches slamming the "divisive" tactics of members in the rural areas.

The breakaway initiative, headed by a Rural Commission, which has support from several Boland, Namaqualand and Karoo towns, stems from mounting complaints that the REC has neglected these areas.

The Commission, which was started by ANC activists in Worcester, approached United Democratic Front

South 20/6 - 26/6/91 -
patron Dr Allan Boesak for support and financial assistance for a conference which would be held to discuss the formation of a separate ANC region for the rural areas.

Although Boesak did not give financial assistance for the conference, this move was seen as an attempt to build a power base in the rural areas.

ANC members in rural towns are upset that a range of resolutions tabled and accepted at the ANC's Western Cape launch in September had not been implemented.

Western Cape publicity secretary Trevor Manuel said, however, the ANC was giving priority to the concerns of the rural areas.

He said the "Rural Commission" was not initiated by the ANC, nor was it a structure "provided for in the ANC constitution".

The Commission said other problems experienced were difficulties in getting legal assistance when needed, ANC leaders who seldom visited their areas and the employment of three rural organisers who were not familiar with the area.

A delegation of the Commission met members of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) in Johannesburg in May, where they outlined their grievances and plans to hold a rural conference this past weekend. The national executive committee agreed to provide funding for their conference.

Perception

After the NEC met the Commission, they contacted the regional executive in the Western Cape and a meeting was scheduled with them.

The Commission said their perception was that the REC was not prepared to listen to their report and that they had a preconceived response to their initiative.

"The meeting ended in hostility and failed to build understanding and respect," they said.

"They rejected the initiative."

However, the conference was postponed after the REC contacted branches in the rural towns and told them not to attend.

In a letter to all branches, the REC spelled out their position on the conference.

"The REC is of the opinion that the initiative by these comrades is divisive and not helping with the unity we are all committed to," they said.

This week, a second meeting between the REC, the NEC and the Commission failed when the Commission's delegates arrived late.

However, the Commission said they were still determined to continue organising the conference and would make further appeals to the REC.

Celebrating a victory for land



DANCING FOR JOY: Hout Bay squatters at a festival last weekend which was organised to celebrate the granting of land for the Imizamo Yethu community after squatters fought a 10-year battle for the right to live legally in the area

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Sobukwe Forum is to fold

A London-based forum named after PAC founder Mr Robert Sobukwe is to fold in what the organisation said was a move to preserve unity of the anti-apartheid movement.

Sobukwe 20/6/91
"It can no longer be claimed that the original 1959 PAC national executive exists as an institution today."

"We desire to remove obstacles to unity," said convenor Mr DP Bolofo in a letter to the internal leadership of the PAC.

Breakaway

No further details were given, but spokesman Mr Barney Desai said in a statement the organisation's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, "will pursue and active and constructive dialogue with the surviving members of the (old) executive and with all other former leaders of the PAC with a view to winning them back into the fold".

Sobukwe led a breakaway faction from the ANC, three years after the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

The Robert Sobukwe Forum has been in existence for a year. - *Sapa*.

ANC man

assassinated

Pro Jack gunned down in Lansdowne Rd

Staff Reporters

TOP ANC member and activist Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, of Nyanga, was gunned down near his home in Emms Road in an apparent assassination last night when his car was raked with automatic rifle fire.

According to his sister, Ms Buyiswa Jack, he was shot about 10.30pm at the corner of Emms and Lansdowne roads soon after leaving his home with his brother, who received minor injuries in the attack.

Ms Jack, the ANC co-ordinator for Nyanga,

had apparently stopped his car at the corner of Emms and Lansdowne roads when three men wearing bachelavas and carrying automatic rifles rushed up to the car.

"One of them shouted out Pro's name and before he could react they shot him," Ms Jack said.

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape ANC publicity secretary, said a number of people linked to Unkhonto we Sizwe had been shot dead recently in the Transvaal.

"We have not seen this in the Western Cape until now. I am very worried."

He said the incident yet again raised the spectre of hit-squad operations.

Mr Jack, 34, worked for Idasa in the West-

ern Cape during the '80s. He was also publicity secretary for the Dr Nelson R Mandela High School in Crossroads and recently led a delegation from the Nyanga Education Crisis Committee in discussions with the Department of Education and Training.

A police spokesman confirmed that a shooting had taken place.

A rescue services official said Mr Jack's body had been removed from a bullet-ridden car.

At a recent press conference, the ANC quoted several examples of their "middle-level" cadres and MK members being made targets and killed.

They said they were convinced there was a

nationwide trend of not only promoting violence against them but also of failing to act against those who were using violence against them.

This was taking place even in areas where there was no conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

● On October 18 last year, Mrs Nomsa Mapongwana, the wife of Mr Michael Mapongwana, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, was shot and killed when their Khayelitsha house was attacked by assassins.

The house was first petrol-bombed and as it burned the attackers fired several shots, hitting Mr Mapongwana in the back and Mrs Mapongwana in the chest.

11/10/91

(1825)

11A

~~311~~

CF 20/6/91

Ambush killers



Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack.

'I watched
my uncle die'

11A
ARCTUS 20/6/91

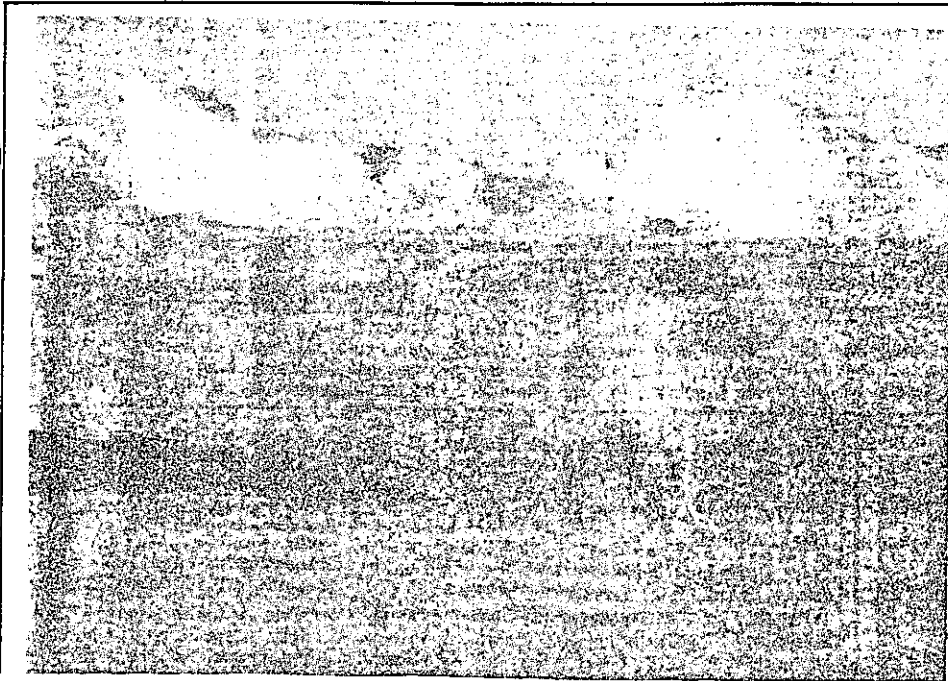


By DON HOLLIDAY
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporters

A 15-year-old schoolboy described today how he pushed away his uncle's bullet-riddled body, which had fallen against him, and ran home for help after they were ambushed in Nyanga.

As he ran from the bullet-raked car, Andile Jack knew that his uncle, Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, 33, was dead.

Two men wearing helmets



Out of tragedy comes new life

By VIVIEN HORLER
Medical Reporter

A PREGNANT woman from Clanwilliam has given birth to a healthy son in a Bellville hospital after the ambulance she was in crashed near Malmesbury, killing the driver.

The driver was Mr M J Swarts, also of Clanwilliam, who died instantly after the ambulance apparently skidded on the wet road, hitting a concrete pillar of a bridge over the national road.

Mrs Anet Smit, 25, of the Koelfontein Farm, has scratches and grazes. She was flown by Metro helicopter to Louis Leipoldt Hospital in Bellville where her son was born.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

VICTIM: Metro emergency service personnel make Ms Anastasia Mbeto comfortable on a stretcher after she and her month-old baby were hit by a car on a pavement in High Level Road. The baby was killed.

Baby, motorist die in horror city death ride

By STEFAANS BRÜMMER
Staff Reporter

A MONTH-OLD baby being carried on her mother's back was killed when a car driven by an elderly man — believed to have been having a heart attack — careered out of control, hitting the woman and child, two vehicles and a traffic sign.

The driver, Mr Alec Lotz, 75, of Vredehoek, died three hours later.

At 3.15pm yesterday Mr Lotz's red car smashed into a minibus at the corner of Chiappini Street and Strand Street in the city.

The car then sped up Strand Street into Green Point, mounting the opposite pavement at the top of the rise, near the Ocean View Drive turn-off, hitting Ms Anastasia Mbeto, 31, of Khayelitsha and her baby daughter, Letisia.

The child died. Among other injuries, Ms Mbetha's arm was broken.

Mr Lotz's car did not stop. About 40m further on it knocked down a traffic sign on the pavement.

The death drive ended at the Ocean View Drive turn-off when the car collided head-on with a car driven by Mrs Helene Schoonees.

Stunned passers-by looked on as Metro personnel and ambulancemen tried to calm Ms Mbeto, who was calling for her baby.

Mr Lotz, his head bleeding profusely, was slumped against his broken windscreen.

Mr Lotz was taken to Somers-

et Hospital, where he died about 6.15pm. It is believed the string of accidents — and his death — were the result of a heart attack.

Mrs Schoonees, who was travelling towards Cape Town, said that as she crossed the intersection on the green light she saw the "red streak" of Mr Lotz's car speeding towards her.

She said it was "the Lord's guidance" that she and her husband Anton, a retired church minister, were not hurt.

Mr Lotz's son, Mr Geoff Lotz, said his father had been having angina attacks for many years.

Once before while driving he had had a mild attack.

"He managed to make it to the old-age home where he lived, but had crashed into a wall when he got there."

Mr Lotz jun said his father had been told it was safe to drive as long as he stayed on medication. But on Tuesday night he had had an attack while helping a woman carry parcels in Fish Hoek.

Known as the "taxi man" at the old-age home because he often gave other residents lifts, Mr Lotz had been on his way to visit a friend in Sea Point yesterday, his son said.

"We all feel very bad about the baby."

He said doctors had advised his father to have a heart bypass operation.

"But he wasn't interested because he knew his time would come. We're just sorry it happened in a car accident."

described today as a motorist pushed away his uncle's bullet-riddled body, which had fallen against him, and ran home for help after they were ambushed in Nyanga.

As he ran from the bullet-raked car, Andile Jack knew that his uncle, Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, 33, was dead.

Two men wearing balaclavas lured Mr Jack into a trap and assassinated him less than 200m from his home on the Nyanga East-Crossroads border last night.

Mr Jack left his house about 10.30pm to take Andile home.

A shocked Andile said they were approaching the corner of Emms Drive and Lansdowne Road when three men in balaclavas standing under some trees called out his uncle's name.

They did not use the nickname "Pro" by which Mr Jack was widely known, but his Xhosa name.

Hit in head

As Mr Jack reversed slowly towards them, the men, who had their backs towards him, turned, produced a rifle and a shotgun and opened fire at point-blank range.

"Pro did not say anything as the bullets hit him. He was hit in the head and he fell on top of me. I knew he was dead because I could see his brains on the seat."

The vehicle stopped.

He did not notice when the shooting stopped or when the assassins disappeared, but he opened the car door and ran home for help.

Andile has about half a dozen puncture marks in his chest, apparently birdshot wounds.

Mr Jack's sister, Miss Buyiswa Jack, said her brother's body was riddled with 15 bullet holes.

"I saw the car and just don't know how Andile survived."

She said four men had been seen acting suspiciously in the area earlier in the evening.

Safety worries

A friend, Mr Shepherd Mdladlana, said Mr Jack expressed concern about his personal safety in a conversation with him yesterday.

"He was worried about his safety but he was a very careful person. I suspect that he may have recognised his killers," said Mr Mdladlana.

Mr Jack, who was not married, was educated at ID Mkize High School in Guguletu. He was detained under security legislation in 1978 and jailed for terrorism for five years.

Released in 1983, he played a leading role in township politics and education. In 1988 he was detained for more than six months under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Today he would have been one of the MK cadres guarding deputy ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, when he visits Cape Town for a meeting with President De Klerk.

Armed struggle 'remains part of PAC philosophy'

Star Africa Service

Star 20/6/91

(11A)

Johnson Mlambo, commander of the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has endorsed the view that efforts to obtain a constituent assembly in South Africa need not exclude armed struggle.

In a statement issued through the external mission of the PAC in Dar es Salaam, Mr Mlambo said the military wing, the Azania People's Liberation Army (Apla), supported the PAC stand on a constituent assembly and a patriotic front.

According to the statement, Mr Mlambo said a constituent assembly "did not exclude the

armed struggle".

"It was part and parcel of the PAC's strategy of a people's war which must be waged at the political, labour and armed front.

"In the view of Apla, armed struggle is the continuation (of) and not a substitute for mass political action. The workers, peasants, the youth must struggle for a constituent assembly and for a broad united or patriotic front of the oppressed."

While "clearly distancing himself" from the "watchdogs" and the "Sobukwe forum", Mr Mlambo emphasised that within Apla "politics command the gun".

ANC agrees to suspend ³⁰ Nelspruit consumer boycott ^(11A)

By Clyde Johnson ^{Stw} 20/6/11
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — The consumer boycott, called for by the ANC on June 5 to force the Government to release political prisoners, is to be suspended from tomorrow.

After discussions between the ANC, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the Chamber of Commerce and the Nelspruit Town Council yesterday, it was agreed that the Chamber of Commerce and that Afrikaanse Sakekamer would approach the Minister of Justice and Correctional Services on the question of political prisoners.

The boycott suspen-

sion period will apply from June 21 until July 9 when the parties involved will meet again.

When the boycott was first called for, the ANC said it would last until political prisoners in Barberton Prison had been released.

A group of shoppers outside a Nelspruit supermarket were delighted when told yesterday that the boycott would end tomorrow.

"We have no food at home and cannot afford the exorbitant prices being charged by township shopkeepers. It will be wonderful being able to buy cheaply without intimidation again," a young mother said.

There's more to it than 'commies' and 'anti-commies', argues Shaun Johnson

Understanding the ANC split

Skar-20/6/91 (11A)

HERE is a widespread perception among political observers that the outcome of the ANC's July congress will provide final answers as to which "faction" of the organisation is in the ascendancy.

There is, however, very little agreement or clarity about how to define these "factions", how to quantify them and how to find out who exactly belongs to which of them.

For the moment, vague delineations are drawn without too much reflection. The most popular — and it does not flow exclusively from conservative quarters — is that there is a deadly struggle for power between communists and non-communists within the organisation.

In this construction, there will either be a formal split between the ANC and the SACP, or there will not — which of these two outcomes emerges will determine who has "won".

There are variations on this basic thesis, and they are then translated into sloganised shorthand, depending on the political

persuasion of the analyst.

Thus: There are "hawks" (bad) and "doves" (good), "progressives" (good) and "collaborationists" (bad), "militants" (good or bad) and "moderates" (good or bad), "reformists" (bad or good) and "revolutionaries" (bad or good). And so on.

The shorthand is, as has been demonstrated repeatedly during the confusing onrush of events since February 2 1990, highly problematic and even dangerously misleading. Individual leaders are moved by observers from camp to camp, like chess pieces, depending on their latest statements.

It becomes even more opaque when a leader who is a vociferous opponent of the South African Communist Party is proved in every other respect to be a "hard-liner". Or when one of the most prominent of the perceived "hawks" is suddenly revealed to be one of the key players in keeping an ANC/Government working group on the rails. Or when the overall leader of the liberation movements' alliance is seen to "swoop sides" from week to week. It is a simple fact — and an ob-

vious one at that — that there are powerful and different tendencies within the ANC, that these are complicated by the cross-fertilisation with a separate party (the SACP), and that allegiances are fluid. Of course there are power struggles, but they need not be as mechanistic as is suggested, and they need not result in a clear situation of victory or defeat.

The best way to monitor the growth or decline of particular political perspectives within the organisation — and thus to pronounce with some reliability on the outcome of this ANC congress — is to isolate the strategic kernel which tends to set the leaders apart.

The primary point of reference is the prevailing attitude toward the current negotiation process writ large, and toward the De Klerk administration in particular. There are two basic positions between which ANC members can choose.

Firstly, there is the belief that although the Government will be a tough opponent — and there will be persistent skirmishing — it is sincere in its commitment to a

process which could result in the accession to power of the ANC.

In other words, there is a fundamental convergence of views on the validity of the process, and it must therefore be entered into without delay. This, more or less, is the predominant attitude within the national executive committee.

Against this there is the conviction that the Government is not sincere, but is perpetrating a sophisticated ruse by drawing the ANC into a process which it cannot control, and from which it will not be able to escape.

The sceptics argue that Mr de Klerk is thereby cleverly setting up as the enemies of democracy not his own Government (or, for that matter, the Inkatha Freedom Party) — because both are committed to the process — but rather the far right wing.

The logical outcome, according to this argument, is that the ANC is tempted to shift its focus, to avoid weakening De Klerk too much, and thereby to temper its militancy — not least in the matter of "mass action".

It is argued from this position that a "rethink" of sanctions, for

example, will similarly ease pressure unacceptably on Mr de Klerk. Rather, it is suggested, it should be recognised that Mr de Klerk is engaged in a life-or-death struggle to force through a process which will, in the end, protect white privilege and result in something short of majority rule.

Rather than engaging on his terms, the ANC should recognise his real intentions, and should not underestimate its own strength — mobilised mass support. Full use of the latter, it is argued, can force the Government to transform the negotiating process from a sham one to a real one.

This political litmus test is not as clear-cut or analytically handy as the simple "communist/anti-communist" formula. But it has the advantage of making explicit developments which would otherwise seem baffling, and is a useful benchmark to keep in mind when assessing the tone and content of July's conference.

It is perfectly possible — even probable — that as the negotiations process unfolds, individual leaders will find their views of that process changing, their alle-

giances might shift back and forth (irrespective of whether they are communists), and the outcome will be an ANC with a more "militant" or more "moderate" face. Certainly, more SACP members are likely to be found in the sceptical camp, but this will not be an absolute rule.

Similarly, this understanding of the ANC's internal dynamics shows that it is wrong to conclude that the "hardliners" are "anti-negotiations" — they are rather opposed to negotiating under these specific rules.

The "revolutionaries" believe the ANC is being far too trusting and giving too much away — but they are likely to fight their corner within the ANC camp rather than leading a walkout.

And this, in turn, will make it more unlikely that their opponents within the ANC will be able to force them to leave, even if they want to do so.

Those who are awaiting a formal split between the SACP and the ANC would be advised not to start holding their breath just yet. □

- (3) whether the remuneration payable to these firms of private consultants will depend on results achieved; if not, (a) why not and (b) on what basis will these firms be remunerated?

B1244E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Provincial Administration of Natal

- (1) No, (2) and (3) fall away;

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State

- (1) No, (2) and (3) fall away.

Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope

- (1) Yes,

(a) Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd, and Andersen Consulting SA,

(b) to place specialist and community reference hospitals, respectively, in the Cape Province on the most efficient basis by providing structures and systems through which available resources (including and especially finance) can be optimally utilised so that effective health care can be rendered to the ever-increasing number of patients, and

to undertake a feasibility study of the future utilisation possibilities of the main building of the Karl Bremer Hospital at Bellville as a patient care facility,

(c) guaranteed savings on the present expenditure levels of the hospitals and the extent and duration of the project in the case of Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd, and the extent and duration of the project in the case of Andersen Consulting SA and

- (d) (i) *Byrne Fleming*

Beaufort West Hospital
Caledon Hospital
Voortrekker Hospital, Calvinia
Conradie Hospital, Pinelands
G.F. Jooste Hospital, Manenberg
Central Karoo Hospital, De Aar
National Accelerator Centre, Faure

George Hospital
Kimberley Hospital
Knysna Hospital
Swartland Hospital, Malmesbury

Mosselbaai Hospital
Oudtshoorn Hospital
Paarl Hospital

Somerset Hospital, Green Point
Hottentots Holland Hospital,
Somerset West

Dr Van Niekerk Hospital,
Springbok

Stellenbosch Hospital
South Peninsula Hospitals
Group

Gordonia Hospital, Upington
Vredendal Hospital

Vryburg Hospital
Woodstock Hospital

Eben Dönges Hospital, Worcester

Aliwal North Hospital
Dora Nginza Hospital, Port Elizabeth

Midlands Hospital, Graaff Reinet

Settlers Hospital, Grahamstown
Grey Hospital, King Williams Town

Livingstone Hospital, Port Elizabeth

Frere Hospital, East London
Provincial Hospital, Port Elizabeth

Provincial Hospital, Uitenhage

Andersen Consulting

Karl Bremer Hospital and

- (ii) *Byrne Fleming*

1 May 1991—31 March 1992 —
will be extended if necessary

Andersen Consulting

8 weeks from 1 May 1991.

- (2) no—the State Tender Board authorised the accounting officers of departments to approve such appointments by way of delegation. The following five companies of good reputation were approached to appear before a selection committee of this Administration:

Deloitte Pim Goldby
Coopers, Theron en Du Toit
Andersen Consulting S.A.
Byrne Fleming Consultancy (Pty) Ltd
Ernst and Young/Wiehahn Meyernel;

- (3) yes, in both cases formal appointments were made with briefs to which they have to adhere,

(a) and (b) fall away.

Provincial Administration of Transvaal

- (1) Yes,

(a) Ernst and Young: Management Services and Wiehahn Meyernel: Chartered Accountants (SA),

(b) to act as consultants with a view to create a responsibility costing management system and to evaluate the cost effectiveness of the different services rendered by the Health Services Branch,

(c) both firms are of proven integrity and success and therefore have been approached to undertake the task and,

(d) (i) all hospitals under control of the Health Services Branch are being involved in the investigation;

(ii) the investigation is being carried out in various phases and with independent accents and is integrated with a total mission, strategy and policy exercise in the branch. It is therefore not possible at this stage to indicate how long the investigation will take before finally completed.

- (2) no—the procedure in paragraph (1)(c) has been followed and the approval of the Treasury No 40/5/25 dated 25 February 1988, is not subject to tender procedures;

- (3) no,

(a) and (b) remuneration is based on the tariffs as approved by the Treasury and as stipulated in paragraph (2).

Deaths of SACP/Inkatha members; SAP investigation

483. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether he or the South African Police have been informed of the alleged violent deaths of (a) 3 members of the South African Communist Party and (b) 153 members of Inkatha, the names of whom have been furnished to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if not, why not; if so,

- (2) whether an investigation is taking place into these deaths; if not, why not; if so, (a) what progress has been made in the investigation and (b) what have been the findings so far;

- (3) whether any (a) suspects have been identified, (b) arrests have been made and (c) charges have been laid in connection with these deaths; if not, why not; if so, (i) what are the names of (aa) the suspects, (bb) those arrested and (cc) those charged and (ii) what is the nature of these charges?

B1247E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b)

Yes.

- (2) and (3) Yes.

— According to the data over which the Police disposes we have to do with 63 murders in the undermentioned matter. In 26 murders the suspected murders could not be traced.

— In 3 murders 6 persons were charged and the case dockets submitted to the Attorney General who declined to institute any prosecutions.

— In 12 murders 25 persons were charged. The charges against them were, however, withdrawn and inquests will be held as regards the deaths.

— In 10 murders murder charges are being investigated by the South African Police.

— In 3 murders 3 persons were arrested. The case dockets were submitted to the Attorney-General of Natal. His decision is still being awaited.

- In 1 murder 1 person was charged, found guilty and given the death sentence. ~~11A~~ ~~11B~~
- In 1 murder 5 persons were charged and found not guilty.
- In 5 murders 31 persons were charged. The trials have already commenced and have not, as yet, been finalised.
- In 1 murder 1 person was charged. He escaped and a warrant for his arrest has been issued.
- In 1 murder 4 persons were charged. One person was found guilty and given the death sentence, 2 persons were found not guilty and the charge against another person was withdrawn.

In all these instances the persons were charged with murder.

In the remaining 93 alleged deaths the information which the hon member furnished is insufficient. No record can be found of these alleged deaths. Should the hon member have more information at his disposal, it will be appreciated if he will convey such information to the Commissioner of the South African Police or myself.

Because conflict between opposing groups has been rampant for some years, furnishing the names of persons who have been charged in these cases, are to be charged or against whom the charges have been withdrawn, could result in revenge actions being taken against such persons and/or their next of kin.

It is, therefore, not in the interest of law and order to make public the names of these persons. I trust that the hon member will appreciate this point of view.

Certain women's organisation: funding received from Govt Dept ~~11A~~

484. Miss M SMUTS asked the State President:

- (1) Whether a certain women's organisation, the name of which has been furnished to the Office of the State President for the purpose of his reply, received any funding from the Bureau for Information, the

South African Communication Service or any other Government Department at or after its inception; if so, (a) what is the name of this organisation, (b) which body or bodies provided this funding and (c)(i) what are the amounts involved and (ii)(aa) on what date and (bb) to what purpose was each such amount provided;

- (2) whether these amounts were provided subject to any conditions; if so, what conditions? ~~11A~~ B1249E

The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) and (2) The hon member is referred to my replies in Parliament on 5 March 1991, 12 March 1991 and 9 April 1991. I reaffirm once again the point of principle, namely that denials in certain cases may lead to a situation in which later refusals to provide information in other cases because it would not be in the public interest to do so, could be construed as admissions.

Commuter trains to Jhb: arrangements for Soweto passengers ~~11A~~

486. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Transport:

- (1) Whether, since a date early in June 1991, certain trains travelling from Vereeniging and Oberholzer to Johannesburg and back during peak morning and evening commuter times, no longer pick up passengers in Soweto; if so, since what date;
- (2) whether this has been done to ensure that the trains in question are kept essentially White; if not, why has it been done;
- (3) whether alternative arrangements will be made for those Black commuters travelling between Soweto and Johannesburg who have been affected by this step; if not, why not; if so, what alternative arrangements;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B1251E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) No.
- (2) and (3) Falls away.
- (4) No.

Medical aid societies

490. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health: ~~11A~~

- (a) How many medical aid societies are there in South Africa and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B1255E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) and (b) There were 198 medical schemes registered in terms of the Medical Schemes Act, 1967, as at 25 June 1991.

Apart from the five medical schemes controlled by the State under other legislation, referred to in section 2 of the Medical Schemes Act, 1967, there were also 40 schemes registered in terms of the Labour Relations Act, 1956, as at 25 June 1991.

- (2) how many medical doctors were in (a) private practice and (b) State employ in each of the provinces as at the latest specified date for which information is available? ~~11A~~

B1257E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) The cost per student is estimated at R25 000—R30 000 per year;
- (2) the number of medical practitioners in each province in (a) private practice and (b) Public Service—June 1990:

Province	Private Practice	Government
Transvaal	5 745	2 981
Cape	3 267	2 258
Natal	1 950	1 122
Orange Free State	689	472

Certain bank: SA Rail Commuter Corporation

493. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Transport:† ~~11A~~

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 30 April 1991, he will now furnish information on how much money the South African Rail Commuter Corporation invested with a certain bank, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if not, why not; if so, (a) how much, (b) on what terms, (c) who took the decision to make the investment and (d) what is the name of the bank concerned;

B1256E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (a) The total amount budgeted is R8 130 370 000 and
- (b) only the total amount is available. The financial information is presently constructed in such a way that it cannot be subdivided into amounts for primary, secondary and tertiary health care.

Training of medical doctors: cost per annum

492. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health: ~~11A~~

- (1) What is the cost per annum of training a student to become a medical doctor;

B1258E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

- (1) The matter is *subjudice*, but certain information will however be provided.

ANC ELECTIONS Fm 21/6/91

JULY HANDICAPS (11A)

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — reinforcing criticism that his style is increasingly autocratic — devoted a lengthy part of his speech at Sunday's June 16 commemoration rally near Soweto to lambasting the media. He condemned speculation around the ANC National Consultative Conference to be held in Durban on July 2-7 and the accompanying leadership elections.

In fact, the speculation appears to originate not within the media but in the ANC's National Executive Committee — and the main target is ANC intelligence chief and southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma, who remains the strongest contender for the deputy president post. He has been unfairly tagged with having leaked the stories about the alleged police activities of ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and the close relationship Winnie Mandela is said to enjoy with a young ex-lawyer, Dali Mpofu.

Zuma is a tough and astute politician and the Mokaba and Mpofu stories have been floating around in press circles for quite a while. Their sudden prominence actually appears to be an attempt to raise questions

about Zuma — who is not liked by certain executive members with links to the SA Communist Party. Zuma is a Zulu — and in its latest issue, the ANC journal *Mayibuye* warns that the movement ignores ethnicity at its "peril." This is a line which will assist Zuma. *Mayibuye* further queries whether the ANC is as "broad-based and as representative as it can and should be."

Zuma is highly regarded by Inkatha, with which he has had some success in quelling violence in Natal.

Who becomes deputy president also depends on the role he will be expected to play during the next crucial three years until the ANC again holds leadership elections. Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's international affairs director, predicts that SA will have its first democratic, nonracial elections within this time.

The ANC and its leadership are critically overstretched. The deputy president will have to be adept at negotiations — and relaxed with international leaders. The president and deputy president will share between them a stringent schedule of intensive negotiations at home, with frequent overseas travel to court funds and win favour for ANC positions.

This explains the strong move to avert a leadership battle at next month's conference and elect Walter Sisulu deputy president. But he is reluctant to take up such a post

because of his age and health.

Zuma's closest rival — in terms of ability to negotiate, diplomacy and leadership qualities — is Cyril Ramaphosa, the National Union of Mineworkers' chief. However, Ramaphosa is shrewd and will not put himself up for any senior ANC position unless he feels there is an overwhelming lobby in his favour.

Mbeki is probably the ANC's finest diplomat and a brilliant strategist and it would be wrong to rule him out of the running as deputy president. A close fight between Mbeki and Zuma could see Chris Hani scoop the prize. Hani lacks the skills a deputy president would require as diplomat and as someone who can help unite warring factions within the ANC.

Another critical election at the Durban conference will be that for secretary-general. Alfred Nzo now occupies this position but is considered inept.

A major flaw within the ANC at present lies in its organisational structures — its "staff package." For example, it has no pension scheme, which makes the future for elderly leaders voted out of office very insecure.

In fact, the overall lack of job security in the ANC in no small way contributes to the viciousness of the current leadership struggles in the movement. The media have nothing to do with it.

Charlene Smith

Sisulu looks a dead cert for ANC's No 2

Wimal 21/6 - 27/6/91
AGEING ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu now looks certain to take the number two position, after a powerful lobby within the movement has short-circuited Jacob Zuma's bid for the post.

Top-level ANC sources say that while 79-year-old Sisulu was reluctant to stand for the post, he will now do so to avoid a damaging bun fight for the position.

Sisulu has across-the-board support within the ANC and is said to be in good health, though some are concerned about the implications for the movement if the 73-year-old president-to-be Nelson Mandela dies and has to be replaced by a man who by then may well be in his eighties.

Both Thabo Mbeki (49), backed by ANC "moderates", and Chris Hani (49), backed by the "radicals", agreed not to contest the position. But when southern Natal leader and intelligence chief Zuma was proposed as a compromise candidate, Hani threatened to re-enter the fray.

Zuma (49), who has played a key role in the negotiations with the government, is viewed as a "compromiser" by movement militants and is also being strongly opposed by many of the returned exiles because of his often controversial role as ANC intelligence chief. Among those who have openly opposed him in the pre-election discussions are leading members of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Part of the campaign against Zuma has been to blame him for the "leaks" that youth leader Peter Mokaba was interrogated and confessed to having worked for the security police two years ago. However, among those who have provided details about Mo-

Walter Sisulu is back in the running for the ANC's vice presidency — and looks certain to win. (11A)

By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

kaba's alleged confession to *The Weekly Mail* reporters are some of Zuma's most vocal opponents, including other National Executive Committee members.

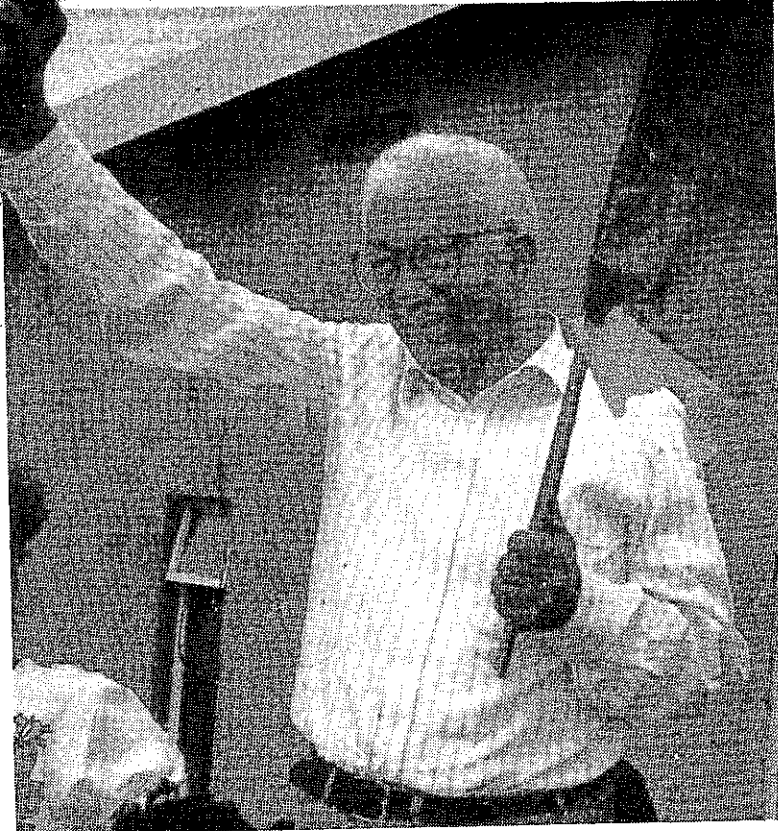
Zuma's own region backed the hard-line Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala (71) for the vice presidency by a vote of 300, to 17 for Zuma. However, Gwala — who still frequently quotes Joe Stalin — is a highly controversial character within both the ANC and the SACP and has little chance of getting the position.

The most intriguing battle now appears to be for the position of secretary general. Despite some hard campaigning, 66-year-old Alfred Nzo looks certain to be ousted.

Nzo's unpopularity cuts across the radical-moderate, exile-internal fissures within the movement and he is widely slated for having handled his portfolio with considerable inefficiency in the past.

Zuma has been nominated by both his own region and Northern Transvaal for this position, but the strongest candidate at the moment is National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

However, Ramaphosa (38) told *The Weekly Mail* last Wednesday that he would not be standing. Earlier this year he was believed to be considering studying overseas and standing down from his NUM position, and last week he indicated he would not be attending the July 2 conference.



AGEING LEADER ... There is concern about the implications for the ANC if Nelson Mandela dies

But it is believed that some vigorous arm-twisting has pushed him to reconsider, and it is now widely expected he will be in the running.

Three candidates are lining up for the position of assistant general secretary. The incumbent, Henry Makgoti, is likely to be swept out of office and replaced by former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe, southern Natal ANC and SACP vice-president Jeff Radebe, or Border ANC leader the Rev Arnold Stofile.

Molefe (39), who is also a member of the ANC Witwatersrand executive, is the front runner, but Radebe and Stofile also have strong backing.

Stofile (47), who was a lecturer at

Fort Hare University before being jailed in the Ciskei for Umkhonto we-Sizwe activities, is also the front-runner for the post of treasurer general, despite having had little past financial experience. He is widely respected for his honesty and is believed to be a tough but fair negotiator.

It now appears that the majority of the present ANC NEC members will lose their positions, with only Mandela, Sisulu, Zuma, Mbeki, Hani, Gertrude Shope, Pallo Jordan, Ruth Mompati, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils being certain of re-election — and even some of them will not make it on to the 25-person National Working Committee.

(11A) ARGUS 21/6/91

ANC mum over plans for Durban indaba

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The African National Congress is keeping mum over arrangements for its forthcoming national conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

The conference, which be-

gins on July 3 is expected to draw at least 2 000 ANC delegates and visiting foreign dignitaries, at a cost of more than R2,5 million.

Southern Natal ANC spokesman Mr Sbu Ndebele said most of the arrangements had been completed,

with just a "few minor details left".

He said that the ANC had made reservations at several Durban hotels for the delegates.

"We could not be expected to put up our delegates at

the student residences at UD-W because they have accommodation for only 1 000," he said.

The conference will run from July 3 to 6 and a rally is planned for July 7 at King's Park Stadium to introduce the new executive.

Founder members split from Wosa

By DREW FORREST ^{w/maint} 21/6 - 27/6/91.

A YEAR after its formation, the Trotskyist-leaning Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) has suffered a split.

About 15 members, half of them founder members, walked out of the recent three-day national conference in Johannesburg and would now form the nucleus of a new Trotskyist organisation called International Socialists of SA (ISSA), said representative Rihad Desai.

He said the walkout had been sparked by a resolution defining a "permanent tendency" and the chairman's refusal to allow debate on the implications of this for his grouping. This, combined with an earlier investigation on whether a faction was operating in the Johannesburg branch, had made it clear that he and others of like mind were not welcome in Wosa.

A Wosa spokesman strongly denied any organised attempt to oust Desai and his group. "All that happened is members confirmed a resolution of our first conference that they don't want cliques. Those who walked out couldn't accept this," he said. (11A) (S) (S)

At the conference, Wosa rejected calls for an interim government, arguing that this would not be elected but appointed by all classes at the All Party Conference and would therefore serve ruling-class interests. It also rejected a constituent assembly leading to a "bourgeois parliament protecting the rule of capital".

'Two hats' debate rages in Cosatu

w/mcal 21/6-27/6/91



THREE major labour congresses last week further divided the Congress of South African Trade Unions on the issue of "two hats" — dual leadership of political organisations and unions.

Central to the issue is Cosatu's relationship with its alliance partners, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party. It provides a key test of unions' political orientation.

Vigorous debate on the question is expected at Cosatu's national congress next month.

At its Johannesburg congress, the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union agreed that CWIU and Cosatu national office-bearers should not wear two hats. More controversial — suggesting resistance from the rank and file — was a ban on overlapping leadership by full-time officials and executive members of the union and the federation, passed by a narrow majority in a secret ballot.

The South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union's standing opposition to two hats was not an issue at its Cape Town congress, said Sactwu's Ebrahim Patel.

A resolution makes indirect reference to the policy by calling on the leadership not to compromise Sactwu's independence and unity through actions outside the union, and barring leaders from speaking on other platforms without a mandate.

By contrast, the Paper Printing Wood

The issue of dual leadership of trade unions and political organisations is threatening to divide the Congress of South African Trade Unions, reports

FERIAL HAFFAJEE

and Allied Workers' Union (Ppwawu) resolved at its Soweto congress that "key leaders in the trade unions should take up positions in the ANC so as to make sure that they (the ANC) have their experience". Cosatu's food and mine affiliates have taken a similar stance.

In another key resolution, Sactwu called for a conference convened by Cosatu and its allies on sanctions, and for the lifting of sanctions to be coupled with "compliance with social clauses in trade agreements, covering basic union rights".

Similar to a recent congress resolution of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), this reflects growing union anxiety that the resistance movement is being overtaken by events on the sanctions front. The paper union also called for a review of sanctions by Cosatu and the ANC.

Sactwu also decided to campaign for "unscheduled wage increases" to compensate for the expected rise in inflation after the introduction of VAT, and will fight the payment of VAT on union subscriptions.

In an advanced resolution on women, the CWIU will press employers to

adopt an affirmative action employment programme aimed at equalising the male:female ratio in the industry. The union will also petition employers to remove all forms of sex discrimination within a year.

Sactwu rejected the establishment of women's structures in the union, instead resolving that issues affecting women should be integrated in its constitutional structures. Ppwawu called for the strengthening of women's structures.

Sactwu called for a national clothing industrial council and is to consider a national strike to enforce demands for a national council in textiles. It also became the first Cosatu union to formally endorse the closed shop principle, calling for the extension of the closed shop to all unionised factories.

On industrial restructuring, the union called for an export orientation, greater beneficiation of wool and a major training and retraining push. It plans a union-wide retrenchment demonstration on September 4.

The CWIU is also to step up its drive for centralised bargaining in the chemical sector, and plans a bargaining conference early next year to advance this campaign.

Ppwawu also revealed that it is soon to start unity talks with the South African Typographical Union and Nactu's National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers, with which it has been locked in long-standing organising battles.

Mandela fires a salvo at the press

W/Mail 2116-27/6/91
AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela told the June 16 commemorative rally last Sunday his organisation was moving towards its first national conference within the country "not in shambles" but poised for final victory, and warned the press "not to try and run our organisation and our forthcoming conference".

In a wide-ranging speech delivered at the FNB stadium, Mandela accused the media of waging a campaign against the ANC, in particular the National Executive Committee (NEC).

He said the ANC would not compromise on the issue of an interim government and expressed his unqualified support and confidence in the organisation's present leadership.

Mandela's hard line against the media comes in the wake of press reports which alleged the existence of two factions within the ANC, vying for positions in the July conference.

(11A)
Nelson Mandela took a hard line on the African National Congress' interim government demands — and journalists — at a June 16 rally in Soweto last weekend.

By WALLY MBHELE

Reports said members of the ANC intelligence had "spied" on the organisation's social welfare department and leaked stories about ANC officials to the media, including controversial allegations against the Youth League president, Peter Mokaba.

Responding to the reports, Mandela said "the ANC is not in disarray", adding that its "leaders do not spend their time in a life-and-death struggle for personal power".

He said the ANC "valued journalists" because their criticism meant leaders could see themselves in a different light and correct mistakes. But they should "not to try to run our struggle".

However, he admitted that the ANC has had problems and still has them. It would have been surprising if everything had gone without a hitch.

Mandela stood firm on the demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly composed of "the masses of our people". If the government refused to budge on this demand, he said the ANC would be forced to resort to mass action.

Mandela accused the government of spending nearly R50-million for propaganda purposes. He accused the SABC of overwhelmingly promoting the "interests of the white minority" and said the mainstream press was owned by the mining houses and could not be expected to project workers' interests.

He said the ANC's national conference would be an outstanding success. "As we move towards the conference, we do so certain of final victory. That is the message I'd like you to take home."

Accolades for Mail trainees

PHIL MOLEFE, a graduate of *The Weekly Mail* Training Project for cadet journalists, has been named education reporter of the year. W/Mail 2116-27/6/91
Most of the work for which he won the Education Foundation award was completed during his time at *The Weekly Mail*.

Molefe, who now works for *The Star*, gave up his teaching career and enrolled in the Training Project in 1989. A year later he was awarded a three-month Thompson Foundation scholarship to the United Kingdom.

Another *Weekly Mail* trainee, Linda Rulashe, has won this year's Thompson Foundation scholarship. Rulashe also walked off with a merit award at the 1990 SAB Sportswriter of the Year competition.

Women rally together for unity

1/A
Sowetan
21/6/91

A MASS multi-cultural rally by South African women is planned for FNB Stadium in Johannesburg in September.

This was announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg this week by Mrs Cathy Makhene, representative of a newly formed women's committee.

The committee is the brainchild of the Goodwill Foundation and is represented by a number of women's organisations, including the ANC Women's League, Inka-



By PEARL MAJOLA

tha Women's Brigade, the Women's Bureau, Women for South Africa and Planned Parenthood Association.

The rally is part of a larger programme planned by the committee to promote the spirit of unity and positiveness.

Wives of South Afri-

can leaders, those of presidents of African states and women of all ages will be invited to attend.

"We have been separated for too long, not only racially, but ethnically. We therefore ask all women's organisations to join hands in this new initiative to help build a better future for our country," she said.

"Women are called



Members of the women's committee (from left): Mary Mabaso of the Interdenominational Prayer Women's League, Valencia Khumalo of the Women's League, Jenny Malan of Women for South Africa, Cathy Makhene of the Goodwill Foundation and Stella Job of the Women's Bureau.

Pic: PAT SEBOKO

upon to indulge in an extraordinary effort from September to promote good neighbourliness, excellence in client service throughout the business world, hospitality at inter-cultural and international level and a spirit of good sportsmanship in all walks of life.

"An appeal is being made that September 1 be observed as Reconciliation Day when every attempt should be made to strengthen the family bonds and encourage good neighbourliness.

"All churches and religions represented within the country are called

upon to use that Sunday to promote unity within the family, community and at inter-church level."

She said the committee was also planning to launch a nationwide campaign, involving individuals, to foster a spirit

of positiveness by committing themselves to a friendly, prosperous and united South Africa.

"We will need finances to run the programme and we hope that companies and individuals will help us to make it a success," she said.

ANC versus the civics

Residents' groups determined to be independent

By MATHATHA TSEDU

Phokanoka, who is head of the regional political education desk, was part of a delegation last Thursday that met Ramodike to discuss a planned stayaway by the NTCA.

Insiders said Ramodike was infuriated by the idea of a stayaway to protest against the opening of his legislative assembly, especially as other bantustans such as Gazankulu, Kangwane and KwaNdebele had not been subjected to marches or stayaways.

The insiders said Ramodike, who was billed as one of the major speakers at last weekend's rally at the FNB stadium, told Phokanoka and regional chairman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe that if the ANC did not stop the NTCA's stayaway, he would pull out of the FNB rally along with the busloads of people he had organised.

The ANC agreed to prevail on the NTCA to abandon the stayaway. Netshitenzhe accepted that this was the position when he addressed a news conference with Ramodike on Thursday afternoon.

Stayaway

It had been agreed, he said, that "nothing should be placed above the objective of uniting our people".

The NTCA comprises various civic organisations which are all led by ANC members.

The NTCA leadership itself, from President Kamela Sekonya to secretary Ms Cebile Khanye, are ANC members.

But when Phokanoka addressed a meeting with the task force of the NTCA, Azapo and the PAC that evening, it was ANC members who told him plainly: thanks, but no thanks.

Khanye and Sekonya told *Sowetan* after the meeting that as the NTCA they were not bound by ANC agreements with Ramodike.

"In the same way that we would not be bound by agreements between Azapo and anyone, we have refused to cancel our stayaway and it is going ahead as planned.

"The fact that we are ANC members is immaterial as we are at this juncture operating as the civic and in that capacity, we are non-aligned and non-sectarian.

"We represent the views of our community and we are bound by their decision to call a stayaway," they said.

And indeed, as they said, Lebowakgomo was affected by a stayaway on Friday, with shops closed for half the day as ordered, and taxis not running.

Considering that the leaders of the civics are ANC members and that the formation of civics was an ANC campaign, what is happening?

Natal Midlands leaders Mr Blade Mzwandile and Mr Mpume Sikhosana effectively argue in their joint article in *Mayibuye* that civics are upstaging ANC branches and are unnecessary now that the organisation can wage its battles legally.

Conflicts

The two say there are "widespread conflicts between civics and ANC branches in many regions ... also, many of the civics are becoming alternative power centres to the na-

lated by ANC members.

Many ANC members, frustrated by the organisation's blowing hot and cold over many issues such as sanctions, bantustan collaborators, the acceptance of Captain Dirk Coetzee into the organisation and the sports and cultural boycott, are turning to civics as a power bloc to uphold "the true principles of the ANC", one ANC insider said.

Angry

The link with Gazankulu chief minister Hudson Ntsanwisi when he has closed down a college controlled by an ANC-aligned SRC, and with Ramodike who is still experiencing problems with



NELSON RAMODIKE

tional liberation movement".

Rejecting the NICC basis that civics take up day-to-day issues such as rent, housing and water while the ANC takes up political issues, Mzwandile and Sikhosana say: "The danger of the argument that civics should take up issues of rent, electricity, roads and the ANC branch (undefined) political issues, is that it falls squarely within the strategy to separate the ANC from its mass base.

"What political issues does an ANC branch take up other than the very political questions of rent, electricity, township administration?"

grassroots structures, have left many ANC activists disillusioned and angry, the source said.

"If the July conference in Durban can produce a leadership that would be seen to be towing the same line as now, structures such as the NICC are going to openly canvass against the ANC, pushing for a more militant line that saw the UDF grow from a ragtag army of activists to the giant that it was until the state of emergency put many of its leaders behind bars," said the source.

IS THE ANC rethinking its earlier strategies to form civic organisations in all areas and communities around the country?

Or, put another way, in the ANC magazine's own words, are these organisations becoming a power base to oppose the ANC?

The article in *Mayibuye* is at the centre of a raging debate about the role of civics and how independent they are or should be from the ANC.

The June issue of the magazine carries two separate articles, both reacting to an earlier story run in April about the civics.

The magazine asserts that there are people who saw the birth of the National Interim Civic Committee as a power base to oppose the ANC.

NICC co-ordinator, Mr Zohra Ibrahim, argues in the article that civics are independent and they would make their demands about affordable housing, land and services regardless of what government is in power.

Leaders

"This is what is meant by the independence of the civics," he said.

The civics represented communities and had involved people regardless of political affiliation.

"Civics don't say after winning a victory: 'Exclude house 2 or shack 7 because ANC, PAC or Azapo members live there'," Ibrahim said.

The relationship issue between the NICC and the ANC is relevant. All the leaders of this new organisations belong to the ANC.

It is also relevant in the light of what happened to ANC Northern Transvaal regional executive member Mr Lawrence Phokanoka last week when the Northern Transvaal Civics Association told him point blank that they were independent and therefore not bound by ANC agreements with Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike.

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16/9

Not all are out of jails says ANC

THE ANC has disputed the Government's claim that all political prisoners who qualified for release in terms of the Pretoria Minute have been freed.

The ANC was reacting to claims by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee amid reports the release of prisoners was the remaining obstacle to the lifting of sanctions by the United States.

In a statement yester-

day the ANC said a meeting last week between it and the Government agreed there were 987 political prisoners behind bars.

Of these, 15 "clear-cut" cases of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres and another 284 prisoners - identified as having been involved in mass activity but who qualified for immediate release in terms of the audit committee's guidelines - were still in jail.

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"Of the remaining 678, all those who had less than a 12-year sentence were to be released immediately in terms of the agreed formula of remission of one third of the sentence, plus two years and eight months.

"The cases of those prisoners who do not fall into this category would be looked into as a matter of urgency by the scrutiny committee established for this purpose," the statement said. - Sapa.

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YOU CANNOT help feeling sorry for Nelson Mandela. Only six months ago his disposition was proud and his bearing statesmanlike. But now his tone has become shrill and bitter.

In his Christmas message, he was full of confidence about the future, saying "the SA so many of us have sacrificed so much for is within sight. Together let us walk this last, long gruelling mile to reach a non-racial society where all our people will be equal before the law". Now he has taken to lashing out at the Press in a finger-wagging manner not unlike that of at least one former NP leader.

Last year he was treated to ticker-tape parades overseas. Now he is seen there as a man who cannot control violence among his own supporters. Last year he was treated with near reverence by the foreign Press. Now they write of seamy rumours about his marriage.

Last year, a political solution looked difficult but achievable in the near-term. Now it seems years away. Last year the ANC felt it held the moral high ground. Now it is involved in scrappy arguments with government about violence, political prisoners and the return of exiles. But perhaps the most pressing difficulty for Mandela is his increasingly fractious organisation, a fact which he all but concedes by referring to the ANC as a "broad church".

