

BLACK POLITICS - 1991

JULY

ANC 'peace architects' 110

DURBAN — The African National Congress was the architect of the peace process in South Africa and was determined to continue this momentum forward, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said in Durban yesterday.

He arrived in the city accompanied by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo to attend the ANC's 48th national conference.

About 200 people chanted and toyi-toyed at Louis Botha Airport as Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela made a brief appearance before being whisked away.

Mr Tambo did not address the crowd. But Mr Mandela said: "You will hear the president addressing delegates (to

the conference). It's not necessary for him to say anything now."

Mr Mandela added that the conference would address issues facing the transformation from an apartheid State to a democracy.

Other issues would be an interim government — "a sovereign body with complete control of all organs of control" — a constituent assembly, patriotic front, all-party conference, and negotiations.

"We are the architects of the