Clearly, the ANC requires a substantial shakeup, which makes the timing of its July congress highly opportune. ANC members place great store in the congress's ability to place the organisation on a sure footing. Whether it will, or whether it will simply highlight some of the conflicting tendencies within it, remains to be seen.

In broad terms, the main task of the congress will be to decide a method of attaining what ANC members refer to as the "tactical initiative". This problem involves several components: the organisational strength of the ANC, its popularity, charting the way through the "transitional period" in a manner that

July congress may provide just the jolt the ANC needs

TIM COHEN

Biday 21/6/91.

(11A)

profits the organisation, and developing an effective and convincing critique of government's position.

The main problem here is that even when the ANC tries to take the initiative, it comes out appearing the worse off. Perhaps the best example was its ultimatum on violence, which began as a bold attempt to force the government's hand and which ended — as one deadline passed after another — as a damp squib. Leaders readily concede that President F W de Klerk has used the terrain of negotiations more effectively than the ANC. But the problem is broader and involves an inability to win through sophisticated political manoeuvring.

This has frustrated the membership, sparked disconcerting rumblings from various quarters, and caused an exaggerated focus on the alleged inabilities of the leadership. As at the ANC's consultative congress last December, democracy within the organisation is likely to be a prominent issue. It arises partly as a result of the differing styles of the exiled and formerly imprisoned leaders and the internal leaders.

As the ANC publication *Mayibuye* points out, in the three decades of its illegality "the structures of the ANC had to adapt to the kind of struggle that was being waged.... The structures became gradually smaller and

more secretive... decision-making powers were vested among smaller numbers". Internal leaders (who now occupy mainly the regional leadership structures) are much less authoritarian in their leadership styles and insist on frequent consultation and report-backs.

The sanctions debate will be the litmus test of the strength of the current leadership which has called for (last December and at the OAU this month) and by all indications will again call for, a phased approach to the lifting of sanctions, with sports sanctions the first to go. ANC leaders have proposed the approach behind closed doors because they fear their organisation is losing out to government over the issue, but the rank and file are loath to dispense with such a treasured weapon.

Another element of tension regarding the current leadership concerns the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. Members are concerned about their status and confused over their future role. MK will be sending its own delegation to the congress to represent its interests and to raise its misgivings.

Members are curiously secretive

about ANC membership figures, although a new total of about 500 000 is expected to be announced. Members are secretive because they feel the number will be seen as low, especially compared with Inkatha's claimed membership of more than 2-million. But realistically, after only a little more than a year of legality, this growth of membership from practically nil inside the country is not inconsiderable.

But members see the "low" membership as the manifestation of a broader organisational problem. As former ANC Moscow representative Simon Makana says, "The ANC has been banned for 30 years. You can't say the ANC has recovered from that state of illegality. This is the main task that is preoccupying us — to make sure that general support is translated into an actual commitment which ensures we become a living body."

Apart from the poor state of the ANC's internal organisation, members concede that the congress must discuss ways of breaking out of the impasse on negotiations. "We must come out of this congress having charted the way forward. We can't come out with ambivalent views about where we are at. There can be no vacillation now on the direction," says national executive committee

member Aziz Pahad.

Violence will also be thoroughly discussed at the congress. Debate will focus principally on methods of getting government to concede to the ANC's demands on the issue and on the role of the security forces. NEC member Jacob Zuma talks bitterly about what he sees as De Klerk's deficiency in attempting to change the psychological attitude of the security forces. "They do not understand what De Klerk is saying. They do not even agree with what he is saying," Zuma says.

Other ANC spokesmen go further, claiming the government has the ability to turn violence on and off like a tap. But while the militant rank and file may approve of such rhetoric, the ANC loses credibility elsewhere by overstating its case. If it is to produce workable solutions to an undoubtedly complex issue together with other groups like the NP and the IFP, it must come up with sophisticated arguments.

In assessing claims that government is primarily responsible for the violence, political analysts Duncan Innes and Matthew Kentridge write: "It is true that the government welcomes the fact that the ANC is losing credibility in the eyes of its erstwhile supporters. The government undoubtedly thinks that it might win the next election against a weakened ANC and will use all the political tricks in the book to strengthen its own position and sow discord among the opposition."

They say in the latest Innes Labour Brief: "... the government needs to be extremely careful... It cannot allow the ANC to become too weak or too discredited. It needs a negotiating partner, and it needs to limit the antagonism which already exists between the parties if negotiations are to be successful."

If government members are gleeful about the current state of the ANC, they would be well advised to think again. The organisation contains the seeds of strength that are currently dormant. If it can nourish those seeds, and the aim of the congress is to do just that, the ANC may well emerge an extremely powerful adversary.

ANC split? - Don't hold your breath

11A

Sowetan 2/6/91



By SHAUN JOHNSON

THERE is a widespread perception among political observers that the outcome of the ANC's July congress will provide final answers as to which "faction" of the organisation is in the ascendency.

There is, however, very little agreement or clarity about how to define these "factions", how to quantify them and how to find out who exactly belongs to which of them.

For the moment, vague delineations are drawn without too much reflection. The most popular - and it does not flow exclusively from conservative quarters - is that there is a deadly struggle for power between communists and non-communists within the organisation.

In this construction, there will either be a formal split between the ANC and the SACP, or there will not - which of these two outcomes emerges will determine who has "won".

There are variations on this basic thesis, and they are then translated into sloped shorthand, depending on the political persuasion of the analyst.

Thus: there are "hawks" (bad) and "doves" (good); "progressives" (good) and "collaborationists" (bad); "militants" (good or bad) and "moderates" (good or bad); "reformists" (bad or good) and "revolutionaries" (bad or good). And so on.

The shorthand is, as has been demonstrated repeatedly during the confusing onrush of events since February 2 1990, highly problematic and even dangerously misleading.

Individual leaders are moved by observers from camp to camp, like chess pieces, depending on their latest statements.

It becomes even more opaque when a leader who is a vociferous

opponent of the South African Communist Party is proved in every other respect to be a "hardliner".

Or when one of the most prominent of the perceived "hawks" is suddenly revealed to be one of the key players in keeping an ANC/Government working group on the rails. Or when the overall leader of the liberation movements' alliance is seen to "swop sides" from week to week.

It is a simple fact - and an obvious one at that - that there are powerful and different tendencies within the ANC, that these are complicated by the cross-fertilisation with a separate party (the SACP), and that allegiances are fluid.

Of course there are power struggles, but they need not be as mechanistic as is suggested and they need not result in a clear situation of victory or defeat.

The best way to monitor the growth or decline of particular political perspectives within the organisation - and thus to pronounce with some reliability on the outcome of this ANC congress - is to isolate the strategic kernel which tends to set the leaders apart.

The primary point of reference is the prevailing attitude toward the current negotiation process writ large, and toward the (President FW) De Klerk administration in particular. There are two basic positions between which ANC members can choose.

Firstly, there is the belief that although the Government will be a tough opponent - and there will be

persistent skirmishing - it is sincere in its commitment to a process which could result in the accession to power of the ANC.

In other words, there is a fundamental convergence of views on the validity of the process, and it must therefore be entered into without delay.

This, more or less, is the predominant attitude within the national executive committee of the movement.

Against this, there is the conviction that the Government is not sincere, but is perpetrating a sophisticated ruse by drawing the ANC into a process which it cannot control, and from which it will not be able to escape.

The sceptics argue that De Klerk is thereby cleverly setting up as the enemies of democracy not his own Government (or, for that matter, the Inkatha Freedom Party) - because both are committed to the process - but rather the far rightwing.

The logical outcome, according to this argument, is that the ANC is tempted to shift its focus, to avoid weakening De Klerk too much and thereby to temper its militancy - not least in the matter of "mass action".

It is argued from this position that a "rethink" of sanctions, for example, will similarly ease pressure unacceptably on De Klerk. Rather, it is suggested, it should be recognised that De Klerk is engaged in a life-or-death struggle to force through a process which will, in the end, protect white privilege and result in something short of majority rule.

Rather than engaging on his terms, the ANC should recognise his real intentions and should not underestimate its own strength - mobilised mass support.

Full utilisation of the latter, it is argued, can force the Government to transform the negotiating process from a sham one to a real one.

This political litmus test is not as clear-cut or analytically handy as the simple "communist/anti-communist" formula. But it has the advantage of making explicable developments which would otherwise seem baffling, and is a useful benchmark to keep in mind when assessing the tone and content of July's conference.

It is perfectly possible - even probable - that as the negotiations process unfolds, individual leaders will find their views of that process changing; their allegiances might shift back and forth (irrespective of whether they are communists), and the outcome will be an ANC with a more "militant" or more "moderate" face.

Certainly, more SACP members are likely to be found in the sceptical camp, but this will not be an absolute rule.

Similarly, this understanding of the ANC's internal dynamics shows that it is wrong to conclude that the "hardliners" are "anti-negotiations" - they are rather opposed to negotiating under these specific rules.

The "revolutionaries" believe the ANC is being far too trusting and giving too much away - but they are likely to fight their corner within the ANC camp rather than leading a walkout.

And this, in turn, will make it more unlikely that their opponents within the ANC will be able to force them to leave, even if they want to.

Those who are awaiting a formal split between the SACP and the ANC would be advised not to start holding their breath just yet.



Jack's cousin tells of talk with assassins

11A
ET 21/6/91

2 Cape Times, Friday, June 21 1991 ★
From page 1

time of the attack, was lucky enough to get out and escape the hail of bullets which raked the vehicle. He managed to get home even though one of the men opened fire on him with a shotgun.

After being treated for a shrapnel wound in his chest and buckshot wounds on his back, Andile yesterday said: "My uncle was taking me home when we heard someone shout "Mziwonke" at the stop street. He looked and saw the men and reversed the car and drove up to them. When we stopped in front of them two of the men started shooting."

Mr Jack's brother, 27-year-old brother Xalo, said his brother had been worried about his safety as he had been followed by a group of men about five days ago.

Investigating officer Warrant Officer Johan Mathee of the Guguletu police station yesterday said he was investigating the possibility that the killing was politically motivated.

Mr Jack's sister Mbuyiswa said yesterday that "about three weeks ago" her brother had accompanied recently released political prisoner Mr Mncedisi Mcitibi on a township search for his stolen car.

Mr Mcitibi's car had allegedly been taken by members of a taxi organisation and "Pro and Mncedisi were driving up and down looking for information" shortly afterwards.

Ms Jack said she could not positively link this incident to the killing.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC publicity secretary for the Western Cape, said yesterday that "Pro is the fourth middle-layer MK soldier to have been assassinated in similar circumstances in different parts of the country in recent weeks".

The alleged use of an R4 rifle in this instance added yet another piece to the jigsaw puzzle.

ASSASSINATED ... Mr "Pro" Jack

By DANIEL SIMON
FOUR men who killed top ANC member Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack near his Nyanga home on Wednesday night were approached and questioned by Mr Jack's cousin and neighbour just before the assassination.

The men, who were all wearing balaclavas and long coats, were approached by Mr Jeffrey Bartmann, 32, when he saw them standing under a tree after 9pm.

Police yesterday said the killing took place about 10.15pm and that they had recovered 15 R4 shells and a single shotgun shell at the scene. On inspection, police counted 11 entry points where high-velocity bullets had entered to end Mr Jack's life.

Mr Bartmann said yesterday that the four did not answer when he asked them why they were standing there.

About 10.15pm, Mr Jack, who was taking home his 16-year-old nephew Andile, was lured into a trap by the men who opened fire on him with an R4 rifle, killing him instantly.

Detailing his face-to-face encounter with the killers, Mr Bartmann said: "I approached the men and asked them why they were standing there. The men kept quiet. None of them answered me. I could not see their faces because it was dark and they were wearing balaclavas."

Mr Bartmann said the incident left him feeling uneasy and he carried on

to his Dube Street home which is nextdoor to that of Mr Jack, who is his cousin.

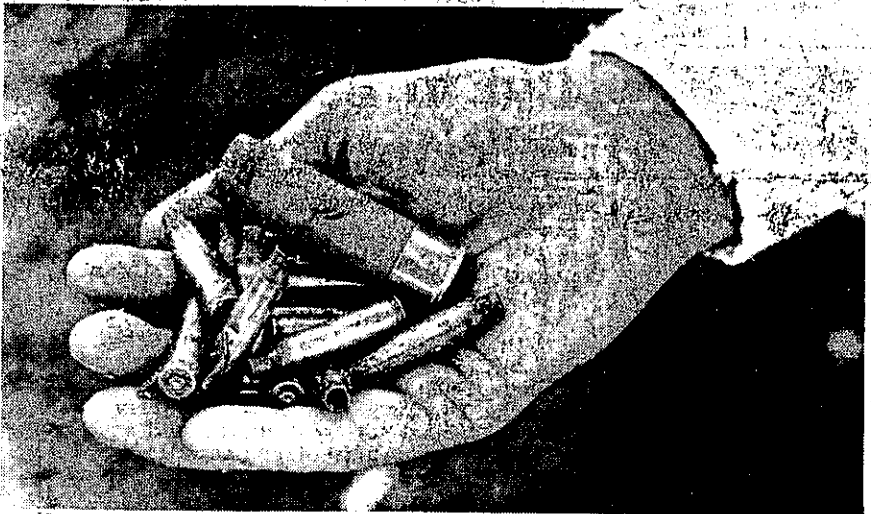
The spot where the men were standing was about 200m from Mr Jack's home, on the corner of Emms and Lansdowne roads on the border of Nyanga East and Crossroads.

Mr Bartmann said he had later heard a burst of gunfire.

"I rushed out to see what happened. I saw a car parked near the tree where the men were standing. When I got to it I saw it was cousin Pro's car and that he had been shot dead," Mr Bartmann said.

Andile, who was in the car with Mr Jack at the

To page 2



KILLER CROP ... The R4 and shotgun shells found near the spot where Mr Jack's car was raked by gunfire on Wednesday night.

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ANC split looms in 11A the Karoo

C/T 2/6/91

Staff Reporter

A CONFRONTATION is looming between rural ANC members and the Western Cape regional executive committee over an attempt to co-opt UDF patron Dr Alan Boesak to lead a breakaway from the organisation.

The regional executive sent letters to their rural branches last week, criticising the "divisive" tactics of certain members, who organised a conference to discuss the formation of a separate ANC region for the rural areas.

The breakaway attempt was initiated by the Rural Commission, an organisation started by ANC activists in Karoo, Namaqualand and Boland towns, who felt that the regional executive was biased in favour of its urban branches.

Confirmed

A spokesman for Dr Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice, Mr Calvin Smith, confirmed that Dr Boesak had been approached by the commission.

"He had no problem with assisting to alleviate the plight of rural people, and gave them his moral support. Dr Boesak pleaded with both the Rural Commission and the regional executive to resolve their differences as it was bad for the organisation," he said.

Mr Smith said Dr Boesak had not "made any move to build a regional power base in the rural areas".

"He clearly stated that it was because of this accusation and tensions between the regional executive and Rural Commission that he would not join the ANC before the national conference in July," Mr Smith added.

The Rural Commission's conference was cancelled following the regional executive's letter and rural activists have appealed directly to the national executive committee of the ANC to intervene in the dispute.

'Relief' for Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela will privately be relieved if the US lifts sanctions against South Africa next month, because it will free him to prepare the ANC for office.

That is the view of the London Financial Times, which yesterday carried an analysis of the impact such a decision would have on South Africa.

The article said President F W de Klerk would have no illusions about the task that lay ahead, while Mr Mandela "may well heave a private sigh of relief".

"For Mr Mandela — who in private has been resigned to the US action — it may mark the end of a pro-sanctions stance that has been losing credibility by the week.

"Few issues consumed his time so fruitlessly and so undermined

his credibility as the decision by hard-line ANC members that sanctions had to stay."

Whatever doubts he had, Mr Mandela "wearily trod the world's sanctions circuit, trying to rally increasingly sceptical audiences".

Now, said the Financial Times, he can "spend more of his time preparing the ANC for office", starting with the ANC congress next month.

Breakthrough

"And he can console himself with the fact that the internal pressures that helped bring an end to apartheid — trade union power, grass-roots resistance, the widening ratio of black to white and township violence — leave Mr De Klerk no alternative but the conference table."

For Mr De Klerk, the article said, the impending US decision was "the most important breakthrough in the sanctions campaign".

"But there is still a long and bumpy road to tread before Pretoria secures the agreement critical to long-term economic success — a constitutional settlement."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Windhoek that ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu said there yesterday that the ANC was "disturbed" and "unhappy" about Kenya's moves towards normalising some ties with South Africa.

"We are not only disturbed, we regard ourselves so much as one family and we expect to move together," he told a media briefing at State House.

"When Kenya takes steps contrary to other states, it must disturb us," he said.

US vote against govt funds for ANC

11A

cr 2/6/91

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The US House of Representatives yesterday voted overwhelmingly to deny government funds to the African National Congress because of its ties to the SA Communist Party.

The 279 to 134 vote came on a foreign aid bill amendment authored by Congressman Robert Walker, a Pennsylvania Republican.

The amendment stated that "no aid will go the SACP or any affiliated or associated organisations" — implying that funding could also be denied to Cosatu.

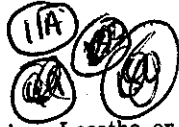
The vote capped efforts by conservative Republicans to prevent the ANC receiving any of the \$10 million (about R25m) Congress set aside last year to promote democracy in South Africa.

● 'Relief' for Mandela —
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ANC plans using private assets

ARCUS 21.6/91



From JEREMY REES

DURBAN. — The private sector will be required to help fund the infrastructure for housing, schools, hospitals, roads, water, electricity and other services in the new South Africa, the Director International Affairs for the ANC, Mr Thabo Mbeki, told delegates at the South African Property Owners Association annual convention yesterday.

The new Government would be obliged to tap the vast sums available from such financial institutions as Old Mutual and Sanlam.

"The Government would prefer such funds to be made available on a voluntary basis and not through legislation," Mr Mbeki said.

State expenditure would also have to be reviewed — in particular the R10 billion now spent on defence.

"After all, there is no external

threat from Swaziland or Lesotho or even Zimbabwe," he said.

It would also be necessary, although perhaps difficult, to trim expenditure on the tripartite Parliament and Own Affairs departments.

"I am also told there is a great deal of financial wastage in the failed decentralisation scheme on which a saving could be made."

It might be possible to obtain finance from local government sources, but this would be made difficult if, as is required, the surrounding areas of some cities were to be brought within the municipal boundaries.

Other ways of raising funds could include assistance internationally from the United States.

"We could save money by using to its best the infrastructure we have already in South Africa," he said.

An ANC member's response to Comrade Suttner

New Nation

Learning Nation

14/6 - 20/6/91

The transition to majority rule

Over the past few weeks Comrade Raymond Suttner of the Department of Political Education of the ANC published a series of articles in Learning Nation. In this article I will be looking at some of the issues he raises and take the debate over the nature of the transition to majority rule further.

The nature of the present period

As with any strategy or tactic, the tactic of negotiation must be located firmly within our understanding of the nature of the present period. In his article Cde Suttner correctly points out that the reason why the regime agreed to negotiate with our movement was because of the crisis of apartheid and the realisation by the regime that it could no longer rule in the old way. It is true that the mass struggles and the armed actions waged by our people were a vital component in creating the crisis of apartheid.

What is however missing from Cde Suttner's analysis is the fact that the changing international situation also provided De Klerk with the opportunity to address the crisis of apartheid in an entirely different manner from his predecessors. The collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and its crisis in the Soviet Union, as well as the growing confidence and strength of the capitalist classes internationally. The way De Klerk responded to the crisis is therefore not only a reflection of the fact that the regime could no longer rule in the old way. It also reflects the new won confidence of the imperialist forces internationally. In fact, this confidence can now be seen in the fact that the USA is again using its military might frequently to enforce its interests, something it was reluctant to do after its defeat in the Vietnam War.

I would like to stress that a recognition of the changes in the world situation in the favour of reactionary forces does not belittle the central role of our people in creating the crisis of apartheid. It is however important that we look at the situation as a whole so that we can define our tasks clearly. One of the implications of the recognition of the changes in the world situation is that we need a different approach to our international work, especially in view of the fact that our struggle will continue to need international support in this current phase.

Another weakness in Cde Suttner's analysis is that he fails to make a serious assessment of the state of the mass movement in the present period. The mass movement and its organisations - principally the ANC - is our most vital weapon and so our understanding of its strengths and weaknesses must form the basis of our approach to negotiations as a tactic. As Cde Suttner argues, negotiations is not a substitute for other forms of struggle. What we win at the negotiations table will be a reflection of what we have won on the ground. This question of the weakness of our organisations and what role a strong mass movement has in the negotiations process become important when we look at our attitude to the question of the removal of obstacles to negotiations.

Obstacles to Negotiations

The Harare Declaration states that talks on the future constitution and the mechanism of arriving at it will take place after obstacles to negotiations have been removed. These obstacles included the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners, unconditional return of exiles, repeal of security legislation and the general creation of conditions for free political activity. The regime has been very slow in removing obstacles. In fact it has created more obstacles by sponsoring the violence against our people. At the core of the De Klerk agenda is the weakening of the mass movement as a whole, especially the ANC.

The struggle to remove all the obstacles spelt out in the Harare Declaration, and the violence, is very vital for the ANC. For us a strong mass movement is a "precondition" for negotiations that hold the possibil-

ity of transferring power to the people. Cde Suttner therefore errs seriously when he argues that security legislation can be repealed by the Interim Government. What such a view does is to open up possibilities that the ANC can entertain serious constitutional talks before all obstacles are removed. The removal of all obstacles is not about testing the sincerity of the regime but is a vital condition for making the negotiation tactic a meaningful one.

In addition to the obstacles that have been outlined in the Harare Declaration and the violence, it has become clear that at the economic level the government is undertaking measures that will weaken the future government. By privatising and selling the wealth of the country the government is making sure that a new government will not be in a position to fulfil its promises. This quick privatisation is clearly becoming an obstacle to meaningful negotiations and the ANC and the democratic movement need to call for a moratorium on privatisation as part of the clearing of the path to full negotiation.

The All Party Congress

In his series Cde Suttner makes the important point that the process of negotiating the new constitution must be democratic. This means that at all phases of the process control must be vested in the hands of the people. Cde Suttner is also absolutely correct when he rejects the idea that the All Party Congress (APC) must arrive at a new constitution. To allow a forum which is constituted undemocratically to decide on a democratic constitution is clearly unacceptable. As Cde Suttner says, if the constitution that comes out of the APC is good "it would be a victory made on behalf of the people." What the ANC wants is a victory by the people themselves.

Cde Suttner, errs seriously when he argues that the APC must discuss the principles of a constitution. Constitutional principles which will guide the nation for a considerable period of time cannot be decided by people who represent no-one. The problem with the APC is that parties attending will not have been tested in a free and fair election. It follows that our commitment to a constitution that reflects the will of the people cannot be bound by principles drawn up by a body that is not democratically constituted. Such a procedure would run counter to the very idea of a Constituent Assembly. The Namibian experience is an example of a situation in which the basis of a constitution was decided undemocratically - and this partly accounts for the difficulty facing the Namibian people today.

To be consistently democratic we need to restrict the work of the APC to arriving at an agreed mechanism for the drawing up of a new constitution, and in laying the basis for the realisation of this mechanism. For the ANC and others in the liberation movement such a mechanism can only be a Constituent Assembly. The APC will thus have to look at freeing the media from state control and giving the different parties access to the SABC's Radio and TV. It will also have to decide on mechanisms for free and fair elections and importantly on how the army and police will be reconstituted so that they can oversee the process towards the Assembly. The task of transforming the Army and Police into organs accountable to the people is a vital precondition for the convening of the Constituent Assembly. Cde Suttner is mistaken when he suggests that the present army and police can be made accountable by simply having the ANC in an Interim Government. The armed forces have to be rebuilt along lines which can make them reflect the majority and be accountable to the people.

Another crucial point about the APC is what happens when the parties do not agree on the mechanisms of transition. Since this forum is not constituted democratically, issues cannot be decided by voting in the forum. The only way to resolve a deadlock is by putting the various positions to a non-racial, national referendum that includes the bantustans.

From: Maria Van Driel
BEC member, ANC Durban Central (personal opinion)

An ANC member's response to Comrade Suttner: Part 2

11A
New Nation
(Charming Nation)
2/16 - 27/6/91

This is the second part of the response to Cde Suttner's articles on the negotiations process. In the previous article I looked at the present situation, the obstacles to negotiations and at the All Party Congress. In this article I look at Cde Suttner's views on the Interim Government and on the Constituent Assembly.

The Interim government (IG)

An IG to oversee the transition process is widely accepted in our movement. It is clear that De Klerk cannot be both player and referee. We learnt from Namibia that the UN is not impartial. This is not national chauvinism nor agreeing with the apartheid regime's arguments about "sovereignty". Rejection of a central role for the UN arises from the desire to ensure that the process is in the control of the people at all phases of the transition.

Equally unacceptable is the regime's proposals about "super cabinets" and other forms of co-option. While it is clear that De Klerk cannot be responsible for the convening of the Assembly, the question that then arises is how do the ANC and other progressive organisations participate in overseeing the transition process, without being co-opted? The ANC can at no stage accept responsibility for the administration of apartheid.

From discussions in the ANC it is clear that there are two aspects to the debate around appropriate mechanisms for transition. Firstly, there is the issue of ensuring a proper climate for the elections to the Assembly. This aspect involves the question of control of the media, the question of the right of free association and the right to campaign without hindrance. It also involves control over the armed forces, as these can destabilise the whole process towards the Assembly. The second aspect of the transition period concerns the question of what happens to the tasks of governing on a daily basis. What happens to education, health, housing, the economy, etc?

There is general agreement that the ANC and other parties will have to participate in controlling the first aspect, including control over a reconstituted army and police force that are accountable to the people. The APC will have to agree (through a referendum if necessary) on how these All Party structures will be set up and spell out rules that will ensure free and fair elections. This task will have to involve the repeal of certain legislation which hinders free political activity and free association. These All Party structures will supervise the elections and ensure that a Constituent Assembly will be convened.

There are however problems about the second aspect of the transition. Cde. Suttner tries to solve this problem by saying the IG will "address many of the people's immediate problems", but that "there will have to be an understanding that fundamental solutions must wait until the election of a new government". This approach has serious problems. The first is that it is not easy to solve people's immediate problems without beginning to restructure the SA economy. But on the other hand, an IG cannot implement a definite economic policy since it will not be based on the will of the people. If the IG starts attempting to solve the daily problems of the people, it might find itself in a situation where it has to provide "reasons" as to why people must accept low wages, inferior education, high prices, etc. Such a situation would seriously compromise the ANC in the eyes of the people and so begin to lead to a questioning of its credentials as a possible new government.

On the other hand, it is clear that during the period of transition we cannot allow the National Party to destroy the economy. Therefore a solution has to be found that does not compromise people's organisations but at the same time does not allow the NP to destroy the country's wealth. This can be done by dividing the transition period into two phases. The one phase is before the first sitting of the Assembly and the second phase begins with the first sitting of the Assembly, and lasts until a new constitution is drawn and a new government elected.

During the first phase, the ANC and other progressive political organisations would participate in an IG whose only task would be to create the climate for free and fair elections, control the SABC and other government media, and also control the new democratic army and police force. During this phase, the NP government will continue to administer the economy but it will be required by the APC to put a moratorium on privatisation, deregulation, so called "rationalisation" and also to engage in measures to control prices and undertake programmes of public works like electrifying the townships and so create jobs. This would fit in with COSATU's current campaign for job creation and an end to retrenchments.

In the first phase of the transition, the NP would be bound by the APC to implement these demands. The fact that these demands are already being made shows that the NP can be made to implement them. In this way the ANC and the democratic movement can ensure that it is not held responsible for addressing the needs of the people when it has no real power to begin restructuring the economy.

The first phase of the transition would end with the elections to the Constituent Assembly. It is during this second phase that the ANC and other progressive forces can take over all aspects of government in the transition. At the first sitting of the Assembly, the delegates - who will now be representative of the will of the people - would elect a Transitional Cabinet from its ranks. The IG of the first phase will dissolve at this point. This transitional cabinet would be accountable to the Assembly. Since this transitional cabinet would enjoy legitimacy, it can address the immediate problems of the people and would also be able to begin restructuring the economy as part of solving these problems. The transitional cabinet would also take over control of the armed forces and police.

This two-phased view of the IG and its structure would ensure that at all phases, control remains in the hands of the people. At the same time, it would avoid the co-option of the democratic movement by the regime.

The Constituent Assembly (CA)

The discussion of the Constituent Assembly by Cde. Suttner is one of the weakest points of the series. In fact, although the whole process is about struggling for a Constituent Assembly as a means of drawing up the constitution, the structure, methods of work and other aspects of the Assembly are not addressed at all. The Assembly completes the democratic process and we cannot allow it to be structured in such a way that it is subverted by the reactionary forces. A number of issues need to be considered.

Firstly, we need to look at the election process. There is general agreement that the basis of voting will be one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA. This means that the homelands must be re-incorporated into SA. There are other contentious questions though.

a) Will migrants from other countries, especially Southern Africa, be allowed to vote? In apartheid SA, immigrants from Europe can hold dual citizenship and vote in SA, while those who have helped create the wealth of this country cannot. It is clear that any commitment to democracy must mean that the migrants must be allowed to vote.

b) How old must one be to vote? We must immediately dismiss the incorrect view that there is something natural about 18 years being the limit. There were times when the age limit was 21 or higher in some European countries. On the other hand, in Brazil and Nicaragua, the age limit is 16! In SA, the youth have contributed and sacrificed a lot for our struggle. In all probability, high school students in SA are the most politically advanced in the world. The conditions of life in SA also assist youth to reach maturity earlier than in most other countries. It is clear then that the voting age should include high school students i.e. the age limit to be 14 years and above.

c) What electoral system will we follow? Cde. Suttner argues for proportional representation. While this system has its advantages, its key weakness is that there is no direct accountability. Delegates to the Assembly must be accountable to the people who elect them. Proportional representation will not achieve this. What is needed is a system that combines proportional and constituency based elections. In this way people on the ground can have control over their delegates and recall them if necessary.

Secondly, there is the question of the openness of the CA during its deliberations. The Namibian example serves as a serious warning to us. In Namibia the constitution was debated behind closed doors, the delegates were not accountable to the people and they carried no mandate. We must ensure that our CA is open and mass organisations can send observers if they wish. In fact, the discussions should be broadcast live on radio and TV. This openness should also apply to the APC.

Finally, the CA must work by means of a simple majority. Support for the new constitution must be tested through a referendum followed by elections for a new parliament.

From: Maria Van Driel
BEC member, ANC Durban Central (personal opinion)

The Debate on Negotiations

Comrade Suttner replies:

New Nation
(The Nation) 28/6-4/7/91

11A

I very much appreciate the critique of my articles on negotiations by Cde Maria Van Driel. She raises questions that have to be addressed if we want to develop an adequate understanding of the process of transition.

I think that Cde Van Driel is correct in suggesting that we need to rethink our international strategy in the light of the reverses suffered, due to the collapse of a previously united anti-apartheid, Eastern European bloc and other factors. In particular, we need in my view to harness international solidarity behind many of our demands relating to negotiations, such as an end to the violence and the call for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly.

Throughout her article Van Driel refers to negotiations as a 'tactic'. In my view this is incorrect. Negotiations are neither a tactic nor a strategy, but they form part of our overall strategy to defeat apartheid and establish a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa.

The terrain of struggle has altered in a manner that makes possible the negotiated transfer of power to the people. This does not mean that negotiations alone can secure this. Rather it means that negotiations along with other forms of struggle, may be able to create a momentum that will make possible a breakthrough in negotiations.

Cde Van Driel is quite correct that the strength of our mass movement, and our level of organisation is crucial to achieve this breakthrough. We need to make, especially at our national conference, a merciless evaluation of where we are and what needs to be done to achieve our objectives.

She argues that I 'err seriously' when I say that security legislation can be repealed by the Interim Government. 'What such a view does is to open up possibilities that the ANC can entertain serious constitutional talks before all obstacles are removed.'

If we have the opportunity to set up an Interim Government before all security laws are removed, surely it is one of the tasks of the IG to get rid of them? Ideally these should be removed before establishing the IG, but if this is not the case then we need to spell this out as part of its mandate.

I agree that constitutional talks cannot be entered into before the obstacles are removed. That is now ANC policy and was re-emphasised in the Open Letter concerning the violence.

Van Driel refers to the government's privatisation programme and its implications for the capacity of a future majority rule government to meet popular aspirations. She raises this as a new obstacle to negotiations.

I am in full agreement over the dangers of privatisation, but should we regard it as an obstacle to negotiations, rather than an issue we undertake to redress once there is a democratic government? There are numerous current policies towards education, housing, health, land and other important areas of society the ANC regards as serious problems which will make the tasks of a popular government more difficult. But to raise them as obstacles will, in my view, delay and possibly derail the type of negotiations that could lead to us gaining the power to address them.

I think it is generally correct for us to approach these questions as follows: certain conditions need to be created before we can negotiate. These conditions will be achieved through a combination of methods including talks with the government. Such talks must be distinguished from matters over which we will negotiate in constitution making. They also need to be distinguished from what we will be able to resolve only when a democratic government is created. To treat the three as one and the same thing causes confusion.

Cde. Van Driel says that I 'err seriously' in arguing that the All Party Congress, which the ANC advocates, should discuss principles for a new constitution. An APC would not be representative in the same way as a Constituent Assembly would be. She consequently feels that the APC's task should be restricted to devising mechanisms for the transition.

There is definitely merit in this view, but our objective should be to try and take all significant parties with us in this process. The Harare Declaration states that parties should agree on the object of the entire process, that is the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic constitution. Otherwise the exercise is pointless. Discussing this in an APC will aim to achieve a broad consensus rather than relying on the support we enjoy. Naturally, if we cannot win a consensus because there

is opposition from reactionary, unrepresentative forces, we will have to press for our demands outside the APC as well.

Putting questions of deadlock to a referendum, as Van Driel suggests, would delay the work of the CA. It takes some months to organise a referendum. It is undesirable that the IG operates for a long period, because of the possibility of the movements towards peace being sabotaged. Likewise, we do not want to prolong the life of the APC unnecessarily.

Regarding the security forces, Van Driel states that the 'task of transforming the army and police into organs accountable to the people is a vital precondition for the convening of the Constituent Assembly. Cde Suttner is mistaken when he suggests that the present army and police can be made accountable by simply having the ANC in an interim government. The armed forces have to be rebuilt along lines which can make them reflect the majority and be accountable to the people.'

I agree that we need to build such an army but is this a precondition for the convening of a Constituent Assembly? Surely this is a task that will take time and may hardly have begun during the period of the IG? I would like to see it happen sooner rather than later, but we have to consider how long it would take. Is Van Driel's suggestion realistic?

I do not suggest that the present army and police force will automatically be transformed with a consciousness and commitment to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. Legally they will be obliged to obey the IG but it is ultimately the masses who will have to prevent them from resisting the IG mandate, to oversee the transition to a democratic result.

Van Driel is also concerned with another difficult and important question, the ability of the IG to respond to immediate problems of the people, in regard to conditions in the townships, unemployment and so on. These are questions whose resolution demands restructuring of the economy.

In contrast with my view that the IG, because it does not have a mandate from the people, cannot seek to resolve these questions, Van Driel suggests that after election to a CA, a new IG be constituted on the basis of representativeness and accountability to the CA. This IG would then begin restructuring the economy.

There is a logical attraction in this, but is it feasible as part of a process that must move quickly? Secondly, will we be able to address this question without extensive consultation with business? My view is that we should recognise that fundamental questions of restructuring must be the conclusion of the negotiation process and preferably not be introduced as part of that process. There is a danger that if we start restructuring the economy under the IG that reactionary forces will try to introduce all sorts of limitations on economic reconstruction as constitutional principles.

Van Driel says that my discussion of the Constituent Assembly is 'one of the weakest points of the series'. She refers to the failure to discuss various questions related to the electoral process, such as the status of people with dual citizenship, the voting age and the electoral system.

There was a space limit as there is in the present contribution. But let me deal with one of these, the question of proportional representation. Van Driel argues that a combination of proportional and constituency-based elections needs to be devised to secure maximum accountability. This is a suggestion that must be taken seriously, though the question of mandate and accountability should go beyond this, particularly in ensuring that a future constitution is fully discussed.

Van Driel simply asserts that decisions in the CA should be by simple majority. The ANC has not adopted a view on this, but in my view a qualified majority, say 2/3, would ensure a more widely acceptable constitution. The fact that smaller parties might then have a more significant influence on events, could reconcile them to this process.

The ANC needs to consider matters such as these, concerned as they are with the transition to democracy, not merely from its own perspective and interests, but with a view to developing a broad national consensus behind the drive to democracy.

Raymond Suttner
Head, Department of Political Education
African National Congress.

... of both workers and management. This will be a useful model for mining and industry in general.

NEGOTIATIONS F M 21/6/91

WHO'S STALLING?

President F W de Klerk put a positive spin on his review speech at the end of parliament's historic five-month session this week when he told MPs that negotiations with the ANC were still on track. But there were undertones of uncharacteristic frustration with the lack of real progress.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

F M 21/6/91

SCIA

11A

Given certain comments by senior ANC officials at a media briefing near Cape Town at the weekend, De Klerk's statement that a multiparty conference is possible before the end of the year appears to be wishful thinking. There is still considerable disagreement between government and the ANC on the nature of the obstacles to negotiations and how they should be removed.

De Klerk devoted relatively little time to the issue of violence and gave no real indication that government is any closer to ending it. Earlier speculation, based on a *Washington Times* interview with SA's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, that troop strengths in townships were to be massively increased, proved incorrect. It is possible that Schwarz was trying to gauge international and domestic reaction to the possibility of such a move.

All De Klerk said on violence was that "strong and far-reaching" action had already been taken to end it, which included bolstering SAP forces by 10 000 and the use of "several thousand" Citizen Force troops and police reservists.

He said dialogue with the ANC on a range of issues was continuing, "contrary to what is being suggested in some of the media." Working groups set up by government and the organisation were functioning, he noted, and a number of channels of communication remained open.

In effect, he blamed the ANC for stalling and said government believed it was important for the organisation to move from the "mere" suspension of the armed struggle to its termination. "In short, the ANC should now begin to think, talk and act like an organisation that really believes in negotiation and that is committed to it," De Klerk said.

But the ANC says there is no way talks can go ahead until the violence is adequately addressed. The organisation clearly distrusts the police and certain elements in government. It says while the violence continues, and government fails to honour commitments to release prisoners and allow the return of exiles, there can be no free political activity and therefore no move towards negotiations.

Spokesman Saki Macozoma says the police are failing to act against people involved in violence. "It's a normal action of a government to act against crime ... we are not asking for anything more than what a normal police force would do."

The ANC believes there are elements in the security forces that do not want peace and that they should be "weeded out." It also believes there are securocrats who want to take back concessions that have been made to the ANC, such as the lifting of the emergency, and it is in their interest for violence to escalate.

In his speech De Klerk denied that government was delaying the return of exiles, the granting of indemnity, or the release of prisoners in terms of agreements with the ANC. He said 7 000 applications had been



De Klerk ... is it wishful thinking?

received from potential returnees but only a fraction had returned. By June 14 indemnity had been granted to 5 562 people and 1 022 security and unrest-related prisoners had been released.

De Klerk said the dispute with the ANC over the release of prisoners centred on whether the applicants had a claim to political status. Each case had to be considered carefully. "There is no delay in this process. The mechanism agreed upon is in place and is functioning well."

But the ANC's Carl Niehaus says government must honour the "letter and spirit" of its agreements with the ANC on the release of prisoners. Though the authorities say grey areas need detailed consideration, the ANC states people who are clearly political prisoners are still in prison and should be released immediately. If they are not, the organisation adds, there can be no talk of normalising the political process.

Mbeki-Makwetu to address the 150th anniversary Lovedale College - hive of the leaders

New Nation (Learning Nation)
21/6-27/6/91



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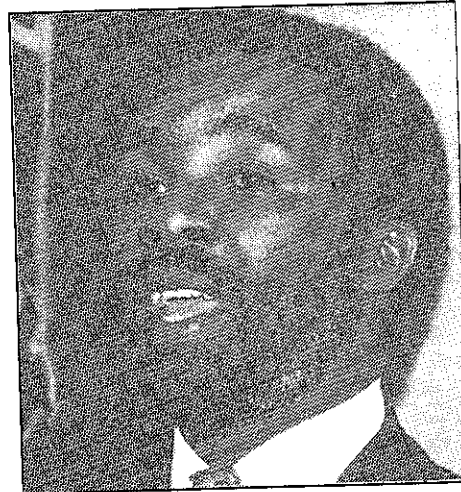
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The Freedom Charter

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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, 26 June 1955.

New Nation

(Learning Nation) 21/6-27/6/91.

Preamble

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;
- That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;
- And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white, together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of strength and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The People Shall Govern!

- Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
- All the people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
- The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex;
- All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!

- There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;
- All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;
- All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;
- The preaching and practise of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;
- All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth!

- 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;
- All other industries and trades shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;
- All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It!

- Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land divided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
- The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;
- Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;
- All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;
- People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!

- No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial;
- No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;
- The courts shall be representative of all the people;
- Imprisonment shall only be for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;
- The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;
- All laws which discriminate on the grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All Shall Enjoy Human Rights!

- The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to worship and to educate their children;
- The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;
- All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;
- Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There Shall Be Work and Security!

- All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;
- The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;
- Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;
- There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage and paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;
- Miners, domestic workers, farmworkers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;
- Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened!

- The government shall discover, develop and foster national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;
- All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contacts with other lands;
- The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;
- Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;
- Higher education and technical training shall be open to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;
- Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;
- Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;
- The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!

- All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;
- Unused housing space to be made available to all people;
- Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;
- A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state;
- Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;
- Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all shall have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;
- The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;
- Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
- Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There Shall be Peace and Friendship!

- South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;
- South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiations not war;
- Peace and friendship amongst all people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;
- The people of the protectorates Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future; The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation.
- Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

Mbeki-Makwetu to address the 150th anniversary

Lovedale College - hive of the leaders

New Nation (Learning Nation)
21/6-27/6/91

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How ANC will elect its national executive

Star 2/16/91

THE ANC has exercised great care to ensure that the election of 55 national executive members — the representatives to be elected by delegates at the Durban conference next month — is democratic.

Branches have nominated one candidate each for the top five positions of president, deputy president, secretary-general, treasurer-general and assistant secretary-general. Branches could then nominate up to 50 other names for NEC positions.

Regional conferences, most of which have been held already, followed at which two representatives from each branch in the region were mandated to vote in the regional elections. Elections were held separately for the five positions. In another election, the other 50 names were consolidated.

The 14 regions forwarded their nominations to the electoral committee.

All the names of candidates nominated by two or more regions go on to the ballot papers.

In addition, delegates may nominate candidates at the conference if 100 signatures can be obtained for that candidate.

Because exiled members could not go through the same procedure, they will be allowed to nominate representatives at the conference.

Care was also exercised to elect delegates to the conference. Regions were allocated a certain number of seats in proportion to their membership.

To supplement the roughly 2 000 delegates from the 14 regions, about 200 exiles will attend, including the ANC's 42 chief representatives across the world, invited guests and nominated delegates from ANC branches outside the country.

They will come mainly from Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, while smaller delegations will come from countries such as Zimbabwe, the United Kingdom and the United States. □

Who no to win, Who to fail?

Star 21/6/91

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HERE'S AN interesting story going round at the ANC's Johannesburg head office.

According to the grapevine, Nelson Mandela, at the request of the powerful PWV region, recently went to Natal to convince the province's three regions that the ANC's national conference should not be held in Inkatha territory.

The region's Comrades — who have borne the brunt of the vicious war with Chief Buthelezi's impi — would barely hear him out.

The moral of this story is that ANC supporters are beginning to take their democratic rights seriously. They want to be heard, and they are no longer to be prescribed to — not even by Mr Mandela.

This incident reflects the mood of ANC members who — through democratic electoral procedures — have mandated 2,000 delegates to go to Durban next month to vote into top office the men and women they want to lead the organisation through the crucial phase of negotiations.

Many factors, however, will come into play before the final poll.

Such as: the role of Oliver Tambo and Mr Mandela; the much-rumoured SACP hand-in-the-pie; the relative anonymity of formerly exiled leaders; the thrust of "internal" leaders for top jobs to balance the exiled leadership; the fixed quota of women to be elected; and dissatisfaction with the poor performance of some sitting members of the national executive committee (NEC).

Canvassing and manoeuvring for the elections has reached fever pitch.

Although the outcome cannot be predicted reliably — and the situation will remain fluid right



Oliver Tambo... has led from the "vacuum" of exile.

up until the end of the five-day conference — strong contenders for the top jobs have already emerged.

This has been damaging, though. For example, the punting of Jacob Zuma for the deputy presidency, and subsequent events to prevent in-fighting among contenders waiting in the wings, has virtually ruled out Mr Zuma for the job.

The NEC has taken a policy decision not to get involved in canvassing. Other ANC members argue that canvassing is a privilege of democracy.

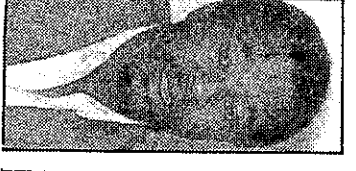
In the election build-up, the NEC may feel compelled to make its preferences known.

Amid widespread dissatisfaction with the current leadership, there is growing speculation that Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela might influence the elections to preserve the status quo:

● To secure the positions of Old Guard figures such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, unpopular among the rank and file. This stems from a belief, at least among NEC members, that the ANC should not change leadership before the negotiations process has been substantially concluded.



Hani



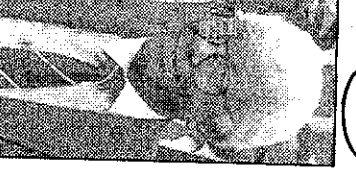
Mbeki



A Sisulu



Nzo



W Sisulu



W Mandela



Zuma



Lekota

Political Reporter ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE examines some of the factors influencing the ANC's first open and democratic elections in decades.

● To preserve unity by preventing in-fighting among the leaders of tomorrow. Because the ANC is perceived by many as having been outmanoeuvred by the Government in negotiations, divisions have been sharpened between the primary ANC negotiators and their more militant Comrades.

One theory is that Mr Tambo might stay on as president and Mr Mandela as his deputy, while Mr Nzo and Mr Nkobi will remain in their powerful jobs to prevent a contest between Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, on the one hand, and Chris Hani on the other.

This theory is reflected by a senior NEC member: "I don't think there are going to be too many changes. The bottom line is that if Tambo and Mandela want changes, there will be. If not, there won't."

Many activists are concerned about this possibility, but do not dismiss it.

They point to the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985, when pressure for the ousting of Mr Nkobi and Mr Nzo was already strong. But Mr Tambo made a "speech of unity", and they retained their positions.

A powerful camp of predominantly internal leaders, from the UDF and MDM schools, is going all-out to canvass for representatives who, they believe, have a better grasp of political developments and might significantly strengthen the ANC's strategic thinking and organisational skills.

A leading activist commented: "I predict that at least half of the current NEC will be ousted. If not, I quit."

Another activist was equally frank: "It's time that the social

welfare department starts doing its job — by preparing pension packages for the impending Old Guard."

Favourites among this camp are internal leadership corps leader Walter Sisulu for the deputy presidency (as a unifying factor, in spite of his age) under Mr Mandela, and trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa for secretary-general.

Barbara Masekela, former head of the cultural desk, has been nominated by at least three regions for this job, while the name of the Rev Arnold Stofile, of Border, has become prominent. Another possibility is former Robben Islander Mzi Khumalo.

The race for the remaining position among the top five, that of deputy secretary-general, is wide open. Virtually all of the 55 NEC

positions to be elected will be hotly contested.

Apart from the oft-mentioned front-runners, there are several wild cards.

For example, former NEC member Mac Maharaj, who quit a few months ago, might make a comeback. Others not to be underrated include Allan Boesak, Billy Nair and even Professor James Gerwel.

Among the internal leadership corps, members favoured to make the NEC are stalwarts Mr Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba.

Many newcomers are expected to be elected. Among the strong contenders are Mohammed Valli Moosa (PWV), Terror Lekota (Southern Free State), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Peter Mokaba (Youth League), Jeffrey Radebe



Nelson Mandela... popular face of local ANC leadership.

(Southern Natal), Tokyo Sexwale (PWV), Siphwe Nyanda (PWV), Billy Masela (Youth League), Trevor Manuel (Western Cape), Job Mokgoro (Bophuthatswana), Stone Sizane (Eastern Cape), Raymond Suthar (PWV), Dullah Omar (Western Cape) and Sydney Mafumadi (PWV).

In terms of the ANC's draft constitution, at least one-third of the elected 50 NEC positions must go to women.

Many men — and a solid proportion of women — are dissatisfied with this "tokenism" and believe there are not enough strong female leaders to justify the quota.

Among the front-runners are Albertina Sisulu, Jackie Molefe (currently on the NEC), Frene Ginwala, Jessie Duarte, Thelma Mntsho, Nosivwe Maphisa, Cheryl Carous, Ntombi Shope, Thandi Modise, Hilda Ndlovu and Linda Zama.

Winnie Mandela remains a wild card. While some believe her chances are virtually nil following her conviction on kidnapping and assault charges, others believe she ranks among the top contenders, judged on her political and organisational skills. She might thus benefit from the quota system. □

These 28 ex-officio members have already been chosen

WHILE THE race is on for most of the ANC's national executive committee positions, 28 ex-officio members have already been elected.

The Women's League president and national secretary — Gertrude Shope and Baleka

Kgositsile — become ex-officio members of the NEC.

The Youth League president and secretary also serve as ex-officio members, but have not been elected.

The elected chairmen and secretaries of each of the ANC's 14 regions also become ex-officio members. All but one region, Northern Natal, have already held elections.

Their chairmen and secretaries are: Khashe, Mr Ndlovu and Barbara Hogan (PWV), Madhub Pillay and Joe Nkomo (Eastern Transvaal), Zachariah Mofokane and David Davids

(Western Transvaal), Joel Ntshenzile and Collins Chabane (Northern Transvaal), Bath Momo and Mame Diplo (Northern Cape), Christmas Thuto and Amos Lengis (Western Cape), Benson Phile and Gugile Nkwenti (Eastern Cape), Arnold Stofile and Lucille Meyer (Southern Natal), Jacob Zuma and Sibusiso Ndlovu (Natal Midlands), Ezra Sigwele and Moses Cele (Natal Midlands), Terror Lekota and Thabo Mokoena (Southern OFS), and Xolisa Dikwana and Nakana Masoka (Northern OFS). □

ANC split? - Don't hold your breath

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Sowetan 21/6/91

FOCUS

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THERE is a widespread perception among political observers that the outcome of the ANC's July congress will provide final answers as to which "faction" of the organisation is in the ascendency.

There is, however, very little agreement or clarity about how to define these "factions", how to quantify them and how to find out who exactly belongs to which of them.

For the moment, vague delineations are drawn without too much reflection. The most popular - and it does not flow exclusively from conservative quarters - is that there is a deadly struggle for power between communists and non-communists within the organisation.

In this construction, there will either be a formal split between the ANC and the SACP, or there will not - which of these two outcomes emerges will determine who has "won".

There are variations on this basic thesis, and they are then translated into sloganised shorthand, depending on the political persuasion of the analyst.

Thus: there are "hawks" (bad) and "doves" (good); "progressives" (good) and "collaborationists" (bad); "militants" (good or bad) and "moderates" (good or bad); "reformists" (bad or good) and "revolutionaries" (bad or good). And so on.

The shorthand is, as has been demonstrated repeatedly during the confusing onrush of events since February 2 1990, highly problematic and even dangerously misleading.

Individual leaders are moved by observers from camp to camp, like chess pieces, depending on their latest statements.

It becomes even more opaque when a leader who is a vociferous

opponent of the South African Communist Party is proved in every other respect to be a "hardliner".

Or when one of the most prominent of the perceived "hawks" is suddenly revealed to be one of the key players in keeping an ANC/Government working group on the rails. Or when the overall leader of the liberation movements' alliance is seen to "swop sides" from week to week.

It is a simple fact - and an obvious one at that - that there are powerful and different tendencies within the ANC, that these are complicated by the cross-fertilisation with a separate party (the SACP), and that allegiances are fluid.

Of course there are power struggles, but they need not be as mechanistic as is suggested and they need not result in a clear situation of victory or defeat.

The best way to monitor the growth or decline of particular political perspectives within the organisation - and thus to pronounce with some reliability on the outcome of this ANC congress - is to isolate the strategic kernel which tends to set the leaders apart.

The primary point of reference is the prevailing attitude toward the current negotiation process writ large, and toward the (President FW) De Klerk administration in particular. There are two basic positions between which ANC members can choose.

Firstly, there is the belief that although the Government will be a tough opponent - and there will be

persistent skirmishing - it is sincere in its commitment to a process which could result in the accession to power of the ANC.

In other words, there is a fundamental convergence of views on the validity of the process, and it must therefore be entered into without delay.

This, more or less, is the predominant attitude within the national executive committee of the movement.

Against this, there is the conviction that the Government is not sincere, but is perpetrating a sophisticated ruse by drawing the ANC into a process which it cannot control, and from which it will not be able to escape.

The sceptics argue that De Klerk is thereby cleverly setting up as the enemies of democracy not his own Government (or, for that matter, the Inkatha Freedom Party) - because both are committed to the process - but rather the far rightwing.

The logical outcome, according to this argument, is that the ANC is tempted to shift its focus, to avoid weakening De Klerk too much and thereby to temper its militancy - not least in the matter of "mass action".

It is argued from this position that a "rethink" of sanctions, for example, will similarly ease pressure unacceptably on De Klerk. Rather, it is suggested, it should be recognised that De Klerk is engaged in a life-or-death struggle to force through a process which will, in the end, protect white privilege and result in something short of majority rule.

Rather than engaging on his terms, the ANC should recognise his real intentions and should not underestimate its own strength - mobilised mass support.

Full utilisation of the latter, it is argued, can force the Government to transform the negotiating process from a sham one to a real one.

This political litmus test is not as clear-cut or analytically handy as the simple "communist/anti-communist" formula. But it has the advantage of making explicable developments which would otherwise seem baffling, and is a useful benchmark to keep in mind when assessing the tone and content of July's conference.

It is perfectly possible - even probable - that as the negotiations process unfolds, individual leaders will find their views of that process changing; their allegiances might shift back and forth (irrespective of whether they are communists), and the outcome will be an ANC with a more "militant" or more "moderate" face.

Certainly, more SACP members are likely to be found in the sceptical camp, but this will not be an absolute rule.

Similarly, this understanding of the ANC's internal dynamics shows that it is wrong to conclude that the "hardliners" are "anti-negotiations" - they are rather opposed to negotiating under these specific rules.

The "revolutionaries" believe the ANC is being far too trusting and giving too much away - but they are likely to fight their corner within the ANC camp rather than leading a walkout.

And this, in turn, will make it more unlikely that their opponents within the ANC will be able to force them to leave, even if they want to.

Those who are awaiting a formal split between the SACP and the ANC would be advised not to start holding their breath just yet

Infighting before election

Gwala slams ANC



HARDLINE ... Mr Harry Gwala

11A
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From page 1

Gwala said.

A new constitution would only come as a product of struggle, "not (by) beautiful words, or from learned men, nor men of law", he said.

Negotiations were part and parcel of the struggle.

"We must refuse to be told if we engage in mass action that the people are rocking the boat of negotiations," said Mr Gwala.

There was talk about occupation of the moral high ground — the people's morality was mass struggle, grounded in the people themselves, he concluded.

Mr Gwala said in an interview in April this year that "if the so-called liberal press were to praise me and write nice things about me, I would have to sit down and ask myself, 'where have I gone wrong?'".

"The press represents vested interests in this country and as long as we are fighting for a new society we are threatening their interests."

Meanwhile Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC was taking steps to correct problems of accountability in the anti-apartheid alliance.

Speaking at the Numsa congress, he said that despite shortcomings relating to consultations and report-backs in the alliance, the ANC negotiating team remained firm.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK.

POLITICAL infighting within the ANC burst into the open yesterday with a sharp attack on the leadership by communist hard-liner Mr Harry Gwala.

His attack came just 10 days before the ANC's first election conference in South Africa.

The popular former Robben Islander, with strong grassroots support in Natal, said the ANC would have to decide whether it wanted to be a revolutionary movement governed by the people or an elite organisation.

"The Freedom Charter says the people shall govern. In no way does the Freedom Charter say the leaders shall govern," Mr Gwala said.

He labelled the ANC's negotiation efforts with the government a dismal failure.

Mr Gwala said a conference in Johannesburg that the ANC's Durban conference would determine whether the revolution could be saved.

The 71-year-old's militant rhetoric in the run-up to the Durban conference is bound to boost his stakes among the ANC Youth League and other more radical elements in the organisation.



SLOVO VISIT ... Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo pays respects to the mother of assassinated ANC man Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, Mrs Violet Jack. ● Report — Page 2.

Mr Gwala recently inflicted a heavy defeat on the ANC's intelligence chief and chairman of the Natal South Coast region, Mr Jacob Zuma, in a run-off for the deputy-presidential nomination.

Mr Gwala, who has been an SA Communist Party member since 1942, has consistently adopted a hardline position on negotiations. The veteran activist, who served two terms on Robben Island for

recruiting for Umkhonto we Sizwe, was banned and listed and has been in the forefront of verbal attacks on Inkatha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He has also been scathing in his

attacks on the PAC and has publicly expressed scepticism about any unity talks.

Although he is widely acknowledged within the ANC to have widespread grassroots support, he is not considered to have the diplomatic or negotiation skills to handle a sensitive and key portfolio, such as deputy president, for which he has been nominated by the two Natal ANC regions.

Mr Gwala was suffering from motor neuron disease when he was released from prison in November 1988.

Sapa reports that while addressing the third national congress of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) in his capacity as honorary Numsa president, Mr Gwala said the ANC had to choose at its July congress between becoming an organisation of the elite or a revolutionary movement.

The ANC stalwart said the press had projected the conference as "being about elections". Instead, it would determine if the revolution in South Africa was to be saved, said Mr Gwala.

He said in his speech that ANC and trade union delegates who signed various minutes with the government thought they could "talk apartheid into extinction". These minutes had, however, proved to be a dismal failure, Mr

● To page 2

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Issel and Manuel are not members — SACP

THE Communist Party yesterday denied that two prominent members of the ANC's regional executive, Mr Trevor Manuel and Mr Johnny Issel, were members of the party.

The secretary of the SACP in the Western Cape, Ms Cheryl Carolus, wrote in a letter published in the Vrye Weekblad that neither Mr Manuel nor Mr Issel were ANC national executive or SACP members. The newspaper had reported earlier that they were.

Mr Manuel and Mr Issel were both prominent figures of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Western Cape and were both elected to the ANC's regional executive last year. (11A) CT 22/6/91

BATTLE OF THE GIANTS

11A
 22/6/94

Now it could be Social Democrats v Christian Democrats



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, Weekend Argus.

□ **AHOY THERE!** Stepping a mast can be tricky, and here Angela Rennie, South Africa's only female rigger, shows how it's done.

SA's only female rigger shows 'em how its done

SHE'S sailed to the Caribbean, raced yachts in Manhattan Bay, and can often be found perched atop masts.

She is South Africa's only woman rigger and her name is Angela Rennie.

She works with yacht masts — building, stepping and fixing them.

JACQUELYN SWARTZ
 Weekend Argus Reporter

Last year she was the only woman skipper in one of Natal's premier races, the Wilbur Ellis da Gama.

"I nursed for nearly three years after school, but because

during her six-month stay there in 1989, including the Atlantic City race week and the Manhattan Bay fall series.

Back in Durban her employers, who sold yacht fittings, got into the mast business and Angela went rigging.

Her boss, Mr Rob Harrington-Johnson, describes her as

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
 Political Staff

FIRST hints have been given of the possible formation of a new socialist mega-party to confront the National Party's proposed "alliance of moderates".

The new political party, which could have its beginnings in next month's African National Congress national conference in Durban, would include the ANC, its traditional ally, the South African Communist Party, and the giant Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Battle-cry of the new party would be "Social Democracy".

The relationship between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu is strong and they are already a de facto alliance. Transforming this relationship into a united Social Democratic Party would create a natural challenger to the projected Christian Democratic Party being considered by National Party strategists.

Remarks made in Cape Town yesterday by SACP leader Mr Joe Slovo are being seen as an indication that plans are afoot to form a new grouping.

Mr Slovo said that the SACP would definitely contest future post-apartheid elections. He said it was too early to say whether it would seek votes as an independent party or part of an alliance but that the SACP was committed to a multi-party democracy and believed that if it was to claim to lead the workers it had to "earn and retain continuously that claim through democratic, open political contest".

Various options were open to the SACP in the future: it could be part of an existing alliance, or a broad patriotic front, part of a coalition or on a completely independent platform. In the immediate future, he said the SACP was committed to its alliance with the ANC, though it differed in a "non-antagonistic" way on long-term goals.

'ANC alliance remains strong'

"The alliance with the ANC remains strong," he said. Despite being general secretary of the SACP, he said he felt himself "absolutely bound in an unqualified fashion" with the decisions of the ANC's national executive committee, of which he was also a member.

"There is a broad agreement between the ANC and the SACP on the shape of the post-apartheid South Africa. There is also broad agreement on the strategy of how to get there. Like the ANC, we believe that the immediate content of the joint political thrust is to address national disparities, and not class disparities."

In his speech to the Cape Town Press Club, Mr Slovo placed constant emphasis on socialism and democracy, describing the SACP as the "undisputed pioneer" of non-racial democracy in South Africa. He said that, in contrast to elsewhere in the world, communism in South Africa "has maintained and even increased its popularity".

On the scrapping of key apartheid legislation, Mr Slovo said this amounted merely to the "scrapping of the trappings of apartheid" which had made "not one bit of difference to the lives of black people".

Sources said last night that the ANC, SACP and Cosatu would have to meet to decide on creating a new political giant. The ANC could not decide on its own.

However, the Durban conference could decide to mandate ANC leaders to consider forming a Social Democratic Party and it was highly likely that the allies would fight an election under the same banner, sources said.

It was pointed out that the members of the alliance stood for social democracy and a mixed economy — natural foundations for a united political party.

□ The battle for power in the ANC — see page 8.

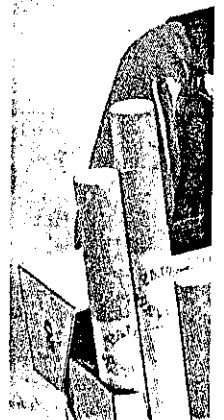


When will Saddam Hussein free this man — the prisoner of Baghdad?

Full story and pictures on page 11.

The weather
Cold with rain
 (Details — page 2)

Get in with
 ...and discover



Hawks v Doves

Showdown seen for ANC talks

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and
DRIES VAN HEERDEN**

Political Staff *ARCIS 24/6/91*

incumbent Alfred Nzo seems to be in real danger. He is being blamed from all sides for the ANC's organisational disarray. His opponents refer to him as "Winnie's lackey" and (perhaps unjustly) accuse him of having engineered her election to the PWV executive.

ANC insiders say that both Hani and Zuma may be more interested in the job than in that of the deputy president because they believe that this is where the real power will reside in a new dispensation.

Two stalwarts of the internal struggle may also emerge as candidates supported by those elements still resentful at the way the "externals" took over after the ANC's legalisation: "Terror" Lekota, the very popular former UDF leader, and highly regarded Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the mineworkers union.

□ **DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL:** Election fever has generated a new interest in what was formerly seen as a purely administrative post. Incumbent Henry Makgothi may survive the poll but there is also considerable regard for the administrative skills of former chief representative in the UK, Aziz Pahad.

□ **TREASURER GENERAL:** Incumbent Thomas Nkobi may be re-elected, but only because no obvious contender has yet presented himself. A possible challenger may be former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe.

In the election for the rest of the leadership attention will focus on whether the majority of the present executive will be retained or ousted by a younger generation.

THE real battle at the ANC's conference in Durban next month will not be to see who replaces Nelson Mandela as the movement's deputy president, but between the old guard and the Young Turks for control of the movement's national executive.

There are 50 positions up for grabs on the 87-strong national executive.

Thirty-seven berths have already been taken — 28 went to the regional ANC secretaries and chairmen, and two each went to the ANC Women's League and Youth League.

Five senior ANC office-bearers, including the president and his deputy, are automatically assured of positions on the executive.

That leaves 50 precious seats open. Officially, the ANC denies that a struggle is on for each of these openings, but insiders know that this is the case.

What seems certain is that a number of stalwarts that kept the movement on its feet during the exile years but who have difficulty adapting to the fast-changing pace of the political process at home will go.

Only one man seems to be assured of his position: Nelson Mandela. He will be elected president to replace the ailing Oliver Tambo at the helm of the movement.

□ **DEPUTY PRESIDENT:** This post, specially created to accommodate Mr Mandela on his release from prison, now generates the most attention. Whoever gets elected will assume the title of "heir apparent" to an almost 73-year-old regent.

The 78-year-old Walter Sisulu, would have been the candidate who caused the least waves. But he declined a nomination — probably due to his advanced age.

The obvious contestants are Chris Hani, hero of the "hawks" and Thabo Mbeki, darling of the "doves". However, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma has in recent weeks emerged as a compromise candidate and poses a serious challenge. Counting strongly in his favour is the fact that he is the ANC's most senior Zulu. All three of them are 49 years old — which puts them in a perfect position to lead the ANC into the next decade.

□ **SECRETARY GENERAL:** The position of the

Regional leaders such as Zuma (Southern Natal), Lekota (Free State), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands) — the spiritual leader of the hardliners and Stalinists — Gugile Nkwinti (Eastern Cape), Arnold Stoffie (Border) and Christmas Tinto (Western Cape) are, ex officio, assured of election.

□ **THE OLD GUARD:** Some of the incumbents may decide to opt for graceful retirement rather than run the risk of being voted out of office. These include long-time stalwarts such as SACP chairman Dan Tlqome, veteran trade unionist Steven Dlamini, and former chief of political education Reg September.

Expected to retain their positions are organisation chief Steve Tshwete, repatriation organiser Jackie Selebi, information chief Pallo Jordan, manpower chief Mzwai Piliso, "backroom activist" Josiah Jele and labour veteran John Nkadimeng. Others such as administrative official Sindiso Mfuenyane, Moscow chief representative Simon Makana and Oliver Tambo's right hand man Joe Nhlanhla may also scrape through.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo is a shoo-in for election, as is Umkhonto commander in chief Joe Modise who may, however, eventually be moved to another portfolio.

□ **UPWARDLY MOBILE:** This congress may be the opportune time for ambitious young politicians to assert themselves and gain election to a rapidly ageing executive. Leading candidates include Western Cape activists Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel, Pretoria leader Titus Mafolo, youth leader Peter Mokaba — despite allegations regarding security police connections — Eric Molobo (West Rand) and Mike Xhego (Eastern Cape).

The four men to watch for in future, however, are former Eastern Cape firebrand Thozamile Botha, Witwatersrand organiser Kgalema Motlante, Mayibuye editor Joel Netziende and Eastern Transvaal chairman and legal adviser Matthews Phozo.

□ **SURPRISE PACKAGES:** Two wild cards may yet upset the whole apple cart. Will Winnie Mandela survive the media and legal barrage against her? Will the charismatic Allan Boesak be persuaded to make himself available for election?

A HARD-HITTING BBC documentary, broadcast on Radio 702 last night, and which pieced together Winnie Mandela's now disbanded football club's reign of terror in Soweto, received a huge response from listeners.

Radio 702 said because of the huge response they would repeat the broadcast of the damning BBC documentary, comprehensively researched from court evidence and interviews with people linked to the team and its thuggery.

It told of abductions, assaults and conspiracy to murder and implicates Winnie Mandela and football team members.

It was first broadcast by the BBC in December last year, but Radio 702 said they were unable to broadcast it earlier because of the sensitivity surrounding Winnie Mandela's trial.

Former member of the football club, Andrew Lerothodi Ikaneng, who has suffered at least three attempts on his life, told how Mrs Mandela initiated the move to form a football club and got about 20 youths together. She had them kitted out in the ANC colours and they formed her personal body guard.

"People would come to Mrs Mandela's house and report incidents. These incidents were recorded in a book. Winnie would look at the book and decide if people involved in the complaint should be brought to her house.

"The boys would then go in her combi and fetch those involved. Most people would come voluntarily but if not they would be forced to accompany the team," said Mr Ikaneng, who described a

Hard-hitting programme on Winnie's football club

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"Kangaroo Court" session.

Winnie would sometimes leave before the end of a trial and leave decisions up to the disciplinary committee, but she would always be told of the punishment meted out to so-called offenders, said Mr Ikaneng.

"In February 1987 one of the (so-called) Mandela sisters claimed she had been raped by Daliwonga High school pupils. The next day the boys (from the club) were sent out to look for three boys."

The three alleged rapists were put on trial at the Mandela home and beaten.

Mr Ikaneng said he had participated in the beatings, which continued for two hours. He said Mrs Mandela was in the main part of the house at the time and it was possible she had not heard the victims' screams.

Shortly after, the Mandela house was destroyed by Daliwonga pupils — it was seen as a revenge attack for the abduction of the three alleged rapists. Apparently Soweto residents, fed up with Winnie and her team's thuggery, simply stood by and watched it burn.

And on August 11 1988, Ismail Ayob, Nelson Mandela's lawyer, said his jailed client did not want to prosecute anyone for the destruction of his home.

"Since the formation of the football club in 1986 there have been four murder

trials, three death sentences and at least 16 killings involving individuals linked to the football club. In none of these trials was Mrs Mandela called as a witness," said the documentary.

It related events surrounding the arrest of club members on January 27 1987 in connection with a double killing in a shebeen which led to the Oupa Seheri trial.

Oupa was a trained ANC guerilla who stayed at Winnie's house. In February 1988 he was charged with the shebeen murders.

Two members of the

The Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand has confirmed that Winnie Mandela's application for leave to appeal against her conviction of six years' imprisonment for kidnapping and accessory after the fact to assault, will be heard by the Rand Supreme Court on July 16.

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team, Sithembiso Buthelezi and Charles Zwane, were charged as accessories. They were regular visitors and stayed over at 8115 Orlando West. Buthelezi was Mrs Mandela's daughter Zinzi's boyfriend at the time.

Oupa Seheri was sentenced to death for the shebeen murder, Buthelezi, who had used Winnie's maroon Audi to accompany Seheri to the scene of the shooting, got 18 months and Charles

Zwane was given a suspended sentence.

But an agreement was reached between the lawyers and the state that Winnie and Zinzi be kept out of the trial, according to the documentary.

Mr Ikaneng spoke of rigid controls over team members, who had to sign a register when they left or returned to the house. "They did not trust us and some were accused of being sell-outs," he said.

After playing truant on two occasions Mr Ikaneng and his friends were accused of being sell-outs.

Mr Ikaneng recalled the first attempt on his life in 1988 when his friend was shot by another football club member, but managed to escape. He said he had given a statement to police about the shooting.

"Winnie hit me and told team members to take me to her house in Diepkloof. But I escaped," said Mr Ikaneng.

He spent six weeks in hiding in Sharpeville. "But in January 1988 I returned to my Soweto home because I was almost destitute.

"That same evening Jerry Richardson, who headed the soccer team, and club members came to fetch me."

Mr Ikaneng was pursued by team members and was stabbed in the neck with the blade of a pair of garden shears by Richardson. He was left for dead, but managed to crawl to a nearby house for help. He spent 10

days in hospital.

On December 29 14-year-old Stompie Mokhetsi was killed by Richardson, who has been jailed for the murder. Mr Ikaneng gave evidence in the trial. Stompie's body was found in the veld on January 6 1989.

A fortnight of spiralling violence followed. The home of Dudu Cilli, an ANC Womens' League member, was fire-bombed. Her 13-year-old niece Finkie Msomi was killed in the attack. Club member Charles Zwane was sentenced to death for killing her.

The Mass Democratic Movement then distanced itself from Mrs Mandela.

Interviewed by the BBC, Mr Katiza Cebekhulu told how Winnie and her team had conspired to have Sibusiso Madondo and five others killed by members of the team. A list of names was confiscated by police from her house during their investigations.

Mr Cebekhulu is reportedly being held in protective custody in Lusaka.

In further investigations the BBC said it had uncovered another incident in which a youth, Lolo Sono, had been beaten by Winnie's team after two ANC guerillas were killed by police. He was accused of being an informer.

According to Lolo's father the youngster was last seen in November 1988. He had been severely beaten and was in the company of Mrs Mandela and her team. "She told me my son was an informer and that he would be punished. They came to fetch his belongings and then took him away."

Mrs Mandela has continued to proclaim her innocence.

Boycotts hurt N Tvl towns

THE Northern Transvaal boycott co-ordinating committee, representing the ANC, Azapo and Cosatu, this week claimed its action in towns in the area was "99-percent effective".

According to a committee spokesman, the Conservative Party town of Potgietersrus has been hard hit. A boycott was launched there after the chief magistrate rejected a Cosatu-called march on June 15.

However, businessmen in the town are adopting a "wait-and-see" attitude and believe most white-owned shops will survive until a solution to the deadlock is found.

In Messina, an Afrikaanse Sakekamer spokesman said the town's economy had been hit hard.

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30/11/91

Town councillor Jack Klaff said negotiations were under way to end the boycott, organised by the Nancefield Civic Association, who are demanding the resignation of the Nancefield Town Council.

A boycott is being planned in Pietersburg next week, to protest against the town council's refusal to allow a June 16 march.

However, chamber of commerce chairman Frank Greyling said his organisation had set up a meeting to discuss the issue on July 1 and the ANC, he said, had accepted an invitation to attend.

IN COURT AGAIN: Winnie Mandela at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday where she appeared on two charges of obstructing traffic and resisting arrest. The cases, arising from arrests during protests on May 22, were postponed to August 23. ● PHOTOGRAPH: John Hogg.

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New blood to pump

Star 22/6/91 11A

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

A MASSIVE injection of "new blood" is expected to give an ageing ANC leadership a much-needed jolt at its coming congress in Durban. Out will go a number of stalwarts that kept the movement on its feet during the exile years but who have difficulty adapting to the fast changing pace of the political process at home.

In will come a mixed bag of grassroots activists, trade unionists and charismatic fuglemen who have honed their leadership skills during the darkest days of state repression.

Leadership battles always attract attention. But in the ANC's case even more so because it will determine to a significant degree who will lead the whole country into the 21st century.

And with the ANC being a sometimes uneasy coalition of nationalists, communists, social democrats and a fair sprinkling of populists there will no doubt be an extensive process of head-counting to determine which faction eventually "won".

Only one man seems to be assured of his position: Nelson Mandela. He will be elected president to replace the revered but ailing Oliver Tambo at the helm of the movement.

Below him there will be a jockeying for the minor positions up till the start of the ballot.

The national executive committee is to be enlarged from its present 35 to 90 members. Originally the intention was to make it 120 but this was seen as a too obvious attempt to secure the careers of incumbent members.

THE five top office bearers plus 50 members will be elected directly from the floor, the rest will be ex officio members representing the 14 regions, the ANC Women's League and the Youth League.

The president will then appoint a national working committee or "shadow cabinet" of between 25 and 30 people to assist him in the day-to-day running of the movement.

Vice president: This post, especially created to accommodate Mr Mandela on his release from prison, now generates the most attention. Whoever gets elected will assume the title of "heir apparent" to an almost 73-year-old regent.

Walter Sisulu (78) would have been the candidate who caused the least waves. But he declined a nomination — probably due to his advanced age.

The obvious contestants are Chris Hani, hero of the "hawks", and Thabo Mbeki, darling of the "doves".

However, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma has in recent weeks emerged as a compromise candidate and poses a serious challenge. Counting strongly in his favour is the fact that he is the ANC's most senior Zulu.

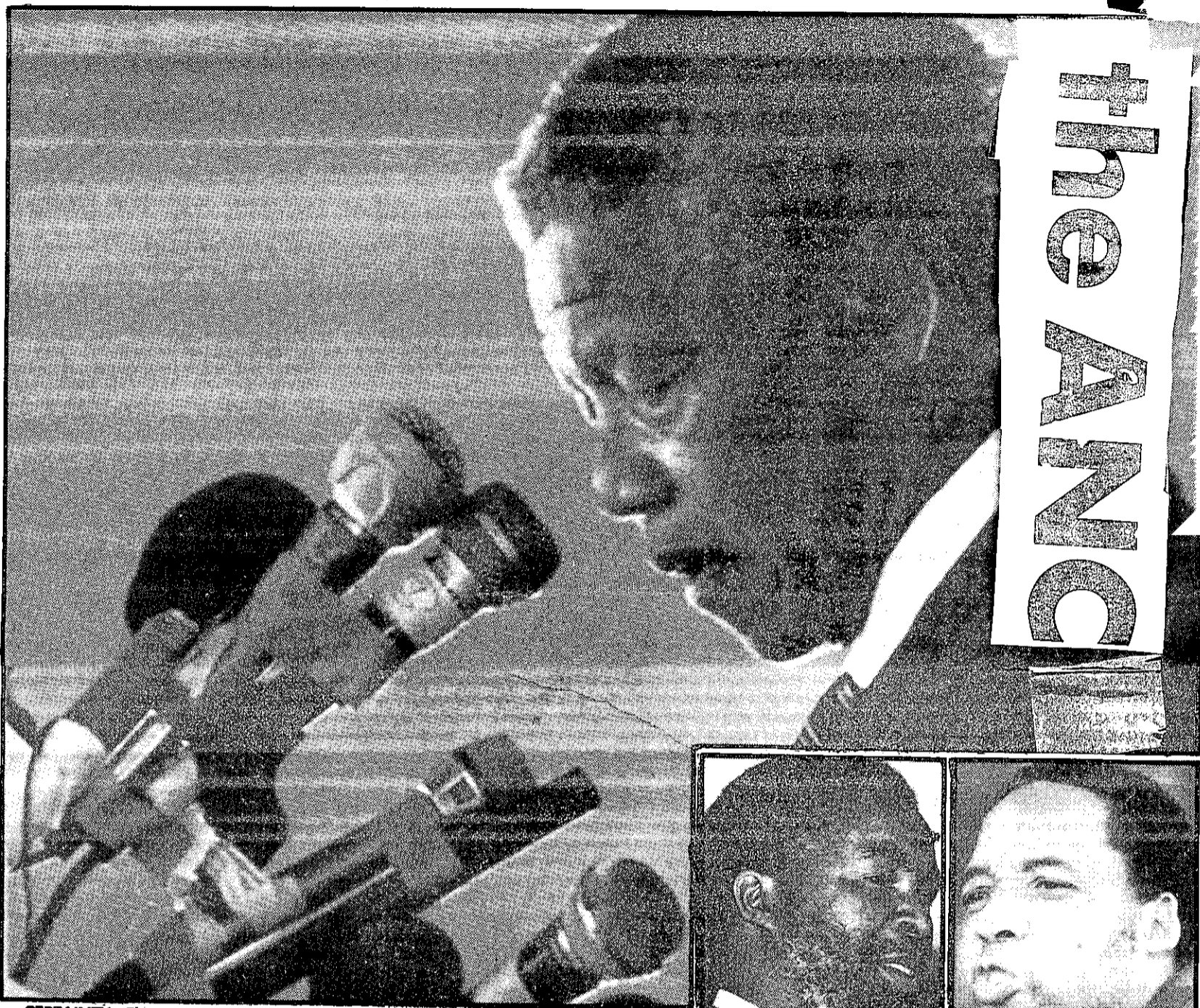
All three of them are 49 — which put them in a perfect position to lead the ANC into the next decade.

Secretary-general: The position of the incumbent, Alfred Nzo (66), seems to be in real danger. He is being blamed from all sides for the ANC's organisational disarray. His opponents refer to him as "Winnie's lackey" and (perhaps unjustly) accuse him of having engineered her election to the PWV executive.

ANC insiders say that both Hani and Zuma may be more interested in the job than in that of the deputy-president because they believe that this is where the real power will eventually reside.

Two stalwarts of the internal struggle may also emerge as candidates supported by those elements who are still resentful at the way the "externals" took over after the ANC's legalisation: Terror Lekota (43), the very popular former UDF leader, and the highly regarded Cyril Ramaphosa (38), general secretary of the Mineworkers Union.

Deputy secretary-general: Election fever has generated a new interest in what was formerly seen as a purely administrative post.



CERTAINTY: The giant among local black leaders, Nelson Mandela, is sure to be the ANC's next president, succeeding Oliver Tambo.

Young lions are eager for 'Shadow Cabinet' roles

Incumbent Henry Makgothi may survive the poll but there is also considerable regard for the administrative skills of former chief representative in Britain, Aziz Pahad.

Treasurer-general: Incumbent Thomas Nkobi (60) may be re-elected, but only because no obvious contender has yet presented himself. A possible challenger for the post may be former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe (39).

In the election for the rest of the leadership, attention will focus on whether the majority of the present executive will be retained or ousted by an eager younger generation.

Regional leaders such as Zuma (Southern Natal), Lekota (Free State), Harry Gwala (71), (Natal Midlands) — the spiritual leader of the hardliners and Stalinists — Gugile Nkwinti (Eastern Cape), Arnold Stofile (Border) and Christmas Tinto (Western Cape) are ex-officio assured of election.

The Old Guard: Some of the incumbents may decide to opt for graceful retirement rather than run the risk of being voted out of office. These include long-time stalwarts such as SACP chairman Dan Tloome (74), veteran trade unionist Steven Dlamini, and former chief of political education Reg September.

Expected to retain their positions are organisation chief Steve Tshwete, repatriation organiser Jackie Selebi, information chief Pallo Jordan (49), manpower chief Mzwai Piliso, "backroom activist" Josiah Jele and labour veteran John Nkadameng. Others such as administrative official Sindiso Mfuenyane, Moscow chief rep Simon Makana and Tambo's right-hand man Joe Nhlanhla may also scrape through.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo (68) is a shoe-in for election, as is Umkhonto commander in chief Joe Modise (61), who may, however, eventually be moved to

another portfolio.

The Islanders: Very few of the former Robben Island prisoners, jailed after the Rivonia trial in 1963, are expected to be voted on to the NEC. The exception may be Ahmed Kathrada (61).

Militants/moderates: The affable "Scarlet Pimpernel" Ronnie Kasrils will undoubtedly be voted back on to the NEC after his recent indemnification. There should also be strong support for prominent members of the SACP, trade union activists and civics leaders. Names that seem to fit all three categories are Chris Dlamini (46), Moses Mayekiso (43), Sydney Mufamadi (32), and Jay Naidoo (36).

In contrast, advanced age may count against the prospects of the leading moderate Archie Gumede (77).

Upwardly mobile: This congress may be the opportune time for ambitious young politicians to assert themselves and gain election

to a rapidly ageing executive. Leading candidates include Western Cape activists Cheryl Carolus and Trevor Manuel (35), Pretoria leader Titus Mafolo (36), youth leader Peter Mokaba (33) — despite allegations regarding Security Police connections — Eric Molofo (44) (West Rand) and Mike Xhego (Eastern Cape).

The four men to watch for in future, however, are former Eastern Cape firebrand Thozamile Botha, Witwatersrand organiser Kgalema Mothlante (41), Mayibuye editor Joel Netziende and Eastern Transvaal chairman and legal adviser Matthews Phoza.

Backroom boys: A number of ANC technocrats may emerge as serious challengers for leadership positions. These include constitutional experts Kadar Asmal and Zola Skweyiya, economists Alec Erwin, Tito Mboweni and Max Sisulu, and legal advisers Bridgitte Mabandla and Penuell Maduma.

Feisty females: The ANC is

blessed with a wealth of female talent but whether they can be elected in an often chauvinist environment remains a question. The Women's League president Gertrude Shope (65) will definitely feature as will her highly respected deputy Albertina Sisulu.

Other strong contenders include long-time Tambo associate and head of the religious department Ruth Mompati (66), "cultural weapon" Barbara Masakela, ANC theoretician Frene Ginwala, Jackie Molefe, the wife of ANC commander Joe Modise, and the enigmatic former journalist Theniwe Mtinitsa.

Surprise, surprise: Two wild cards may yet upset the whole apple cart: Will Winnie Mandela (56) survive the media and legal barrage against her?

And will the charismatic Allan Boesak (45) be persuaded to join the ANC and make himself available for election?

Delegates' views differ sharply

11A

Star 22/6/91

DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE ANC's forthcoming congress in Durban will, in essence, be a working congress with a steady eye on both the short- and the medium-term future; what mandate should be given to the ANC's negotiating team; and which policies should be pursued by a future ANC-led administration.

ANC executive members point to the fact that this may be the last party congress before a one-person-one-vote electorate decides on the composition of a new government.

In this sense quite a heavy workload awaits the 1300 delegates assembled at the campus of the University of Durban-Westville. Guidelines for policy positions on key issues such as housing, education and health need to be worked out.

If the December consultative conference is anything to go by the leadership — including Nelson Mandela himself — will not get an easy ride from delegates on its performance over the past six months.

TWO issues will dominate the discussion: sanctions and the future of the negotiating process.

On the latter issue a strong lobby for the discontinuation of talks and the resumption of the armed struggle should be expected. There are ample signs of a growing disillusionment among rank-and-file members about the way the ANC's leadership is "constantly being outwitted by the De Klerk Government".

There is anger over the lack of visible progress on the violence issue and the return of exiles and release of political prisoners.

However, there are no indications that the present national executive is considering opting out of negotiations. "Those who say we should suspend talks should also tell congress whether they favour a 'return to the bush' and a turnback on all the gains we have made since last February," an NEC member said.

At the December conference Mr Mandela came under personal attack for "engaging the Government in "secret negotiations" without consulting the membership. A visibly stung Mr Mandela then lashed out at critics vowing to continue talks with individual Cabinet members on urgent matters.

A discussion document presently circulating among ANC members in preparation for the congress accuses the leadership of opting for "telephone diplomacy" at the expense of mass action. It says the leadership is held up in endless dialogues, working groups and specialist discussions, which in effect remove decision-making from its mass base.

No doubt the strains between leadership and supporters will be a recurring theme at the conference.

On the sanctions issue moderate members of the ANC will almost be able to say "we told you

so" to their more militant critics. In December ANC chief diplomat Thabo Mbeki — subtly supported by Oliver Tambo — warned that the ANC was in danger of losing the initiative on sanctions if it did not adjust its strategies.

He called for discussions with foreign governments on the phasing out of sanctions dependent on Pretoria's movement on political reform. In this way the ANC could control the process and maintain pressure on the Government.

This approach was rejected at the December conference. Instead delegates called for an intensification of sanctions.

Events of recent weeks have proven the wisdom of the pragmatic approach. Sanctions seem to be collapsing on all fronts and the ANC increasingly finds itself left out in the cold.

The new buzzwords in ANC circles are the "refocusing of sanction", which differs very little from the Mbeki-strategy proposed six months ago.

Organisational problems will also occupy the minds of delegates. There is a widespread feeling that the ANC has not performed as well as was expected. Membership figures seem to have stagnated between 400 000 and 500 000, falling way short of the target of 1 million signed-up members by congress time.

Different reasons are advanced for its lacklustre performance. Some blame the legendary incompetence of head office for a shortage of manpower, funds and logistics. Others complain that the leadership is too busy wooing white businessmen and opinion formers, instead of getting to the people in the township.

In the Western Cape there is resentment that existing UDF structures were hijacked by returning ANC exiles. On the Witwatersrand long-time ANC stalwarts complain that militant youths are dominating activities.

Another matter that will come under close scrutiny is the future of the tripartite alliance with the SACP and Cosatu.

ALTHOUGH there are no indications that the alliance will come under strain in the foreseeable future it is also true that the other partners are considering taking a more independent line.

The SACP has already indicated that it wants to participate in the negotiating process as an independent force while certain Cosatu affiliates have in recent weeks openly criticised the ANC for taking positions on labour matters without consulting its union ally.

An issue that will definitely be raised is the so-called "two hats debate" — concern about the fact that certain leaders of the ANC also occupy senior positions in the SACP or Cosatu.

Pupils

11A
pulled

in for

City Press 23/6/91
army

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE Bophuthatswana Government has embarked on a recruitment campaign among schools for its defence force reserve.

Teachers and youths, mostly high school students, are going for training at weekends.

Two Thaba'Nchu teachers - the first to sign on - started their training at a military base near their area this week for the winter holidays and will return on July 3, a day before schools reopen.

Several youths told City Press they had been approached to join the Bop army and were offered attractive benefits such as an 80 percent housing subsidy, army uniforms and good food.

All youths who sign on will become members of the Bophuthatswana Democratic Youth League and are offered lectures in which they are indoctrinated against organisations such as the ANC, PAC, Azapo and others opposed to the Bop Government.

The youths claimed they had been told that a proposed luxury military village to house all defence force members - costing millions of rands - is to be built near Thaba'Nchu.

Two youths, who said they had once gone for army training but had been pulled out, and who would not give their names, said: "The military trainees recruited from the schools are served the best food and wear attractive uniforms for the duration of their training.

"Even religion is used to promote patriotism by ministers of religion who have formed an organisation known as the Bophuthatswana Ministers Fraternal (Bomifra)."

The youths claimed Bomifra was specifically formed to counter the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

City Press was unable to contact Bop military officials for comment.



IDPWL president Masechaba Mabaso and Goodwill Foundation trustee Aleta Michaletos will be involved in the peace effort.

■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Leaders' wives promote peace

By LULAMA LUTI

WIVES of South African leaders and those of neighbouring African countries will meet in Johannesburg in September to promote peace and reconciliation.

This was revealed this week by committee members of the Goodwill Foundation of South Africa, which is co-ordinating the event.

They said the meeting will end with a peace rally at the First National Bank Stadium on September 28.

Although invitations

have been sent, only the State President's wife, Marike de Klerk, has so far accepted.

But committee members are optimistic that most will attend.

During September, campaigns to be carried out include visits, intercultural activities and the promotion of interaction.

Community worker Cathy Makhene appealed to all South Africans to observe September 1 as Reconciliation Day.

"On this day, family bonds and good neigh-

bourliness should be strengthened, and we will call on all South Africans to begin realising that we are one people," she said.

"We cannot expect outsiders to tell us how to achieve unity. We have been separated from each other for too long, and it is now time to break this isolation," she said.

Members of the committee belong to women's organisations and the meeting will include representatives from major political organisations.

"We see our gathering

as the beginning of a process that will put this country and its people on the road to a friendlier and prosperous future that will give all people the chance to develop their potential," she said.

Groups representing churches will be asked to pray and promote activities that will unite families, the community and the different churches.

Appealing for support, Makhene said that without help it would be difficult to make the project a success.

Citizen 23/6/91

(11A)

World leaders for ANC meeting

By SIBU MNGADI

23/6/91

NIGERIAN President Ibrahim Babangida and Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat are among 100 foreign dignitaries who have accepted an invitation to attend the ANC's national conference in Durban next month.

Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Maliniera Peoli and a senior diplomat of the Soviet Union will also attend, the ANC's department of international affairs confirmed yesterday.

Among those who have have accepted the invitation are Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, US civil rights activist Rev Jesse Jackson, former Tanzanian President Julius Nyer-

ere, and Father Trevor Huddleston, president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The ANC is still awaiting a response from, among others, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Namibian President Sam Nujoma. Representatives of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the European Economic Community (EEC) have also been invited.

Libyan President Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has assured the ANC he will send a senior representative.

Gaddafi was in the news last week after his government's donation of R2,8-million to the ANC via American Express was seized in accordance with US sanctions against Libya.

The rest of the guest list is being kept under wraps "at least until next week, while visas are being secured".

However, an ANC spokesman said 100 of the 250 foreign dignitaries invited had accepted.

Meanwhile, the ANC is concerned about the political advantage State President FW de Klerk may gain from the presence in the country of its high-profile guests.

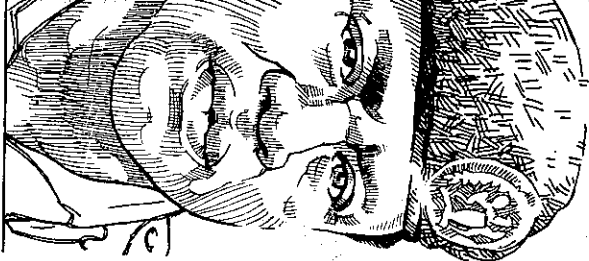
The organisation fears that it may inadvertently be aiding De Klerk's efforts to break the country's isolation.

The ANC does not "foresee any difficulties in obtaining visas" for any of the dignitaries because of the "SA government's eagerness to meet some of the guests during their stay".

Equally, many of the left-leaning dignitaries are facing growing political and economic problems at home, and are perhaps relying on the support and the prestige the ANC can lend by association.

Some guests, until recently unwelcome in SA, have requested the ANC to "make matters easy" by negotiating visa applications with the SA government on their behalf, the ANC spokesman said.

The ANC has compiled a four-day programme for the dignitaries. The programme includes a visit to rural areas in Natal, observation of the effects of apartheid in urban areas, and closed-session briefings on the "violence of apartheid".



Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida



PLO chairman Yasser Arafat

MY LIFE AS A FUGITIVE

By SEKOLA SELLO

C1 Press
23/6/91

Ronnie Kasrils breathes free and easy after almost a year's hide-and-seek

FOR the past 11 months Ronnie Kasrils played hide and seek with the cops as he topped the list of South Africa's most wanted men.

Frustrated by their inability to nail the Operation Vula co-conspirator, the government placed an undisclosed price on his head and whipped up an anti-Kasrils fervour - but to no avail.

In a sudden about-turn Pretoria last week called off the search and indemnified Kasrils and other Vula co-conspirators.

Kasrils jokes that by indemnifying him a few weeks before completing a full year on the run, the government denied him a "well deserved celebration". However, he's pleased the indemnity comes in time for the ANC's important July 2 congress in Durban.

Soon after being partially indemnified, but still keeping in hiding, Kasrils granted City Press the first interview since his indemnity. Our meeting place in a park east of Johannesburg had all the features of a James Bond movie.

Kasrils was not taking any chances. His cap came to his eyes while a blue scarf partially covered his face, making him hard to recognise. While on the run he wore a fake moustache, he told me later.

The killing of ANC member Mziwonke "Pro" Jack on Thursday, by people Kasrils described as State security agents, added to his apprehension.

Kasrils fondly described Jack as a "great guy".

The ANC's former chief of intelligence says he spent the 11 months making clandestine contacts with leaders like Mandela, Nkobi and Nzo and also liaising with the movement's underground military and political structures - while also making sure he stayed one step ahead of the clutches of the law.

Although Kasrils says life was far from easy while on the run, he brought a touch of romantic adventurism to his escapades with the numerous letters he wrote to the press, particularly to newspapers known for their pro-government stances.

On a few occasions Kasrils became

even more daring. Unknown to government agents, he was among 50 000 fans at Soccer City three weeks ago watching Iwisa Kaizer Chiefs beat his favourite team, Orlando Pirates! The only disguise Kasrils had was a black and white balaclava.

Kasrils has been described by critics as belonging to a clique of hardcore communist ideologues in the ANC who are hellbent on derailing the fragile negotiations.

He reiterates for the umpteenth time that he is committed to negotiations. "At present I don't see any way of a peaceful transfer of power to the masses, other than through negotiations."

The 53-year-old Kasrils, who has been a member of the ANC since he was about 20, emphasises that power must be transferred to the black masses. "This is what the struggle is all about. I stand by this principle of black majority rule. If this makes me a hard-liner, so be it."

Kasrils says he is hopeful the ANC's five-day congress will "clarify what is the best policy and strategy to follow. This congress must not degenerate to a mudslinging about personalities".

"It must be about issues facing the organisation, and people must be elected on the positions they take on these issues."

Although committed to the negotiations, Kasrils is distrustful of State President FW de Klerk, whom he suspects of having a "double agenda". He says De Klerk's reforms look "spectacular", but are in fact aimed at perpetuating white domination.

If De Klerk wants to win his trust, Kasrils says, he must "move towards a democratic constitution - a constitution which enfranchises blacks".



We meet again... SACP chief Joe Slovo chats to an officially indemnified Ronnie Kasrils at ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's Soweto home yesterday where "Operation Vula" operatives were introduced to the press. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Political comment and newsfile by K Sibya, headliner and sub-editing by S James, both of 2 Herb Street, Johannesburg.

AS the last struts of apartheid collapse and the thought-control police retreat, a new arena of political dispute is opening up: how shall we divide the spoils? It is the central question of politics in normal societies.

Already, behind the talks-about-talks, the prisoner dispute, the constitutional manoeuvres and the politicking, sounds an insistent chant: "We want more." It is, if you like, the politics of Oliver Twist.

Actually, for whites, destined within this decade to cede political power, it makes a certain short-term sense to scatter money around, even if they have to print the stuff, simply to buy off the angrier black people. What does it matter if you hand a school-leaving certificate to a township youngster and put him in a make-work job? — it's better than letting him run around necklacing people.

As it is spending on education has soared to 6,1 percent of gross national product, Australia's is 2,8 percent, Brazil's 1,25. The expenditure doesn't necessarily teach, and sometimes doesn't even baby-sit, but it satisfies the need to "do something, do anything" which most people suffer in the face of crisis.

Similarly, insistent lobbies are demanding more spending for housing that the homeless can't afford,

health services that the country can't pay for, and wages that will put us out of business.

It was perhaps no coincidence that the share market soared this week amid deepening gloom among the investing public about the future. Clever investors, noting that government spending rose 35 percent in April and 24 percent in May, are betting on inflation. The rich, after all, know how to protect themselves against inflation; they are much less certain of how to deal with the new perils of wealth redistribution, political or criminal, and they sense danger.

Rightly so. A Cosatu-aligned "research" group pointed out during the week, in Dickensian tones of gloom, that the directors of the top 100 listed companies are paid, on average, about R3 300 a week, or about R180 000 a year, and the 12 directors of JCI get up to R575 000 each.

That, of course, makes them paupers on the international scene. It's a puzzle why these directors don't follow Gordon Waddell, former chairman of JCI, and Tony Bloom, former chairman of Premier, to the richer pickings of Europe. But nobody thought to ask what might happen if the country's top 100 companies were to be run like the Post Office or,

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

STEWART 23/6/91



heaven forbid, the head office of the ANC.

Nor did anybody bother to calculate that the R199-million paid out in directors' remuneration would, if equally divided among the black population, give each person 5,5c a month. The trouble with the poor, somebody once said, is the poverty of their desires.

SO spread the gravy, the theory runs, and buy off the populace. Who cares if it takes us into hyper-inflation? Anyway, can you think of any quicker way to soften the perception that a rich white goose waits to be plucked by a hungry black peasantry?

Events have moved so fast in the past two years that time horizons have shortened ridiculously. We need

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to stop for a moment — and peer through the mark. If we had a better idea of where we were heading — a kind of "agenda for the nation" — it might relieve the pressure to do everything at once.

The first landmark, obviously, is the ANC leadership elections in Durban early in July. At least since April, and probably since last December, the ANC and its satellite organisations have been trying both to keep the negotiations on the tracks and to slow them down. The reason is obvious: factionalism, policy problems, leadership struggles have all rendered the ANC unready.

To win time, therefore, it has manufactured one issue after another — violence, the return of exiles and the release of prisoners. Whatever the

intrinsic merits of these issues (for example, violence has abated from last year's levels), they have been overblown in order to delay the start of negotiations.

THIS phase may come to an end when the new leadership is in place. The air is filled with alarming predictions, but it is reasonable to suggest that three main features will emerge from the Durban congress: the "moderates" like Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma will survive; the communists will once again emerge as the dominant group; but the internal leaders of UDF lineage will strengthen their position.

Even then, don't expect a rush to the new South Africa. All parties are engaged in manoeuvres to prede-

termine, if they can, the outcome of the constitutional negotiations. The ANC, plainly, wants an elected constituent assembly because it believes it will then be able to steamroller all decisions.

The Nationalists, for the same reason, want an all-party conference where no single party will be able to dominate the outcome.

The ANC wants an interim government in order, in effect, to take power before a negotiated settlement hampers its freedom of action; the National Party insists on retaining power until it has read and re-read all the fine print of the settlement. And so forth. The squabbles can continue for a long time.

If the difficulties of creating the forum and starting the process seem daunting, they are dwarfed by the difficulties of constitution-making itself. The ANC wants a constitution that will establish what communist Joe Slovo calls "control and direction of all the resources and wealth of the country"; the National Party wants a dispersion of power and individual security. The ramifications of the dispute are endless, and will occupy us for years.

The first deadline, if there is one, is early 1995, when this government's mandate runs out and when, if human

nature remains constant, the whites will be thoroughly nervous and disgruntled. Most political observers do not believe there will be another "white" election, but that some device will be found to allow the Nationalists, perhaps by referendum, to continue to govern.

IN the meantime, we can assume, the ANC's international support will have drained away, and it may in fact be isolated by its close association with the SACP. No doubt, too, the police force will have doubled in size and the effects of a long, steady economic upswing (starting, I would hope, in 1992 rather than in 1991) will be steadying the society as a whole.

At the same time, it is likely that talks about talks, and talks, will produce a network of interim, ad hoc, partial agreements, all of them aimed at keeping negotiations going. Some of these will fall away, some will harden into permanence. Not a few will address questions like control of violence, poverty, schooling, taxation and other aspects of the division of the spoils.

If we keep our heads, we may find that by the time a political settlement eventually emerges, the social transformation of post-apartheid society will have been achieved. By then, Oliver Twist may be a director of JCI.

ANC's Comrade 'Hamba-Hamba'

Sunday Times 23/6/91



ANGRY... Messina businessman Piet Roux claims Andries joined the ANC merely to make money

WHEN shop-owner Andries Nienaber was a member of the National Party, his black customers nicknamed him "Hamba-Hamba" because he was always hurrying them out of his store.

Now Mr Nienaber, 58, has joined the ANC — and his white friends in Messina have branded him a Judas. They want to chase him and his wife, Daisy, out of town.

But at least his business is surviving a consumer boycott started on June 1 by Nancefield township residents in protest against five black local councillors who refused to resign.

Now black consumers are Mr Nienaber's mainstay, while white people who had been his lifelong friends neither greet him or buy from him.

Many have accused him of betraying his white heritage by joining the ANC as a means to make money.

Mr Piet Roux, who manages a family supermarket and milling company in Messina, said:

"We are suffering while Nienaber scores. Joining the ANC was purely a financial move. People

Andries is branded a Judas for abandoning the Nats

Report: JOCELYN MAKER □ Pictures: BRIAN HENDLER

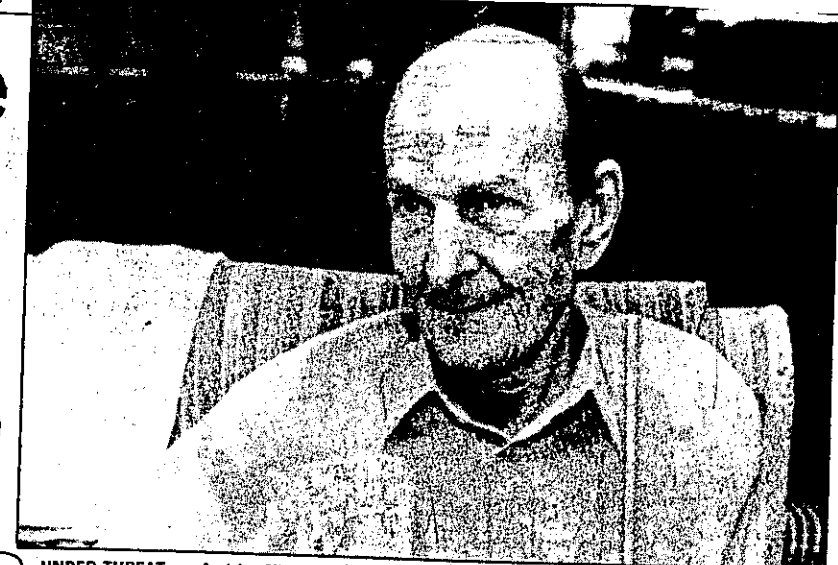
have stopped talking to him and they want him to move out of town. There is going to be trouble in this town because of him.

"The whites in Messina see him as a traitor. A group of businessmen held a protest braai outside his shop two weeks ago and some of them have tried to get big companies to stop supplying him, but it hasn't

worked.

"Whites must stand together to put an end to the boycott."

But Mr Nienaber — the only white ANC member in the Northern Transvaal — vehemently denies the accusation that he joined the ANC for financial reasons. He says he has been an ANC member since early last year — long before



UNDER THREAT... Andries Nienaber, who says his white ex-friends want to run him out of town

the present boycott began.

The turning point for the tall tanned man, a National Party supporter for most of his life, came about 12 months ago when an earlier consumer boycott was launched by blacks in Messina.

Said Mr Nienaber: "At a Chamber of Commerce meeting during last year's boycott, someone suggest-

ed that whites should stop selling to Nancefield residents when the boycott ended.

"I have learned the hard way in my life. I left school in Std 8 at the age of 13 and had to make it on my own. I settled in Messina in 1966 and opened three wholesale businesses, relying mostly on black trade.

"I told the chamber I would trade with anyone, regardless of their skin colour.

"One of the members

warned me he would cut off my supplies if I did. Yet the very people who threatened to stop supporting me were the ones who went into the township after dark and secretly sold vegetables from their bakkies."

Once the story spread that Mr Nienaber would not take part in the proposed counter-boycott, white customers started disappearing from his stores.

"After the first boycott,

black residents who must have heard about my point of view, came to me and apologised for not buying from me and for the financial loss I had suffered," he said.

"From then on, my feeling for the Messina blacks began to grow. I learned to know them and eventually they began coming to me with their problems.

"This had never happened before. I involved myself with them by sponsoring their football team,

by helping their children with their education and by paying for study tours.

"The church committee came to me for advice on how to establish a pre-school for the children who were left to play in the streets while their mothers worked as domestic servants in white homes.

"Then last year they approached me and said that it was time I took the final step and joined the ANC. My wife and I were part of their community. So I made up my mind and became an ANC supporter.

Deadlock

"Some people in Messina seem to forget that I am losing R80 000 a month in turnover at my two shops which are being boycotted. It is only the one shop opposite the township that has been exempted from the boycott."

But Mr Nienaber added: "I have no fight with the white residents — it's them who want war with me."

A spokesman for the residents and chairman of the Messina Advice Office, Mr Jacob Matakanye, said a meeting with businessman in the town reached deadlock this week.

"We will be holding more meetings in the near future with all concerned, but the black residents have given us their mandate — they want the black council to resign," said Mr. Matakanye.

We planned Vula - ANC

CIPRES 23/6/91

11A

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday acknowledged for the first time it had masterminded "Operation Vula", which the authorities charged was a Communist Party plot to wage armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

The ANC timed the acknowledgment with the first public appearance of key figures in "Operation Vula" - smashed by the police last year - soon after they were granted immunity from prosecution.

The 11 activists emerged from hiding yesterday to attend a news conference at ANC leader Nelson Mandela's Soweto home. Among them were Mac Maharaj, Ronnie Kasrils and Siphiwe Nyanda.

"All these and many others comrades associated with Vula (Oper-



Nelson Mandela and Alfred Nzo address yesterday's ANC press conference at which key figures in Operation Vula were introduced.

ation Vula) and the underground in general were acting on the instructions of the ANC," said ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo, reading a statement on Mandela's behalf.

Nzo said "Operation Vula" was part of the ANC's long-term strate-

gy to fight apartheid and was not a "quick fix" to undermine the talks which had already started between the government and the ANC.

"The operation, whose members had successfully infiltrated the country without detection by the police, was meant to give

the masses daily guidance and to enhance the strength of the National Executive Committee inside South Africa.

The ANC was informed almost daily about developments that took place in the country.

Maharaj said he was on two occasions punched

and pushed against the wall by his captors, led by a Col Venter at Sandton

"But last year's torture was a picnic compared to my assault by the police when they arrested me in 1964," he said.

Maharaj blamed the police for the disappearance of Mbuso Tshabalala and Charles Ndaba.

"We have circumstantial evidence that these comrades, who were also members of this operation, were arrested by the police. The nature of questions the police asked us in jail and the houses they raided proves to us they could only have had that information from our two comrades."

Maharaj added that Umkhonto weSizwe had so infiltrated the South African security forces that "Operation Vula" members knew in advance about the pending arrest last year.

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THOUSANDS of ANC cadres in camps in various African states are being retrained to prepare them to take over the army in a new South Africa, Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander Joe Modise told City Press in an exclusive interview.

He said the guerrillas, whose exact figure he would not reveal for security reasons, were being trained by military experts in conventional army methods.

"Their training is being upgraded. It is no longer the old guerrilla training. They are now being trained as professionals and their morale is very high because they are being prepared for the future protection of a democratic constitution," Modise said.

The softspoken ANC commander left this week for the camps, which are scattered around various African states, to assess the progress made with the new training. He disclosed that thousands of youths were still leaving the country to undergo training with MK.

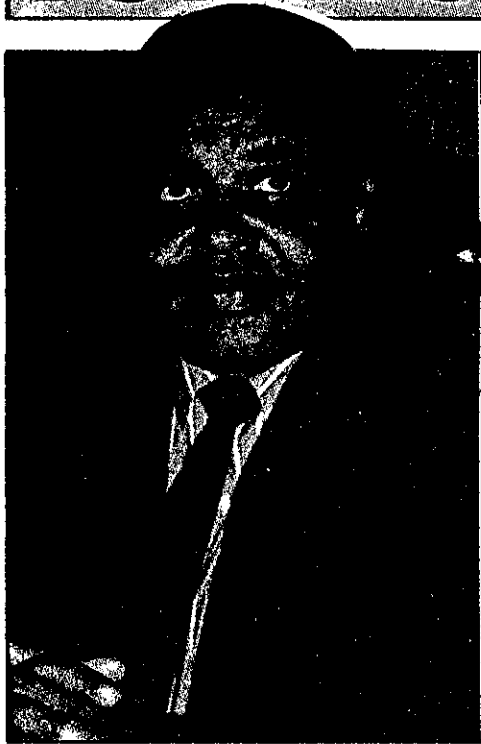
Speaking from the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters before his departure, Modise confirmed allegations of a mutiny within the ranks of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the late 70s.

"There was a mutiny and naturally if you are a military man during such a crisis people are killed. In this instance some mutineers had shot down senior commanders and had occupied part of the camp. Naturally one could only stop that by force of arms, and that is what happened."

Modise also said the controversial Quatro Prison, run by the ANC in Angola, no longer existed and almost all its in-

MK readies for new role

AP 23/6/91



Joe Modise . . . inspecting the progress made with the conventional training of MK soldiers.

mates had been freed. Those that were not out were waiting for the International Red Cross to repatriate them. The Red Cross appeared to be having difficulty in securing indemnity for them.

Modise said many of the former prisoners had been sent by the South African regime on various tasks.

"Some had come to camps, including children

at school. Others had come to murder ordinary guerrillas and their leaders within the camps.

"There were those who had come for ordinary spying. Some of them succeeded in sketching one of our camps in Angola and it was subsequently completely flattened by the South African commandos.

"Fortunately we had prior information about the planned attack and

Training for war, hoping for peace

we removed everyone from the camp, leaving a few cadres to guard major installations. The attack took place and three of our comrades who were on guard were killed during that raid. This is the work which was carried out by the people that we apprehended."

Modise said in view of the fact the government was releasing political prisoners, his organisation had decided to reciprocate that gesture with the freeing of its captives.

Asked if there was any possibility the negotiations might collapse and force the ANC to return to the bush, Modise said it was highly unlikely the talks would fail. It was in the interest of all South Africans to ensure the talks did not reach a point of collapse.

"Frankly, we see no reason why these negotiations should fail. There will be hiccups. It will not be the first time this has happened. Many other negotiations elsewhere had been through a lean spell before.

"I believe ours won't only in our interest that they succeed, but in the interest of the govern-

ment as well. De Klerk doesn't have much time. Time is on our side.

"In fact the onus is on him to see these talks succeed. Naturally, if all the avenues to a peaceful settlement are closed to us, then we will have no option but to return to other methods of struggle, including the armed struggle."

Reacting to a recent statement in which Defence Minister Magnus Malan had vowed that the government would not allow a neutral figure to oversee the defence force during the transitional period, Modise insisted that the government could not be the player and referee at the same time. It was therefore important that the defence force be as neutral as possible.

However, he pointed out that the question of a neutral referee during the transitional period was a matter for discussion by all involved in the peace process.

Asked if guerrilla warfare could bring down the government, given the strength and sophisticated nature of its army, Modise said guerrilla warfare would be too costly to the country's economy, which

was already in a shambles.

"If we have to resort to armed struggle we will succeed in that. All countries that had embarked on that type of struggle have succeeded, but all I'm saying is that violence is not in the interest of all.

"The best option at our disposal is a peaceful settlement of our country's problems," said Modise.

He scoffed at suggestions that Magnus Malan had preferred to deal with him rather than with outspoken MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

Modise said he met Malan only once during one of the major meetings between the ANC and the government. "That was the last time I met Malan, and there is no personal relationship between the two of us."

Modise also said his organisation had infiltrated the South African security forces through a spying network.

Modise issued a veiled warning to anyone who planned to attack or disrupt the forthcoming ANC national conference in Durban.

The ANC was going to Durban with peaceful intentions and they must be left in peace to hold their conference peacefully, he said.

"We don't expect an attack from Inkatha. At the last peace conference between us and them they committed themselves to the maintenance of peace and we believe that they will stick to that commitment. But if there are individuals who are not going to honour that commitment, we shall take steps to protect ourselves."

TO

Revealed: Arms deals being sought with 'new' SA government

ANC IN SECRET STOCKS

By MIKE ROBERTSON
 (11) (35) (37)
 Political Correspondent

FRENCH weapons manufacturers have opened secret talks with the ANC in an attempt to corner the armaments market in a post-apartheid South Africa.

A confidential ANC report on the talks, which has come into the possession of the Sunday Times, discloses that the French military industrialists have tried to steal a march on their competitors by offering a training-and-weapons deal.

The French have also shown a strong interest in the future of Armscor and have hinted at using South Africa as an entry point for arms sales to the rest of the continent.

The French arms makers are considering ANC proposals to provide training for selected people in French military academies as well as technical and engineering training in French military and related industries.

The ANC's delegation was led by Tokyo Sexwale, head of the organization's department of special projects.

In the document, Mr Sexwale says that French industrialists "showed a keen interest in our future development and management of Armscor, as an effective competitor in the arms market, particularly regarding potential clients in the African market."

On his visit to France, Mr Sexwale was accompanied by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and three others.

In the document, Mr Sexwale says the visit arose from low-key confidential contacts initiated by some French military industrialists "who have an interest in developing relations with a post-apartheid democratic South Africa in the field of armaments and related industries."

The industrialists, the report says, requested Dr Alan Guenon, a consultant with the French military industrial concern, Sagem, to arrange a meeting with the ANC.

Confidential

Mr Sexwale said the ANC delegation was led by Tokyo Sexwale, head of the organization's department of special projects.

The French arms makers are considering ANC proposals to provide training for selected people in French military academies as well as technical and engineering training in French military and related industries.

The ANC's delegation was led by Tokyo Sexwale, head of the organization's department of special projects.

Contact

An initial informal meeting was arranged and was attended, Mr Sexwale said, by Mr Philippe Cadoret, a Sagem executive, Colonel Henry de Wauerp, chief test pilot of the French Air Force, Maurice Argouze, a former French Air Force test pilot, Mr Guenon, Mr Sexwale, Pappie Moloto of the ANC human resources department and Gibson Thula, a consultant for Vela International.

Mr Sexwale said the French, at that meeting, wanted to explore the possibilities of re-establishing military contact with the new South Africa. "They pointed out that an ANC government is sure to inherit many weapons of the South African Air Force which is basically French origin, especially equipped with French aeroplanes."

The ANC, Mr Sexwale said, had stated that it appreciated the French desire to explore co-operation with the new South Africa.

It was suggested to the

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Secret ANC arms talks

Dr Alan Guenon was to report to us on the definite responses of the people and agencies with whom we met and to whom suggestions were made. His report is expected shortly.

Mr Sexwale noted that the visit "did not draw applause from the South African government".

He said the South African ambassador to France, Mr Mark Burger, had informed Sagem that the government was "disturbed and upset" at the reception the delegation was given.

Mr Sexwale concluded that it would be foolhardy for the ANC not to explore opportunities such as the one initiated by French industry.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC delegation "stressed the issue of having our people trained in the many sectors of French military and related industries with a view to empowering disadvantaged and oppressed South Africans."

At the end of the visit, he said, "we left France with very good impressions and having reached agreement that we, the ANC, should commence with compiling a list of names and CVs of the persons whom we wish to have trained in the various fields mentioned.

Francis Deramond, chief



ANC president Oliver Tambo was given red carpet treatment by over 200 supporters at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday as he arrived home for good, writes EDYTH BULBRING.

Mr Tambo was met by deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

Mr Tambo was greeted with cheers and singing from supporters, including airport staff. The frail but dignified Mr Tambo walked slowly with the aid of a stick and was assisted by Mr Mandela.

Mrs Adalalde Tambo said she was glad to be home for good and that she and her husband would live in Benoni. The couple spent 30 years in exile.

Mr Tambo, speaking with difficulty, told a group of supporters gathered at Actonville township near Benoni, he would address them at a rally after the ANC's July national conference.

Other ANC dignitaries who met Mr Tambo at the airport included ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo and youth leader Peter Mokaba.

Picture: JUHAN KUUS

From Page 1

French, he said, that they consider providing advanced military and arms-production training to selected South Africans recommended by the ANC.

Mr Sexwale said in the report that he had briefed ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Mr Walter Sisulu and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani about the meeting.

Within a week, the report says, Dr Guenon invited the ANC to visit France.

Among leading French industrialists and military personnel the ANC delegation met in its week-long visit in April were: Mr Pierre Faurre, chairman of Sagem; Vice-Admiral Francois Deramond, chief

of the Naval Fleet Air Arm; Mr Bernard Gautier, deputy director of Argenteuil R&D (a French military plant); and Mr Roger Fouroux, the French Minister of Industries.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC delegation "stressed the issue of having our people trained in the many sectors of French military and related industries with a view to empowering disadvantaged and oppressed South Africans."

At the end of the visit, he said, "we left France with very good impressions and having reached agreement that we, the ANC, should commence with compiling a list of names and CVs of the persons whom we wish to have trained in the various fields mentioned.

Francis Deramond, chief

Vula agents come in from the cold

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ELEVEN members of Operation Vula, the ANC's underground organisation, made their first public appearance yesterday after a year in hiding.

Among them were Ronnie Kasrils and activist Janet Love.

They went underground last July after police smashed what was alleged to be a Communist Party plot for armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed. *Times 23/6/91*

Other operatives who were arrested — including internal commander Mac Maharaj — made brief court appearances before being granted indemnity earlier this year.

The 11 emerged yesterday at the Soweto home of Mr Nelson Mandela, who pointed out that the indemnity was for specific offences and said the group still faced arrest.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo said the ANC had masterminded Operation Vula.

"It was geared to create on-the-spot, integrated military structures charged with the task of giving day-to-day leadership to the struggle and enhance the work of the National Executive Committee," he said.

A spokesman for the SAP said yesterday: "The exposure of Operation Vula was one of our most successful operations."

MK to launch a 'domestic army'

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will launch itself as the ANC's domestic army at a national conference next month.

The launch will follow the ANC's national conference in Durban early in July, a senior MK official said this week.

Plans to hold the launch in Transkei were vetoed because the ANC wanted to counter the idea that it was a predominantly Xhosa movement.

S Times 23/6/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

(11A)

The official said that, although MK expected opposition to the launch from the government, the move was not designed to be provocative.

"The launch is necessary if the SADF and MK are to be integrated into one army," he said.

It was the only way MK could challenge the SADF and ensure that a new integrated army was led by

MK commanders, the official said. "What better men to lead a new army to protect SA than MK chief of-staff Chris Hani or MK commander-in-chief Joe Modise, who has fought apartheid?"

The official said that, in terms of the Pretoria Minute, cadres could not go on the offensive and could not train in camps inside the country.

However, the ANC had the right to defend itself and train its soldiers, the theory of war, he said.

ON Thursday, the US House of Representatives voted by 279 to 134 to deny official US aid to "the Communist Party of South Africa or any affiliated or associated organisation".

As part of the same amendment to the International Co-operation Act of 1991, the House also urged the president to "ensure that recipients of US assistance in SA are not engaged in violations of internationally recognised human rights, including the unlawful detention of individuals, and have in place democratic processes for internal decision-making and the selection of leaders".

Although this language may never become law — opponents still have plenty of opportunity to knock it out when House and Senate conferees meet to resolve the inevitable differences between their respective versions of the overall Bill — the ANC needs to weigh the significance of the vote with some care.

A case can easily be made, and no doubt will be, that the decision was an aberration.

It cannot be denied the manner in which the amendment was adopted was extremely odd, though no odder, perhaps, than the way in which most US legislation is arrived at.

At the same time, to brush the vote aside because of this would be a mistake.

The issue of aid to the ANC was initially raised by Congressman Dan Burton, the senior Republican on the House Africa Sub-Committee.

Mr Burton has used the unwritten prerogatives of



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

his position to freeze the \$10-million (R28-million) Congress set aside last year to "promote democracy" in SA.

He objected to the State Department's proposal to give the ANC \$37-million (R10,28-million) and the Inkatha Freedom Party only \$1-million (R2,8-million).

IN recent months, Democrats have taken to complaining that only one person has exercised such authority.

Mr Burton wanted to show he was not without support. He introduced an amendment encapsulating his basic objections, figuring that, even if it was defeated, it would show he was not a lone recalcitrant.

The amendment called for a prohibition on assistance to "any organisation or institution which ... is formally linked" to the SACP or which engaged in

the "unlawful detention of individuals".

But it also stipulated this should not prevent educational and other such aid going to individual members of "ineligible" organisations.

This caused an immediate, if rather revealing, outcry from the ANC's traditional supporters.

That the ANC was "formally linked" to the SACP was not refuted, nor was the allegation that it continued to hold detainees.

Rather than letting Mr Burton's proposal come to a vote, however, Congressman Mervyn Dymally, Howard Wolpe's successor in the chair of the Africa Sub-Committee, offered what he thought was an extremely clever "perfecting amendment", similarly worded to Mr Burton's original but in such a way as to narrow the aid prohibition to cover only the SACP.

This might have settled things. However, the text Mr Dymally provided the clerk of the House contained a misprint which caused it to read that the US could only provide support to parties that "do not have democratic processes for internal decision-making and the selection of leaders".

Mr Dymally spotted the error just as his motion was about to be voted on. He pleaded to be allowed to make a correction.

The Republicans would not consent. They thought it would be fun to see just how many Democrats would place themselves on record, however unwittingly, as favouring non-democratic parties.

Such little attention was

being paid that close to 150 congressmen fell into the trap.

Chaos ensued as they piled into the well of the chamber to change their votes, a task that can only be accomplished by signing a piece of paper at the clerk's desk.

The bungle was defeated. When the rumpus died down, Mr Dymally introduced the correct language and it was successful on a voice vote.

At which point, Congressman Robert Walker, a Pennsylvania Republican, proposed a substitute for the amendment just adopted.

It was identical to the Dymally measure, except that the SACP aid ban was extended to cover "affiliated or associated" organisations.

WHEN the ANC's supporters asked him whether this was meant to include the ANC, he was inscrutable, saying it was up to greater experts than himself to decide.

His strategy was to let the Democrats do the explaining themselves, which, duly, they did.

In attempting to clarify the issue, Congressman Stephen Solarz stated for the record that the SACP and ANC had interlocking memberships. Did this count as association, he asked.

Mr Walker replied, sphinxlike, with an analogy.

Corporations might well be judged to be associated if they shared senior managers. So, by implication, might the ANC and SACP.

Mr Walker concluded: "I do not know all of the facts. I just want to make certain that the prohibition of funding for the Communist Party goes to the whole of the Communist Party activity in South Africa."

Evidently, a majority of the House agreed with him, for his amendment passed, superseding Mr Dymally's.

That is what the ANC should concentrate on. Its commingling with the SACP is an issue, not just on the hard right, but for the broad middle as well.

It should also be noted that in the event the amendment becomes law as it stands, Mr Walker's final remark will be taken as the clearest indication of Congress's intent.

That is to say, the administration will be legally bound to probe the relationship between the ANC and the SACP in determining whether the ANC should receive US funds.

Durban congress gets 350 leaders

By GEORGE MAHABEER

MORE than 350 politicians and industrialists from around the world are expected to attend the ANC's first national conference in Durban next month.

Among the dignitaries are Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, secretary-general of the OAU Salim Salim, and Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat.

American civil rights leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and his entourage will also attend the conference, which begins at the University of Durban-Westville on July 2 and ends on July 6.

Zambia's president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, was invited, but he is expected to send a delegation to represent him.

Security

It is understood that the Tanzanian government will be represented by one of its two vice-presidents.

ANC headquarters in Johannesburg this week declined to reveal the names on its guest list for "security" reasons.

"There will be more than 350 international political and industrial dignitaries attending," said the ANC's Natal spokesman, Mr Sbu Ndebele.

Applications for accreditation from more than 400 local and foreign journalists have been received by the ANC's national preparatory committee.

S/ Times 23/6/79

(11A)

Ex-MK rebel ^(11A) may be blocked by ANC

ST. Times 23/6/91.

By EDYTH BULBRING

BUREAUCRATIC bungling could block a former Umkhonto we Sizwe rebel, now based in Germany, from attending the ANC's national conference next month.

Mr Omry Makgoale had intended raising questions on the brutal suppression of an MK mutiny in Angola in the 80s.

ANC chief representative in Germany, Mrs Sankie Nkondo said this week that Mr Makgoale, had been elected as one of two delegates from Germany.

But conference organiser Mohammed Valli Moosa was adamant that only Mrs Nkondo would be allowed to represent Germany.

Mrs Nkondo is equally determined that Mr Makgoale will attend the conference.

Stranded

A senior ANC official said this week there was growing dissatisfaction from the exiled community — including MK soldiers — stranded in camps with the ANC.

"They hold us responsible for not bringing them home," the official said.

ANC officials said several ANC branches inside South Africa have elected former rebel MK members to represent them at the conference.

But whether they will have the opportunity to tell of the detention and torture of MK mutineers who rose up against their leaders in Angola is uncertain.

Mr Makgoale, 35, left Soweto in November 1976 and, following six months military training with the June 16 detachment in Angola, held several senior MK positions.

Guard

He served as ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo's bodyguard for two years until 1981 and in January 1984 he was made district commander for Luanda.

During 1984, a number of MK camps mutinied against the MK leadership because they wanted to be sent back into South Africa instead of being forced to fight Unita.

Mr Makgoale was elected to a Committee of 10 to represent the grievances of the MK soldiers.

The day after the Committee of 10 met with ANC leaders, including MK chief of staff Chris Hani, they were arrested and jailed at Luanda Central Prison.

They were then taken to Quatro detention camp in northern Angola on March 13 1984. Here many were tortured, beaten and starved. Mr Makgoale was released from Quatro on November 17, 1988 and taken to Dakawa in Tanzania.

He made his way to Germany in March 1990 where he is doing a mechanics course at a technikon in Cologne.

ANC still on top ^{11A} in political stakes says Mandela ^{Sowetan 24/6/91}

THE ANC was still holding the "moral and strategic high ground" in South Africa's political process, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of about 2 000 people in Tokoza on the East Rand, Mandela played down reports of divisions in the ANC.

"Whatever problems the ANC has it maintains the strategic high ground in South Africa and we have no intention of surrendering it," he said.

He criticised the media, saying certain segments of the Press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by in-fighting.

The ANC supported

"an independent and vigorous" media, he said.

On the organisation's conference in Durban next month, Mandela said some positions in the ANC's executive were likely to be "hotly contested". However, this did not mean the organisation was divided.

Outlining why he thought the ANC had the advantage over the Government, Mandela pointed to the success of the movement's campaign to isolate South Africa.

He said this had been so successful that the Government was battling to change its negative image. They were failing "because of one simple thing - not giving blacks the vote." - *Sapa*.

Cabinet posts for ANC 'possible'

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — Government was prepared to appoint Cabinet Ministers from the ANC and other parties as part of the transitional arrangements during negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

This included joint control and responsibility for the police and the army but would be only on the recommendation of the multi-party conference.

"It would not be accurate to suggest that government is offering the ANC and other parties a say over the security forces as a means of breaking the deadlock in negotiations," he said.

Government would not be happy with joint responsibility for the security forces alone. It wanted to broaden joint responsibility for the whole area of government.

He said President F W de Klerk had announced these possibilities during his budget vote in Parliament and after the Pretoria peace summit.

Viljoen said there had to be some form of joint responsibility that did not smack of co-option and this would have to entail giving executive and legislative powers to the transitional body.

No top jobs for Tambo in new ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo has not been nominated for any of the ANC's top five posts and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has been nominated for the presidency by two of the strongest ANC regions, regional spokesmen said at the weekend.

Significantly, the Southern Natal and Border regions have not nominated international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki or Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani for any of the top five posts, which will avert a "hawks versus doves" battle, but both have been nominated to the National Executive Committee (NEC).

Other than Mr Mandela, the only common nomination made by the regions is NEC member Mr Jacob Zuma.

ANC Southern Natal spokesman Ms Linda Zama said that Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala had been nominated for deputy president, Mr Jacob Zuma for secretary-general, London representative Mr Mendi Msimang for treasurer-general, and former UDF leader Mr Popo Molefe for assistant secretary-general.

The Border region, the ANC's largest, with about 65 000 members, has nominated ANC stalwart Mr Walter Sisulu for deputy president, chairman of the region the Rev Arnold Stofile for secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma for treasurer-general and trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa for assistant secretary-general.

● Go on with talks, ANC told — Page 2

Huddleston stays firm on struggle

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, the father of the international anti-apartheid movement, has arrived in South Africa after an absence of 35 years and has reaffirmed his commitment to "struggle for human dignity and true freedom".

"I am not here to celebrate the end of apartheid because it has not ended," Archbishop Huddleston told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport soon after his arrival yesterday.

He said the time for celebrations would be when a government democratically elected by all the people of South Africa assumed office.

"I want uprooted everything that had to do with apartheid," he said.

The 78-year-old president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was met at the airport by African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo and head of the organisation's internal leadership corps Mr Walter Sisulu.

"We are now old, there is little difference whether we are standing or sitting. All the better for seeing you," said Archbishop Huddleston, as he hugged an old friend, Mr Tambo.

Archbishop Huddleston said the main purpose of the visit would be to attend the national conference of the ANC in Durban next week at which he would address the opening session.

"My sole purpose is to make whatever contribution I can to further the 'peace process' so that we can achieve our goal, a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa as we envisaged with the adoption of the Freedom Charter — a united,

non-racial and democratic South Africa," he said.

The ANC, which invited Archbishop Huddleston, is organising an extensive programme for him during his three-week stay in the country, covering the Transvaal, Natal and the Western Cape.

He is also expected to return to the suburb of Triomf, formerly Sophiatown township, which was the site of the first forced removals of blacks after the passing of the Group Areas Act and where he worked as a priest from 1943 to 1956, when he left the country.

ALCtus 24/6/91

11A

'Go on with talks,' ANC will be told

CT 24/6/91

Own Correspondent

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — "Forge ahead with negotiations, strengthen defence units and move into the corridors of power as quickly as possible" are the main policy positions the ANC's largest region will be taking to the organisation's July conference.

The 244 delegates to the ANC's Border region conference, held at the University of Fort Hare at the weekend, decided to go to the conference to give its leadership "a clear mandate to forge ahead with negotiations", the region said in a statement.

Because of the size of its membership, estimated to be 65 000, the region would be sending the largest number of delegates to the Durban conference.

"Delegates to the regional conference were imbued with a sense of optimism and confidence that the present impasse in the negotiations process, due to the violence in the country, could be broken," the statement said.

Moving into the corridors of power "as quickly as possible" would enable the organisation to gain access to "the instruments of state power and subvert those trying to wreck the peace process", it said.

Delegates to the regional conference justified their decision to move ahead with the negotiations by pointing to the histories of countries like Angola and Mozambique.

"These countries had waged war with the forces of destabilisation and counter-revolutionary elements for nearly two decades and now found themselves having to negotiate with these forces amid a situation of poverty and devastation," the statement said.

'We hold moral high ground'

11A

24/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was still holding the "moral and strategic high ground" in South Africa's political process, the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of about 2 000 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza, he played down reports of divisions in the ANC.

Mr Mandala strongly criticised the media and said certain segments of the press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by in-fighting.

He said the ANC wanted "independent and vigorous" media.

He said the ANC had been so successful in its campaign to isolate South Africa that the government was battling to change its negative image. It was failing "because of one simple thing — not giving blacks the vote".

He said the government had been trying to misinform people about sanctions. He had received support for sanctions from the governments of Europe. "It's going to take some time before sanctions are lifted," he told the cheering crowd. — Sapa

THE issue which will dominate the ANC's national congress and determine the shape of its leadership is not whether or not negotiations with President De Klerk and his cohorts should continue.

Nobody who counts for anything in either the present or the aspirant leadership core can really believe that there is now any thinkable alternative to negotiations and no amount of rhetoric which the excitements of the gathering may generate should be allowed to obscure this fact. Even had such an alternative existed, say, four years ago (which in my view it did not), the geni of peace has now been let too far out of his bottle to be put back again by anything short of a national catastrophe.

A long series of formal, semi-formal and informal contacts has fixed the following agenda firmly in the minds of the major interlocutors: The ANC's congress and leadership elections will be followed by a conference which the De Klerk camp would like to title an "all-party conference", but which some of the ANC negotiators would prefer to call a "multi-party conference". This conference will agree on the general principles for a post-apartheid constitution and take steps towards establishing a body which the ANC wants to call an "interim-government" and the Nationalist negotiators want to title a "governing mechanism". This structure will later be followed by something the government thinks of as a "constitution-making body" and the ANC calls a "Constituent Assembly", which it wants elected on the principles of universal franchise.

Capitulated

Of course, getting through this agenda will by no means be plain sailing and the issue of the Constituent Assembly could doubtless prove a difficult sticking point. Nonetheless, many of the other issues are semantic matters which can be settled, given some goodwill and the broad agreement which seemed to have been achieved on substantive issues such as the principle of one person one vote in a unitary state.

Given the extent of these developments, it is no feat to predict that the ANC congress will mandate its new National Executive Committee to continue negotiating. To do otherwise would be crazy, since, on the constitutional and political levels at least, the White Establishment has in effect capitulated to the demands of organisations it outlawed, hounded and tried unsuccessfully to exterminate for dec-

Geni of peace too far out the bottle to be put back now

By **TONY HOLIDAY**



ALFRED NZO:
Mantle slipping?

ades. The only rider to the mandate will be that negotiations cannot begin in earnest until a climate of peace has been firmly established.

If all this is right, then, in a sense, it ought not to matter who the congress elects to the executive, since Mandela is certain to be elected president. It ought not to matter whether Chris Hani or Jacob Zuma or Walter Sisulu inherits the post of deputy president. It ought not to matter whether the secretary general's mantle slips from Alfred Nzo's ageing shoulders to be picked up by a younger comrade.

Yet there is another sense in which all this matters very much indeed. It matters because the composition of the new National Executive Committee will play a vital role in determining, not only the ANC's own posture and sense of urgency with respect to negotiations, but also how it is viewed by its own and De Klerk's constituency and by certain foreign players, who have a stake in the eventual outcome.

Fine balance

The make-up of the new NEC will decisively influence the pace at which the ANC readies itself for government by transforming itself into a modern political party, capable of defusing dangerous illusions that it could be defeated in an election. It will determine whether the poisons of mistrust which have entered the political climate in recent months can be eliminated and it will structure the ANC's own perception of its principles and policies and those of its allies in the trade unions and in the South African Communist Party.

What the congress needs to do, in

my view, is to strike a fine balance between continuity and change. On the one hand, its constituency needs to see a leadership which is genuinely invigorated by new blood, representative of those who have fought the struggle at home during the turmoil of the eighties. On the other hand, great harm could be done if the impression is created that the old leadership and its trusted lieutenants and advisers, who have facilitated the negotiations dynamic up to now have been altogether sidelined or swept away.

Finding this balance will tax the ANC's political wisdom to the utmost limit. Yet, at this juncture, it dare not fail. As one senior ANC stalwart put it to me recently: "It's not just a question of our movement's future we are talking about. It's the whole country's future that is now at stake."

□ Anthony Holiday, a senior lecturer in the philosophy of education at the University of the Western Cape, and a member of both the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes in his personal capacity.

Mandela: 'No intention of settling scores'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend a future government would not seek to settle scores for crimes committed under apartheid rule. (11A) CR24/6/91

Answering a reporter's question at a news conference at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said: "We have no intention of settling scores. The new government will take over in the spirit of reconciliation."

In addition, he said he would not press President F W de Klerk to publicly de-

clare his apology for apartheid, under which the black majority have been oppressed for over 40 years.

"It's quite sufficient that De Klerk is trying to redress the grievances of the people," Mr Mandela said.

● Meanwhile, the ANC has acknowledged for the first time it had masterminded what the authorities charged was a Communist Party plot to wage armed rebellion if constitutional talks collapsed.

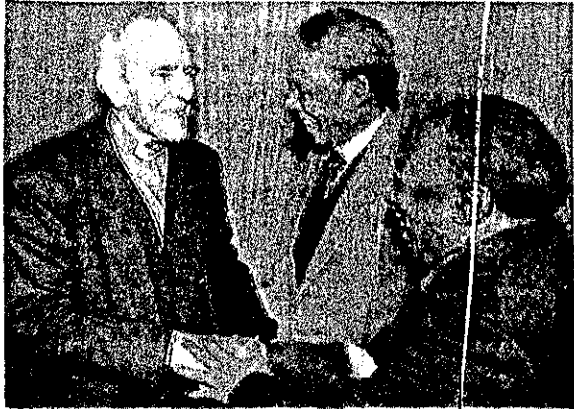
The ANC timed the acknowledgement

with the first public appearance of key figures in "Operation Vula."

The 11 activists emerged from hiding on Saturday and were presented at a news conference at Mr Mandela's home.

"All these and many others comrades associated with Vulinlela (Operation Vula) and the underground in general were acting on the instructions of the ANC," ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo said. — Sapa

Four die during



BISHOP RETURNS . . . Archbishop Trevor Huddleston is greeted by Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Alfred Nzo.

Picture: AP

CT 24/6/91
Huddleston, (11A)
Tambo in SA

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston arrived back in South Africa yesterday after an absence of 35 years.

He was met by ANC national executive committee members Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu.

Archbishop Huddle-

ston is in the country to attend the ANC's national conference in Durban early next month.

He said he had not come to South Africa to celebrate the end of apartheid but to make a contribution to the peace process.

He said he rejected totally the proposition that the time had arrived for the relaxation of sanctions, especially when

the negotiation process had not even started.

During his visit, the archbishop will return to the Johannesburg suburb of Triomf, formally Sophiatown, where he worked as a priest from 1943 to 1954. He will also participate at the national conference of the SA Council of Churches and meet leaders of the ANC, religious groupings and trade unions.

● Sapa reports that Mr Tambo arrived at Jan Smuts Freight Airport on a private flight from Botswana on Saturday afternoon.

Mandela: ANC holds moral high ground

The ANC was still holding the moral and strategic high ground in South Africa's political process, the organisation's deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of about 2 000 people in the East Rand township of Tokoza, Mr Mandela played down reports of divisions in the ANC.

"Whatever problems the ANC has, it maintains the strategic high ground in South Africa — and we have no intention of surrendering it," he said.

The media came in for strong criticism by Mr Mandela, who said certain segments of the press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by in-fighting.

He warned, in an apparent reference to the Afrikaans media, that the influence of certain segments of the media was declining.

Contest

"There is a striking difference in this country between the Afrikaans and the English press. One's influence will decline, while the other's will rise."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted an independent and vigorous media.

Turning to the ANC conference to be held in Durban next month, Mr Mandela said some positions in the ANC's executive were likely to be hotly contested. However, he said, this did not mean the organisation was divided.

Outlining why he thought the ANC had the advantage over the Government, Mr Mandela pointed to the success of the ANC's campaign to isolate South Africa.

He said this had been so successful that the Government was battling to change its negative image. "They were failing because of one simple thing —

not giving blacks the vote."

On the subject of sanctions, he said the Government had been trying to misinform people. He said he had received support for sanctions from the governments of Europe.

"It's going to take some time before sanctions are lifted," he told the cheering crowd.

Other reasons the ANC held the high ground, according to Mr Mandela, were the "victory" of ANC leaders who left jail on their own terms, the release of political prisoners and the forcing of the Government to the negotiating table.

He said the Government had been "forced to swallow all their propaganda and their pride" in accepting negotiations with the ANC.

Another victory the ANC expected was the total banning of cultural weapons at political functions.

The ANC leader accused the Government of providing weapons to a certain organisation in order to give it the capacity to murder. He said the arming of the Government's black allies was a ploy to undermine the liberation movements.

Mr Mandela, on a more conciliatory note, said more must be done to allay white, Indian and coloured fears.

"Some of the things we have done have been serious mistakes," he said, pointing to the all-black executive elected by the ANC Women's League at its recent conference at Kimberley.

He said the ANC's commitment to nonracialism must not be seen as propaganda but rather as a genuine concern of the ANC.

He also said South Africans must learn the major languages of the country. "If I speak to an Afrikaner in English, I will not reach his heart even if I may reach his head." — Sapa.

Strengthen left-wing alliance - Numsa

Star 24/6/91
The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) resolved at the weekend to strengthen the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and agreed that trade unionists could hold leadership positions in political organisations.

But the 1 025 delegates at the union's third national congress at Nasrec, outside Johannesburg, reasserted that the trade union must remain independent and stressed the need for mandates, accountability and mass involvement by the alliance partners.

Alliance campaigns had to be planned and conducted jointly at all levels.

Numsa also resolved that Cosatu should take part in national negotiations with the Government.

A workers' charter, guaranteeing basic employment and organisational rights, needed to be protected by a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly, the union decided.

Delegates called for the unifi-

cation of the political "Left" as well as a "patriotic front" which was committed to mass action and campaigns for peace, unity and a constituent assembly.

The union decided to urgently draw up a draft code of investment which encouraged the development of the manufacturing industry, mining and agriculture.

Nationalisation

Such a code, compiled against the backdrop of dwindling sanctions, would direct investment in favour of the "working masses" and exclude speculative financial or property investment.

Numsa remained firmly committed to nationalisation and the retention of sanctions against South Africa.

It foresaw a "democratically-planned socialist economy" based on the key principles of

11A
worker control and nationalisation of the land.

Cosatu and its allies should meanwhile develop a campaign programme against privatisation and commercialisation, economic restructuring and retrenchments.

Numsa decided at the congress to start balloting its members for a strike if pay talks, currently at mediation, failed.

Mediation, which started last week, was continuing today.

Several other resolutions on job training linked to economic planning, job creation and the fight against retrenchments were passed at the congress and these will be taken to the Cosatu congress in July.

Moses Mayekiso was re-elected general secretary and Maxwell Xulu replaced Daniel Dube as president.

Other new office-bearers are first vice-president Mtuthuzeli Tom and second vice-president Percy Thomas - Sapa.

Huddleston: apartheid not yet dead

Star 24/6/91

Extensive

By Phil Molefe (11A)

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, father of the international anti-apartheid movement, arrived in South Africa yesterday after an absence of 35 years and reaffirmed his commitment to "struggle for human dignity and true freedom".

"I am not here to celebrate the end of apartheid because it has not ended," Archbishop Huddleston told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his arrival.

He said the time for any celebrations would be when a government democratically elected by all people of South Africa assumed office.

"I want everything that had to do with apartheid uprooted," he said.

The 78-year-old president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was met at the airport by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Alfred Nzo and internal leader Walter Sisulu.

Mr Tambo walked slowly, aided by a walking stick, to meet the archbishop, also balancing his right hand on a walking stick.

"We are now old, there is little difference whether we are standing or sitting. All the better for seeing you," said Archbishop Huddleston as he hugged Mr Tambo.

Archbishop Huddleston said the main purpose of the visit would be to attend the national conference of the ANC to be held in Durban next week. He will address the opening session.

"My sole purpose is to make whatever contribution I can to further the peace process so that we can achieve our goal — a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa as we envisaged with the adoption of the Freedom Charter — a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa," he said.

The ANC, which invited Archbishop Huddleston, is organising an extensive programme for him during his three-week stay in the country, covering the Transvaal, Natal and the western Cape.

He is also expected to return to the suburb of Triomf, formerly Sophiatown township — the site of the first forced removals of blacks after the passing of the Group Areas Act — where he worked as a priest between 1943 and 1956, when he left the country.

"Sophiatown was a fully non-racial and multi-faith society," he said with nostalgia.

"I have travelled extensively but I have never found a place with vitality, creativity and joy like Sophiatown," he said.

Archbishop Huddleston will also visit Kliptown, where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955 and where he received, with Chief Albert Luthuli and Dr Yusuf Dadoo, the ANC's highest award for commitment to the struggle for freedom, Isitwalandwe.

During his visit he will also meet members of his monastic community — the Community of the Resurrection, participate at the national conference of the South African Council of Churches, preach in Soweto and Durban and visit the

(11A)

Huddleston: not time to celebrate

• From Page 1

Federal Seminary in Maritzburg. Star 24/6/91
On June 26, Freedom Charter Day, he will deliver a keynote address at the University of the Witwatersrand to mark the 36th anniversary of the adoption of the ANC's policy document.

Archbishop Huddleston left South Africa in 1956 after coming into conflict with the Government following the forced removals at Sophiatown and the introduction of Bantu Education in black schools.

At the time he was also superintendent of St Peter's School, where Mr Tambo taught mathematics and physical science. Former students of the school include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, journalists Arthur Maimane and the late Stan Motjuwadi of Drum magazine as well as musicians Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa.

Archbishop Huddleston chose to close St Peter's rather than agree to hand it over to the Government following the passing of the Bantu Education Act.

During this period he became actively involved in the struggle against apartheid and worked closely with ANC leaders such as Mr Tambo, Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and the late Chief Luthuli.

In 1956 he published "Naught For Your Comfort", described as the most powerful indictment ever of apartheid.

When he returned to London he worked relentlessly to build the Anti-Apartheid Movement, with a view to isolate South Africa in response to an international appeal by Chief Luthuli, then ANC president.

He retired as archbishop in 1983 and worked full time for the AAM.

He succeeded the late John Collins as chairman of the Trustees of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which funded defence costs in South African political trials.

Continued
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Old friends . . . ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo at the airport yesterday to welcome Archbishop Trevor Huddleston who returned to the country after an absence of 35 years. With them is ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.
Picture: John Hogg

Attorneys losing out, De Rebus survey shows

31 May 24/6/91

TIM COHEN

A SURVEY in the latest issue of the attorneys' journal De Rebus indicates that advocates earned on average 29% more than attorneys last year, providing ammunition for the argument that attorneys should have Supreme Court appearance rights.

In addition, the Law Society of the Transvaal has released the Pretoria Bar Council's suggested parameters for fees which say top advocates should charge up to R36 000 for a week's work in court.

The survey produced by De Rebus indicates that advocates earned on average R129 400 last year compared with R100 700 by attorneys.

The survey, which canvassed self-employed people in a large variety of professions, places advocates 17th on the list, earning about the same as plastic surgeons and auditors, while attorneys are 35th on the list, earning about as much as doctors in general practice.

The author of the article, Mauritz Bobbert, writes that the top 25% of advocates earned more than R250 000 last year on average, while the top 25% of attorneys earned about R150 000. The bottom 25% of both professions both earned about R73 000.

The Law Society of the Transvaal included in their newsletter the pro-

posed parameters for advocates' fees which were released to the organisation by the Pretoria Bar Council.

"The council does not approve of these parameters and it is published only for the information of members," the insert in the newsletter says. "On the contrary, the council has indicated to the Bar Council that a reasonable hourly tariff for advocates should be considered which will be payable only for work done."

The parameters suggested range from R45 to R75 per half-hour consultation for a junior advocate with less than five years' experience, to between R210 and R270 for a senior advocate with six years' experience.

For chamber work the figures are R30 to R50 and R140 to R180 respectively and for Supreme Court work R600 to R1 200 per day and R3 000 to R6 000 a day respectively.

Association of Law Societies director general Andre van Vuuren says access to the courts would be enhanced if more of the profession's members could argue cases in the Supreme Court.

If qualified attorneys have the right of appearance, there will be more actors in the field and the competition will force down prices.

Mandela named for presidency

31 May 24/6/91
TIM COHEN

NELSON Mandela has been nominated for the ANC presidency by two of the strongest regions, while Walter Sisulu is being backed by Border for the deputy-presidency, regional spokesmen said at the weekend.

Border and Natal have not nominated ANC president Oliver Tambo for any of the ANC's top five posts.

They have also failed to nominate Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani or international affairs head Thabo Mbeki for any of the top five posts, which will avert a "hawks versus doves" battle, but they both have been nominated for NEC posts.

Other than Nelson Mandela, the only common nomination for the top five is ANC NEC member Jacob Zuma.

Border has also nominated regional chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile for secretary-general, Jacob Zuma for treasurer-general and trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa for assistant secretary-general.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Linda Zama said at the weekend that Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala and been nominated for deputy president, Jacob Zuma for secretary-general, Mendi Msimang (currently the organisation's London representative) for treasurer-general and former UDF leader Popo Molefe for assistant secretary-general.

Four die in unrest

PRETORIA — Four people were killed, several others were injured and arrests were made on Saturday in unrest-related incidents, police said yesterday in their unrest report.

Police also said they had arrested 49 ANC supporters in Dysseisdorp, near Oudtshoorn, after they occupied the local charge office and then held a policeman hostage. — Sapa.

Protein to raise milk yield gets nod

A SYNTHETIC protein which boosts the milk yield of dairy cows by an average 10%-20% has been cleared for distribution in SA after creating a storm in Europe and being banned in some US states.

Bovine Somatotropin (BST), developed by international pharmaceuticals and chemicals manufacturer Montsano, created controversy in Europe and the US when it was tested late last year.

Johannesburg-based vet Dr Chris Palmer, who has been involved with the local testing of BST, said most farmers welcomed the introduction of the product.

"BST is the cheapest and most efficient short-term means of increasing production available to the farmer without additional capital outlay," he said. Farmers using BST would recoup the cost of the product by the end of each month.

The average cow produces 12-14l of milk a day and use of BST could boost the daily

PAUL ASH

yield by approximately 2-5kg, Palmer said.

In the US, some dairy farmers, aided by the Foundation for Economic Trends, opposed the product, fearing that increases in production would put less efficient farmers out of business.

Despite a ruling from the US Food and Drug Administration that the product was harmless, consumer fears persisted and some states banned distribution of BST.

BST received a similar welcome in the EC. Attempts were made to capitalise on public fears that consumption of BST, which is identical to the hormone which stimulates milk production in cows, would endanger consumer health.

But doctors say traces of bovine growth hormone present in milk is destroyed in the human digestive system.

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tion since May. The Rustenburg ferrochrome producer is expected to increase CMI's capacity by 50% to 330 000 tons an-

CMI can be expected to enjoy attractive returns on its enlarged operations," Kovarsky said.

ANC told to move into corridors of power 'as quickly as possible'

FORGE ahead with negotiations, strengthen defence units and move into the corridors of power as quickly as possible are the principal policy positions the ANC's largest region will be taking to the organisation's July conference.

The 244 delegates to the ANC's Border region conference, held at the University of Fort Hare at the weekend, decided to go to the ANC conference to give its leadership "a clear mandate to forge ahead with negotiations", the region said in a statement.

Because of the size of its membership, estimated to be 65 000, the region would be sending the largest number of delegates to the Durban conference.

"Delegates to the regional conference were imbued with a sense of optimism and confidence that the present impasse in the negotiations process, due to the violence in the country, could be broken," the statement said.

Moving into the corridors of power "as quickly as possible" would enable the organisation to gain access to "the instruments of state power and subvert those trying to wreck the peace process".

Delegates to the regional conference justified their decision to move ahead with the negotiations by pointing to the histories of countries like Angola and Mozambique.

"These countries had waged war with

the forces of destabilisation and counter-revolutionary elements for nearly two decades and now found themselves having to negotiate with these forces amid a situation of poverty and devastation," the statement said.

The violence in SA was taking the same form and, therefore, to present the violence as an obstacle to negotiations would only prolong the present destabilisation and ultimately weaken the ANC's strength at the negotiating table and voting booths.

The responsibility to end the violence was government's, but delegates seriously questioned President F W de Klerk's ability to do so, the statement said.

Delegates noted "a tendency in the government to play power politics at the expense of the negotiations process", the statement said, citing government's unwillingness to ban "traditional weapons" as an example.

The conference also resolved to strengthen defence units, to protect lives and not for offensive purposes, as a "necessary short-term measure to minimise the effects of violence".

The conference said it was felt an interim government was urgently needed to rescue the peace process and oversee the period of transition.

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ANC material sent out by Aussie MP

The Argus Foreign Service

PERTH. — The Perth parliamentary office of a Federal Labour senator has been used to distribute ANC material.

The material was posted in an envelope bearing the words "The Office of Senator Michael Beahan" and carrying the Commonwealth Government crest.

Inside was a printed slip headed parliament of Australia, the senate, with the address of the senator's Perth office. Below were the words "Forwarded with the compliments of Senator Beahan".

The contents of the envelope included a publication entitled "South Africa Freedom ... a West Australian ANC support-group publication."

This gave the background to recent moves by President F W de Klerk to dismantle apartheid laws, but said that sanctions should be maintained until universal franchise was established in South Africa.

Senator Beahan was not available for comment, but his office said it was perfectly regular for federal resources to be used to help the ANC and other organisations.

Form defence units - union

DEFENCE units must be formed by trained soldiers of the ANC and PAC to protect blacks from harassment by organisations such as the CCB, trade unionists said at the weekend.

Delegates attending the third national congress of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union in

By IKE MOTSAPI

Johannesburg were told that defence units should be formed by all cadres of the liberation struggle.

These could come from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army "as a matter of urgency".

In one of the resolu-

tions adopted by the congress, Saccawu said: "These units must be equipped and armed for defence.

"Members of the community must be urged to join them regardless of political affiliation because they will be expected to democratically run, control and monitor such defence units."

The union also re-

solved to work hard towards the "total eradication" of the homeland system.

To achieve this the union pledged to vigorously campaign in all homelands with the aim of gaining more support to help destroy them.

During elections Ms Edna Sithembe became the first woman to be elected as first vice-president of Saccawu.

(Handwritten scribble)

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Sowetan 25/6/91

(Handwritten scribbles)

In the spirit of sanctions

Azapo still believes sanctions have a role to play and has scorn for those in the international arena who believe they should be lifted. Here, in an article specially prepared for *Sowetan*, the movement explains its position.

Azapo scorns all who want them lifted

270
11A

Sowetan
25/6/91

AZAPO continues to believe in the good intentions of the spirit of sanctions. It is disturbing that the good intentions behind the spirit of these stances are now deliberately misunderstood.

Azapo regards the sports and cultural boycott, disinvestment and sanctions as components of the "Isolate South Africa Position".

This position was adopted as a weapon of struggle against an oppressive and exploitative system which is currently in force and for the liberation of black people.

The solidarity of the international community was enlisted. To Azapo, the issue has never been whether or not to isolate the system, but to clarify against whom and in

favour of whom were such measures decided upon.

For as long as oppression and exploitation continue to characterise black existence, there can be no doubt about the wisdom to pursue the cause of liberation of black people.

System

Even in the face of international interests evidently switching allegiance to the oppressor camp, it would not make sense for the liberation movement to abandon its positions solely because the international community now thinks otherwise about the liberation of black people.

The choices to be made are simple: It is either the system or liberation. Azapo stands for liberation.

Even before February 2 1990, Azapo had foreseen the conflicting interpretations that were going to be brought to bear by all interested parties as to the direction that our struggle should take.

It was with this view in mind that Azapo saw the crucial need for the holding of a consultative conference at which liberation movements could confer so that they could address themselves to this need and not continue to be at cross purposes with each other.

To Azapo, February 2 1990 did not legitimise liberation but freed political activity as a survivalist option by the system to negotiate its reform and continued existence by co-option of

credible structures of the oppressed people.

It should be noted that the difference between the National Party government pre-February 2 1990 and the NP government post this date lies in the leadership styles of two men, PW Botha and FW de Klerk.

Police

The former was a fixated conservative whose alarming dependency on the army and the police had misguided him to pilot survivalist objectives of the NP through the involvement of discredited leaders.

FW De Klerk is a flexible liberal, who has found that the system can adapt and truly survive by the involvement of credible leaders.

The difference be-



FW DE KLERK



PW BOTHA

tween Botha and De Klerk, therefore, lies in the choice of people that the two leaders have chosen to travel within their endeavours to make the system survive.

Azapo sees no cause to find fellowship in travelling with De Klerk for purposes of liberation.

This is where Azapo parts company with anti-sanctioneers and the sports and cultural boycott busters.

Suddenly, black people are assumed as hopeless sinners for insisting on sanctions and are otherwise esteemed as saints for displaying the opposite point of view.

To Azapo, February 2 has brought no change in

power relations. It has not redressed social imbalances, nor has it delivered the black working class and the homeless of our people. It has brought no liberation to the oppressed and the exploited people of this country.

Liberation

Therefore, if the international community were to use February 2 as a passport to switch their allegiance to the oppressor camp, it is fraudulent trickery to enlist the oppressed people and their representative organisations to act contrary to liberatory imperatives.



Azapo believes that 1991 is a year in which the line of demarcation between liberation move-

ments - which are motivated by the desire to liberate - and political parties whose first preoccupation is to govern, shall be more discernible.

Those who stand impatiently opposed to liberation, shall reveal themselves by their calls for the lifting of sanctions as well as their haste for cultural co-operation with the reformist manoeuvres of the system to survive.

Azapo believes that the oppressed and the exploited people are their own liberators and that they should not rely on the caprice of international community interests which may desert them in their hour of need as is demonstrably the case now.

Boycott delayed in Pietersburg

Swelam
25/6/91



By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE ANC, Azapo and the PAC have agreed to the postponement of a consumer boycott in Pietersburg which had been scheduled to begin yesterday.

The agreement, reached at a meeting at the ANC offices in Pietersburg, means the scene is now set for action.

Protest

Plans for the protest were prompted by the local town council's refusal to grant a permit for an ANC march two weeks ago.

Besides the ANC, the meeting was attended by the National Council of Trade Unions, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Southern Africa Black Taxi As-

sociation and the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches.

The ANC, which came up with the idea of the consumer boycott, had proposed yesterday as the starting date.

But Azapo and Nactu, while supporting the consumer boycott, objected to the date and said communities to be affected by the move had not been consulted.

People at the meeting also agreed that community meetings would be held in townships and villages around Pietersburg this week on the issue.

The boycott is also to demand an end to alleged police harassment of striking workers, higher

wages, free political activity, the right to march and subsidies on transport.

The organisations have formed a consumer boycott committee to

organise the boycott.

The Pietersburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries has condemned the intended boycott and called for consultations with the the consumer boycott committee.

ANC hits at fake smear pamphlets

Sowetan
25/6/91

SMEAR pamphlets calling for a stay-away in Natal townships on Thursday - the day ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela visits the area - have caused the organisation and Inkatha concern.

The fake pamphlets, titled "ANC/Cosatu join hands to welcome the hero", call for a stayaway to coincide with a mass rally to be addressed by Mandela in Kwazidedele in northern Natal on that day.

The pamphlets claim that the chairman of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Zululand and North Coast Division, Mr Mike Dunn, had agreed that workers could stay away from work.

The ANC yesterday denounced the pamphlets distributed in Richards Bay, Empangeni, Mtunzini and Kwambonambi.

By ISAAC MOLEDI

"The ANC denounces this leaflet as a crude forgery. We utterly repudiate it as a provocation staged by mischievous elements pursuing their own purposes," the organisation said.

The pamphlets also called for the dismantling of KwaZulu and claimed that there would be free food and transport on that day.

"Gatsha will be reduced into a political dwarf after the 27th. Inkatha will be finished," the pamphlets read.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday called on Mandela and the ANC to instruct their members not to use any form of coercion or intimidation on workers "should they not wish to stay away".

ANC regions support talks

ANC regions drawing up nominations for leadership elections next month have come out strongly for negotiations in spite of violence and are voting for pro-negotiation figures, initial voting patterns show.

Trade union leaders, other than NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and militants have not made a significant showing in the results of four nomination contests announced so far.

However, militants will not be sidelined without a fight, and yesterday met under the Umkhonto we Sizwe banner at a secret venue in Venda. Umkhonto is to be given a platform at the conference.

In the battle for the top five positions, deputy president Nelson Mandela is favourite for president, with support from all four regions which have announced their results.

25/12/91
11A
TIM COHEN

There is little consensus on the other positions, although ANC national executive committee member Jacob Zuma features prominently. The "old guard", including much-maligned current secretary general Alfred Nzo and treasurer Thomas Nkobi, are gaining support.

Also against expectations, internal leaders formerly aligned with the UDF are getting less support than exiles and former Robben Islanders.

Umkhonto chief of staff Chris Hani has been not been nominated for a top five position so far. However, international affairs head Thabo Mbeki — widely regarded as being on the opposite end of the political

□ To Page 2

ANC

spectrum — has received one nomination for the deputy presidency.

Nominees require the support of at least three regions for their nominations to appear on conference ballot papers.

Most of the 14 ANC regions were hard at work yesterday compiling nominations for the top five posts and the other 50 positions to be voted on at the conference.

The Border region has so far expressed itself most strongly in favour of negotiations despite the violence.

Other regional spokesmen said yesterday their positions were much the same, although some regions said the question of linking negotiations and violence was not discussed.

The Border and southern Natal regions both drew on analogies with neighbouring

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states, which "have waged war with forces of destabilisation for nearly two decades and now find themselves having to negotiate with these forces".

The Border region said to "present violence as an obstacle to negotiations would only prolong present destabilisation . . ."

Regional nominations for the top five positions are:

- Border: Mandela (president); internal leader Walter Sisulu (deputy president); Border region chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile (secretary-general); Ramaphosa (assistant secretary-general); and intelligence head Zuma (treasurer-general);
- Southern Free State: Mandela (president); Mbeki (deputy); Nzo (secretary-general); former UDF leader Popo Molefe (assistant secretary-general); Nkobi to retain treasurer-general position;
- Southern Natal: Mandela (president); Midlands chairman Harry Gwala (deputy); Zuma (secretary-general); Molefe (assistant secretary-general); London ANC representative Mendi Msimang (treasurer-general); and
- Eastern Transvaal: Mandela (president); Sisulu (deputy); Zuma (secretary-general); Nzo (assistant secretary-general); Nkobi (treasurer-general).

China offers assistance ^(11A) to the PAC

Staff Reporter

Star 25/6/91

The Chinese government has pledged assistance to the PAC, president Clarence Makwetu said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The aid was discussed during his recent visit to China, where he met Communist Party secretary-general Jiang Zemin.

He also met the head of the international department of the central committee, Zhu Hiang.

The two leaders, he said, had reiterated their firm support to the liberation struggle.

But Mr Makwetu would not elaborate on what assistance the Chinese would provide. This would be made known later.

The Chinese officials were also briefed on demands for a constituent assembly, violence in the country and the need to maintain sanctions.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC rejected the ANC proposal of a phased reduction of sanctions.

ANC conference money-spinner for Durban

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC national conference here next week promises to be a massive money-spinner for the tourism industry and Durban's economy in general.

The week-long conference will see about 3 000 delegates and international guests descending on Durban, many of whom will stay in hotels, say conference organisers. About 1 000 will be accommodated on the campus of the University of Durban-Westville.

Among foreign dignitaries expected are President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and former president Mr Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and American activist Ms An-

gela Davis will also attend.

Second tier officials from Cuba, Angola, Zimbabwe and Egypt have confirmed invitations, according to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Frank Vincent of the Durban Publicity Association said: "Considering how much the city has to offer, it came as no surprise to discover the ANC had decided to hold its conference here."

Fedhasa chairman Mr Alan Gooderson agreed, saying that any visitors to Durban were always "welcomed with open arms".

The conference will kick off at Louis Botha Airport this Sunday as a professional crew films the arrival of international guests and will end with a rally at Kings Park the following Sunday.

(11A) (205) 0725/6/91
An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday massive security precautions will be undertaken to protect the high-profile delegates and guests.

Admittance to the conference is to be strictly controlled. Personnel from the ANC's security department will be teaming up with private security firms and the police to throw a "security blanket" over proceedings.

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, only those dignitaries who requested personal security will be allotted bodyguards.

More than 300 foreign and an undisclosed number of local journalists will be questioned by an ANC accreditation committee before being issued with identification by the ANC. (11A)

ANC regions opt for talks

0725/191



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC regions, meeting to draw up nominations for leadership elections next month, have come out strongly for negotiations in spite of violence and are voting for pro-talks figures, initial voting patterns show.

Trade union leaders, other than National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and militants have not made a significant showing in the results of four nomination contests announced so far.

Umkhonto chief of staff Mr Chris Hani has not been nominated for any of the top five positions. However, militants will not be sidelined without a fight and yesterday met under the Umkhonto we Sizwe banner at a secret venue in Venda.

In the battle for the top five positions, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is a firm favourite for president, having gained the support of all four regions which have announced their results.

ANC conference pot of gold for Durban

Own Correspondent

Star 25/6/91
DURBAN — The ANC national conference in Durban next week promises to be a massive money-spinner for the city's tourism industry and the economy in general.

The week-long conference will see about 3 000 delegates and international guests descending on Durban, many of whom will stay in hotels throughout the city, say conference organisers. About 1 000 will be accommodated on the campus of the University of Durban-Westville (UDW).

Among foreign dignitaries expected are President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and American activist Angela Davis will also attend.

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Frank Vincent of the Publicity Association said: "Considering how much the city has to offer, it came as no surprise to discover the ANC had decided to hold its conference here."

Fedhasa chairman Alan Gooderson agreed, saying that any visitors to Durban were always welcomed with open arms.

"Next week is going to be a particularly good one for the tourism industry, what with this conference, the start of school holidays, the Rothmans July, and various ongoing promotions and festivals," he said.

The conference will kick off at Louis Botha Airport on Sunday as a professional film-making crew films the arrival of international guests, and will end with a rally at Kings Park Stadium the following Sunday.

Durban artist Andrew Verster has been commissioned to design interior decorations for the huge UDW sports hall, the venue for the conference from July 2 to 6, and a hi-tech sound

and lighting system will be mixed by computers and professional sound engineers.

There will be a clinic and medical centre manned by ANC doctors and specialists, and a creche to cater for children accompanying their parents.

An ANC spokesman yesterday confirmed that massive security precautions would be undertaken to protect the high-profile delegates and guests.

Admittance to the conference is to be strictly controlled, and personnel from the ANC's security department will be teaming up with private security

According to the Department of Foreign Affairs, only those dignitaries who requested personal security from the protocol section of the department would be supplied with bodyguards.

More than 300 foreign and an undisclosed number of local pressmen will be questioned by an ANC accreditation committee before being issued with identification by the ANC.

Now ANC faces Israeli setback

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The African National Congress could suffer yet another blow to its sanctions stance when the Israeli government reviews its policy on South Africa.

Israel, its embassy in Pretoria said yesterday, was favourably inclined to changing its sanctions because of the reforms.

A spokesman was reacting to a report in a Johannesburg newspaper quoting bulletins from Israel saying that at its meeting on Sunday the Israeli Cabinet accepted a proposal by Deputy Prime Minister and Trade and Industries Minister Moshe Nissim that most sanctions imposed on South Africa four years ago be lifted.

In reaction yesterday, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus criticised any lifting of sanctions.

"We think (the Israeli decision) is premature and incorrect.

"They should take note of our position and maintain sanctions. It is regrettable.

"We would have hoped they

would respect the views of the people of South Africa."

The embassy spokesman said the Israeli government had not decided yet whether or not to lift sanctions against South Africa, but was favourably inclined towards lifting them.

The ANC has suffered numerous embarrassments in the last few months, with the major one being the European Community's decision to relax sanctions only a day after the ANC had called on the international community to maintain them.

Sporting ties

Recent developments in Africa indicate that the organisation might be losing the sanctions fight on the continent.

At least one influential African country, Kenya, recently restored sporting ties with South Africa, and many more are expected to increase their above-ground contact with Pretoria.

Nigerian President and Organisation of African Unity chairman General Ibrahim Babangida is understood to be keen to establish contact with

South Africa.

With the repeal of the Population Registration Act, General Babangida called an urgent meeting of the OAU to review sanctions against Pretoria.

Asked if the rush to either lift or relax sanctions by some governments — in spite of the ANC's calls to the contrary — weakened the organisation's position, Ms Marcus said that was not the main issue.

"The issue is not whether it (the lifting of sanctions by these governments) weakens our position. The issue is whether we put a position that is correct," she said.

All the major extra-parliamentary organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and the New Unity Movement also want sanctions against South Africa maintained.

Among those in favour of the lifting of sanctions are Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and John Gogotya's Federal Independent Democratic Alliance.

11/11
28/1/91

11/11

2/11

ANC branch calls for talks

Star 25/6/91 (11A)

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the African National Congress will send a strong signal of support for the negotiation process to next month's national conference in Durban.

This was expressed at their congress at Fort Hare University, Alice, at the weekend.

The region also put forward its nominations for the top five National Executive Committee posts: for president, Nelson Mandela; deputy president, Walter Sisulu; secretary general, the Border ANC Chairman, Rev Arnold Stofile; assistant secretary general, miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa and treasurer-general, Natal ANC leader Jacob Zuma.

Representing an estimated 65 000 members, the ANC's Border region will send the largest number of delegates -- 244 -- to the July 2-6 conference.

The delegates resolved to give the leadership "a clear mandate to forge ahead with negotiations and build the ANC into a powerful political force capable of taking power at elections", said Border publicity secretary Hintsa Siwisa.

By moving into the corridors of power quickly, the ANC could

"gain access to the instruments of State power and subvert those trying to wreck the peace process", he added.

Besides the nominations for the top five NEC positions, delegates also sent a list of names to form part of the final ballot for a new and enlarged NEC.

They include well-known members of the ANC like sports negotiator Steve Tshwete, cultural head Barbara Masekela, Barbara Hogan, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela, as well as current NEC members Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Joe Modise, Aziz Pahad and Joe Slovo.

Former Rivonia trialists named include Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba while returned exiles include Max Sisulu, Albie Sachs, Jeremy Cronin, Simon Makana, Thozamile Botha and Professor Kader Asmal.

Released political prisoners whose names were put forward are Ebrahim Ebrahim, Tony Yengeni and Raymond Suttner.

Other notables nominated are Harry Gwala, Trevor Manuel, Dullar Omar, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Terror Lekota, Mohammed Valli, Popo Molefe and Blade Nzimande. — Sapa.

Border, Reef ANC nominate candidates

The Argus

Correspondent

11A

AKG 25/6/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Two powerful ANC regions, the PWV and Border, have chosen Mr Nelson Mandela as president and Mr Walter Sisulu as his deputy.

Trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has been nominated by the PWV for the key position of secretary-general while Border — the largest ANC region — put forward the name of its chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile, to replace Mr Alfred Nzo.

The PWV proposed Mr Stofile as treasurer-general, while Southern Natal chairman and ANC intelligence head Mr Jacob Zuma was nominated by Border to replace Mr Thomas Nkobi.

As deputy secretary-general, the PWV nominated former UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe while Border chose Mr Ramaphosa.

The PWV's 55 nominations — for the five prime positions and 50 national executive committee positions to be filled at the ANC's national conference in Durban in July — were finalised at the weekend.

The region would propose that the position of honorary president be created to accommodate president Mr Oliver Tambo, a man who commands huge respect in the organisation but has been forced to step down due to ill health.

'Time for ANC to retake initiative'

16/9/52
ARCMS 25/9/52
(11)

From RAMSAY MILNE
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Though apartheid is virtually gone from South Africa, the ANC is ill-prepared to take over and seems to have lost the political initiative to President De Klerk, says Time magazine in a major review of what it says "are not good days for the ANC".

Though the magazine says the ANC can regard its achievements with pride when it holds its conference in Durban next week, its first such meeting held in South Africa for 30 years, the organisation was doomed to fall short of the "absurdly high hopes" inspired by Mr Nelson Mandela's release from prison in February last year.

The influential magazine said Mr Mandela's stature had been trimmed by the recent conviction of his wife, Winnie, on kidnapping and assault charges, and President De Klerk had shown "impressive skill at out-manoeuvering Mr Mandela and maintaining control of the transition process".

The challenge for the 2 000 delegates expected to attend the Durban conference, said Time, is how to retake the political initiative.

Thanks to President De Klerk's "democratic advances," it added, South Africa's international isolation seemed ever closer to an end. Even in the US, where anti-apartheid sentiment is strong, pressure was building to end the five-year economic boycott.

In a sweeping criticism of the ANC, Time said the organisation had genuinely dismayed many South Africans "with its increasingly strident demands, its role in township violence, its muddled ideas about nationalising parts of the economy and its maddening bureaucratic sluggishness".

"Not long ago ANC leaders could be heard arguing that the government should simply hand over power. Now it is reasonable to wonder if the organisation, even with its large number of sympathisers, could win a democratic election when one is finally held," said Time.

"And if the ANC did come to power, would it be fit to govern?" it asked.

ASSUMING the ANC cares about what happens in Washington — and seeing as how it has budgeted \$100 000 a year to keep an office here one presumes it does — it might want to mull over three developments of the past week.

The administration announced that it intended to repeal the bulk of US sanctions as soon as it was satisfied that all remaining “prisoners of conscience” were free. Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi spent three unusually high profile days here and was accorded the status of major player not just by the White House but on Capitol Hill as well. A sizeable majority of the House of Representatives indicated it was troubled by the ANC’s relationship with the SACP.

Technically, all that prevents President George Bush from signing an executive order terminating the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act’s (CAAA) sanctions is the absence of an official finding that every last “prisoner of conscience” has been freed and the fact that the repeal of the Group Areas Act does not go into formal effect until June 30.

The delay is largely political. There is a growing belief in the administration that the relevant prisoners — defined as those jailed for their views but not “those who commit acts of violence for political reasons”, are either already out or will be in a matter of days. But it has been decided to keep an open mind until around July 15 so that Bush’s announcement does not interfere with the ANC’s congress. Put another way, Washington is giving the organisation one last chance to take the initiative.

There has been a certain amount of misinformation about the exact procedure for lifting the sanctions. Contrary to what House speaker Tom Foley and others suggested last week, the law does not give Congress a 30-day review period. Once the president determines that the CAAA’s five conditions have been fulfilled, those sections of the law imposing sanctions will automatically lapse, and neither the president nor Congress has the legal authority to prevent that happening.

If he wished, but he does not, Bush

ANC is powerless to stop the US lifting sanctions

SIMON BARBER in Washington *B/10am 25/6/91.*

could reimpose some or all with a decree of his own. The only option open to Congress is to enact an entirely new law. That would be laborious and whatever it produced would be subject to a presidential veto.

The CAAA bans on new investment and air links and embargoes on iron, steel, uranium, coal, textiles, and agricultural goods will all lapse, though mandatory labour practices for US companies will remain in force. The separate Rangel Amendment would also fall away since it is contingent on the same five conditions. The only slight difference is in procedure. Secretary of State James Baker must provide a written certification to the secretary of treasury. He would also be wise to pre-cook the issue with the chairmen of the Senate finance and House ways and means committees. Unlike their brethren who dabble in foreign affairs, these men, Senator Lloyd Bentsen and Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, wield real power.

Other than the arms embargo, one important sanction will remain in force, though to call it a sanction is misleading. The Gramm Amendment is generally held to bar SA from IMF facilities. It does not have to be physically repealed before SA can apply for a loan. It merely requires the senior US representative to the IMF to oppose any SA drawing unless the treasury secretary first informs certain congressional committees that the proceeds will con-

tribute to the elimination of apartheid and its various economic manifestations and, that SA has a genuine balance of payments problem that cannot be addressed through private capital markets.

This no longer amounts to what Senator Nancy Kassebaum last week called “a ban on US support for IMF loans”. That is merely a useful fic-



□ BAKER

tion for those who wish to reassure themselves, their constituents and the ANC that at least some sanctions will remain in force after those of the CAAA are discarded. When the time is ripe — which means not before the administration has persuaded Congress to replenish the US contribution to the IMF and World Bank later this year — the administration will signal Pretoria that it should feel free to start running up a balance of payments deficit.

The state and local measures discriminating against US firms that do business in SA will also survive, of course, as many still do with respect to Namibia. But even here, the administration is discussing ways to pre-empt such laws as part of a package to encourage investment.

And while we are on the subject, Senator Edward Kennedy’s threat to challenge the administration’s interpretation of the CAAA conditions in court is quite baseless, a desperate trope. No judge would hear such a case; it would be dismissed as an entirely political matter.

This, then, is the week’s first lesson for the ANC: American sanctions are about to be history and there is nothing your friends can do about it. Relying on outside pressure to support your constitutional demands is a lost cause. Lesson two is that Washington, while it may not be universally ecstatic about Buthelezi, takes him seriously and is far from sold on the idea that his partisans are the princi-

pal culprits in the violence.

The key facts of Buthelezi’s visit are that both the administration and Congress went out of their way to show him respect and that television was only too happy to present him to the public as an important figure in a story which, because the sanctions issue is reaching a denouement, is once again gaining prominence. It is also worth noting that at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Buthelezi drew an even larger crowd than MK chief Chris Hani two months ago. Regrettably, he was at his most defensive that morning and did not charm the groundlings quite as successfully.

The Senate and House foreign affairs committees, and the House intelligence committee, all Democrat-controlled, listened graciously to what he had to say. Both the president and the vice-president entertained him. Bush had all his major policy advisers — except Baker, who was out of town — sit in at their meeting on Thursday. Afterwards, he made a point of escorting Buthelezi out onto the south lawn of the White House and treating him like an old and dear friend for the cameras.

The actual talks were not, by all accounts, that substantive. Bush was not entirely sure what to say, though he did apparently mention he was still irked by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela’s position on the Gulf war. What mattered were the visuals. They were carefully orchestrated to demonstrate that the US would not countenance a two-sided negotiating table or base its policy on the claims of the “independent” Human Rights Commission.

Lastly, and with special reference to its upcoming leadership stakes, the ANC needs to pay very careful attention to the 279 congressmen — 127 of them Democrats — who voted last Thursday to deny funds to any organisation “affiliated” to or “associated” with the SACP. They shared the concern of the motion’s author, Republican Robert Walker, that the ban on aid to the SACP which the House had unanimously adopted a few moments earlier might not, by itself, cover “the whole of the Communist Party’s activity in SA”.

The horse and rider puzzle is starting to attract the scrutiny of moderates.

N TVI ANC in the spotlight

Sowetan

26/6/91

(11A)

Q: What is the membership of the ANC in the Northern Transvaal?

A: We do not have the exact figure but it is probably about 23 000.

Q: What problems confront the ANC in the region?

A: The vastness of the area and the lack of infrastructure is one. Most of the area comprises rural villages.

The SADF is also a factor. You find them in overt political activity, trying to scare people away from the ANC and declaring mini states of emergency and organising chiefs into the ranks of the alliance that De Klerk wants to form.

Q: What is your comment on allegations that participation by ordinary people in the ANC programmes has been dwindling?

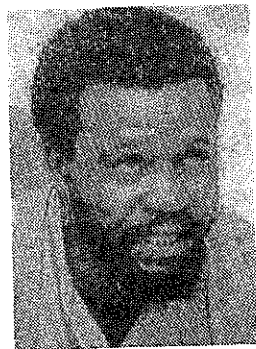
A: Most of the time people think that activity means marches, demonstrations and rallies whereas it entails much more, such as ANC meetings to discuss policy. So if we take everything into consideration, we cannot speak of dwindling interest.

But where there has been dwindling interest, this has raised the question of creativity in our style of organisation and mobilisation.

Q: What is the relationship between the ANC and Azapo and other organisations in the region?

A: We have pursued the question of relations with other organisations seriously. At our last consultative conference in the region, we had representatives from PAC, Contralesa and an apology

MR JOEL Khathutshelo Netshitenzhe (35), presently chairman of the ANC in the Northern Transvaal, is the editor of Mayibuye and a member of the powerful political/military council of the ANC. He spoke to MATHATHA TSEDU about the region and the coming conference.



NETSHITENZHE

from Azapo. We have been working together in campaigns in Potgietersrus, Pietersburg and Lebowakgomo.

Q: What is the relationship between the ANC and the civic organisations in the region?

A: We see them as independent community organisations. The ANC has always encouraged their formation.

Q: What is your comment on allegations that civics manned by ANC members are becoming power blocs to oppose the ANC?

A: That is not accurate. The programmes and day-to-day activities of the ANC as a liberation movement and the civics as community organisations will be slightly different. There have never been fundamental differences and there has always been consultation.

Take the Lebowakgomo example. The local structure of the civic movement wanted to voice their demands about the bantustan and central

government. The bantustan administration was quite sensitive to that demonstration.

We had to go into a discussion with the civics and try and show that one had to be cancelled for the good of the other. It was not a serious question of contradiction.

Q: What are the regional expectations of the conference in Durban?

A: The regional consultative conference two weeks ago felt that the conference needs to address the State's use of violence and propaganda to weaken the ANC as we experience it in our region. Not only will the conference have to come out with counter-measures but also a programme that ensures that day-to-day programmes build the broadest possible front of our people to undermine the efforts of the State.

The continued existence of bantustan governments is also to be raised at the conference.

Q: Is the region taking any motion to congress about the suspension of the armed struggle?

A: All these issues will be raised but there is agreement that these should not be made public now.

Q: What about rumours that the ANC is going to withdraw from negotiations? What is conference's likely outcome on the issue?

A: What the ANC has faced so far is a trail of

betrayal by the Government. So steps the leadership has taken - that negotiations on constitutional questions and the all-party conference cannot go on before the obstacles are removed - are appropriate.

If you go into negotiations with some of your leading exiles being refused entry into the country, where some of your leading prisoners are still in jail, you go there not as a complete organisation that has consulted fully. It is not possible to have real negotiations as equals under present conditions.

But the suspension of the negotiations alone would not be sufficient. In addition we need some kind of action to back up our demands.

Q: Could this action include the resumption of the armed struggle?

A: Presently, the major task facing the ANC is to strengthen itself. It also needs to ensure the people's self-defence and to undertake that you do not need to call a Press conference to announce you are resuming the armed struggle.

Q: Is there a problem between indemnity and amnesty and which one is the ANC demanding?

A: The ANC is demanding amnesty. The regime wants to give indemnity piecemeal. This has become a problem, especially for those who would be going to Bophutatswana and such places.

Q: What is the likely line-up of the new leadership after the conference in July?

A: It is our belief there will emerge a leadership that reflects the broad membership and society.

Azanyu rejects talks ^(11A) with ^{Soweto} settlers

By SONTI MASEKO
A CONGRESS of the
Azanian National
Youth Unity has re-
jected a call for a con-
stituent assembly, a
position officially
adopted by the PAC
last year.

The group, which de-
scribes itself as the revo-
lutionary watchdog of the
movement, called, at its
third congress in Soweto
at the weekend, instead
for armed revolution for
the return of the land.

Speakers who
delivered their addresses
amid shouts of "One
traitor, One bullet"
criticised the leaders
of the movement. They
said acceptance of a con-
stituent assembly was
tantamount to capitulation
and surrender.

Delegates were later
requested to refrain from
singling out individuals
within the movement.

Hinting at divisions
within the movement,
organisers said there had
been attempts from the
pro-constituent assembly
group in the organisation
to prevent the congress
from going ahead by dis-
seminating information
that it had been called off.

Sowetan was told that
the congress was at Ham-
manskraal near Pretoria
and not in Soweto.

Azanyu received sup-
port from the African
Women's Organisation
(AWO), president, Mrs
Neo Chepape, who said
the youth was sticking to
the original teachings of
the PAC - that settlers
were the enemy - unlike
today's leaders who were
now saying that the
settlers had become rea-
sonable.

"We have always said
the land is the core of our
struggle but through the
CA there will be negotiat-
ing with the oppressors
and the Boerevolk and
there is no way we can
repossess the land," she
said.

Her speech was met
with shouts of "Train a
Woman, Train A Nation,
Liberate Azania".

However, during the
proceedings and before
the keynote address,
women from AWO were
requested to leave the hall
and meet in the kitchen to
prepare food for the
delegates who were about
to break off for lunch.

PAC stalwart and for-
mer Robben Island
prisoner, Malungisa
Siyothula, said the ques-
tion to be asked was
whether Africans had
received their land and if
not, then "we still fight
for our land. No clever
talk."

Pan Africanist Student
Organisation's speaker,
Thabiso Manne, said the
CA was a sellout position
which historically had
been proved to be a dis-
aster.

Rapport at ANC and Azapo talks

11A

Sowetan 26/6/91

AZAPO and the ANC have reached "a remarkable degree of consensus" on all issues discussed at a meeting this week.

Our sister newspaper, *The Star*, has been told that the meeting at Khotso House - offices of the South African Council of Churches - in Johannesburg discussed issues ranging from sanctions and the cultural boycott against South Africa to

joint mass action and demands for a constituent assembly.

Attending the meeting were members of Azapo's central committee, led by the organisation's president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and ANC national executive committee members led by the organisation's internal chairman, Mr Walter Sisulu.

Azapo projects coordinator and acting

publicity secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa yesterday said "a remarkable degree of consensus" had been reached "on all issues discussed".

These included Azapo's proposed consultative conference of liberation movements, violence, demands for a constituent assembly and joint mass action.

Mabasa said the two delegations agreed in principle to establish a liaison committee which would "explore in detail" areas of common interest and issues such as a multiparty conference, the sports and cultural boycott, sanctions, the release of detainees and political prisoners and the return of exiles.

In another development, Azapo has welcomed the success of Saturday's peace meeting.

The church-convened summit, attended by all the main political organisations and parties except for the rightwing, ended with participants expressing optimism that it could lead to an end to violence.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was "not simplistic" to believe that those who benefited from the violence would now forego it.

Saturday's peace meeting, however, was the beginning of a process which could ultimately bring the perpetrators of violence to book.

He said Azapo had refused to serve on a new committee which included the Government "because Azapo knows that the primary perpetrator of violence is the regime". - *Political Staff*.

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Staff

WITH less than a week to go before the ANC's historic national conference in Durban, the battle-lines are drawn between the young Turks and the old guard for positions on the movement's powerful national executive.

Those elected to the 87-member committee next Tuesday, in effect, form the ANC's shadow cabinet, charged with the enormous task of guiding the movement's course through negotiations with the government for a new constitution.

If nominations from the regions are any indication of the outcome, the executive will have a much younger look about it with two-thirds of the incumbents losing their seats to former Mass Democratic Movement leaders.

So far the Western Cape has not shown its hand officially in the scramble for positions on the executive.

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape Aspokeyman, declined to comment today.

But a top ANC source said the regional executive would meet tomorrow to discuss nominations from 93 Western Cape branches.

Favourite

"We have not decided on our nominations yet."

Deputy ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is the hands-on favourite to replace the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo, who it is understood has said he wants to step down as president.

His Rivonia co-accused Mr Walter Sisulu is certain to get a sentimental nomination for the second most-powerful position, deputy president, and is likely to face Umkhonto We Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani in a ballot.

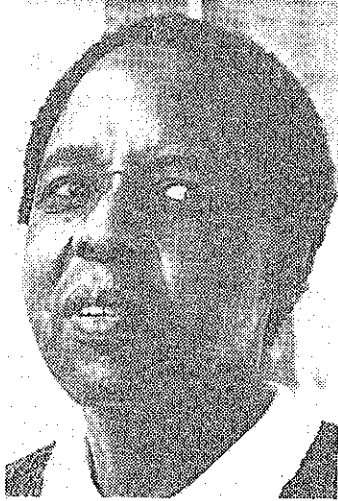
"I want elderly people on the executive to apply discipline and bring together our forces. The elderly are not involved with any factions.

"We are at a delicate stage of negotiations and need experienced people on the executive. The regions have to consider this seriously," the source said.

ANC Youth and Women's League sources said their organisations would meet before the start of the conference to decide on their nominations.

Under pressure

Stalwart secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, his deputy Mr Henry Makgothi and treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi are under pressure from National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe and the Rev Arnold Stofile respectively.



Mr Chris Hani ... deputy president contender.

11A

High profile MDM leader Dr Allan Boesak is not in the running because he is not yet a member of ANC. But sources said the new executive might well decide to co-opt him for his influence internationally and in the Western Cape community.

Only 50 positions on the executive are open for election — 28 have already been filled by regional chairmen and secretaries. The Youth League and Women's Movement have two seats each and the other five will be filled automatically by the new president, his deputy, the secretary general, his deputy and the treasurer.

Youngs' Turks set to test ANC old guard

11A
CT 26/6/91

Oh, for a quiet, boring country

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South
20/6 - 26/6/91.

SO, APARTHEID is dead. Long live apartheid. I am not ashamed to say that I felt a trifle nostalgic this week when the houses of parliament came together to edge themselves closer to joblessness.

Apartheid has left me with such a strange store of memories that it would be hypocritical to say its in-terment leaves me cold. The fright-ening part is that we now have little legal reason for being too awful to each other.

On of my clearest childhood memories is of going to Central Primary School in Diep River and being unspeakably horrible to the children of the white primary school opposite.

I don't remember what the other school was called but I do remem-ber looking forward to Mau-Mauing the children on Steurhof station in the afternoons. Our side of the sta-tion was always more crowded than theirs, so they were very reluctant to retaliate.

There was an afternoon in 1961 when we should probably all have been charged with public violence. It was the time of the birth of the Republic at the end of May that year and we were all offered funny little flags and medallions to celebrate the occasion.

I was in Standard One and for days beforehand the older children at our school had gone around telling us that we would be traitors to take

these treacherous trinkets.

Some of the younger children were forgiven for being beguiled by the medals. Very few children were foolish enough to take flags. I felt an exaggerated sense of being re-ally grown up because I knew ex-actly why I was not waving the flag or wearing the medal: We had to get rid of apartheid and this was one way of doing it.

We burst out of the school gates at the end of the day at exactly the same time as the children from the white school opposite. It was pan-demonium. We stomped on their flags, ripped their medals from their blazer lapels and set about beating them one more time. We were not being hooligans. We were engaged in a noble struggle.

I cannot pretend that I had a bad conscience after any of these en-counters. My overriding emotion was a fierce, self-righteous indig-nation, fuelled by the racist insults they threw our way from time to time.

But all that was a long time ago. What worries me now is finding the correct post-apartheid manners. With apartheid gone, what will we do to get rid of boring whites at cocktail parties? A dash of apart-heid suffering, dished out rudely, was usually enough to send them scuttling.

Seriously though, the truth is that deep down I find it difficult to ab-sorb this slow demise of a system.

As a child I imagined that getting rid of apartheid would be a momen-tous occasion with a big celebra-tion, perhaps on the Grand Parade. We would all sing, shake hands and wave the right flags.

Drastic social change needs a defi-nite ritual to help people absorb that a new order has arrived, or is around the corner anyway. But it is only on reflection, and sometimes long af-ter the fact, that one can put these things into perspective.

For instance, on the day Nelson Mandela was finally released I felt quite numb. I had imagined joy and dancing in the streets. Instead there were the boring hours of waiting in the hot sun, followed by the mad rush to Cape Town — with crazy accidents on the freeway — and the chaotic gathering on the Grand Pa-rade. At the end of the day I felt tired, nothing else.

THE FOLLOWING morning when he gave a press conference in Archbishop Desmond Tutu's garden, I began to absorb the implications of it all. Days later, when crowds rocked Jo-hannesburg's Soccer City for the homecoming rally, it was as if we had all suddenly woken up to the major significance of the period we were entering.

I know it is absurd to admire De Klerk too much. Apartheid was a crime against humanity after all, and reformed criminals are just that,

no more. They are not heroes. It is just that De Klerk and his bunch with their new image — even if it is a poor person's Saatchi & Saatchi — do not have to try too hard to look good these days.

Apartheid had a brutal predict-ability.

We knew clearly, from the time we were children, what our roles were. We fought on so many levels because we wanted to be in control of our lives.

One day when victory was ours, or so the rhetoric assured us, our brave leaders would make this a country of which we could all be proud. When whites questioned our abili-ties, we gave the pat reply that **ANYTHING** was better than apartheid.

Why is it then that I am not over-joyed by recent developments?

Why does it matter so little that we do not have to be "other coloured", "other Asians", Chinese, Griqua and so on anymore?

Why is it not exciting that techni-cally I can live in any place that the newspaper property sections adver-tise?

Instead of all round joy and glad-ness I feel, for the first time in my life, that I would like to go and live in a quiet, boring country and watch the rest of South Africa's woes on television.

(Our regular weekly columnist is on holiday. Against The Grain returns in mid-July.)

ANC's PWV region names its top five

THE ANC'S PWV region has voted for an evenly balanced group of leaders, confirming trends towards a negotiation-oriented leadership.

The region, the largest of the ANC's 14, last night announced its nominations for the top five positions.

As with every other region that has announced its nominations so far, the PWV region nominated Nelson Mandela for president. A spokesman for the region said internal leader Walter Sisulu had been nominated for deputy president, gaining the support of three of the six regions that have announced their results so far.

The region nominated NUM secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general, former UDF leader Popo Molefe as assistant secretary-general and Border region president Rev Arnold Stofile as treasurer-general.

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TIM COHEN (11A)

Sapa reports that the Natal Midlands region nominated its militant leader Harry Gwala as deputy president. A source said Ramaphosa had been nominated as secretary-general, while Stofile was nominated as treasurer-general and Barbara Hogan as assistant secretary-general.

Northern Natal ANC sources refused to disclose their nominations.

Our Durban correspondent reports that ANC regional treasurer Mike Sutcliffe said yesterday the total bill for next week's national conference would be about R2,5m. Accommodation and catering would cost R1,25m.

A further 15% of the total would cover the daily cost of transport from accommodation to the conference, and included the cost of transporting

foreign delegates to areas of interest around Durban.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that foreign dignitaries attending the conference will include representatives from the PLO and 38 countries including Libya, Iraq, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The ANC has said all visitors would be responsible for their own transport and accommodation arrangements and costs.

Among the foreign observers will be Brian Clark of the Australian Firemen and Deckhands' Union; Swaziland police superintendant Andrew Ndlovu; Morton Brynskov of the Danish National Union of Pre-School Teachers; Zambian travel agency director Gwendoline Konia; and UK-based International Defence and Aid Organisation director Horst Kleinschmidt.

JONATHON REES

(111) PAC youth wing in
armed action call

THE PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has rejected negotiations and a constituent assembly and adopted "one settler, one bullet" as official policy. *by [unclear] 2/6/91*

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said yesterday the resolutions were obviously inconsistent with a clear PAC commitment to political solutions within a constituent assembly.

Delegates to Azanyu's third national conference, held in Soweto at the weekend, decided negotiations were an imperialist strategy, the organisation said yesterday.

A constituent assembly was a ploy to maintain capitalism and colonialism.

The conference decided a patriotic front was not founded on required revolutionary principles, and condemned the OAU for its "betrayal of the Pan-Africanist mandate".

Azanyu said armed action should be the principal form of struggle. It should be intensified, along with international sanctions and the cultural boycott, in the "struggle to repossess the land and establish a socialist order".

PAC urges UN to ^(11A) rescind ^(11A) decision

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called on the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid to rescind its decision to send a delegation to the ANC conference next month. *Sunday 26/1/91*

In a statement issued by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander on Monday, he said the SCA decision to attend the ANC conference was opposed by both the PAC and Zimbabwe delegations.

The statement said the SAC's decision was contrary to UN General Assembly resolutions.

"We contend that the SAC could show its solidarity with the ANC and the liberation movements generally. If a message of support was sent, the UN must not ignore the fact of the absence of our basic right to universal adult suffrage which means that apartheid is far from dead in this country", Alexander said.

Sapa

ANC in bid to reverse sexism

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — In an attempt to establish equality between the sexes, the ANC has decided that 30% of the national executive committee to be elected next week will be women.

This was confirmed yesterday by the deputy chairman of the Southern Natal region of the ANC Women's League, Dr Manto Tshabalala.

It was an indication of the seriousness with which the ANC regarded the issue of equality, she said.

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Local ANC mum on NEC

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CT26/691

Staff Reporter

THE Western Cape Regional Executive Committee of the ANC, unlike other regions, has chosen not to make public its list of preferred candidates for positions on the organisation's National Executive Committee.

A new, much-expanded NEC is expected to be elected at the ANC's annual conference in Durban from July 3 to July 7.

Western Cape ANC publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel explained yesterday that he had not been mandated to release a list of the nominated candidates. "Besides that, we have a difficulty with this (the media's) focus on personalities," he said. "We are focusing instead on how the team is put together.

"It will be responsible for building and deepening the organisation, so we want it to be able to address a much wider constituency."

It is understood from other sources that the proposal for a restructured NEC likely to be adopted at the Durban conference is for the top five positions and a further 50 to be elected at conference, largely from nominations at branch and regional level.

The ANC Women's League and Youth League chairpeople and deputy

chairpeople will also automatically be on the NEC, along with the chairpeople and secretaries of each of the 14 regions.

This means that the Western Cape ANC chairman, Mr Christmas Tinto, and secretary, Mr Amos Lengisi, are both virtually assured of getting on to the expanded NEC.

Each ANC branch can put forward a mandate for as many of the "50 plus five" positions as it wishes. Each region then draws up its own consolidated list of these.

To get on to the national ballot list, a candidate has to be nominated by at least two regions, or else have the backing of at least 100 delegates at the conference.

Regional nominations for the top five positions:
Border: Nelson Mandela, president; internal leader Walter Sisulu, deputy president; Border region chairman Arnold Stofile, secretary-general; Cyril Ramaphosa, assistant secretary-general; intelligence head Jacob Zuma, treasurer-general.

Southern Free State: Mandela, president; Thabo Mbeki, deputy president; Alfred Nzo, secretary-general; former UDF leader Popo Molefe, assistant secretary-general; Thomas Nkobi to retain treasurer-general position.

Southern Natal: Mandela, president; Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, deputy president; Zuma, secretary-general; Molefe, assistant secretary-general; London ANC representative Mendi Msimang, treasurer-general.

Eastern Transvaal: Mandela, president; Sisulu, deputy president; Zuma, secretary-general; Nzo, assistant secretary-general; Nkobi, treasurer-general.

Azapo, ANC in committee

JOHANNESBURG. — A Liaison Committee is to be established between Azapo and the ANC following a joint meeting between the two organisations here on Monday night. Cf 26/6/91

Led by Azapo Central Committee president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe and the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu, it will explore "areas of common agreement". — Sapa

Battle for ANC posts hots up

(11A)

CT 26/6/9
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC'S PWV region, the organisation's largest, has voted for an evenly balanced group of leaders, confirming trends towards a negotiation-oriented leadership.

As with every other region that has announced its nominations so far, the PWV region nominated Mr Nelson Mandela as president.

A spokesman for the region said internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu had been nominated as deputy president.

Unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has been nominated as secretary-general.

The region nominated former UDF leader Mr Popo Molefe for the post of assistant secretary-general and Border regional president the Rev Arnold Stofile for treasurer-general.

● Local ANC mum on
NEC — Page 5

Consensus at ANC-Azapo talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 2/6/91

Azapo and the ANC reached "a remarkable degree of consensus" on all issues discussed at their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday afternoon, The Star has been told.

A wide variety of issues, ranging from sanctions and the cultural boycott to joint "mass action" and demands for a constituent assembly, were discussed at the meeting.

Attending the meeting were members of Azapo's central committee, led by president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, and ANC national executive committee members, led by internal chairman Walter Sisulu.

Azapo projects co-ordinator and acting publicity secretary Lybon Mabasa said a remarkable degree of consensus had been reached on all issues discussed. These included Azapo's

proposed consultative conference of liberation movements, violence, demands for a constituent assembly, and joint mass action.

Mr Mabasa said the two delegations agreed in principle to establish a liaison committee which would explore in detail areas of common interest and issues such as a multiparty conference, the sports and cultural boycott, sanctions, the release of detainees and political prisoners as well as the return of exiles.

In another development, Azapo has welcomed the success of Saturday's church-convened peace meeting, saying it believed the meeting was "of paramount importance to restore peace within our communities".

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Nefolovhodwe said Azapo's central committee had decided at its

(11A) weekend meeting to welcome the peace summit's success.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was "not simplistic" to believe that those who benefited from the violence would now forego it. Saturday's peace meeting, however, was the beginning of a process which could ultimately bring the perpetrators of violence to book.

He said Azapo had refused to serve in a committee set up at the end of the meeting, and including the Government, "because Azapo knows that the primary perpetrator of violence is the regime".

Azapo's weekend central committee meeting also:

- Condemned Kenya's restoration of sporting links with SA.
- Reaffirmed its commitment to the maintenance of sanctions and all pressures against SA.
- Decided to rally world bodies to maintain sanctions against Pretoria.

ANC 'old guard' face the boot

By Patrick Laurence

Star 26/6/91

Two-thirds of the present ANC national executive members will lose their seats at the organisation's conference next week, judging by nominations submitted so far.

Their places will be taken mainly by younger people who occupied leadership positions in the Mass Democratic Movement.

The ousting of a majority of the "old guard" in favour of the younger men and women emerges as a clear pattern in the nominations

proposed by five regions.

But the change in faces will not reduce the numerical strength of the South African Communist Party in the executive; it may even boost SACP numbers there.

Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, heads the list of nominees from two of the five regions: western Cape and southern Natal.

Ronnie Kasrils, another key SACP leader, has all-round popularity, possibly in part because he was a fugitive from the police after the SAP crackdown on Operation Vula nearly a year ago.

(11A)

Excluded from this forecast is the third big region, the PWV. But PWV nominations for the top positions — released last night — confirm the forecast.

Predictably, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are nominated as president and deputy president. Younger men are nominated for the next three senior positions: Cyril Ramaphosa for secretary-general, Popo Molefe for his deputy and Arnold Stofile for treasurer-general.

● More reports —
Pages 6 and 24.

Splinter group adopts 'one settler, one bullet' as policy

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 26/1/91
11A

A splinter group of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) has formally adopted Marxism-Leninism and Maoism as its "guiding philosophy of socialist revolution" and the controversial slogan "one settler, one bullet" as "the official guiding policy of Azanyu in its revolutionary struggle".

At its national congress held at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto at the weekend, the Azanyu splinter group passed numerous resolutions opposed to PAC policies, and officially adopted the "one settler, one bullet" slogan.

Azanyu, the youth wing of the PAC, has been plagued by internecine strife since the beginning of the year when the organisation held its national congress at Cala in Transkei.

That congress, dismissed as unconstitutional by those who organised the Soweto congress, affirmed all resolutions passed at the PAC's national congress in Johannesburg in December.

It also voted to expel from the organisation four executive committee members who were accused of being "agents of the system".

The four, who were elected into a new executive committee

at the Soweto congress, did not attend the Cala congress.

The weekend congress was attended by 800 delegates representing 100 branches, according to a press statement issued yesterday.

The two Azanyus have so far operated side by side with each other, much to the chagrin of PAC leaders, and the newly elected Azanyu executive committee is expected to function parallel to the Cala leadership.

Eyes of the world on Durban conference

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Almost 200 invited guests to the ANC's national conference in Durban next week will focus worldwide attention on the event, which is one of the most significant political conferences in this country's history.

The ANC yesterday released the names of 195 foreign guests who would attend the organisation's 48th national conference, the first on South African soil in three decades.

Most of the guests are little known in South Africa.

Among the more familiar names are Namibia's Mines and Energy Minister Andimba Toivo ya Toivo; Australian MP Colin Hollis; British House of Lords members Lord and Lady Harch of Lusby; and Rocky Malebane-Metsing, Bophuthatswana's former opposition leader, who led the abortive coup in 1988.

Also on the list is Pauline Baker of the US's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

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Governments which will be represented include Sweden, India, Libya, Iraq, Ghana, Hungary, Cuba, Nigeria, Czechoslovakia, Zambia, Namibia, Norway, Yugoslavia, Swaziland and Belgium. Many of these governments — loyal supporters of the ANC — have assigned their ambassadors in Harare, Windhoek or Pretoria to attend.

The PLO will be represented by the organisation's ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ali Hilimeh, and its adviser on African affairs, Salman el Herfi.

**Money struggle
continues — Page 24**

Other countries to be represented include Canada, Denmark, Holland, the US, Italy, France, Japan, Portugal, Spain, Tanzania, Mauritius, New Zealand and Malaysia.

Organisations to attend the congress include Oxfam, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the US-based Mandela Freedom Fund, the World Federation of Trade Unions, Anti-Apartheid Movement representatives from several countries, trade unionists, journalists and church leaders.

Two members of the European Parliament, Barbara Simons of Germany and Terry Wynn of Belgium, will attend.

Australian delegates will include two members of the ANC sports committee, James Singleton and David Singleton.

Political parties to be represented include Germany's Free Democratic Party and Britain's Labour Party.

The ANC stressed that the dignitaries would pay for their own transport and accommodation.

Sapa reports that the ANC is approaching its conference in the belief that it will be the next government.

A member of the Natal Preparatory Committee (NPC), S'bu Ndeble, said: "We view the conference as being the conference that precedes the ANC being the next government. The issues it promotes are the issues it will follow as a government."

His comments were echoed by another NPC member, Dr Manto Tshabalala, who said: "We're serious about being the next government. We're hoping to come out with a clear programme of action to lead to majority rule," she said.

Heads expected to roll at ANC congress

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Sowetan 27/6/91
By MATHATHA
TSEDU

NEXT week's African National Congress annual congress in Durban is likely to result in major and even "painful leadership changes", reliable sources said this week.

While no names were mentioned, the sources said the major problem was the issue of the returned exiles, most of whom were virtually unknown to most internal members.

The sources said with most of the returnees having kept the jobs they had within the organisation in

exile, they had alienated themselves from the locals who have, in most cases, been sidelined into obscurity.

Others are not taking kindly their association with the "old guard" who are accused of autocratic tendencies.

The sources said younger leaders, both from inside and outside, were expected to dominate the national executive committee.

The sources said there was no doubt that president Oliver Tambo would step down and be replaced by deputy president Nelson Mandela. "Some of the changes are going to be painful and difficult to accept but there is just no alternative," one source said.

Tipped

Of those tipped to be on the way out are general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo and treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise, who has gone into obscurity since returning to the country last year, is also said to be on the way out.

Those whose elections are secured are Mr Chris Hani and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The international sanctions campaign, a cornerstone of the ANC's attempts to isolate apartheid South Africa, is one of the thorniest issues presently facing the organisation. The battle is on between grassroots militants and those who argue for pragmatism. **CHIARA CARTER** reports:

ONGOING changes in the local political scenario have led the international community to review their stand on sanctions, while at home, two of the Congress of South African Trade Union's (Cosatu) most influential affiliates, the National Union of Mine-workers and the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, have called for a review of the movement's position on sanctions.

However, there is a strong possibility that the ANC's national conference will fudge the issue, not least because of the strong emotive connotations of the sanctions campaign.

At the organisation's consultative conference last December, rank and file militancy and disillusionment with leadership translated into a resounding "no" to moves by the chief of the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, to redraft sanctions policy on more pragmatic lines.

Signs are that the July conference will be marked by similar militancy and it is unlikely that the ANC leadership will want to risk pushing views that could be interpreted as too moderate.

Behind the scenes, however, the ANC leadership appears to favour a pragmatic approach which calls for a phased lifting of sanctions, linking

Militants and pragmatists square up over sanctions

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THABO MBEKI: ANC's Department of International Affairs chief

concessions to real change within the country. This was apparently the import of a confidential document presented by the ANC to the summit of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) earlier this year.

The document, reportedly a revised version of Mbeki's discussion paper tabled at the December conference, argued that this was the only way the

ANC could maintain a strategic initiative internationally. It proposes three stages for lifting sanctions.

First to go would be restrictions on visas, tourism, sport and cultural links. This would be linked to the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, the repeal of repressive laws and an end to the violence in the Witwatersrand and Natal.

The second phase, the lifting of economic sanctions, would be linked to the installation of an interim government.

The last curbs to go would be the embargoes on arms and oil, which the paper argues should be revoked only after the installation of a democratic government.

South African Airways (SAA) is gaining landing rights in some African countries, and the promise of a return to international sports is an immense psychological boost to many, but South Africa remains isolated to a large degree, particularly where it counts — economically.

While governments throughout the world have indicated that they want to review measures against South Africa, most are moving cautiously.

A spokesperson for the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Mr Yusuf Saloojee, points out that the government's chief motivation in pushing for sanctions to be lifted is to get the economy moving.

Strategy

Yet, since the European Community lifted the ban on foreign investment there has been no new investment in South Africa.

The ANC's phased strategy is likely to form the basis of policy for both the OAU and the Commonwealth, despite pressure from moderate member states to move more quickly to ease the pressure on Pretoria.

The first movement from the Commonwealth could come at the meeting of its Committee on SA next month in New Delhi, while the OAU has already mandated its chairperson to examine a possible review of sanctions policy.

At the conclusion of its summit earlier this year, the organisation issued its Abuja Declaration, listing

sanctions for a review of sanctions. However, a breakaway group of African states, including Kenya and Madagascar, said they would move immediately to restore trade and transport ties with South Africa.

Already South Africa's backdoor trade with black Africa is worth about R10 billion a year.

The European Economic Community, which last year lifted the ban on new investment in South Africa, this year lifted its boycott on South African steel, coal and gold coins.

However, the Danish parliament has effectively vetoed this move by the EEC.

Should European countries go ahead with normalising trade, South Africa's steel and coal industries in particular stand to gain substantially.

SA coal export to France, for example, could increase tenfold.

Another country which has indicated interest in South African raw materials is Japan.

Requirements

United States policy, which has remained intact so far, could also be up for review next month.

Once the requirements of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 are met, there is little to keep the US from lifting sanctions.

However, analysts believe that the Bush administration, which faces presidential elections in less than two years, will not be keen to upset the ANC and leave itself open to accusations of being "soft on racism".

In the face of rumblings from the congressional black caucus, the White House is likely to opt for a position that suspends or modifies some sanctions while retaining others as a means to pressurise Pretoria into accepting an interim government and constituent assembly.

Whatever the position adopted by delegates at next week's conference, it is clear that sanctions are crumbling.

However, the pace of the change could be dictated by the ANC and its allies, provided they are able to be pragmatic.

COUNTDOWN TO CONFERENCE

Back to the future after 33 years

In less than a week, the ANC will hold its first legal conference inside the country in more than three decades. **MONO BADELA** looks at what can be expected.

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SIMON MAKANA: ANC's former chief representative in the Soviet Union
PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

IT IS back to the future for the ANC as the organisation gears up for its first legal conference inside South Africa in 33 years.

The conference starts on Tuesday in Durban, the venue for the last conference in 1958 at which the late Albert Luthuli became president. It will end with a report-back rally at Kings Park stadium next Sunday.

Mr Simon Makana, the convenor of the National Preparatory Committee (NPC) for the conference, said the congress was expected to give a mandate to the ANC's negotiating team and determine the policies to be pursued by a future ANC-led administration.

Makana said it would be a working conference which would map out short and medium-term policy for the organisation.

A veteran politician, Makana has been a member of the ANC's NEC since 1975 and spent three years in Moscow as the ANC's chief repre-

sentative in the Soviet Union.

He said the conference faced an immense task, however thorough preparation by regions had been.

"A lot of ground is to be covered but the regions have already addressed issues like strategy and tactics," Makana said.

Frantic final preparations for the conference are being done from the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg.

According to Makana, preparations are being coordinated by a small core of officials together with representatives from various ANC departments.

Regional preparatory committees are smoothing the way in the regions into which the organisation's 500 000 members are divided.

High-powered delegations from around the globe are expected to converge on Durban for the six-day conference.

A special credential committee is working out a guest list.

Makana said negotiations and sanctions would feature prominently in the conference's deliberations.

It would also discuss guidelines for a post-apartheid constitution, including a proposed Bill of Rights.

The conference would also adopt a new constitution for the ANC.

Another key issue would be the question of violence.

"The conference will discuss the killings, the root of the violence, the perpetrators and the strategy behind the violence. It will seek a solution," said Makana.

Also up for debate would be concerns such as the economy, health and the land issue.

A burning issue would be the question of education.

The conference would also discuss the reorganisation of the ANC and rebuilding the organisation as well as the future of its armed wing.

On Friday the conference would elect a new leadership.

Sweep of the ANC's 'old guard'

11A
South
27/6-3/7/91

IF nominations are anything to go by, sweeping changes can be expected in the ANC's leadership at the movement's historic 48th national conference in Durban next week.

Although deputy-president Nelson Mandela and internal leader Walter Sisulu are almost certain to take the two top positions of president and deputy-president respectively, most of the faces on the ANC's 90-person NEC will be new.

The ANC's "old guard" which has led the movement for the past 30 years, will most likely be replaced by a new generation.

Strongly tipped for the powerful position of secretary-general is the charismatic leader of the powerful and militant National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Speculation and nominations for this post have provoked acrimony and



Arnold Stofile

disapproval, specially among the "old guard", it was reliably learnt this week.

The other top posts which could go to the members of the MDM (internal) leadership are deputy secretary-gen-



Cyril Ramaphosa

eral and treasurer-general.

The 25-persons National Working Committee could be dominated by new faces.

Among the current ANC NEC

members likely to be re-elected are Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Jacob Zuma, Chris Hani, Steve Tshwete, Pallo Jordan, Ruth Mompati and Gertrude Shope, Joe Modise, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad, John Nkandimeng, Joe Nhlanhla and Stanley Mabizela.

Possible new members include Ahmed Kathrada, Ramaphosa, Popo Molefe, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Harry Gwala, Raymond Suttner, Raymond Mhlaba, Sydney Mufamadi, Wilton Mkwayi, Arnold Stofile and Albertina Sisulu.

The PWV region this week nominated Mandela, Sisulu, Ramaphosa, Molefe and Stofile for the five top positions.

The PWV region will recommend to the conference that Oliver Tambo be elected honorary president.

● See page 25

ANC guards 'Pro' Jack's family

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BEREAVED: The family of 'Pro' Jack was this week still mystified about the killing. They are (from left), his sister Buyiswa, with her child Aluta, his mother Mrs Violet Jack holding his four-year-old daughter Sihle. His nephew Andile, (back) was injured and was witness to the shooting

THE ANC has implemented strict security measures to safeguard the family of murdered ANC activist Mziwonke "Pro" Jack.

Jack, 33, was shot dead last week by four men wearing balaclavas and overcoats about 200 metres from his home on the border of Nyanga and Crossroads. A witness to the shooting, Jack's 16-year-old nephew Andile, said the men called his uncle's name before shots rang out.

According to police, an R4 rifle was used in the attack. About 15 bullet

shells were found in the area and 11 "entry points" were found on Jack's body. Police have offered a R5 000 reward for information in connection with the shooting, but no arrests have been made. In 1988 shots were fired at Jack's home but no one was injured. In 1989 shots were fired at his car.

A funeral service for the slain activist will take place on Saturday morning at the Nyanga rugby stadium.

According to the ANC, the assassination is the latest in a spate of killings of mid-level Umkhonto we Sizwe

(MK) cadres around the country.

Jackie Matjili, the MK secretary in Thokoza, was shot dead on May 1. MK cadres Tumi Padi and Nokuzola Ncalo were shot dead in the middle of May. Mhleli Mgwayi was stabbed to death in East London. Phaniel Molavdzi, a SACP branch secretary and ANC youth organiser, was shot dead earlier this month in Soweto. Also unsolved is the assassination in February this year of ANC branch secretary and human rights lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, who was killed by a bomb planted in a cassette player.

THE Democratic Party goes into the parliamentary recess today with its MPs unsure whether the party will survive the bruising months that lie ahead.

Divisions in the party — which is being pulled in three directions — have become clearer in recent weeks over the proposal of Constantia MP Roger Hulley that the DP form a working alliance with the National Party.

Hulley's proposal, which was defeated in the caucus, came within weeks of the DP formulating a new strategy of "convergence" in the country's politics, aimed at acting as catalysts for a broad-based post-apartheid grand coalition including both the Nats and the ANC.

President FW de Klerk, who has already invaded the support base of the DP, has set out to actively woo DP members in what appears to be a bid to put together a conservative alliance of "system" politicians to oppose the African National Congress and its allies.

Among those MPs who supported Hulley in the caucus were Ken Andrew, Denis Worrall, Errol Moorcraft, Mike Tarr, Tony Leon and Leon Fuchs. Their position, not unlike that of the verligte Nats of a decade ago, is that they can achieve more as liberals within the National Party than outside. To complicate matters, some of the Natal MPs in this group are close to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

However, a separate lobby inside the party believes it would be unwise for the DP to get on one side of a system versus struggle divide that would amount to a ganging up by whites and conservative blacks against the black majority.

Dithering DP in a dilemma over direction

w/m ail 21/6-27/6/91

For the moment, the ANC-leaning caucus within the DP — a group of about 11 MPs which includes Pierre Cronje, Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, Dave Dalling and Peter Gastrow — is on the side of Zach de Beer in their bid for a grand coalition.

However, in the long run, and depending on the outcome of the July congress and the ANC's attitude towards parliamentarians in its ranks, this group could gravitate towards the ANC.

In the meantime, said one member of the group this week, they would stay within the DP to keep democratic whites out of the National Party.

Party leader Zach de Beer concedes that there is very little policy difference between the DP and the NP. "The government has taken over the whole of our policy," he told *The Weekly Mail*. "Our strong position in favour of federalism is the only major policy issue where DP and Nats are still apart."

The only major policy difference with the ANC, on the other hand, was over economic policies. "They still talk a great deal about redistribution where the DP stands for German-

The Democratic Party is being pulled three ways — and faces a very uncertain future.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

styled social market economy. For the rest we, like them, support human rights, multiparty democracy and proportional representation."

However, De Beer said he believed that there was too much authoritarianism in both the NP and the ANC. De Beer speaks from the centre of the party and has so far performed a far more successful task than Labour's Allan Hendrickse in keeping the party together.

Because of the nervousness over potential splits, during the recess the DP will be holding regular caucus meetings "just to stay in touch".

De Beer said there were members of the party who were keener on the Nats and others who were keener on the ANC. "Whether they actually think they should be siding with this or that party is a question for them.

"The shared viewpoint of everybody



IN THE CENTRE ... Zach de Beer

is a set of liberal values based on equal rights and the rule of law."

Unlike party members on his left and his right flanks, De Beer sees a long-term niche for the DP, one that he believes has been opened up by support for the system of proportional representation that is coming from the ANC and the NP.

The DP, in De Beer's scenario, would be the party of the liberal centre. "Our politics have changed greatly," he said. "The issues of the future have become socio-economic development and the defence of human rights."

Bill 'improves' the Internal Security Act

By GAVIN EVANS

THE Democratic Party will vote in favour of the Internal Security and Intimidation Amendment Bill when it comes before parliament today — but will express reservations along the way.

DP Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow told *The Weekly Mail* it was an improvement on current security legislation — "but it has many problems and we need more amendments.

"If we opposed the Bill, the effect would be to support the Conservative Party in backing the present system of unlimited detention without trial. The amendments improve on this, but they don't go as far as we would like.

"The 10-day period for detention is too long and there is still too much discretion in the hands of the commissioner of police. For instance, he can prevent attorneys and family doctors from visiting a detainee if he feels their presence will hamper the investigation."

The main provision of the Bill is to reduce the detention period from 90 days to 10 days, after which further detention may be authorised by a supreme court judge.

A section 29 detainee has an immediate right to seek redress from the court, he must be visited immediately by a district surgeon, and after that every five days by both a district surgeon and a magistrate.

PAC calls for overall amnesty

THE PAC, whose exiled members have refused to apply for indemnity, this week called on the Government to grant a general amnesty for all exiles.

"If this Government believes it perpetuated undemocratic and unjust laws in the past and it is sorry for what it did, then it must understand that our people left South Africa because of these Draconian laws," Dr Lerole Mabe, a member of the PAC's Repatriation Division,

80 weta 27/6/91
By MONK NKOMO

said yesterday.

The PAC, Mabe added, rejected the indemnity system applied by the Government and said the United Nations High Commission for Refugees had been seen internationally as the sole caretaker of refugees worldwide since its inception.

"South Africa is refusing to accede to this basic requirement and,

as a result, few exiles have returned home. Thousands are not coming back because there is no guarantee from the State that they are not going to be arrested or tried for political offences," said Mabe.

Only 1 500 out of 40 000 exiles had returned home, said Mabe.

He said: "This indemnity form is a confession of one's crimes and we believe that all exiles have a right to come back home unconditionally."

Azapo lashes out at Kenya

Sowetan
KENYA has come under fire from Azapo for its decision to renew sporting ties with South Africa.

The organisation said the move goes against the current position of the Organisation of African Unity.

Azapo also condemned Kenya's recognition of South Africa as a sovereign state.

At a Press conference, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said:

27/6/91
"We want to warn Kenya that its particular actions do not only betray the struggles of our people and the African people in general, but they also turn villains who have committed crimes against humanity into heroes." *(11A)*

"After all, the aim of the cultural boycott and the isolation campaign was and is still to get rid of oppression in our country and to secure the liberation of black people." - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Congress to decide on sanctions, says Sisulu

TIM COHEN

THE ANC's July congress would be asked to decide on the phased lifting of sanctions, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said in an interview yesterday.

Sisulu also believed the organisation was making a "mistake" by not concentrating enough on negotiations. He was in favour of ending sports sanctions once unity among sports bodies had been achieved.

The 78-year-old Sisulu, widely tipped to become the ANC's next deputy president, described as "reasonable" the proposed phased lifting of sanctions, in terms of which sports and cultural boycotts, visa bans and over-flying rights would go first. *6/10/91 27/6/91*

But the congress would have to determine a path between the position that sanctions should be intensified, which he described as "no longer realistic" and the decisions of countries that had already decided to lift sanctions, which he said were "rushing".

The phased lifting of sanctions was rejected at the ANC's consultative conference last year.

Sisulu did not specify whether a proposal for the phased lifting of sanctions would be formally tabled.

He said the sanctions debate at the ANC's conference last year was complicated by the fact that the EC was discussing the issue at the time. But now the situation was different. "We know for instance that rugby is very important to the whites and they are in a hurry. If we can

bring about unity, why not?"

At that conference, delegates felt very emotional about violence, which was understandable, and felt negotiations was a less pressing issue, he said.

But a more analytical understanding was emerging among members. "I don't agree that negotiations dominate our thinking. We are thinking less about negotiations and that is our mistake."

□ LINDEN BIRNS reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would welcome ANC intelligence head Jacob Zuma's election as deputy president, but expressed reservations about Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala winning a senior post. He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from an 11-day visit to the US and UK.

Zuma has played a central role in ANC-Inkatha peace initiatives. Buthelezi said Gwala had "a record of war-talk, and has sought to resolve disputes with fighting".

ANC's crucial decision

THE ANC that emerges from the movement's national congress in Durban at the end of next week will depend very much on the leadership it elects.

The political, social and economic road ahead for the movement, and the country as a whole, is bumpy.

It is also littered with the corpses of people who have died (and are still dying) in violent clashes between what is being perceived as the ANC and Inkatha - all of which has eroded the ANC's credibility.

A leadership that can steer the movement through these troubled waters can be elected if the conference adopts a pragmatic approach to the road ahead - bearing in mind that it has to rebuild the battered ego of the ANC.

If the new leadership is elected at the beginning of the conference, it could to some degree steer the course of the conference, and ultimately the foreseeable future.

If elected at the end of the conference, the leadership will have to abide by resolutions taken at the conference, leaving very little room for the tapping of the inherent qualities and expertise of the persons of integrity within the movement.

Latest reports, based on the assumption that Mr Oliver Tambo would resign as president, have indicated a swing to younger, more radical leadership under Mr Nelson Mandela (president) and Mr Walter Sisulu (deputy president).

There have also been reports that the South African Communist Party would gain prominence. This, to the anti-communist government of State President FW de Klerk, through which future negotiations would have to go, would be anathema.

Radical

However, more radical does not necessarily mean less pragmatic if one considers the names that have been mentioned. Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is one of those nominated.

As general secretary of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, he perhaps has negotiating skills that are unequalled among the present leadership corps.

Bearing in mind that the ANC has opted for a negotiated settlement which would no doubt involve big business and Afrikaner leadership, Ramaphosa is at this point the most intelligent choice for a leadership position.

Advantage

Ramaphosa has been talking face to face with powerful mine bosses and big business for a number of years.

To repeat the sentiment that Mandela should be retained is trite.

Sisulu, who has been nominated for the position as deputy president along with foreign affairs person Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala, has the distinct advantage of having the respect of ordinary people and Government's chief negotiators.

But Sisulu is under

Which team will be able to stand and deliver

11A
Sowetan
27/6/91

Hani: "I have no problem with him."

It is a positive indication that younger people have been nominated. If they are elected to the leadership corps for their youth, there is hope for the long-term future.

The immediate concern is getting the ANC to the negotiating table and beyond. After that events will be determined by the movement itself.

In this regard it is necessary to elect a leadership which will lead the conference and the party in the short-term future while the younger leaders concentrate on building the party.

Task

The ANC faces a major task in rebuilding its image - it has suffered immensely because of the violence in the country.

A Government source has admitted that the mere perception among the ANC leadership that there was an orchestrated attack against the movement "was a difficult thing".

For the ANC, then, to be able to rebuild under the present persecution mania prevalent in the movement will need the energetic and more militant youth.

The short-term goal is to get through negotiations. It will then not be

By ISMAIL



LAGARDIEN



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



CHRIS HANI



THABO MBEKI



HARRY GWALA

unwise to elect a "sensible and responsible" leadership.

Recalling the profound presence of Tambo at last year's consultative conference where he warned that the movement could lose the political initiative, especially with regard to the sanctions issue, the ANC would do itself a great favour in keeping its president.

Team

He has been honoured around the world and has dealt extensively with those leaders.

When the ANC eventually faces the Government in negotiations - it is Tambo, Mandela, Mbeki, Hani and Ramaphosa who will be the team that has a better chance to stand and deliver.

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family pressure to take a lesser role in politics - he is rapidly approaching 80.

Gwala is tough and has won the hearts and minds of a large section of the ANC membership, but the question is: Can he place the country before the party?

Similarly, the immediate future of the ANC lies in professionalism and a head-on clash with the Government at the negotiating table.

Can Gwala help in any way?

Skills

Turning then to Mbeki, who is in competition with Gwala and Sisulu. Mbeki is the ANC's MVP (most valuable person). He has diplomatic skills, he is intelligent, refined and articulate, he is well liked in Government circles, and it is unfortunate that, because of this, he has been branded a wimp.

Another person who is very popular among the ANC membership and who, quite unbelievably, has a lot of respect among Government's negotiators, is the seemingly militant Mr Chris Hani.

Hani is often branded a war-monger - someone who would destroy any efforts to reach a peaceful settlement.

A senior Government negotiator has said of

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ANC outlines plans for July conference

Sowetan 27/6/91

11A

THE ANC is approaching its 48th national conference next week with the view that it will be the next government of South Africa, the conference's Natal Prepara-

tory Committee said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing the media at the University of Durban Westville's Sports Centre, where the conference will take place, regional organising secre-

tary Mr S'bu Ndebele said: "We view the conference as being the conference that precedes the ANC being the next government.

"The issues it promotes are the issues it will follow as a govern-

ment," said Ndebele.

His comments were echoed by another NPC member, Dr Manto Tshabalala, who said: "We're serious about being the next government. We're there to prepare the machinery to

be the next government.

"We're hoping to come out with a clear programme of action to lead to majority rule," she said.

The conference would be "underscoring our determination to be the next government,"

Tshabalala added. Three thousand delegates from South Africa and outside the country will converge on Durban over the weekend for the conference which takes place from next Tuesday to Saturday.

A rally at Durban's Kings Park stadium next Sunday will announce to supporters the newly-elected ANC leaders.

The new president will also deliver a "major speech on what the ANC has to say about the future of South Africa," said Mr Roy Padiyachie, also an NPC member.

Another NPC member, Ms Linda Zuma announced that about 350 foreign guests representing countries and political parties would attend the conference, but only for the opening and closing sessions.

They will spend the rest of the time on ANC arranged tours to places of historical interest and of topical importance.

The tours include trips to areas gripped by political violence and communities facing land and rural developmental problems.

They will also focus on issues of local government, the economy and education.

The programme for foreign visitors is planned to look closely at the issues the ANC will be addressing in its commissions during the conference.

Ndebele said delegates to the conference would include 2 000 from 14 regions inside the country, 48 delegates from the Youth League, 42 delegates from the Women's League, 10 from Cosatu, 10 from the SACP, two from the UDF and other ANC stalwarts.

There would also be about 85 delegates from "fraternal" organisations such as the SACC, Nafcoc and sporting bodies.

ET 21/6/91 Political Staff

(NA)

THERE are increasing signals that a damaging hawks versus doves clash for the key ANC deputy president's job will be averted by putting ageing internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu up as a compromise candidate.

Mr Sisulu has scooped three of the five regional nominations for the post made public to date, already enough to ensure that he will be among those whose names go into the hat.

There had been speculation that the job would be a straight fight between moderate international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki and the controversial Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief-of-staff. This raised fears that the organisation could divide between those committed to negotiations and others keen to distance the organisation from government.

There are now indications that Mr Hani, yet to get a nomination for any post, might be given the special task of boosting MK. This would be an important role and would give him direct access to the leadership.

Mr Sisulu is on record as saying he would serve in any position in which the organisation needed him, but there have been reservations about his age (79) and his health.

The other two nominations for deputy president have gone to Mr Mbeki and Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, who recently lashed out at those in the organisation who had talked to the government.

The only person to have been nominated

ANC veteran spoils Hani, Mbeki duel

unanimously for a "top five" job by the five regions, the organisation's largest, PWV, Border, Southern Free State, Southern Natal and Eastern Transvaal, is Mr Nelson Mandela for president. He is certain to replace Mr Oliver Tambo, who has indicated he will stand down.

The other nominations reflect a general shift towards the internal leadership which kept the struggle going in the Mass Democratic Movement in the P W Botha years. Most of the nominees to date are also committed to negotiations.

Intelligence head Mr Jacob Zuma, of Natal, has been nominated twice for the secretary-general's job and once as treasurer-general. He may, however, have been damaged by recent leaks to the press in which his moderate stance has been highlighted.

Other nominations for secretary-general include unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Border region chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile and Mr Alfred Nzo.

'Phone threats made to 'Pro' Jack's family

CT 27/6/91

Staff Reporter

(11A)

~~3/11~~

THREATENING and abusive telephone calls have been received by the family of assassinated ANC member and activist Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, a family member claimed yesterday.

The matter was reported to police investigating Mr Jack's murder. He was killed by a group of armed men near his Nyanga home last Wednesday night.

Mr Xalo Jack, 27, brother of Mr "Pro" Jack, yesterday said two calls were made to his family's Nyanga East home this week.

Each call was made by a man who spoke with a distinct "boer" accent, Mr Jack said.

He added that police had told him they could not do much as such calls were "hard to trace".

ANC's telephone nightmare

Staff Reporter

27/6/91

Organising a conference of 2 000 delegates must be a nightmare at the best of times, but it becomes 10 times worse when you have only one telephone line on which to do it.

This is the crisis that confronted Gill Marcus of the ANC's department of information and publicity in the past few weeks while arranging the organisation's 48th

national conference in Durban next week.

According to Ms Marcus, extra direct lines to her department were requested two months ago — long before the ANC moved into its new premises in Shell House, Plein Street. By yesterday, her department had only one direct line.

The Post Office has assured Ms Marcus that it will start installing three more lines today.

Mandela 'too busy' to ask about \$1-m

Star 27/6/91

DETROIT — The African National Congress says Nelson Mandela has been too busy to contact Detroit mayor Coleman Young about \$1 million raised during Mr Mandela's visit to the city last summer.

But Detroit officials say that's the only way he'll get the money.

"How long does it take to write a letter that says, 'Dear Mr Young. Please send the money to the Mandela Freedom Fund. Sincerely, Nelson Mandela.'" Mr Young's spokesman Bob Berg asked.

Organisers of Mr Mandela's seven-city fundraising pilgrimage say Detroit is the only city that has not turned over its proceeds, apparently because Mr Young wants Mr Mandela to tell him where the money will be spent, Detroit Free Press reported yesterday.

The money is in an interest-bearing account in a Detroit bank and has grown to about \$1.1 million.

Mr Young co-chaired the local welcoming committee and is the only person who can release the money. He wants an assurance that the money will be channelled to humanitarian or charitable causes.

The ANC has written a letter asking the city to send the money to the Mandela Freedom Fund.

"The money is not Mandela's, it is the people's," said the Rev Jim Holley, pastor of Detroit's Little Rock Baptist Church, who was a member of the welcoming committee.

"The mayor should have the decency to tell the people who raised this money why it's still here." — Sapa-AP.

ANC congress will be safe, says Buthelezi

Star-27/6/91 (11A) #12

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

There was no reason to believe there would be violence coinciding with the ANC's national congress in Durban next week, and unsubstantiated statements that violence was likely were grossly irresponsible, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States and Britain, Chief Buthelezi said it was grossly irresponsible to warn about the likelihood of violence next week unless there was evidence pointing at that possibility.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader, who held talks with US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major, described his trip as successful.

Security

He said although he was not responsible for police in Durban and that the protection of people attending the conference would be the responsibility of the Government, he guaranteed protection to ANC members who would be staying in townships around Durban during the conference.

"I will make sure that security is provided in the townships," he said.

The IFP leader is also KwaZulu's Minister of Police, and police in townships surrounding Durban fall under his ministry.

Chief Buthelezi said he hoped the ANC would be able "to get their act together" at the Durban congress and give Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo, should either man be elected president, a mandate to negotiate.

He sympathised with the ANC, which had not operated in the country openly for

many years because of its having been banned. South Africa, he said, needed a strong and intact ANC.

Asked whether he was worried about the possibility of former United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement leaders, who were mostly antagonistic to the IFP, being elected to the ANC leadership, Chief Buthelezi said it was the organisation's prerogative to elect into office whomever it wanted.

However, he was apprehensive about the election of Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala as the organisation's deputy president or general secretary because of Mr Gwala's "fighting talk" and his known hardline attitude towards the IFP.

He praised southern Natal ANC regional chairman Jacob Zuma as a man with leadership qualities whom he respected. He said Mr Zuma had been outstanding in his efforts, with IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, to restore peace in Natal.

The IFP leader, who stated it was fortunate that South Africa did not have any single most powerful organisation which could win a majority election on its own, said he regarded the IFP's meeting with the ANC on January 29 this year as more important than last Saturday's peace summit in Johannesburg.

He said that if agreements reached at that meeting had been adhered to, progress would have been made towards the restoration of peace.

Chief Buthelezi said President Bush had assured him that sanctions would be lifted as soon as all the conditions listed in the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 had been complied with.

He had found Mr Major, whom he met for the first time this week, as a man who was well-informed on South Africa and concerned "about the extent to which we are threatened by poverty".

Mandela and Sisulu are front-runners

11A
AUG 27/6/91

From NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN
The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu now look certain to take over the number one and two positions in the organisation.

Mr Mandela has emerged as the only nominee to take over the reins from the president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in the elections of five ANC regions so far.

And Mr Sisulu looks a definite candidate for deputy president following a powerful lobby within the organisation which has blocked Mr Jacob Zuma's bid for the post.

Mr Sisulu has been nominated by three key regions, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, Border and Eastern Transvaal, for the post of deputy president.

ANC sources said today that 79-year-old Mr Sisulu, although initially reluctant to stand for the post, had agreed to do so in a "compromise" move to avoid a damaging internal fight for the position.

Earlier this year both international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki, backed by the moderate grouping in the ANC, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani, who enjoys the more radical support in the organisation, agreed not to contest the position.

However, when Mr Zuma was proposed as a compromise candidate, Mr Hani threatened to re-enter the fray, sources said, as Mr Zuma, who has been deeply involved in negotiations with the government, was viewed as weak in certain areas by some of the militants in the organisation.

Mr Zuma's nomination was also strongly opposed by many of the returning exiles because of his controversial role as the ANC's head of intelligence.

His own Southern Natal region backed hardliner and ANC stalwart Mr Harry Gwala for the vice-presidency by a vote of 300 to 17 for Mr Zuma. Mr Gwala, however, is unlikely to get the post as not only is he a highly controversial character both within the ANC and the South African Communist Party, but he has also indicated unwillingness to leave Natal.

Another interesting battle is for the post of secretary-general and the present incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, looks certain to be ousted.

He is unpopular with both the radical and moderate groupings, as well as most returning exiles, and has been widely criticised for being decidedly inefficient in the past.

The strongest contender for secretary-general at the moment is National Union of Mineworkers general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who has been nominated by the PWV region.

The regions whose nominations have been announced have nominated: Mr Ramaphosa (Border), PWV regional executive Mr Popo Molefe (Southern Natal and Southern Free State) and Mr Nzo (Eastern Transvaal).

The post of treasurer has elicited four nominations: incumbent treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi (Eastern Transvaal and Southern Free State), ANC London representative Mr Mendi Msimang (Southern Natal), Mr Zuma (Border) and Mr Stofile (PWV).

ANC sources believe that the majority of the present ANC national executive committee members will lose their positions.

GOVERNMENT leaders and negotiators will be watching very closely developments at the ANC's congress in Durban next week. The decisions it takes on negotiations and the leaders it elects will, government firmly believes, make a major impact on the country's political direction.

Talks about talks leading to a multiparty conference are on the cards, and government negotiators hope the conference can get off the ground sometime in September.

There is no one in the present ANC leadership core or the aspirant one that can seriously believe that there is any other alternative to negotiations. The only real question relates to their timing. No amount of rhetoric and posturing can obscure this fact.

If anyone doubted this, the news this week that powerful ANC regions are mandating their congress delegates to take a strong pro-negotiation stance should set those doubts to rest. There nevertheless remain, of course, obstacles to progress. And new "deadlocks" will arise in future.

Meanwhile, a long series of formal, semi-formal and informal contacts over the past few months have fixed a clear agenda firmly in the minds of all the main players.

According to this scenario, the ANC's congress in July will be followed by a multiparty conference. The conference will agree on the general principles for a post-apartheid constitution. It will also formulate some arrangement whereby a smaller representative body, consisting probably of the three major players — the ANC, IFP and the NP — forms some joint executive body to oversee the transitional period. This is the body the ANC calls an "interim government" while NP leaders refer to it as a "transitional arrangement".

The conference will also have to thrash out the mechanisms required to draft the new constitution. This will include decisions on whether there is to be an elected constituent assembly, as demanded by the ANC, or whether a non-elected forum is given the task — as preferred by

Govt to keep a keen watch for signals from ANC congress

B/day 27/6/91 11A

BILLY PADDOCK in Cape Town

government and Inkatha.

While the new constitution is being negotiated in detail the transitional arrangement/interim government will oversee the transition period.

Reaching this point will not be without its problems. However, government negotiators believe, many of the issues that have been portrayed as unbridgeable differences — the freeing of political prisoners; the return of exiles; the constituent assembly; whether economic principles should be built into a constitution; and devolution of power — can be resolved given good faith and broad agreement on basic substantive issues such as, in constitutional matters for example, a universal franchise.

The liaison committee set up at the DF Malan talks to oversee the suspension of armed action and the surfacing of cadres who have been granted indemnity is functioning well, government sources say.

Further, the joint working groups dealing with political prisoners and exiles have all reached broad, and in most cases detailed, agreement, despite the rhetoric of both sides. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, his officials and ANC members are finalising the prisoner issue this week.

There appears to be a great deal of rapprochement between government and the ANC on some form of

joint transitional authority. In response to ANC calls for an interim government, both President FW de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen have spoken of "broadening the executive" and giving legislative and executive authority and power over the running of the country to a body empowered by the multiparty conference.

However, the issue of the constituent assembly could prove the most difficult obstacle. The fundamental difference between the two on this issue is similar to the underlying differences over some form of group veto right in a post-apartheid constitution. Government insists that minorities must be protected — both during constitutional negotiations and in terms of a new constitution. The ANC, saying majority rule should be the order of the day, rejects this out of hand.

In a similar vein, the ANC objects to government's insistence that the multiparty conference and the forum in which the constitution is negotiated be run on a basis of consensus. Government also insists that all parties — including those with no acknowledged proof of support — be included. Taken together, this im-

plies veto rights for even the tiniest parties present, the ANC says.

An interesting difference of tactical opinion has arisen within government over the ANC's armed struggle. De Klerk has stated that the ANC's failure to abandon, rather than merely suspend, armed action is an obstacle to progress. However, other government negotiators take a far softer line on this issue. They accept that if the ANC formally abandoned armed action at this stage, while a number of disputes with government remain unresolved, the ANC leadership's standing with militants in its constituency would become untenable.

This difference of opinion is indicative of broader differences among top government negotiators over negotiating tactics. One senior source recently expressed concern that some public statements by De Klerk and Ministers such as Kobie Coetsee, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan had fuelled the hardening of attitudes between the ANC and government.

Last month there was also debate in government on the strategy to be used in response to the ANC's ultimatum and, especially, over the strong anti-ANC position expressed by De Klerk at his May summit on violence. Some NP leaders believe it was unwise of De Klerk to adopt such an adversarial position.

The more left-leaning members of

government appear to be more understanding of the ANC's organisational problems. They are opposed to seizing upon opportunities to expose ANC shortcomings. They have also preferred to hold back and remain silent when certain government initiatives, such as the multiparty conference, were taken over by the ANC and presented as its own idea. They also believe a strong and organised ANC is vital and disagree with sowing division or highlighting the ANC's ambivalence.

The violence remains an obstacle to progress. Despite the positive views emanating from ANC regions on negotiation, it seems unlikely that the ANC leadership will proceed enthusiastically with talks while violence continues on the present scale.

Nevertheless, given the type of negotiation mandate likely to emerge from the ANC congress, it would appear to be less than decisive whether Chris Hani, Jacob Zuma or Walter Sisulu takes up the post of deputy president. Yet, as government sees it, there is another sense in which all this matters very much.

The new NEC will play a vital role in determining and interpreting the mandate and in creating the ANC's posture, mood and sense of urgency with respect to negotiations.

For government, the new make-up of the NEC will influence the pace at which the ANC readies itself for government. It will determine whether the mistrust of recent months can be eliminated. And it will structure the movement's own perception of its principles and policies and those of its allies in the trade unions and the SACP.

Government therefore hopes the congress will strike a fine balance between continuity and change. The ANC is seen as needing an invigorated new leadership. On the other hand, great harm could be done if the impression is created that the old leadership and its trusted lieutenants and advisers — people like Jacob Zuma, Aziz Pahad and Thabo Mbeki — who facilitated negotiations until now, have been sidelined.

This, government believes, is the key to the ANC transforming itself from a liberation movement into a political party.

days at Motswedi Police Station.

11A
ANC three
indemnified

Star 27/6/91

Indemnity has been granted to three ANC operatives in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

The Government Gazette yesterday named them as Enneth Anne Fuziwe Webster, Timothy Peter Jenkin and Benneth Mokoko.

Miss Webster was wanted by the police for entering South Africa illegally in 1987 and for attempting to hold hostages during the same period to secure the release of Durban bomber Robert McBride.

Mr Jenkins escaped from police custody in December 1979 and Mr Mokoko was wanted for the assault of a policeman in Thembalesizwe Township in August last year. — Sapa.

D521942

R3-m just waiting for Mandela letter

Sowelen
28/6/91 *(119)*

DETROIT - The ANC says Nelson Mandela has been too busy to contact Mayor Coleman Young about R2,8 million raised during his visit to Detroit last year.

But Detroit officials say that's the only way he'll get the money.

"How long does it take to write a letter that says, 'Dear Mr Young. Please send the money to the Mandela Freedom Fund.' Sincerely, Nelson Mandela,'" Young spokesman Bob Berg asked.

Organisers of Mandela's seven-city fund-raising pilgrimage say Detroit is the only city that hasn't turned over its proceeds, apparently because Young wants Mandela to tell him where the money will be spent.

The money is in an interest-bearing

account in a Detroit bank and has grown to about R3 million.

Young co-chaired the local welcoming committee and is the only person who can release the money.

Among the delays the mayor has cited are that fund-raising in Detroit went on longer than in other cities, delaying payment, and he wants assurance the money will be channeled to humanitarian or charitable causes.

Letter written

The ANC has written a letter asking the city to send the money to the Mandela Freedom Fund.

"The money is not Mandela's, it is the people's," said the Rev Jim Holley, pastor of Detroit's Little Rock Baptist Church and a member of the welcoming committee. - *Sapa-AP*.



NELSON MANDELA

28/6/91 ~~SECRET~~
ST ELMO'S

that "the conclusion that KwaZulu is prohibited by law (from acquiring) land outside its boundaries is not correct."

Macleod says the implication of resiting the training college at St Elmo's should be assessed: "The financial advantages of using the existing buildings and infrastructure should be carefully considered."

In a memo of December 4 Gibson — whose Durban architectural firm Franklin, Garland, Gibson & Partners acts as consultant to the Development Bank — says: "St Elmo's convent is an almost unique opportunity to acquire a property which could be converted into an educational institution."

In his January 17 memo Macleod issued a strongly-worded warning: "The purpose of this memorandum is . . . to suggest that urgent attention is required by the policy-makers to change a situation that is a costly aberration in this new SA . . ." Macleod suggested that the bank should establish a system to "ensure that unused buildings are considered for use before costly new projects are embarked upon."

Macleod went on: "With the changing nature of SA society, that is, falling white enrolment in schools, reductions in defence . . . it is likely that there are many buildings throughout the country that are now redundant and that, like St Elmo's, could be used to provide accommodation for a wide variety of uses, but especially black education."

Part of the problem lies with the KwaZulu government which earlier promised "its people" at Gamalakhe that a training college would be constructed.

□ The Development Bank commented that, as a result of the issues raised by its staff, further detailed investigations were initiated by management to obtain clarity on the options. St Elmo's option with modifications was estimated to cost R25m — while the Gamalakhe college was budgeted at R44m.

This resulted in the the bank's board re-considering the project. After taking into consideration the current demand for teacher training in KwaZulu, and more importantly a proposed use of St Elmo's as a community college to address directly the upgrading of the "lost generation," it recommended its support for both Gamalakhe for teacher training as well as St Elmo's as a community college.

Eddie Botha

ANC CONFERENCE ^{FM 28/6/91}
STARTER'S ORDERS (11A)

Nominations for leadership posts in the ANC were being finalised by the organisation's 14 regions as the FM went to press. Apart from

FM 28/6/91 (11A)

the virtual certainty of Nelson Mandela's election as ANC president at its 48th national conference in Durban next week, the nominations so far disclosed suggest that none of the other high-profile contenders can be regarded as a shoo-in as either deputy president, secretary-general or treasurer-general.

"People are in for some nice surprises," says a spokesman. The results will be announced on July 6.

According to the FM's information, the largest ANC region — the PWV — has put forward Walter Sisulu for deputy president; NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa



Mbeki



Sisulu

for secretary-general; UDF leader Popo Molefe as assistant secretary-general; and ANC Border region chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile, for treasurer-general.

Border as well as the eastern Transvaal have named Sisulu for deputy president. This ensures Sisulu's candidacy for the post, since nomination by at least two regions is



Zuma



Ramaphosa

required to qualify for election. Also on Border's slate are: Stofile for secretary-general; Ramaphosa as his assistant; and southern Natal regional chairman Jacob Zuma as treasurer-general.

The deputy presidency, therefore, looks like shaping up into a contest between Sisulu and Thabo Mbeki, since Mbeki, too, has been nominated for the post by at least two regions — southern Free State and the eastern Cape. Assuming that the 78-year-old Sisulu, who reportedly said earlier that he did not want the job, drops out, then Mbeki, long regarded as the crown prince of the ANC, might be the perfect choice as deputy president. His international affairs depart-

continue →

P.T.O.

ment is a tightly run ship of professionals and his deputy, Stanley Mabizela, could easily and effectively take over Mbeki's reins.

The western Cape is also thought to have nominated Mbeki but will not disclose its list because of "an aversion to having the conference being seen as too much like the July Handicap." What is important, says a spokesman, is "the interests of the organisation, the manner in which it is able to adjust to being an internal movement and to weave together its different strands into a single cord, with the ability to appeal to all South Africans and take the country through this transition." The NEC, he adds, should be a team with different strengths to appeal to the widest possible constituency.

No doubt. However, public interest in who will be at the helm of the ANC is high. This is so even if, as some argue, the deputy presidency under Mandela is likely to be a rather symbolic post. The same cannot be said about that of the strategically important job of secretary-general.

Both Zuma and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani have made it clear that they desire the position. Hani says he will not contest the deputy presidency. Zuma has been nominated for secretary-general by southern Natal and the eastern Transvaal, among the regions that have disclosed their choices. It is expected that the Transkei region, at least, will put forward Hani for the job. The ANC secretary-general will have to transform the ANC from a militarist protest movement into a shrewd political machine capable of winning democratic elections.

If Zuma appears to be the strongest contender for secretary-general, at this stage it seems the contest for deputy or assistant secretary-general will be between Ramaphosa and Molefe. Both would be good choices from the point of view of including tested internal or UDF leaders. Some believe that a Zuma-Ramaphosa ticket to run the organisation, headed by a Mandela-Mbeki leadership, would give the ANC the power and credibility it has increasingly lacked in recent times.

If the Zuma-Ramaphosa ticket wins, who will take their places as head of intelligence and the NUM? Zuma could be replaced by Matthew Phosa, who was, with Zuma, one of the first four ANC cadres back in SA after the organisation was unbanned last year. Phosa, a lawyer, is on all the joint ANC-government working groups and has taken a special interest in the issue of political prisoners. Ramaphosa's deputy at the NUM, Marcel Golding, could be in the running for high office with the union.

In addition to the candidates put forward to the ANC electoral commission by the regions, based on their branch submissions, it will be possible for nominations to be made from the floor of the conference as well. These would have to be endorsed by a show of at least 100 hands. Nominations must be ratified by the commission and all elections will be by secret ballot.

The national executive committee of the

ANC will consist of 90 members. Those directly elected will include 55 based on regional nominations (including the top five positions). The regional chairpersons and secretaries of the 14 regions will be ex officio members; the chairperson and secretary of the Youth League and the Women's League will be on the NEC, as well as three members co-opted by the leadership.

□ ANC sources were expecting that government would release a large number of political prisoners late this week to coincide with the start of the ANC conference. The move would deflate some of the pro-sanctions activists and defuse some of the expected militancy at the conference.

Last week, the ANC gave government a list of 248 of the 972 identified political prisoners who could be released administratively — or at any time, without release hearings by government. Included in his list are large number of MK guerrillas and some necklace murderers who, as the *FM* described recently, fell clearly into government definitions under the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes on political prisoners.

The ANC is working against the clock to get release clearances for the remaining 724 political prisoners of whom 343 are "untraceables" according to Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Of those "untraceables" 133 are being held in homeland prisons with all but two in Bophuthatswana jails.

If government does not release all or most of these prisoners it might compromise itself with regard to sanctions and could lend weight to hostility in ANC ranks to the negotiation process and the continued suspension of the armed struggle. ■

Ex-MDM men set to grab top ANC jobs

w/m and 2816-417191.
FORMER leaders of the disbanded Mass Democratic Movement are expected to sweep the boards in the African National Congress elections next week. Major changes to the ANC's much-criticised old guard leadership are expected at the national conference in Durban.

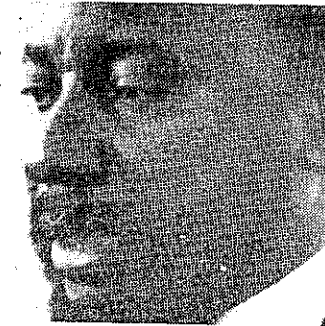
One of the toughest contests will be for the post of secretary general, from which incumbent Alfred Nzo is expected to be ousted. Front-runners include union leader Cyril Ramaphosa, and ex-United Democratic Front leaders Popo Molefe and

Arnold Stofile.

(11A)
The conference takes place against the backdrop of massive discontent among ANC rank and file, the youth and trade unionists. The ANC is also battling to counteract initiatives by the National Party aimed at winning the political middle ground and international support.

The conference will have to provide a confident and assertive leadership as well as a strategic vision to carry the ANC into the political future.

• See Pages 3, 20 and 21.



Front-runner
in the race
for secretary
general:
Mine union
leader Cyril
Ramaphosa

Will ANC become a political party?

Next week's ANC summit in Durban looks like a party congress.

But, SHAUN JOHNSON of the Political Staff asks, is it?

If one was to judge by the planned glitz and the guest list alone, next week's ANC Congress in Durban looks like being one of the most sophisticated pieces of classical party politicking this country has ever seen.

It is likely to resemble nothing so much as an American Primary. But does this mean that the ANC is finally making its transition from "liberation movement" to "political party"?

The deeper signs — beneath the banners and giant television screens — are that it is not, and that it has no intention of doing so at the moment.

The onset of the "new South Africa" carries in its slipstream a variety of new political cliches, some of which achieve unquestioning acceptance surprisingly quickly.

One of these is that it is the central task of all the major extra-parliamentary groups to transform themselves into "political parties" as the term is generally understood.

All manner of behaviour is thereby deemed to be explicable in terms of this "transition phase", the assumption being that the dynamics of decision-making will change on the day the goal is achieved.

The "transitional" context is applied most energetically to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose metamorphosis from movement to party is believed to be their primary (and also identical) task.

Since its unbanning and return to above-ground politics, it is reasoned, most of the ANC's energies have been channelled into this — with uncertain results.

Similarly in the case of the IFP, the changed political circumstances have ostensibly downgraded the "cultural liberation" aspect of the movement, and upgraded its



"party" nature — hence the recent name change.

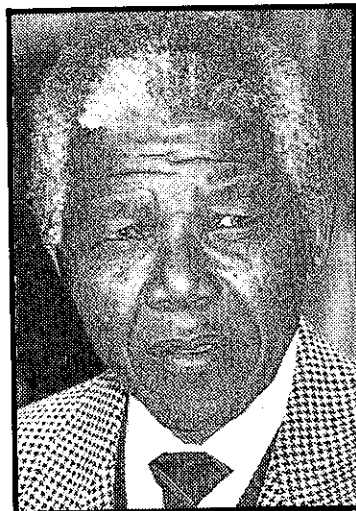
(The Pan Africanist Congress, which has not yet agreed to swap "out-system" for "in-system" politics, is regarded as being some way behind the process and therefore of less current interest.)

Of course cliches only achieve currency because there is truth in them. But in the case of the "movement-to-party" model — and particularly insofar as it is applied to the ANC — it is possible that analysts are in danger of misinterpreting the goal (and therefore misreading the build-up), as well as failing to identify the very different positions in which the various groups find themselves.

It is arguable that what is meant by "party" is overwhelmingly Western, even Westminsterian, in the way it is presented in South Africa. It places great store on membership lists, branch structures, propaganda units, campaign paraphernalia, chains of command, visible preparations for electioneering and so forth.

Using this sort of checklist, the "performance" of each can be (and frequently is) assessed. The ANC comes out relatively badly.

Since February 2 1990, it has failed to secure an unambiguously



Nelson Mandela

impressive "card-carrying" membership (government sources scornfully say the National Party still boasts more "real" members than the ANC.)

Its membership drives have been poorly organised and many of its branches, set up in the rush of excitement a year ago, have hardly flourished.

Conferences have thus far been ill-prepared, and media relations have as often as not constituted a well-publicised shambles. Compounding this has been a tendency for leaders to contradict one another in public.

In the Western, traditional sense therefore, the "African National Congress Party's" report card is dismal — second only in its reflection of ineptitude to that of the PAC, which remains "half-in, half-out" of South African politics.

By contrast, the IFP is viewed as boasting a viable party structure, drawing on the experience of many years of legality and administrative sway in KwaZulu.

If this logic is pursued to its conclusion, it would suggest that in straight "party politics" there would be no contest between the organisations.

This illustrates the danger of ap-



Oliver Tambo

plying a mechanistic interpretation to the "transition to party" syndrome in the local context.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, elections took place after "liberation movements" had had the opportunity to transform themselves into political parties. In both cases the pre-eminent "liberation movement" was nowhere near as well organised as its "in-system" opponent.

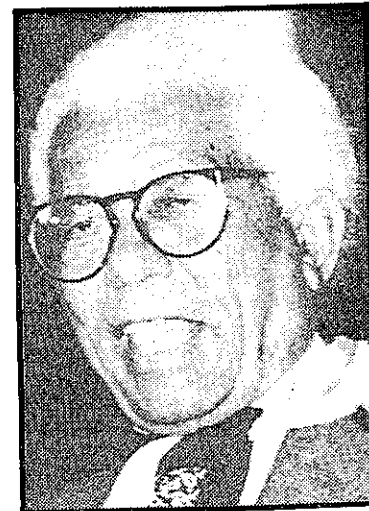
In terms of party efficiency, Bishop Muzorewa's UANC and Mr Mudge's DTA wiped the political floor with Mr Mugabe's Zanu and Mr Nujoma's Swapo. History shows, however, that the electoral results spoke differently.

South Africa is not the United Kingdom or the United States, and constituency politics take on a different form.

Broad mobilisation around generalities and perceptions assumes greater importance than localised, detailed policy issues.

The ANC is less concerned with creating branches that run like clockwork that it is with sustaining, nurturing — and eventually translating into votes — its priceless historical legacy.

Historical legacies are not easily quantifiable, and do not necessar-



Walter Sisulu

ily require canvassing. The ANC, more than any other political grouping in South Africa, appeals to an ethnically and geographically diffuse and huge constituency.

This demands an approach different from those with narrower, more cohesive support-bases.

None of this suggests that the ANC — and others — are unconcerned with "efficiency". On the contrary, ANC leaders regularly express alarm about their more shambolic organisational tentacles.

But it remains risky to assume that party-political efficacy in this narrow sense is a primary concern at this stage in South Africa's development — judging actors purely on that basis could produce skewed results.

Against this background it is not surprising that President de Klerk should have chosen, shortly before parliament rose, to call on the ANC to speed up its transformation into a "proper" political party.

And it is not surprising that ANC official Raymond Suttner, speaking at a recent press briefing, should have said: "We are reluctant to become a political party. We are a national liberation movement — we rely on daily contact with our supporters, we draw daily sustenance from them."

11A
ARC 28/6/91

AN ARRANGING OTHER NATION

Wimard 28/8 - 4/7/91

11A

MEXT week's African National Congress conference in Durban is one of the most significant events for the ANC in over three decades. No other South African conference in recent times has attracted as much attention or speculation. The latter is understandable given the crises confronting our country. For the ANC is indelibly part of the memory, tradition and psyche of most South Africans — often in different ways. The majority of South Africans are connected to the ANC, as supporters, as haters, as opponents, as cynics or as critics.

When the ANC seems uncertain, seems to blunder or otherwise is unable to meet an expectation, many South Africans, especially black citizens, feel affected. The ANC's failures become their failures, if for no other reason than that the longevity of the ANC has impacted on the collective memory, tradition, and psyche of most of us. In understanding the ANC we can perhaps gain

a better understanding of our troubled nation. The ANC is facing a crisis of legitimacy. Returning to a political scenario after being banned and exiled for almost 30 years poses enormous problems, which would have been less obvious had the ANC leadership simply "gone over the head of the people" and negotiated a settlement with Pretoria, capitalising on its liberation mystique.

One such problem is that the majority have not directly known the ANC. Perceptions have been formed often without the ANC having the opportunity to directly represent itself. On the one hand, certain people fear that the ANC has been responsible for every ill in this society. On the other hand, many people have expected instant delivery to *uhuru* and beyond. When the best amongst us are confused and uncertain about what the ANC is and can do then it reveals part of the crisis. When many opinion-formers, including the media, are only now beginning to get to grips with what the ANC is and can do, what

The ANC's Durban conference next week is of immense significance for the organisation — and indeed for South Africa as a whole, reports **SATHS COOPER**

about us ordinary citizens? As I see it, the ANC will not face the type of split between "communist" and "non-communist", between "hardline" and "moderate", between "returnee" and "remainee" that seems to be expected in certain circles. The ANC's main concern will be to emerge with a clear leadership and mandate for that leadership. In seeking the former the ANC is in the unique position of not having a national leadership that has been democratically elected and accountable to its membership. In seeking the latter the ANC is like other key political groupings that are grap-

pling with the same issue; like South Africa coming in from the cold dark apartheid horror. Heated debate will ensue about many issues but the anticipated fall-out will not occur. The ANC has the remarkable propensity to close ranks and present a united front despite the seeming differences. Yet that very difference has always been the ANC's claim to majority representation. "We are a movement with various positions, not a party." Increasingly, though, that claim is going to be severely tested. This conference will be the start of that test. For how long can the ANC continue as a movement, meaning most things to most people, but not being able to be explicit in a vigorous party political terrain? Leadership that is subject to factional wiles is unable to clearly show the way.

At this conference the ANC will emerge with a compromise on the representativeness of its leadership. The exiled and Rivonia leadership will be

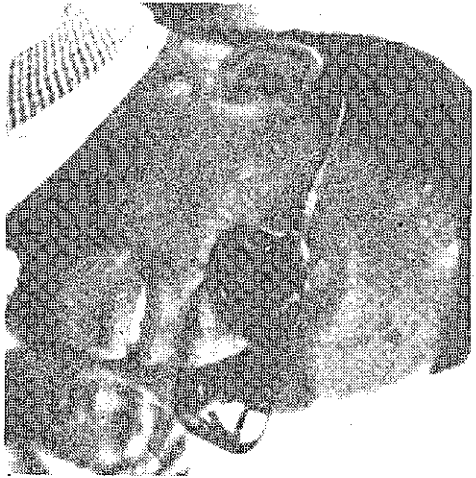
tempered with the wishes of the "MDM-style" leadership, and most members of the ANC will be satisfied with the outcome. But personal ambition will remain in certain quarters and as long as the ANC remains a "movement" and does not make the transition to a party the speculations will continue.

But the leadership that will be elected (most of whom will not be the "wild card" surprises anticipated) will have a clearer mandate that increases the efficacy of the ANC. Its administrative and public relations skills will be significantly honed and a greater emphasis will be placed on organisational structures, internal democracy and accountability. In all these areas the ANC has been found wanting, largely because of its transition from a covert, exile-based organisation to an overt, home-based one, and its marginalisation of able "remainees" with skills that were formed in mass activity that really created a "presence" for the ANC when they were not here!

Those who expect that issues such as those of the dissidents and camp activities, the relationship with the SA Communist Party, major economic questions, or the personal credibility of individual leaders will consume much of conference time will be sorely disappointed. The ANC has too many internal consolidations to make and has to emerge with a strong, unified leadership that projects a clear programme and vision as a prospective future government to concern itself with burning external questions that it sees no need to answer for! This conference, however, is not simply an ANC affair. It, like the ANC, has become our affair as well. We deserve more answers and direction from all our representatives, especially the ANC which is central to a solution of this country's trauma.

● The author is a psychologist and is currently National Director of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy

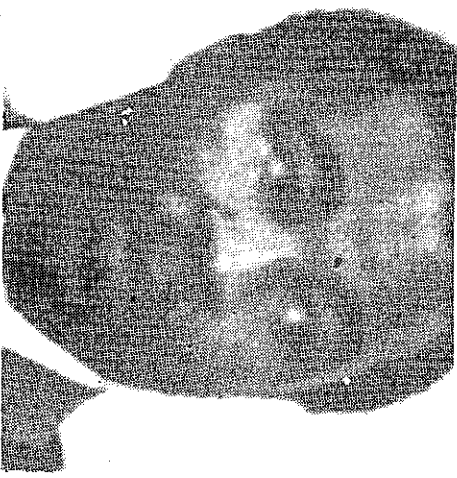
THE ANC'S MEN ON THE MOVE



P.O.P.O. MOLEFE ... former UDF secretary general strongly in the running for one of the five top posts



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ... front-runner for secretary general with the skills of a tough negotiator and a capable organiser



THABO MBEKI ... won't run for deputy presidency but his regional backing has confirmed widespread popular appeal.



ARNOLD STOFLE ... strong man from the Border region could get one of the top five posts



NELSON MANDELA ... the boss moves in as president to cement his unchallenged authority inside the movement



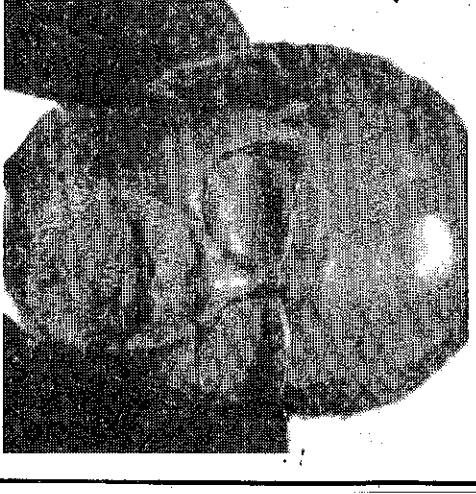
WALTER SISULU ... at the age of 78 has been nominated as deputy president to forestall a damaging succession struggle



ALFRED NZO ... unpopular representative of the old guard almost certain to be ousted as secretary general



HARRY GWALA ... hard-liner seeking to salvage the revolution. Won't win wide backing for deputy presidency



OLIVER TAMBO ... the post of honorary president will be created for this warily regarded veteran of the struggle



JACOB ZUMA ... image as a dove and a compromiser could cost him both the deputy president and secretary general posts

Winning back lost youth must be a priority

By HUBERT MATLOU

(11A)

THE African National Congress will have to come up with a more dynamic and more radical programme at the congress if it is to exercise influence over the largest section of its constituency, the militant youth.

Much of the growing discontent resides with youths who are suspicious of negotiations and regard the suspension of the armed struggle as amounting to a de facto surrender to the government.

The anti-negotiations Pan Africanist Congress had hoped to woo these disillusioned youths to its ranks, but most of them are finding organisational refuge in the emerging township defence committees.

Many youths weren't impressed by the ANC's 18 May resolution to withdraw from constitutional talks with the government. "Every deadline we make is likely to be flexible," retorted Tebogo Matlala, a member of the Soweto ANC Youth League.

"We are used to the tradition in which mass grassroots input is given priority by the leadership. During the days of the United Democratic Front every action was filtered down through area committees for discussion and recommendation. The recent ANC 'top-to-bottom' approach makes it difficult for us to explain ANC policy to ordinary people," said Vusi Hlongwane, also of the Soweto ANC Youth League.

ANC Youth League publicity secretary, Parks Mankahlane, admits there is general disappointment and impatience amongst many youths. "This was not brought about by the suspension of the armed struggle nor the beginning of negotiations, rather by the government's failure to honour its part of the bargain. This has made young people, even members of the Youth League, not happy with the trend the negotiations process has taken.

"Despite this unhappiness, membership figures of the Youth League continue to grow. At the height of the violence, youths went to ANC leaders' homes to demand arms to protect themselves — that is an affirmation of the trust the youth have in the ANC," Mankahlane said.

Disillusionment with the ANC had led many young radicals to join the SA Communist Party.

"One cannot really go out and count the number of youths the SACP has in comparison with that of the Youth League. Within the Youth League there are SACP members. For the youth to join the SACP in large numbers does not necessarily mean a loss of membership for the Youth League," said Mankahlane.

Whereas militant youths see the SACP as their haven, their hopes are dashed by Party membership limitations. Age admission to the Party is 18 years of age and above, and a Party branch may have a minimum of 25 and a maximum of 50 members in order to facilitate discussion and the building of a cadreship.

SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin admits that these limitations result in thousands of school-going youths being excluded from Party ranks. "The age limit is not applied as an 'iron rule', and there are discussions going on about this," said Cronin.

One cannot help but wonder what would happen to these youths — disillusioned with the ANC and "rejected" by the SACP — who may find themselves politically "homeless".

It would be wrong to simply conclude that these youths will swell the ranks of gangsters, even though most of them are unemployed.

Many of these youths remain unshaken in their commitment to fight for a new social order — and the mushrooming of defence committees, as a result of increasing vigilante violence sweeping Reef townships, could not have come at a better time.

Interestingly, it was the SACP which came up with a blueprint for defence committees, later adopted by the ANC. The youths who man defence committees are working on their own, devising their own rules and methods of operation.

They have found, in defence committees, a structure which saves them from the flexible-diplomatic talk prevalent in political formations.

Identity. The keyword at the core of the conference

11A

w/m on 28/6 = 4/7/91.

The African National Congress national conference will see a degree of democratic participation new to South African politics, reports **RAYMOND SUTTNER**, head of the organisation's Department of Political Education.

THE African National Congress national conference is not a conventional party congress. Those familiar with National Party or Democratic Party conferences will not feel at home. Although uneven, the process of participation has involved ordinary members in branches throughout the country in the issues that will be discussed. A large proportion of the delegates are now well-acquainted with the issues for the conference and many of the branches and regions have taken positions on these.

Such discussions are not easy to conduct. The ANC of 1991 is truly a mass organisation and many of our members are illiterate. The non-racial composition of branches in what were previously considered "white areas", particularly in the PWV and Southern Natal, is a new phenomenon in South African politics. In Johannesburg, most "white" branches have many or a majority of domestic workers. Discussions are conducted in more than one language, and intellectuals and domestic workers, often illiterate and with little political background, have to try and collectively arrive at a position.

These discussions are conducted throughout the country, though naturally the quality of the preparation is more advanced in an area like the PWV than it is in some of our weaker regions. However, in Virginia, where the Northern OFS conducted its pre-conference preparations, the region held group discussions on strategy and tactics, health, economy, land and education.

But what are the main issues for which delegates need to be prepared? The press is understandably pre-occupied with elections, since the composition of the new leadership obviously has importance for the entire political process.

While the elections are not, in my view, the main issue, it is worth mentioning the extent of democratic participation involved here. This weekend the PWV had to make its nominations for 55 positions. Some 300 people were nominated from branches, so that a very lengthy process of discussion was necessary before voting.

In this and other respects we see a degree of democratic participation that this country may not have experienced before.

But what the conference is really about is the identity of the ANC. A new constitution has to be adopted that reflects the character of the organisation. The ANC is no longer operating illegally and underground and has to genuinely open itself to democratic participation. The membership must be connected to the organisation's structures in such a way that they do, in fact, determine the direction of the ANC. At the same time, the ANC's structures have to be established in a manner that enables it to function effectively, giving leadership to the whole organisation and the democratic forces generally.

Closely tied to the character of the organisation is the strategy and tactics it needs to adopt for the present phase of struggle. This will be considered in general as well as in relation to pressing issues like negotiations, violence, international relations and so on. We need in particular to assess the character of the terrain on which we operate, how it has changed, and identify the challenges we face.

The new situation has opened up the possibility of negotiated resolution of the apartheid conflict. The same goals that we sought through armed struggle, we now consider may be achieved through negotiations. But how are negotiations to be conducted? This is something that will be hotly debated at conference, as it was at the end of the December consultative conference.

Negotiations are neither a strategy nor a tactic on their own. We will have to consider what combination of other forms of struggle will make negotiations successful.

Union grievances with ANC back

w/ma 28/6-4/7/91

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AS the African National Congress gears up for its crucial national conference, profound trade union misgivings about the movement's political style are once more in the spotlight.

"Cosatu and other Mass Democratic Movement organisations have been politically paralysed," a senior Congress of SA Trade Unions official is quoted as complaining in the latest *SA Labour Bulletin*, due to appear next week. "They have had to stand back as the ANC moved to centre stage."

Unionists fear that the ANC is losing ground to the National Party, which is increasingly projecting itself as "the only force capable of ushering in the new South Africa". Violence has shattered ANC structures, while the movement's negotiating style has demoralised and demobilised activists and their constituencies.

What is striking about *SALB* editor Karl von Holdt's survey of Cosatu attitudes is that traditionally Charterist union men are among the ANC's sharpest critics. They include Food and Allied Workers Union president Chris Dlamini and the Paper, Printing Wood and Allied Workers Union's Sipho Kubheka.

This suggests that despite divergent "workerist" and "nationalist" tendencies in Cosatu, criticism of the ANC is universal.

And there are strong hints in the article that Cosatu is to review its role in constitutional negotiations at the congress. Affiliates, it says, are discussing two options — direct participation and the seconding of skilled union personnel to ANC negotiating teams.

Key unionists, including Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo, now declare that the federation's decision to stand back from negotiations was a mistake.

Chief among the union complaints is the ANC's lack of consultation with its allies, especially Cosatu.

But unionists also point to the "top-down" style within the ANC itself, its lack of an organising programme or programme of action, "secretive" negotiations with the state and a readiness to compromise on major issues such as the constitu-

The ANC's national conference is likely to see the displacement of many exile leaders and steps to democratise the movement. This cannot come soon enough for trade union critics, reports

DREW FORREST

ent assembly, a lack of coherence and collectivity in the leadership and the dominance of exile leaders lacking experience of mass action or organisation.

Concerns over unilateral decision-making surfaced last year, particularly on the suspension of the armed struggle. But Von Holdt shows that they reached new heights this year on the violence question.

In April, the ANC confronted the state with its seven-point violence ultimatum, without consulting its allies. While the alliance was debating ac-

tion to enforce the demands, there was a surprise announcement that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was to meet President De Klerk. Later the ANC moderated its demands — again without consultation.

Unionists, Von Holdt says, accuse the ANC of poor negotiating skills, and of failing to understand how to link talks with mass action. "How can you mobilise your membership for action, when at any moment someone will go off and negotiate with your opponent? You don't know the mandate, the demands, what was agreed," one unionist comments.

Fuelling Cosatu's resentment at being treated as a junior alliance partner has been the ANC's failure to consult on the all-party constitutional conference — initially touted as a possible alternative to a constituent assembly — and on progress in negotiations with the state.

Steeped in a culture of public accountability, unionists criticise the secrecy of "talks about talks"

and the joint working groups set up in terms of various minutes. "The government and the ANC reached agreement on the return of exiles and release of prisoners," says Dlamini, "but no-one knew what was entailed in these agreements. When the government ... said the ANC was reneging ... we were unsure what action could be taken."

The canniness of the seasoned union negotiator shines through Naidoo's observation: "The ANC often makes vague agreements which can be reinterpreted or changed later by the regime. It is unwise simply to rely on your opponent's 'integrity'."

Also under fire is Mandela himself, a man of "great personal strength and discipline" but whose "imperial style" discourages collective and democratic decision-making. Although describing him as "the greatest leader our people have produced", many unionists doubt he shares their conception of democracy.

Adds Von Holdt: "Many of the NEC members clustered around him are ineffectual men with no independent base, who constantly seek his favour because he is seen as the source of power."

Lack of coherence in the leadership is a further source of frustration. "They keep giving different positions and changing their decisions," is one comment.

Conflicting ANC statements, ambiguity on key policies and the hiatus between talks and mass action suggest to the union men a lack of strategic perspective. Some complain that neither the Freedom Charter nor the Harare Declaration seems to guide the organisation.

Severe criticism there may be — but there is no evidence, as one press report recently suggested, that Cosatu intends partially disengaging from the alliance at its July congress.

With one dissenting voice — that of textile unionist John Copelyn, who argues that too much union influence could weaken the ANC by narrowing its cross-class appeal — unionists interviewed by the bulletin want a tighter partnership with a stronger ANC, and an ANC programme which more closely reflects a worker agenda.

ANC concessions to the right ^(11A) and left

By REG RUMNEY

^{w/mc}
28/6-4/7/91
THE African National Congress has not ruled out selective nationalisation, is considering anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation and will undertake a probe of South Africa's conglomerates.

It is also looking at a range of new taxes and shifting more of the tax burden towards businesses and away from individuals.

This is revealed in the draft resolution on ANC economic policy produced for the national conference.

The document differs only subtly from previous ANC economic discussion documents. But it does commit the ANC firmly to a "democratic mixed economy" and rules out commandist solutions.

The document appears to look over both the ANC's left and right shoulders. The slogan "growth through redistribution" has been dropped. At the same time there is more discussion of nationalisation.

The document says the ANC is committed to keeping public utility corporations in state hands. It also says "strategic enterprises will be identified in other sectors whose role is central to the realisation of development objectives.

"Where the balance of evidence suggests that it would be advantageous, particular enterprises will be incorporated on a case-by-case basis into the public sector."

This may be done through nationalisation, buying on the market and establishing new state enterprises.

The document reassures that such action "will bear in mind the need to main-

tain confidence and bind itself to proceeding according to constitutional principles".

The ANC wants to encourage a more dynamic and efficient private sector. It wants a major inquiry into the conglomerate structure in South Africa, though it is not opposed to large firms as such.

Attention will be given, says the document, to rectifying race and gender imbalances and encouraging small business. Anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation will be considered.

The document identifies several economic priorities.

The most important, from the point of view of what kind of economic system

the ANC has in mind is creating a welfare system guaranteeing freedom from hunger and preventable disease by providing among other things safe drinking water, sanitation and minimum levels of nutrition. The document stresses this will be done "progressively" and talks of a "rising welfare floor". This seems to imply huge funds will not be committed all at once to creating a welfare state. However, state pensions will be equalised immediately.

"A national retirement scheme underwritten by the state and a compulsory, comprehensive unemployment scheme involving contributions from workers and employers as well as the state, will be introduced."

The document acknowledges the

post-apartheid dividend won't be enough to pay for all of this. And it says that while there needs to be redistribution of resources to the poor, it should be done without abandoning a responsible fiscal and monetary discipline.

To pay for a welfare system, it is proposed that a capital gains tax, a capital transfer tax, and "progressive property and land taxes" be introduced. New "prescribed asset requirements" for financial institutions will be looked at.

The drafters of the document have inserted a kind of escape clause: "We who subscribe to this manifesto proclaim that our aims and policies are just and viable. They are sufficiently flexible to anticipate changing and uncertain circumstances."

Conference axe hangs over ANC old guard

THE 35-person national executive committee of the African National Congress is set to be decimated in Durban next week as a new generation of younger, more dynamic activists rises to the leadership of the organisation.

Countrywide nominations for the expanded NEC reflect a strong showing by former Mass Democratic Movement "internal" activists and political prisoners, a trend that is likely to be confirmed in next week's elections.

The eyes of the nation will be on the ANC as it attempts to transform itself into a democratic political force capable of matching the initiatives of President FW de Klerk and preparing for its role as the potential future government of South Africa.

The issue for the ANC is not whether or not to negotiate. There is a growing recognition that there can be no turning back to the armed struggle and that the only way forward is the peaceful resolution of the political conflict through negotiations with the government.

The issue is whether the ANC can

w/m and 28/6-4/7/91
 elect a team in Durban that can formulate a strategic vision, bargain hard with the government, and mobilise and respond to the demands of its grass-roots constituency. It needs to carry those supporters with it through the negotiations and into a democratic South Africa.

There is widespread criticism of how the pre-negotiations phase has been conducted to date, with little consultation at times on key issues between the leadership and the rank and file.

The ANC has seemingly given too much too soon, paralysing mass action initiatives, while the government has snared the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles in red tape.

The violence has undermined the ANC which, until the April threat to

(11A)
 A new generation of internal activists is poised to eclipse the African National Congress's exile leadership. **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK** reports

call off talks, had the movement reeling against the ropes.

De Klerk has time and again taken the strategic initiative from the ANC — painting himself as the great reformer who abolished apartheid, winning kudos in the international community and moving towards establishing the National Party as an electoral prospect in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The National Party, according to opinion polls, has moved ahead of the ANC in the Indian and coloured com-

munities, where the movement has been slow off the mark, and has picked up some support among conservative blacks.

The upward mobility of septuagenarians Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, shielded from much of the criticism because of their personal prestige, is an exception to the rule that the old guard will be slaughtered in Durban.

The majority of the NEC will be out of office by the end of next week.

Mandela, the arch-proponent of negotiations, has been nominated unopposed as president. He steps into the seat that is to be vacated by Oliver Tambo, for whom the post of honorary president will be created.

The ANC needs a strong, self-confident executive that will not allow

the ANC to become a one-man show — and which will hold even the president of the movement accountable to the decisions of its members.

Sisulu is still the front-runner for the deputy-presidency, a post which will be his if he agrees to stand.

One of the keenest contests will be for the key post of secretary-general, from which the incumbent, Alfred Nzo, is almost certain to be ousted.

Miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa, nominated by the influential PWV region, former United Democratic Front general-secretary Popo Molefe, southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma and Border leader Arnold Stofile could all be in the running.

The pattern from NEC nominations around the country is that a core of about 20 names recur and are at the top of the lists with regularity.

These include Thabo Mbeki, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Ahmed Kathrada, Joe Slovo, Gertrude Shope, Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Chris Hani, Raymond Suttner, Sidney Mufamadi and Steve Tshwete.

● See PAGES 20 and 21

Buthelezi: Uganda training ANC, PAC

ULUNDI. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday alleged that ANC and PAC members were being retrained by the Ugandan Defence Force. (11A) CT 28/6/91

Chief Buthelezi said the retraining was to prepare the people for integration into the South African Defence Force. However, he said such plans could only escalate the conflict between black political organisations and make reconciliation impossible. The Inkatha Freedom Party has denied that the KwaZulu government is 'flooding' the area with G3 rifles.

IFP central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela said it was true, however, that the German-made rifles had been issued to "a number" of government functionaries.

"This step became necessary after numerous attacks on KwaZulu government property caused damage amounting to more than R1 million," he said. — Sapa and Political Staff

Nelson (11A)
FW win Star 28/6/91
joint prize

PARIS — President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela were yesterday named by the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) as joint winners of a new international peace prize.

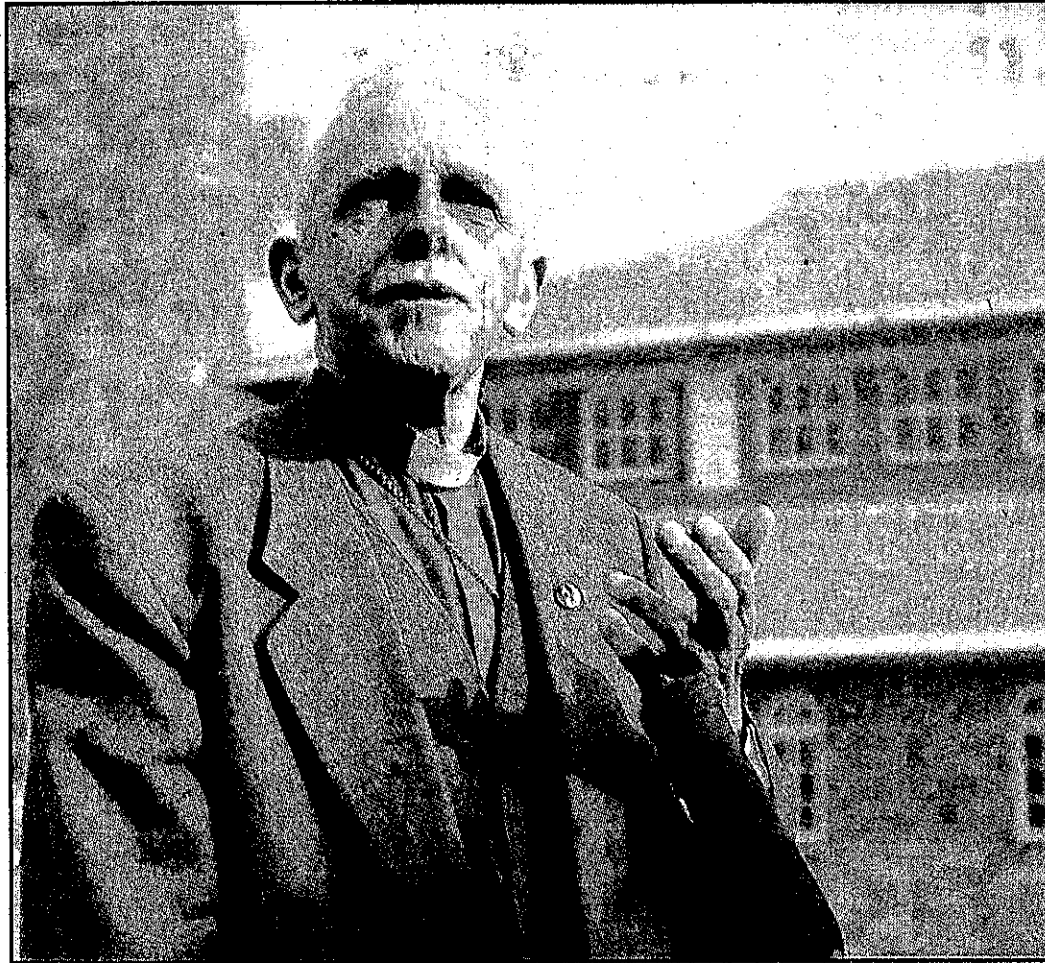
Mr de Klerk, who recently fulfilled his pledge to abolish all major apartheid laws, and Mr Mandela were honoured "to encourage them to persevere in their efforts" to establish a new South Africa.

The \$130 000 (R338 000) prize, to be shared by the recipients, is named after President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

The jury was headed by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Other jurors were Nobel Peace Prize winner Adolfo Perez Esquivel of Argentina and Nobel physics laureate Abdus Salam of Pakistan.

Also on the panel were former French Justice Minister Jean Foyer, former Education Minister Iba der Thiam of Senegal, former Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada, former Egyptian Foreign Minister Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat, and Andrew Young, mayor of Atlanta and former US ambassador to the UN. — Sapa-AP.



Fond, sad memories . . . Archbishop Trevor Huddleston speaks outside the church in Triomf, once Sophiatown, where he preached more than 30 years ago. Picture: Alf Kumalo

Disconcerted Huddleston recalls vibrant Sophiatown

Star 28/6/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston took a drive down memory lane yesterday when he visited Triomf — a place where he defiantly posed for local and international photographers more than three decades ago as bulldozers moved in to demolish Sophiatown.

For Father Huddleston, who arrived in South Africa on Sunday to open the ANC's national congress in Durban next week, Sophiatown was not only his parish.

It was also his home, and among his neighbours were prominent ANC leaders such as the late Dr A B Xuma.

Father Huddleston, who at 78 now heads the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, yesterday spoke with fondness about his home on 74 Meyer Street, which has been an open piece of ground since the demolition of his house many years ago.

Standing outside the Pinkster Protestant Kerk, which used to be called the Church of Christ the King, Father Huddleston spoke with emotion about the place, its people and those who

declared the area a "black spot" and moved its inhabitants to several townships in Soweto.

Sophiatown, he said, was "culturally immensely alive", with numerous talented artists, writers and musicians. He lamented the loss of the place's vitality.

Looking at the church in front of him, the archbishop told how his sermons were translated into seven different languages.

"It's very disconcerting," he said when asked how he felt to be back after so many years.

"The only thing that is still recognisable is the church."

Although the place's name was changed to Triomf, the street names remain the same.

One of apartheid's fiercest critics, Father Huddleston yesterday spoke only with affection about the Sophiatown he loved, and indulged in politics only when responding to questions from the press.

He was asked if he would like to spend his last years in the area and be buried there.

"As a first step," he said as ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma led him to his car, "I would like to have the place called Sophiatown again."

Azanian youth deny being splinter group

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 28/6/91

11A

The Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), which held its national congress at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto at the weekend, yesterday denied being a splinter group.

Azanyu sports and culture secretary Sese Taunyane told The Star that his Azanyu was not a splinter group from the Azanyu which held its national congress at Cala in Transkei a few months ago.

Two members of the organisation visited The Star yesterday and objected strongly to

their organisation being described as a splinter group, saying that that was calculated to "kill" the organisation.

The two young men — one of whom identified himself only as Ncedi from the eastern Transvaal and a colleague who signed himself as Feyson at The Star reception — said theirs was the only Azanyu and denied there had ever been any controversy surrounding their "one settler, one bullet" slogan.

They were reacting to a report in The Star on Wednesday on their Soweto congress. The report described them as a splinter group of Azanyu.

The Soweto congress:

- Rejected negotiations and a constituent assembly.
- Rejected the proposed united front of liberation movements, dismissing it as not having been "founded on the required revolutionary principles".
- Strongly censured the OAU and the United Nations for their softening attitudes towards Pretoria.

Those elected into the new Azanyu executive committee were Ntsie Mohloai (president), Mawanda Jack (vice-president), Mpuka Radinku (general-secretary), Mayaya Molefi (publicity), Adelaide Mohama (finance), Fezile Qogi (national organiser), Vuyani Mbinda (foreign affairs), Steve Tshitshongo (political affairs), Sese Taunyane (sports and culture), Bheki Mdladla (education), Nceti Nkosi (labour), Siphelo Somdaka and Terrence Serero.

It looks like a party congress. But, asks Shaun Johnson, is it?

Pricelless heritage of the ANC

Shaw 28/6/91

11/A

If one was to judge by the planned glitz and the guest list alone, next week's ANC Congress in Durban looks like being one of the most sophisticated pieces of classical party politics this country has yet seen.

It is likely to resemble nothing so much as an American Primary.

But does this mean that the ANC is finally making its transition from "liberation movement" to "political party"?

The deeper signs — beneath the banners and giant TV screens — are that it is not, and that it has no intention of doing so at the moment.

The onset of the "new South Africa" carries in its slipstream a variety of new political clichés, some of which achieve unquestioning acceptance surprisingly quickly.

One of these is that it is the central task of all the major extra-parliamentary groups to transform themselves into "political parties" as the term is generally understood.

All manner of behaviour is thereby deemed to be explicable in terms of this "transition phase", the assumption being that the dy-

namics of decision-making will change on the day the goal is achieved.

The "transitional" context is applied most energetically to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose metamorphosis from movement to party is believed to be their primary (and also identical) task.

Since its unbanning and return to above-ground politics, it is reasoned, most of the ANC's energies have been channelled into this — with uncertain results.

Similarly in the case of the IFP, the changed political circumstances have ostensibly downgraded the "cultural liberation" aspect of the movement, and upgraded its "party" nature — hence the recent name change.

(The Pan Africanist Congress, which has not yet agreed to swap "out-system" for "in-system" politics, is regarded as being some way behind the process and therefore of less current interest.)

Of course clichés only achieve currency because there is truth in them. But in the case of the "movement-to-party" model and particularly insofar as it is applied to the ANC — it is possi-

ble that analysts are in danger of misinterpreting the goal (and therefore misreading the build-up), as well as failing to identify the very different positions in which the various groups find themselves.

It is arguable that what is meant by "party" is overwhelmingly Western, even Westminsterian, in the way it is presented in South Africa.

It places great store by membership lists, branch structures, propaganda units, campaign parades, phernalia, chains of command, visible preparations for electioneering and so forth.

Using this sort of checklist, the "performance" of each can be (and frequently is) assessed. The ANC comes out relatively badly.

Since February 2 1990, it has failed to secure an unambiguously impressive "card-carrying" membership (Government sources scornfully say the National Party still boasts more "real" members than the ANC).

Its membership drives have been poorly organised and many of its branches, set up in the rush of excitement a year ago, have

hardly flourished.

Conferences have thus far been ill-prepared, and media relations have as often as not constituted a well-publicised shambles.

Compounding this has been a tendency for leaders to contradict one another in public.

In the traditional Western sense, the report card of the "African National Congress Party" is dismal — second only in its reflection of ineptitude to that of the PAC, which remains "half-in, half-out" of South African politics.

By contrast, the IFP is viewed as boasting a viable party structure, drawing on the experience of many years of legality and administrative sway in KwaZulu.

If this logic is pursued to its conclusion, it would suggest that in straight "party politics" there would be no contest between the organisations.

This illustrates the danger of applying a mechanistic interpretation to the "transition to party" syndrome in the local context.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, elections took place after "liberation movements" had had the opportunity to transform themselves into political parties.

In both cases the pre-eminent "liberation movement" was nowhere near as well-organised as its "in-system" opponent.

In terms of party efficiency, Bishop Muzorewa's UANC and Mr Mudge's DTA wiped the political floor with Mr Mugabe's Zanu and Mr Nujoma's Swapo.

History shows, however, that the electoral results spoke differently.

South Africa is not the United Kingdom or the United States, and constituency politics take on a different form.

Broad mobilisation around generalities and perceptions assumes greater importance than localised, detailed policy issues.

The ANC is less concerned with creating branches that run like clockwork that it is with sustaining, nurturing — and eventually translating into votes — its price-less historical legacy.

Historical legacies are not easily quantifiable, and do not necessarily require canvassing.

The ANC, more than any other political grouping in South Africa, appeals to an ethnically and geographically diffuse and huge constituency.

This demands an approach different from those with narrower, more cohesive support-bases.

None of this suggests that the ANC — and others — are concerned with "efficiency".

On the contrary, ANC leaders regularly express alarm about their more shambohic organisational tentacles.

But it remains risky to assume that party-political efficacy in this narrow sense is a primary concern at this stage in South Africa's development; judging actors purely on that basis could produce skewed results.

Against this background it is not surprising that President de Klerk should have chosen, shortly before Parliament rose, to call on the ANC to speed up its transformation into a "proper" political party.

And it is not surprising that ANC official Raymond Suttner, speaking at a recent press briefing, should have said:

"We are reluctant to become a political party. We are a national liberation movement — we rely on daily contact with our supporters, we draw daily sustenance from them." □

Just ask million-dollar question, Detroit tells Nelson

DETROIT. — The ANC says Mr Nelson Mandela has been too busy to contact the mayor, Mr Coleman Young, about the million dollars raised during the ANC leader's visit here last summer.

But Detroit officials say that's the only way he'll get the money.

"How long does it take to write a letter that says: 'Dear Mr Young, please send the money to the Mandela Freedom Fund. Sincerely, Nelson Mandela?'" mayoral spokesman Mr Bob

Berg asked.

Organisers of Mr Mandela's seven-city fund-raising pilgrimage say Detroit is the only city that hasn't turned over its proceeds, apparently because Mr Young wants Mr Mandela to tell him where the money will be spent, the Detroit Free Press reported in yesterday's editions.

The money is in an interest-bearing account in a downtown Detroit bank and has grown to about \$1.1 million (about R3,2m), the news-

paper said.

Mr Young co-chaired the local welcoming committee and is the only person who can release the money.

Among the delays the mayor has cited are that fund-raising in Detroit went on longer than in other cities, delaying payment, and he wants assurance the money will be channelled to humanitarian or charitable causes.

The ANC has written a letter asking the city to send the money to the Mandela Freedom

Fund. (11A) CT 28/6/91

"The money is not Mandela's, it is the people's," said the Rev Jim Holley, pastor of Detroit's Little Rock Baptist Church and a member of the welcoming committee.

"The mayor should offer the people an explanation," he said. "Maybe there's a good reason why the money has not been sent. At least he should have the decency to tell the people who raised this money why it's still here." — Sapa-AP

The burning of effigies (11A) isn't our style, says Slovo

By Patrick Laurence *Star 24/6/91* heid protest organised by the ANC Youth League.

Joe Slovo, general-secretary of the South African Communist Party, today dissociates himself from the May 31 episode in which effigies of National Party leaders from Hendrik Verwoerd to F W de Klerk were burnt during a march in Cape Town.

Writing in his column in the latest issue of Umsebenzi, journal of the SACP, he says on behalf of veteran ANC leader Walter Sisulu and himself: "Burning effigies is not part of our political style."

The effigies and the South African flag were draped around a coffin, together with a poster reading "Bury the racist republic".

Mr Slovo recalls that he and Mr Sisulu gladly helped carry the coffin during an anti-apar-

"But as we were about to hand over the coffin to the commanding police officer as part of the youth statement, we unexpectedly saw smoke rising from it. The youth had decided to make their own protest."

Mr Slovo notes that the US Supreme Court has ruled that burning effigies is integral to free speech and thus a protected constitutional right.

But he then says he can understand the indignation of Cabinet Ministers.

The same issue of Umsebenzi discloses that former journalist Charles Nqakula was a member of Operation Vula, which it defines as an ANC plan to place senior men and women to lead the struggle against apartheid "from the front".

FM 28/6/91 (11A) ~~304A~~

Senior government sources confirm that exploratory talks with ANC representatives have already achieved a considerable degree of consensus on how and when a multi-party conference can be convened — as well as agenda priorities.

With nearly all statutory discrimination having been scrapped during the parliamentary session that ended last week (only the constitution and related "owns affairs" laws still remain), government negotiators are giving full attention to getting talks started.

Pretoria believes it has now honoured its commitment to scrap statutory apartheid and set the scene for the attainment of four goals: security, prosperity, progress and political representativeness. According to government and ANC sources, there is general agreement that the establishment of a pre-negotiation forum is possible before the end of the year despite "obstacles" cited by both sides.

Government believes the ANC's failure to abandon, rather than merely suspend, the "armed struggle" stands in the way, while the ANC argues that a multi-party conference cannot be convened until violence is curbed, all political prisoners are released and exiles allowed to return.

But it seems that both sides have privately agreed that talks can begin before these conditions are met.

"It's an over-simplification to say government must stop the violence. The only long-term solution is to change people's attitudes," says one senior government source. He adds that while government regards the ANC's failure to abandon the "armed struggle" as an obstacle to the conference, it is not "rigid" on the issue.

Government is also prepared to put ANC demands for the election of a constituent assembly and an interim government on the agenda, though there is some concern that the ANC is "painting itself into a corner" on the issues, neither of which has been clearly defined by the organisation.

How to determine the bona fides of multi-party conference participants is obviously a problem, but government believes none of the parties involved should be too "dogmatic."

One possible solution being discussed is that the first meeting should include only representatives of those groups whose support is beyond doubt. They will then determine the "norms and standards" for further meetings as well as the possible inclusion of additional groups.

Once these issues have been resolved it is felt that the conference could complete its work within a matter of weeks, after which a full-scale constitutional conference could be convened.

Government's only "non-negotiable" is against the suspension of parliament or the constitution (though even the ANC has not been particularly strong on these demands).

The release of prisoners and the return of exiles is a "very complicated issue" which is being dealt with by government. "Games are

NEGOTIATIONS FM 28/6/91

TALKING ON TRACK

Government and the ANC actually appear to be closer than ever to agreement on the format of a forum in which the framework for full-scale constitutional negotiations will be hammered out. There were clear indications this week that influential "moderates" within the ANC were strongly positioned to argue for early talks with government when the organisation meets for its watershed conference in Durban next Tuesday.



Van der Merwe ... a conservative moderate?

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 28/6/91

being played by people who want to create the perception internationally that we aren't performing, but the picture is far more positive than the propagandists make out," according to one source. (As the FM went to press, there were indications that the issue could be resolved during talks in Pretoria between Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and ANC representatives.)

Government is not particularly concerned at this stage about the possibility of a right-wing backlash. "It depends on how whites perceive change. If they regard it as a threat to their survival, then the potential for violence increases. But we believe the majority of Conservative Party supporters are good citizens and good Christians who wouldn't like to see SA destroyed by violence or plunged into a civil war," the source says.

Signs of a crisis in rightwing ranks emerged this week with the sacking of outspoken MP Koos van der Merwe as the CP's chief information officer. Van der Merwe leads the "moderate" group in the CP which supports participation in the multi-party conference where it believes it can make a contribution towards safeguarding white minority rights.

CP hardliners — by far the majority in the parliamentary caucus — favour boycotting the talks and, if necessary, initiating extra-parliamentary action to protest against government's reform efforts.

Continue

Boesak is poised to sign up for ANC

1117
MK 29/6/91

MARK SUZMAN
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — It has been nearly a year since revelations about Allan Boesak's affair with SABC producer Elma Botha caused him to resign his church posts and retire from public life.

But now the feisty churchman is making a comeback.

Looking relaxed and confident and showing little trace of stress over recent months, Dr Boesak, now married to Ms Botha, nevertheless shies away from discussing the issue that cost him his parish.

"It's still too painful to talk about and neither of us are really ready to speak, but the marriage is going very well," he says — a fact confirmed by the tender kiss he gives his wife as she leaves for another appointment.

This time, however, the speculation is not about his divorce and remarriage, but about a return to the political arena. Having first combined sec-

tarian and secular roles by becoming a founder and patron of the United Democratic Front and using his platform as president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to condemn apartheid, Dr Boesak admits that he is now ready to resume both his religious and political roles — and he sees his future within the African National Congress.

"Should I enter politics in any serious fashion it can only be with the ANC," he emphasises, adding that the principles he has always upheld in his own career are mirrored in the ANC's non-racial platform.

Nevertheless, while he regards the organisation as his political home, he has so far declined to apply for direct membership, citing the need for ANC clarity on a number of issues first.

"I have held a meeting with Mr Mandela, at his request, where I raised certain issues that I would like to have clarification on. This is because I will not be joining simply as an ordinary member. I have a high profile and a constituency who continue to have questions

about the ANC that need to be answered," he says.

Shrugging off speculation that he may be elected to the ANC National Executive at the organisation's congress next week, which he will be attending, Dr Boesak observes that another reason he has not joined is to prevent rumours that he has "cut a deal" with the group to get an NEC position in exchange for his support.

But he admits that if grassroots support elects him nevertheless, he would find it difficult to refuse.

Discussing what role he might play within the ANC, Dr Boesak firmly dismisses speculation that he would be used as a counterweight within the so-called coloured community to prevent the leakage of support to the National Party.

"I have said throughout my life that we must strive for genuine non-racialism, and while the so-called coloured vote is certainly important, I have never restricted my own political participation to a single group," he says.

On the question of his differences with the ANC, Dr Boesak played down Press reports of his hostility towards the South African Communist Party and his criticism of the ANC's role in violence, saying that both comments were taken out of context.

"I merely said that Marxist-Leninist rhetoric would alienate many conservative Christian communities in rural areas," he says.

"But it is necessary for the ANC to look carefully at its links with the SACP. The context for the original alliance has changed and we need to look at what is needed now in our country and who the people the ANC wants are."

With regard to violence, moreover, he places responsibility firmly at the feet of the government, accusing it of manipulating the conflict for political ends.

"My only criticism of the ANC, and this is because I am a pacifist in principle, is that they must help stop the glorification of the armed struggle which encourages some of the

youth to violent acts," he observes.

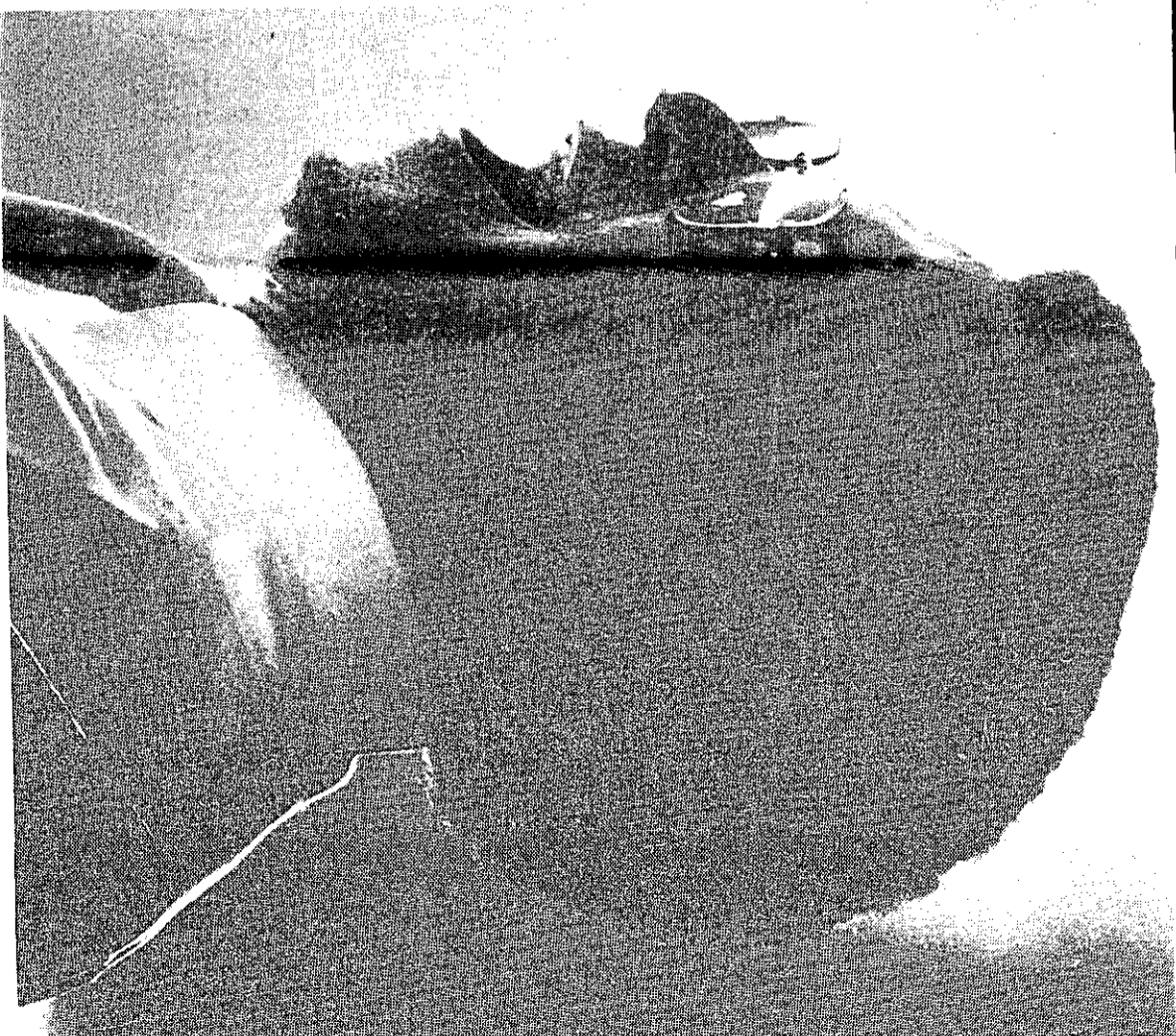
Turning to broader issues of strategy, Dr Boesak says he endorses the ANC's calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly, but feels that the latter is both more important and has more chance of success than the former.

"People involved in the struggle have worked very hard for the right to participate — some have gone to jail and died for it — and for me it's very important that they have the opportunity to do so," he says.

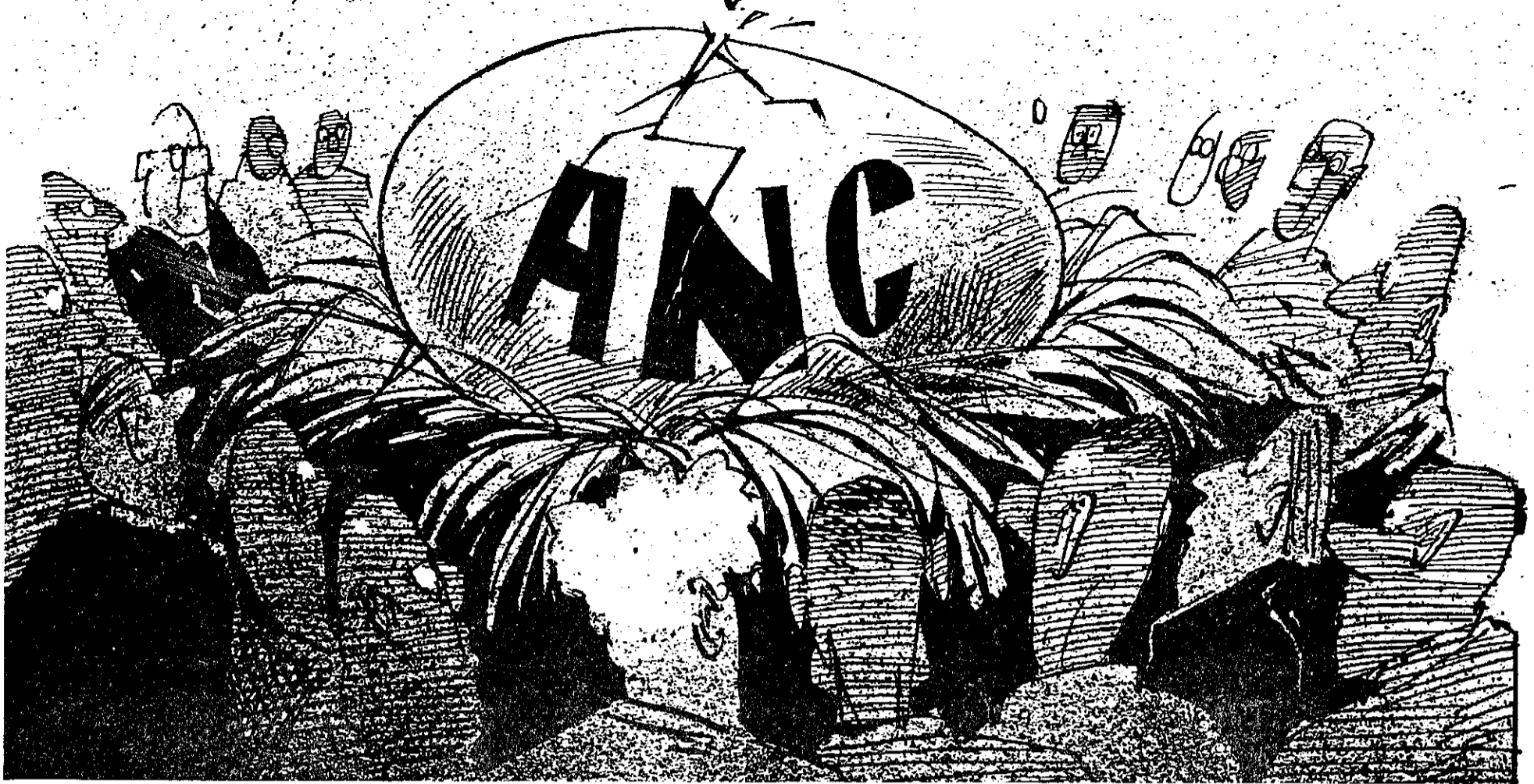
As to the question of when he might rejoin the party, he might rather say he has already joined the ANC, Dr Boesak says, merely that Mr Mandela has promised to get back to him at the earliest possible opportunity.

In the meantime, he will continue to move around the country addressing supporters and propounding his personal ideals while giving attention to his new marriage.

When queried about rumours that his new family may soon have an addition, Dr Boesak just chuckles. "Wait and see," he says.



READY FOR ACTION ... Dr Allan Boesak is already speaking out for the ANC and is planning to join the party once he receives clarification on "certain issues".



ANC must vote for pragmatism

11A
ANCUS 29/6/91

THE African National Congress's 48th National Conference next week is drawing as much (if not more) national attention and comment as any South African general election I can think of.

For ANC members it is also a nostalgic historical occasion that the conference will be held in Durban where the last legal ANC National Conference was held in 1958.

Symbolically it is as if the ANC is saying it wants to continue from where it left off in the long struggle for liberation.

The conference is also important in that it promises to bring the largest influx ever of foreign leaders and dignitaries into South Africa, a fact that has not passed unnoticed by tourism and the business sector.

According to ANC spokesmen, 350 high-profile foreign guests from 20 countries will attend, including leaders from Cuba, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

This international diversity of the ANC's foreign guest list proves beyond doubt that, while the organisation has numerous other problems, the strength that it has in abundance is international credibility and acceptance.

This is not surprising, since any ANC observer would readily agree that one pillar of the ANC struggle that was professionally and successfully pursued throughout the 30 years of its exile was international diplomacy.

Praise for this should go to ailing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who was dispatched in the early sixties by Chief Albert Luthuli, the then president, as a one-man ANC diplomatic mission overseas.

Under Mr Tambo's steady and calm guidance, the ANC's foreign diplomatic missions today number far more than those of the government.

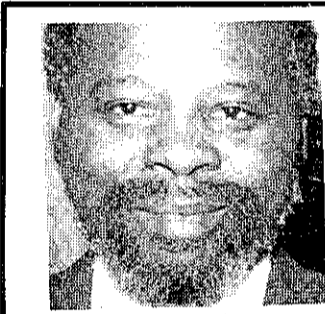
Skilled ANC diplomats like the late Mr Johnson Makhathini and Mr Thabo Mbeki also came to the fore during this period.

Many observers have speculated that the ANC conference will divide into hawks and doves or Marxists and nationalists in deciding on issues placed before it.

I prefer to use the dichotomy of pragmatists and fundamentalists.

Pragmatists will see the conference as providing the ANC with its last opportunity to review policy and set guidelines before the start of constitutional negotiations.

According to the new ANC constitution, which it is hoped will be adopted by the



OSCAR DHLOMO, chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, looks at the African National Congress conference which starts in Durban on Tuesday and argues that ANC delegates need to elect pragmatists who will be able to adapt their strategies and move forward with the changing times.

conference, the next ordinary conference is due in three years.

By that time constitutional negotiations will most probably have started and, if all goes well, a draft new South African constitution will be taking shape and perhaps even the date for national elections will have been tentatively discussed.

THIS means the ANC must come out of the conference with clear, even if skeletal, guidelines, on various policy issues such as land, education, the economy, health and welfare, and housing.

In terms of this scenario, the conference will have to do all the policy groundwork now rather than later if the ANC is to present a united, coherent and unambiguous policy platform to the electorate between now and 1994.

Obviously the ANC fundamentalists will argue that policy issues are not urgent and that the negotiations are not likely to start within three years.

They will point at "obstacles" that have not yet been removed, including the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

They will ignore the fact that these obstacles have been and still are under constant discussion by the ANC/National Party working group and that once mutual agreement is reached removal will entail no more than a mere overnight stroke of the pen.

If fundamentalists have their way and prevail upon the conference to ignore policy issues then we will have a thoroughly confused and strategically divided ANC clumsily limping along into negotiations and a post-apartheid election.

The conference must also afford the ANC an opportunity to clarify its thinking on the transition mechanisms that it proposes, such as a constituent assembly and an interim government.

There are still many loopholes and grey areas in this regard which the ANC will need to attend to.

For instance, given the fact that not only the government but also significant political players like the Inkatha Freedom Party have problems with the con-

stituent assembly as proposed, the ANC would need to debate possible variations of the concept that might make it more acceptable to other players.

The same applies to the interim government.

The ANC will have to be honest with itself and decide if, in its present form and provided it won a constituent assembly election, it would be able to run a viable interim government on its own and take over all the State functions virtually overnight.

In this regard, it will need to examine carefully the government's alternative offer — a jointly managed multi-party transitional authority rather than a single-party one.

ANC fundamentalists would perhaps frown upon a jointly managed transitional authority and argue that this might lead to a perception that they have been co-opted by the apartheid state.

They will hopefully soon learn that, short of a successful armed insurrection, there is no model of transition that will avoid some measure of interim co-operation between those who wield political power now and those who are waiting for its transfer to them.

In any case, the Groot Schuur and Pretoria Minutes marked the beginnings of the principle of joint management of the process of political transition.

It is not clear to what extent the conference will discuss the process of rolling back sanctions.

All indications are that the ANC is rapidly losing this battle by default.

Sanctions are already crumbling and the debate itself is rapidly becoming yesterday's debate.

Unbelievable strategic ineptitude, as displayed at the consultative conference in December 1990, has seen the ANC tragically failing to capitalise on its brilliant international success in spearheading the imposition of sanctions.

For unknown reasons the ANC is now refusing to stay ahead in the international

game of sanctions by quickly devising a strategy that will see the organisation spearheading the rolling back of sanctions.

The ANC's attitude in this regard reminds one of a powerful person defiantly standing in pouring rain holding a cake of sea sand that is fast dissolving in his hand.

ANC fundamentalists will insist that sanctions should remain in place until change is irreversible or until the voteless have the vote.

IN Namibia, where the latter strategy was applied, some international sanctions are still in place after one year of independence.

In appreciation of the fact that politicians are not fond of admitting their mistakes, the ANC fundamentalists should rather be saying the sanctions debate must be allowed to quietly die a natural death since most countries that imposed them in the first place have by now decided or are in the process of deciding how and when they will lift them.

Observers will also be watching to see if the ANC will manage to transform itself from a liberation movement into a sleek and professional political party ready to do battle in a free and fair election.

If the ANC does not do this, it will find it difficult to match the electioneering skills and experience of the NP which has been in this game for more than 40 years.

It is only after the ANC has re-structured itself as a political party that it will be able to convert its general, but unaffiliated support, into committed voter support.

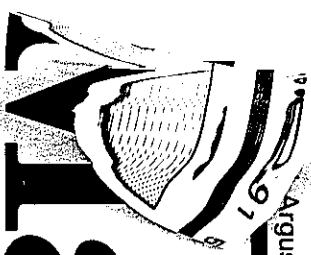
At the moment the ANC's alleged membership of 500 000 does not tally with the general support the organisation undoubtedly enjoys in the whole country.

The ANC's membership fee of R12 also seems too expensive for ordinary people, many of whom are unemployed.

There is clearly no unanimity within the ANC on the question of transforming the organisation into a political party, and yet there is no way the present ANC can be effectively put on to an election footing.

I suppose fundamentalists would like the ANC to continue as a liberation movement with its revolutionary rhetoric on armed struggle, mass action and defence units all in tow.

Fundamentalists need to remember that the last time a liberation movement tried to be a government was in Mozambique during the Samora Machel era. The rest is now history.



Mandela's Mandate

11A
Arg 29/6/91

Critical choice: Negotiation or armed struggle?

FUTURE constitutional negotiations are in the balance as the African National Congress faces crucial options at its national conference next week.

An intense debate is expected on whether negotiations should be continued — and, if so, how. Some analysts envisage a critical choice for the ANC between negotiations and armed struggle.

The eyes of the world will be on the conference, which begins on Tuesday in Durban and ends on Saturday.

In particular, attention will be focused on Mr Nelson Mandela, poised to be elected as the new president of the ANC.

He is expected to emerge from the conference as a more powerful political figure and as a potential first choice for appointment to an interim cabinet during South Africa's planned transition to a non-racial democracy.

According to specialist observers some of the crunch options facing the ANC will include:

- A political future with or without communist domination by SACP members and ideas;
- Democratic rules or the law of the gun;
- Party-political organisation or power from street action and mass mobilisation;
- International credibility and stature, or fading political influence;

A specialist on ANC history, Professor Colin Bundy, of the University of the Western Cape's history department, says there is likely to be an intense debate on whether to continue negotiations and how these should be conducted. He expects those opposed to continuing the negotiation process to argue that the ANC has made concessions which have not been reciprocated and, further, that the ANC has lost the strategic initiative as mass pressure was subverted by negotiations.

At a recent Idasa-hosted discussion, Professor Bundy predicted



the ANC conference was likely to favour continuing negotiations, but division on how this should take place was probable.

Up for debate would be such issues as the nature of further concessions, the level of secrecy and the degree to which negotiators would be tied to set positions.

Key policy issues to be discussed, according to Professor Bundy, will include the constitution, negotiations, the economy, land, the constituent assembly and the proposed "patriotic front".

He says there is likely to be overwhelming support for an elected constituent assembly whose delegates are accountable to their constituencies and whose debates are open to public scrutiny, as opposed to an assembly that meets behind closed doors or an assembly formed out of an all-party conference.

Total unanimity is expected on the need to end the current violence racking the Witwatersrand and parts of Natal. But there could be division on how to deal with the issue, with some delegates favouring militarist solutions and others supporting a political approach.

Professor Bundy says the most important pressure facing the ANC is the "inherent, inescapable difficulty of transforming the organisation from the politics of secrecy, illegality, exile and the underground."

The eyes of the world are on the African National Congress' national conference starting on Tuesday. A major challenge facing the movement is whether or not it is going to emerge with the democratic profile it needs as a player in a negotiated future. Weekend Argus political correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE examines some of the issues.

On the other hand, Professor Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch suggests the ANC will have to make an unambiguous choice between negotiation and a "revolutionary position".

He told Weekend Argus: "A clearer ANC commitment and bottom line on negotiations is needed because there is still a revolutionary position discernable among many ANC supporters. This position clearly represents a contradiction of the negotiation option, because a back door is being left open for the option of violence."

An important issue facing the conference is that of how to end the current wave of violence.

There is clearly a powerful element in the ANC, represented by prominent figures like military strongman Chris Hani, who believe the ANC must be ready to resume the armed struggle in the event of the failure of negotiations.

This viewpoint — seen by some critics as seeking, in effect, negotiations almost at gunpoint — will severely damage the credibility of ANC claims of working towards a democratic system.

As Professor Breytenbach puts it: "What the ANC must decide is whether it wants to be a political party or continue to be a liberation movement. If it chooses to keep a back door open for armed struggle — for the option of guerrilla warfare — then it cannot be a political

party in the democratic sense.

If, on the other hand, it wants to follow democratic rules of the game in negotiations, then it must behave like a political party. It is anathema for a political party in the democratic sense of the term to entertain violent options, including strategies aimed at armed struggle."

This issue, according to Professor Breytenbach, is of crucial importance not only for future negotiations in South Africa, but also for the ANC's stature and credibility in a world moving dramatically towards democracy.

"A lot of international attention is going to be focused on this conference. The ANC's major financial supporters and donors to its cause are no longer communist regimes from the East bloc, but Western governments and interest groups in the Western world whose vision for the ANC is a democratic one."

The ANC would therefore have to reconsider its position on armed struggle which it has so far only suspended but not abandoned or renounced.

Apartheid was condemned by the world because it was undemocratic. And undemocratic regimes in Africa are coming under pressure from Western donors to democratise. Any government or regime stepping out of line with the trend will not go unnoticed.

"In fact, it will be punished by the Western donor community" as was evident when the US Congress

decided to withhold money from the ANC because of its association with the SACP — apparently regarded as undemocratic.

Constitutional law specialist Professor Martinus Wiechers says a significant aspect of the ANC conference, the importance of which some observers have lost sight of, is the fact that Mr Nelson Mandela will for the first time be elected as president of the movement to succeed Mr Oliver Tambo.

The immediate effect of this will be that Mr Mandela will have a lot more say. His full legitimacy will give him more power to guide the movement in a moderate direction and will qualify him for appointment to an interim cabinet during South Africa's transition period.

"This conference can, in fact, be seen as Mandela's conference," Professor Wiechers said.

He sees as one of the most important decisions for the ANC next week its stand on the question of a multi-party conference. The ANC conference is expected to ratify the movement's previous demands for a constituent assembly and interim government, but here the ANC will face a clash with the government and some academic specialists who say it is not the time now for elections or such interim structures.

Professor Wiechers says the Namibian experience should serve as a lesson to the ANC. There 109 countries were involved in the supervision and monitoring of an election that cost one billion dollars (R2,8 billion) over nine months — a massive international effort. The monitoring of a South African election at this stage to ensure it is "free and fair" will be virtually impossible.

On the issue of sanctions, Professor Wiechers expects the ANC will make a "desperate effort" to call on the outside world not to lift all sanctions before the ANC "gives the green light".

"The ANC wants to play a role in the political process from outside and it wants to have the final say. That's why all the 'big guns' are being brought to the congress from the outside world."

Professor Wiechers does not expect the ANC will change its stance on armed struggle, but thinks much emphasis will be placed on economic issues like the



□ NELSON MANDELA: Key role at a crucial stage.

EC faces shake up says London journal

GARNER THOMSON
in London

LONDON. — London's influential Economist magazine has predicted that "only a dozen or so" of the ANC's leaders will keep their places on the new Executive Committee, which is to be decided by July 6.

Supporters had become disillusioned and indecisive," leaders, it adds, with the comment "no wonder."

The Economist believes that after the congress the ANC may "at last be ready for a new business of arranging a new South Africa."

"A new generation is waiting to take over from 32 elderly men and three women," it says. In five with other political

must believe that the best known of the old membership — such as Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — will survive.

"Yet the executive's majority will be drawn not from the old ANC, but from the organisations that operated legally in South Africa while the congress was banned: the UDF and Cosatu," it tells its readers.

The new executive's membership will be studied not only for age and competence, the Economist adds, but also for tribal and political affiliations.

There will be a smaller proportion of Xhosa and trade unionists and urban activists from the multi-ethnic cities will make the ANC look "much less of a one-tribe outfit, which may, perhaps, reduce tension with the Zulu-based Inkatha

'Pro' Jack burial today

1/14
ARG 29/6/91

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter
UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief-of-staff, Mr Chris Hani, ANC foreign affairs spokesman Mr Thabo Mbeki, and Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck will be speakers at the funeral of slain ANC member and activist Mr Mziwonke "Pro" Jack at Nyangatoday.

The funeral, to be attended by a host of top ANC officials, will be an all-day event.

Mr Jack, 33, a former Robben Island prisoner, was gunned down last Wednesday by two men wearing balaclavas.

He was driving near his home when the men lured him by calling his name. Then they produced a rifle and a shotgun and mowed him down at point-blank range. His 15-year-old cousin Andile Jack survived a bullet wound in the chest.

Today's funeral service started at 9am at Mr Jack's home. It

will move to Nyanga Rugby Stadium where it will continue until 3.30pm.

Among the 10 main speakers will be representatives from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu and the ANC Women's League.

Mr Jack, a worker for the Institute for a Democratic South Africa, was jailed on Robben Island in 1978 for terrorism.

Police have offered a R5 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

Boesak makes comeback

Star 29/6/91.

MARK SUZMAN

11A

NEARLY a year has passed since revelations about Allan Boesak's affair with SABC producer Elna Botha caused him to resign his church posts and retire from public life.

But now the feisty churchman is making a comeback.

Looking relaxed and confident and showing little trace of the stresses of recent months, Dr Boesak, now married to Ms Botha, nevertheless shies away from discussing the issue that cost him his parish.

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"Should I enter politics in any serious fashion it can only be with the ANC," he stresses, pointing out that the principles he has always upheld in his own career are mirrored in the ANC's non-racial platform.

Nevertheless, while he regards the organisation as his political home, he has so far declined to apply for direct membership, cit-



BACK TO POLITICS: Allan Boesak in a display of his characteristic verve as he addresses an audience. Inset: A crucial turning point in his life — his marriage to SABC producer Elna Botha.

ing the need for ANC clarity on a number of issues first.

"I have held a meeting with Mr Mandela, at his request, where I raised certain issues that I would like to have clarification on. This is because I will not be joining simply as an ordinary member. I have a high profile and a constituency who continue to have questions about the ANC that need to be answered," he says.

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he may be elected to the ANC national executive at the organisation's congress next week, which he will be attending, Dr Boesak observes that another reason he has not joined is to prevent rumours that he has "cut a deal" with the group to get an NEC position in exchange for his support.

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On the question of his differences with the ANC, Dr Boesak played down press reports of his hostility towards the South African Communist Party and his criticism of the ANC's role in violence, saying that both comments were taken out of context.

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Turning to broader issues of strategy, Dr Boesak says he endorses the ANC's calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly, but feels that the latter is both more important and has more chance of success than the former.

PEOPLE involved in the struggle have worked very hard for the right to participate — some have gone to jail and died for it — and for me its very important that (those left) have the opportunity to do so," he says.

As to the question of when he might ratify his declared allegiances and actually join the ANC, Dr Boesak says merely that Mr Mandela has promised to get back to him at the earliest possible opportunity.

In the meantime, he will continue to move around the country addressing supporters and pro-pounding his personal ideals while giving attention to his new marriage.

When asked about rumours that his new family may soon have an addition, Dr Boesak just chuckles. "Wait and see," he says.

ANC gears up for vital conference

Star 29/6/91

11A

DURBAN — Excitement surrounding next week's national conference of the ANC is reaching fever pitch.

Delegates, foreign dignitaries and international journalists are pouring into Durban.

Senior ANC information and publicity officials are working around the clock on preparations to ensure the smooth running of the conference.

Security officials and marshals are already present at the venue — the University of Durban-Westville — to make their preparations and to keep an eye on proceedings.

The scene is exceedingly colourful.

Marshals march in step on the sports fields and security officials undergo physical training to keep them in shape, while banners and flags are being hoisted around the stadium.

Judging from the glitz and the guest list, the ANC conference is going

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

to be one of the most sophisticated pieces of classical party politicking this country has yet seen.

Three specific issues are expected to be prominent in the conference's deliberations:

● The ANC's proposed internal constitution — reportedly drafted by Joe Slovo — has caused some unhappiness, with militant members branding it "undemocratic". This will lead to energetic debate.

● Strategy and tactics, particularly as regards negotiations, will be a hard-fought area. Militants want to concentrate on "the struggle", while

others would rather focus on "post-apartheid scenarios".

● The issue of violence, as well as the Government's role in it and what the ANC can do about combating it, will also be a key area.

But the question on everybody's lips at the moment is: is the ANC going to decide to transform itself from a liberation movement into a political party at this conference?

The indications are that it is not, and that it has no intention of doing so at present.

Aids could start recession

How will Aids affect your investments?

Researchers are increasingly turning their attention to the potential affects of an Aids-induced recession, and even depression, in the middle to late-Nineties. And the forecasts are by no means reassuring. Aids could potentially have a calamitous impact on most current investment instruments available today. — Finance Staff.

● See Page 14.

Western Cape gives Sisulu another boost

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE prospects of the ANC's ageing internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, being elected as the organisation's new deputy president next week received another boost yesterday when the Western Cape region backed him for the post.

Mr Sisulu has already received the nod for the vital post from the ANC's three largest regions — the Eastern Transvaal, Border and Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging.

Mr Sisulu, who is already 79 years old and in poor health, is widely seen as a compromise candidate who stands the best chance of averting a damaging clash between hawks and doves at the national conference in Durban next week.

He is generally respected by all factions and appears to offer the best prospect of welding disparate ANC groupings into a unified whole.

ANC spokesman in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel, last night declined to comment on reports that Mr Sisulu had received the region's nomination after recommendations from its 93 branches.

He even declined to confirm that a meeting had taken place to sort out the region's choices for the top five jobs to be voted on by the conference.

However, indications are that the Western Cape, like all the other regions who have made their nominations public, will back Mr Nelson Mandela for president.

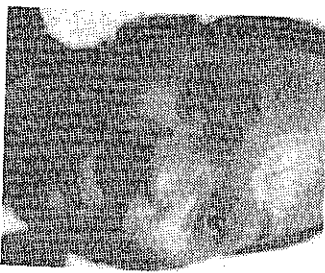
Mr Oliver Tambo, who will be vacating the post because of ill health, is proposed for the symbolic



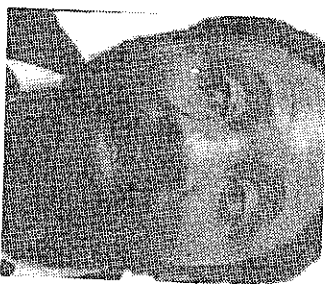
DEPUTY SECRETARY...
Arnold Stoffie



DEPUTY PRESIDENT...
Walter Sisulu



TREASURER...
Jacob Zuma



SECRETARY...
Cyril Ramaphosa

post of honorary president.

Other Western Cape nominations are:
● National Union of Mineworkers general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, for ANC secretary-general.
● ANC Border chairman, the Rev Arnold Stoffie, for deputy secretary-general.
● ANC intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, for treasurer.

Chris Whitfield reports that Mr Zuma has emerged as a serious contender for a "top five" post on the ANC executive — in spite of a recent spate of publicity which was thought to have damaged his chances.

Mr Zuma has now been nominated for jobs by three of the six regions who have made their

proposals public. Border also proposed him as treasurer-general and Southern Natal as secretary-general.

Mr Zuma is a Zulu and his presence in a key ANC job would help defuse allegations that the organisation is Xhosa-dominated.

He is generally regarded as a moderate, but his prominent role in Mkhonto we Sizwe appears to have ensured that he has retained grassroots support.

However, recent media reports were thought to have damaged Mr Zuma's chances of making the top five.

This week's lavish praise from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also thought to have damaged Mr Zuma.

Chief Buthelezi said he respected the ANC man, who had been "very constructive since he returned" from exile. "He impressed me as honest, which is a difficult thing in politics."

An ANC source said that such compliments from a man who is seen in some ANC quarters as an "arch enemy" could amount to a "kiss of death" in the leadership race.

Our London correspondent reports that half the British-based ANC delegation elected to attend the conference have not yet been granted indemnity to enable them to return to South Africa.

A spokesman for the ANC's London office confirmed that two people had been granted indemnity — Mr Mendi Msimang, the organisation's chief representative for Britain and Ireland, and Mr Lebona Mosisa.

However, he said, two ordinary members elected as delegates, Ms Lindivi Sibande and Mr Solly Kotane, did not yet have indemnity.

Meanwhile, the Department of Foreign Affairs has flatly rejected a newspaper report which claimed that one of its senior officials had written to the ANC in a bid to get the government invited to the organisation's national conference.

The newspaper, quoting "an ANC source", reported that the department's deputy director-general, Mr J H A Benkes, had said it was "preparing" for government representatives to be present to meet foreign dignitaries.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday he had spoken to Mr Benkes, who "categorically denies sending any letter to the ANC".

Tambo to have his home in Wattville

By THEMBA KHUMALO

AFTER prolonged speculation about where Oliver Tambo will settle after his return to this country, the veteran ANC president has finally opted for a house in Wattville, on the East Rand, which the ANC will have built for him.

Tambo lived in the township before going into exile in 1959.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus has refuted rumours that the ANC leader had his eye on a mansion in Sandton and said it was one of Tambo's daughters, who was married to a British Lord, who intended buying a house in that area, which befitted the couple's status.

Marcus said her organisation had bought a site in Wattville for an undisclosed fee and building would begin "as soon as possible".

Tambo and his wife Adelaide are currently staying with friends on the Reef. They arrived for the second time in the country last weekend.

The announcement ends almost five months of speculation on where Tambo would finally settle after returning from over 30 years of exile.

Earlier this year newspaper reports suggested the 73-year-old ANC leader would buy his house in an elite part of the white suburb of Benoni, on a site overlooking the lake, after he had surveyed four luxury homes there.

Jill McQueen, owner of one of the plush houses in the area, was allegedly planning to sell her mansion to Tambo for R850 000. This provoked the wrath of local rightwingers who threatened her over the phone.

THE historic ANC congress which starts at the University of Durban Westville on Tuesday is about one issue - a swear-word no one in the organisation wants to say out loud.

That word is powersharing. However, issues like sanctions and the armed struggle remain dear to the hearts of many in the ANC, and will no doubt feature prominently during the five-day congress.

It is a racing certainty that the establishment in August of a united patriotic front, comprising traditional anti-apartheid forces, will be readily endorsed by congress.

Old habits die hard, but these days nobody really believes that sanctions will be reimposed or that the ANC still places a high premium on the armed struggle. At least for the time being.

Last December's consultative conference also cleared the decks of contentious issues such as the leadership's tendency to hold - at whim - what Nelson Mandela calls "private" talks with government.

The two-hats debate will also come under serious discussion. Indicators point to the congress endorsing the policy of leaders serving in dual positions in the ANCSACP-Cosatu alliance.

The vexing question of the current violence will predictably result in the government and Inkatha being held largely to blame.

What remains to be seen are the kind of resolutions passed to attempt to force the government to act more effectively in bringing to book those responsible for the killings - especially since ultimatums and deadlines issued in the last six months have failed to achieve the desired results.

Getting away from this immediate horror, the ANC will want to think long and hard about the fact that sanctions are collapsing daily, and that many African countries are falling over each other to trade openly with Pretoria.

In December Thabo Mbeki presented a paper on sanctions in which he suggested phasing them out on a point-by-point political trade off.

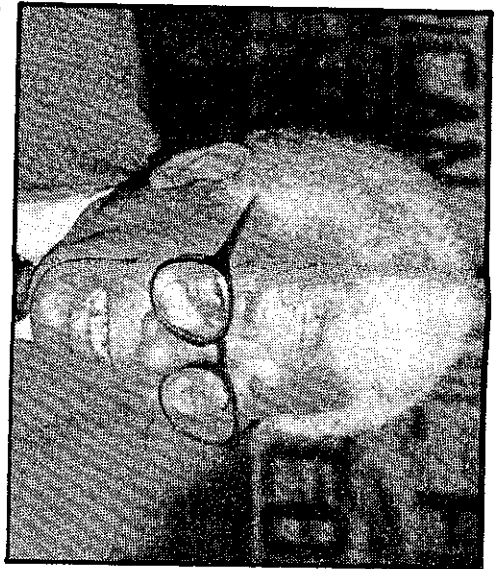
Such a move would have given the ANC the tactical edge over the government on the sanctions issue. Instead, hardliners shot him down and Pretoria went up a point on the scoreboard.

The thaw in East-West relations - or the emergence of a New World Order as it is now being spoken of - has made a return to armed struggle unacceptable to the major powers. This is well known in the ANC.

In the light of these contemporary developments, the 2 000 delegates will have to work

POWER POLITICS

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CPD no 30/6/91



WALTER SISULU... key figure in the election jousting



NELSON MANDELA... leads way into the new territory

POWER

hard to come up with new strategies for taking power.

Informed opinion is that for both the immediate and medium term, the ANC is aware - or at least its leadership is - that it is not in a position to oust the white ruling bloc from power.

But will the leadership be bold enough to state this publicly, risking being labelled weaklings?

On the other hand, if the leadership bites the bullet and acknowledges the uncomfortable truth, congress will be in a better position to formulate a realistic political response.

This will inevitably lead the organisation to come to terms with that nasty swearword - powersharing.

It's still an ill-defined concept and the majority of ANC members, particularly the youth and Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, are not oriented towards it.

Government says it is committed to powersharing but sceptics say - with good reason - that this commitment is still based on whites retaining their dominance.

Some ANC members believe that powersharing is part of De Klerk's grand plan to neutralise the organisation. The ANC fears being brought into government without assurances that incorporation would benefit its members.

It is also suspected in the ANC that any powersharing which threatens white affluence will be vigorously opposed by State President

FW de Klerk. This is another dilemma facing the ANC.

Given general poverty and economic decline, an ANCNPP coalition government would face serious constituency problems if it failed to revive the economy.

The spectre of a massive and unhappy constituency is the last thing the ANC and the government want. We'd soon be back to the destructive politics of ungovernability and anarchy.

Faced with these seemingly impossible problems, is the ANC up to the challenge?

The last five weeks have seen intense lobbying and jockeying for positions. The media has been full of speculation about the shenanigans

between various internal factions.

It has been said the "moderates" are ranged up against the "hardliners", communists against nationalists; the old guard versus the young lions, and the external leadership against those who did not opt for exile.

Amid this speculation, leaks calculated to weaken the position of one or the other 'faction' have appeared in the press.

The congress - the first to be permitted by the white State in three decades - is unlikely to go strictly by the Queensberry rules!

Yet at the end of the day, whichever grouping or person wins the vote, one idea should remain uppermost in the minds of delegates and leaders. It is that old swearword - powersharing.

Arson - ANC

By SOPHIE TEMA

TUMAHOLE's ANC branch has launched an investigation into allegations of police involvement in attacks on political activists in the area.

The investigation follows allegations of assault and intimidation by policemen and their involvement in the burning of several houses in the township near Parys two weeks ago.

Residents have named several policemen who they claim were seen harassing and assaulting youths they had rounded up for questioning.

Lawyers have obtained statements from eyewitnesses who said they saw policemen wearing balaclavas in the township before the houses were petrol bombed.

They added that after the attacks the policemen were seen speeding away in motor cars.

Residents allege the police targeted political activists who had called for action following water switch-offs in Tumahole which lasted for several weeks.

Among those targeted for arson attacks were ANC branch secretary Otto Moloi; civic association executive

member Ditaba Potsuenyane; ANC Women's League executive member Pontsho Moqholosane, and local ANC branch executive member Dolly Vandi. *CIPres 30/6/91.*

Legal Resources Centre lawyers have obtained statements from youths who were allegedly shoved into the boot of a car and driven to the township's community hall where they were assaulted with heavy sticks by policemen.

Police spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen confirmed that he had received complaints from Tumahole Civic Association chairman Ace Magashule and that he had gone to Parys to investigate. He said after lengthy discussions he suggested that people with complaints against the police should submit statements to his office.

But residents chose to make statements to their lawyers.

Statements were also obtained by a Johannesburg firm of attorneys who allegedly overheard policemen plotting to implicate Magashule and other political activists in criminal offences.

Magashule is currently on R1 500 bail in a case where he faces charges of kidnapping and robbery. He is due to appear in court on July 9.



Chief Sandile Dlamini, manager of the Swaziland national soccer team, was waiting eagerly for City Press's first delivery to Swaziland in six years. The newspaper was recently unbanned in Swaziland after it was ordered off the streets in 1985.

Cops behind

THIS week every newspaper in the country has reported on serious issues – especially the much-talked about ANC congress in Durban.

We have also read about the education crisis, last weekend's terrible train massacre and the escalating violence in Natal.

So in this column I will try to lighten up.

Journalists have deprived us of the lighter side of life – humour and laughter.

Gone are the days when people could smile in the face of adversity when they could get together at shebeens, better known as “home-away-from-home”, to discuss their problems.

These days people are afraid to go as freely to shebeens as they used to.

Shebeens were to township folk what pubs are to the British.

It didn't matter who you were, where you came from or who you were with, shebeens in those days were very hospitable.

If you ran out of money, the good old auntie was prepared to give you

□ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

APress 30/6/94

Communal spirit hasn't died down



credit. If, for some strange reason she was in a bad mood and refused you credit, you could lean over and take a sip from someone else's drink. It was considered acceptable social etiquette.

Be that as it may, some shebeens are still “home-from-home”, as two visiting Australian journalists discovered the other night in Soweto.

Before their shebeen crawl with me, the two gentlemen had interviewed several cabinet ministers, officials from Azapo, the PAC, ANC and Inkatha.

At first they were apprehensive about going into Soweto at night, especially after the stories they had heard from white South Africans – that to venture into the townships wearing a white skin was a recipe for disaster.

Our first stop at Grace's allayed their fears.

The broad and welcoming smile on the face of the hostess – despite the fact that her electricity had been cut off on a cold and windy night – reassured my friends that they were welcome.

What impressed them was the cross-section of highly professional people

who were there, discussing one academic subject after another.

I have never met a group of people as knowledgeable on such a diverse range of topics as these,” one of them remarked.

The other added that he was amazed that nobody became emotional about the ills they had suffered under apartheid.

“Instead they laughed at the system,” he enthused.

They could not believe how respectful the patrons were to one another, considering the level of violence in the townships.

My friends had been

told that Zulus and Xhosas killed one another at the slightest provocation, so it was a surprise for them to find people of different ethnic groups sociably sharing a drink.

I told them “home-away-from-home” had always been our way of life, and it was a place where our political differences did not matter.

Our ethnic and class origins were irrelevant. We were one big happy family.

Divide and rule has failed to keep us ethnically separate. Black South Africans have been pitted against each other by a Renamo-type group, not by tribalism.

To get a better understanding of our unity one must visit these “homes-away-from-homes”, where we can still smile and share a drink with strangers.

We are not bitter about the past, but we want a bright future for our people.

It is a pity that this lesson will now be learnt by two Australians and not our own doubting white South Africans.

Business hoping for a signal

LOCAL and foreign businessmen are taking a keen interest in this week's ANC congress.

The key question is whether the new leadership of South Africa's biggest political party will give a clear indication of future economic policy.

Statements made during the past few months have created the impression among local and foreign businessmen that the ANC is softening its stance on nationalisation and redistribution.

In business circles the ANC's policies on centralised control of business and sanctions are viewed with deep concern and suspicion. Business confi-

MONEY TALK

dence is at a low ebb and very little investment in new undertakings (which means more jobs) is taking place.

Although rather simplistic, the approach seems to be: why take the risk of building up or expanding a business if you will end up losing everything.

It is an open secret that many businessmen today are more interested in getting money out of the country than investing in their companies.

Foreign businessmen

are visiting South Africa in record numbers, but one gains the impression they are more interested in selling to us than in investing substantial amounts of money.

The international economy has cooled off and everybody is looking for new business.

Whether we are going to enjoy strong economic growth after our long recession will mainly depend on a recovery of business confidence in the near future.

A contribution in this direction was made last week by Walter Sisulu, who said, according to reports, that to call for the intensification of sanc-

tions is no longer realistic. He pointed out that certain countries have already decided to lift sanctions and said a proposal for the phased lifting of sanctions was "reasonable".

The proposal will, according to the reports, be discussed at the ANC congress.

The actual lifting of sanctions will make very little difference to our economic situation in the short term. But at least the pressure on our embattled business community will be reduced if the congress accepts Sisulu's thinking.

Young Turks set to oust ANC old guard

By SEKOLA SELLO 30/6/1991

Cher
A YOUTHFUL home-grown leaders are expected to come to power during the ANC's historic 48th congress at the University of Durban Westville this week.

While the composition of the ANC's new and enlarged National Executive Committee is not yet clear, there is little doubt among the organisation's insiders that many of the home-grown leaders are likely to oust the old guard.

The home-grown leadership, made up of members of the UDF-/Cosatu alliance, are increasingly being credited with having caused the final crisis of apartheid.

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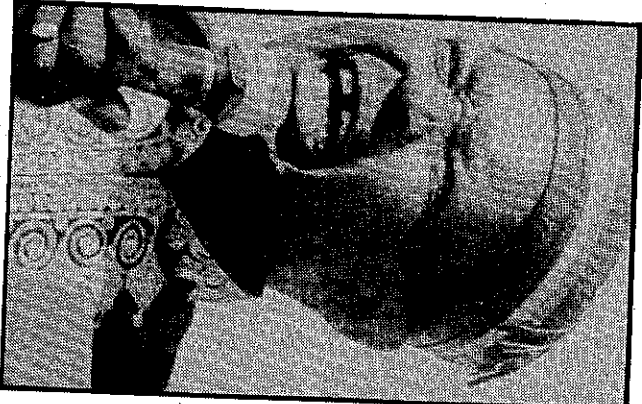
The old guard has been criticised strongly for having failed in the liberation struggle, particularly armed action, in the last 30 years.

The Cosatu/UDF alliance, formed just over five years ago, is considered by the general membership of the ANC to have played a far more effective role in forcing Pretoria to bring about the current changes.

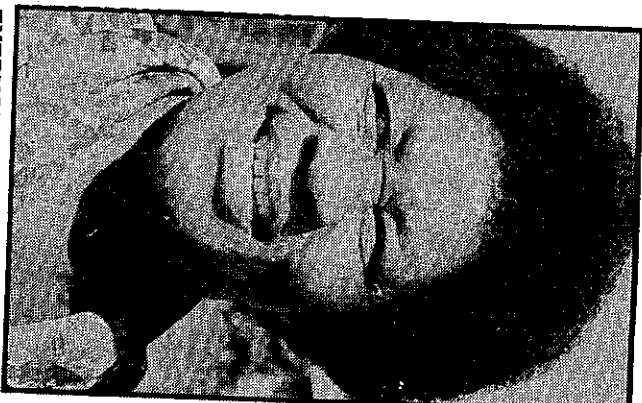
Among those to watch are unionists Cyril Ramaphosa and Sydney Mufamadi; UDF leaders Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota, Rev Arnold Stofile, Albertinah Sisulu and Trevor Mannel; as well as "exiles" such as Joel Netshizenze, Gugile Nkwintle and Thozamile Botha.



ARTICULATE ... Num general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, 39, regarded as the best choice for ANC secretary-general.



EFFICIENT ... Terror Lekota, 43, is arguably one of the most capable administrators to have emerged from inside the country.



EVERYONE'S FAVOURITE ... the matriarchal Albertinah Sisulu, 69, has for years been in the thick of ANC and UDF politics.



INFLUENTIAL ... Rev Arnold Stofile, 46, the Border UDF leader, played a key role in the sports boycott.



RIISING STAR ... Sydney Mufamadi, 32, a veteran unionist despite his youth, has risen fast in South African politics.

LET us assume for the sake of argument that the Inkatha Freedom Party has indeed shot and hacked its way to the negotiating table; that neither it nor its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have any substantial following; that, as the community agency for social inquiry, the "independent" Human Rights Commission and other related entities have claimed, Inkatha is responsible for the bulk of the violence, both alone and in combination with sinister elements in the security establishment.

Let us also grant that Chief Buthelezi, despite moments of high lucidity and warmth, is not an easy character. Indeed, even to the experienced, he can be about as reassuring as a slab of sweating gelnite.

What, then, explains his recent treatment here?

Why did Courtlund Milloy, one of the Washington Post's more politically correct columnists, compare him with Booker T Washington, a member of the black American pantheon?

Why did the Atlanta Constitution blast those who called him an Uncle Tom?

HOW come official Washington gave him a welcome so respectful that Lally Weymouth, daughter of Washington Post publisher Kay Graham, felt inspired to declare him one of the American capital's new heroes?

The answer cannot be successful propaganda because, unlike the ANC, Inkatha has shown little aptitude for the pandering arts. Nor did Chief Buthelezi offer the slightest evidence that he had been to executive charm school before arriving here.

No, he received the kind of welcome he did for one simple reason: he and the IFP are not the ANC.

As admired as Nelson Mandela remains, the ANC is frightening people to the point where the serious of all political persuasions are beginning to wonder whether he may be less its



SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

ST Times 30/6/91
leader than its prisoner.

The communist connection is part of the problem, as evidenced by the recent vote in the House of Representatives to deny assistance to any organisation "affiliated" or "associated" with the SACP.

It is worth noting that seven of 11 Democrats on the House Intelligence Committee supported this motion.

BY itself, however, the ANC's relationship with the SACP would not these days be sufficient to cause the kind of unease that is starting to translate into US policy.

Communists aren't deemed to pose much threat to American security interests any more: they cause more mirth than alarm. More damaging are the ANC's other liaisons, many of which will be on display at its conference later this week.

The Libyans, for example. The story of how a \$1-million (R2,8-million) gift from Muammar Gadaffi to the ANC ended up frozen in an American Express account in New York is getting less and less funny.

Libya is back in the head-

lines, this time as the party responsible for blowing up PanAm flight 103 over Scotland in December 1988 and a French UTA jumbo jet over West Africa the following year — 441 died overall.

Inquiring minds want to know just where the ANC gets off having fraternal relations with such murderers.

Among those minds is President George Bush, still smarting from the lecture he received from Mr Mandela on the evils of Operation Desert Storm.

Mr Bush learnt of Mr Gadaffi's generosity to the ANC during his meeting with Chief Buthelezi.

He turned to his adjutants — they included Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and CIA chief-designate Robert Gates — for an explanation.

THEY confirmed that, yes, Mr Gadaffi was helping fund the ANC and, yes, some of the money had fallen into the hands of the American Express, which had frozen it as required by US law.

Chief Buthelezi then observed that the US ambassador to Pretoria, Mr William Swing, had been petitioned by the ANC and had duly recommended that the money could be released as expeditiously as possible.

Mr Bush, who as vice-president had headed the task force that developed the anti-Libya regulations, was not pleased. He turned to his advisers and indicated, tersely, that he trusted the recommendation would not be followed.

Mr Swing has since been reprimanded for even suggesting to the ANC that Washington might release the Libyan money. He was told, in effect, to get on the same page as his employers and to stop misleading the organisation as to their true sentiments.

Those sentiments, the ANC should know, cannot be described as particularly cuddly.

Row keeps ANC millions locked in US bank

A YEAR after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela made his tour of the US, not one cent of the money raised has been handed over to the ANC because, four organisers have alleged, the South African government refused to let the money into the country.

But SA ambassador Harry Schwarz has denied the claim, saying there was no block on transferring funds to SA.

In a report in yesterday's Detroit Free Press, Mr William Lucy, a member of the Mandela National Welcoming Committee, was quoted as saying that about R8.5-million was languishing in a Boston bank while the ANC tried to get permission from Pretoria to transfer the money to a special trust fund it was trying to set up.

"This thing is purely

By PATRICIA CHENEY
Washington

political," said Mr Lucy. "The South African government is stalling for time to impede the ANC's mobilisation."

Anti-apartheid activist Roger Wilkins told the Detroit Free Press: "The Mandela Freedom Fund wants to send the money but there has to be a receptacle in South Africa which qualifies in the US and South Africa to receive money."

He vowed that a group of Americans travelling to next week's ANC conference would bring the matter up with the ANC secretary-general.

Mr Schwarz said: "There

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TIA
is no problem getting any money into the country. The difficulty is getting the money out."

He added that the South African government did not have the power either to stop money coming in — as long as it was from legitimate sources — or to prevent the ANC from setting up a trust fund.

Hitch

Adding to the confusion is the continued refusal of the city of Detroit to hand over about R2.8-million to the Mandela Freedom Fund.

The hitch, according to one report, was that the ANC had not provided documentation to Detroit assuring officials that the

money would be used for charitable purposes and not for political activities.

Donors can only deduct their donations from their US taxes if the money is used for charitable or humanitarian purposes.

● Mr Mandela is scheduled to leave on an official tour to South America within the next two weeks.

This was confirmed by ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma yesterday.

However, Mr Mandela's itinerary has not yet been finalised.

One of the countries he will be visiting is Brazil, according to a representative of the Brazilian ministry of foreign affairs in Brasilia. Mr Mandela is also expected to visit Argentina and Chile.

Unions in ANC poll move

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

TOP trade unionists met this weekend in Johannesburg to decide whether to free mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa for a senior ANC job.

Mr Ramaphosa and former exile Alfred Nzo have been nominated for the post of ANC secretary-general.

The elections will be held at the organisation's 48th annual congress in Durban this week.

Mr Nzo, the current secretary-general, and doyen of the Old Guard exiles, will be pitted against one of the country's most prominent internal leaders.

Mr Ramaphosa, general secretary of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers, is remaining silent on his intentions, but the fact that he was nominated by his own PWV region is an indication that he will run.

Failed

Unionists believe the ANC has failed to represent the interests of their members in negotiations.

The unions were expected to support Mr Ramaphosa's election to a post in the ANC where he can influence the direction of the organisation.

The unionists were also considering the advisability of Mr Jay Naidoo (Co-satu secretary-general), Mr Sydney Mafumadi (Cosatu deputy secretary-general) and Mr Moses Mayekiso (Numsa secretary-general) making themselves available for posts on the ANC executive.

The unions are worried that they will be weakened by the loss of high-level leaders to the ANC.

Mr Nzo will have influence

SI Times 30/6/91

CONGRESS BRIEFS +++ CONGRESS BRIEFS +++ CONGRESS BRIEFS

■ **THABO MBEKI**, ANC Director of International Affairs, will advise the organisation's national conference in Durban this week to support the Organisation of African Unity's proposals for a phased lifting of sanctions.

Mr Mbeki said that unless the ANC was flexible about sanctions and responded to changes inside the country, the international community would act to undo sanctions on its own.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC would have to respond to changes by supporting the removal of some restrictions if it wished to ensure that sanctions in their entirety did

not disappear prior to a new constitution being negotiated.

The ANC, he added, believed sanctions would be important until a new constitution had been negotiated. "We are looking for some way to ensure that we don't allow this weapon to slip out of our hands."

■ **WINNIE MANDELA** was snubbed by her own PWV region in its nominations for the 55 National Executive Committee members to be elected at the conference.

But Mrs Mandela was included, on the lists of at least three smaller regions —

Northern Transvaal, Border and Southern Natal — entitling her to stand for election.

■ **WOMEN** have been allotted a possible 15 posts on the NEC — but some women members of the organisation are still sceptical that they will get top jobs.

Miss Barbara Masekela, who has been nominated for one of the five most important NEC posts, doubted women would succeed in being elected to the senior positions.

She said few women in the ANC had been given the chance to prove themselves

and those who did stand up and speak were seen as "damned audacious".

■ **CATERERS** at the conference are taking no chances — every single morsel of food will be tested by food technologists before being served.

Swab samples will be taken at the Durban Exhibition Centre kitchen where the food will be prepared.

Security around the giant kitchen has been tightened and armed guards will accompany trucks carrying the food to the conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

one of three losing candidates for the secretary-general job, most likely Mr Stofile.

Treasurer-general: The incumbent, Mr Nkobi, was nominated by Eastern Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Southern Free State regions.

He is being challenged by Mr Zuma, who was nominated by the Border and Western Cape regions; UK chief representative Mendi Msimang (Eastern Cape and Southern Natal), and Mr Stofile (PWV and the Transkei).

The only present NEC members to receive widespread backing from the regions for election on to the new extended executive were Mr Chris Hani, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Fallo Jordan, Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mrs Getrude Shope, Mrs Ruth Mompoti, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Thomas Nkobi.

ential backing from president-elect Nelson Mandela, but whether this will be enough to overcome his deep unpopularity, will be a key feature of the elections.

Nominations for positions on the ANC National Executive Committee have been received from 13 of the 14 regions — only Natal Midlands is outstanding.

A study of the pattern of nominations in the nine regions that have so far been made public shows:

● Former external leaders in the top five positions on the NEC are likely to be swept away by "internals" and former Robben Island prisoners.

● At least half the present NEC (again, many of them exiles) will be voted out.

● Hardliners who were involved in the Vula conspiracy, a secret ANC-SA Communist Party plan to seize power by force if necessary, have scored well in the nominations.

The only certainties for the top ANC posts are Mr Nelson Mandela for president and Mr Walter Sisulu for deputy.

Four regions have proposed that ailing ANC

president Mr Oliver Tambo be made honorary president with a role in decision making at top level.

The ANC's international affairs chief, Mr Thabo Mbeki, was nominated by the Eastern Cape, Northern Transvaal and Southern Free State regions for the position of deputy, but it is understood he will not contest an election against

Mr Sisulu.

The line-up for the other top posts is:

Secretary-general: Four candidates have emerged: Mr Ramaphosa; intelligence head Jacob Zuma, who was nominated by the Eastern Transvaal, Southern Natal and Northern Transvaal regions; Mr Nzo (Eastern Cape and Southern Free State); and the Rev Arnold Stofile who

was nominated by his own Border region.

Deputy secretary-general: Former United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe was by far the most popular choice. He was nominated by the Southern Natal, Southern Free State, PWV, Transkei, Eastern Cape and Northern Transvaal regions.

However, it is possible that he could make way for

See Opinion Pages

At least 15 women will have to be elected to the ANC executive. Apart from existing NEC members Mrs Mompoti and Mrs Shope, those who have received widespread backing include Miss Barbara Hogan, Mrs Alberta Stanlu, Mrs Barbara Masekela, Mrs Tshipwe Mhntso, Miss Cheryl Carolus and Dr Frene Ginwala.

They are former UDP and MDM leaders such as Mr Molefe, Mr Stofile, Mr Mohammed Vaili Moosa, Mr Patrick Lekota, Miss Cheryl Carolus, Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Raymond Suther and Rivonia trails Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Elias Mokoedi, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Ahmed Mkwaveyi and Mr Andrew Mangeni.

Mr Kasrils, who last week emerged from hiding after receiving indemnity for the Vula plot, was included in the top half of almost all lists. Other Vula participants to receive strong backing include Mr Mac Mahary, Mr Siphrive Nyanda and Miss Janet Love. Two other groupings have made a strong showing in the regional nominations.

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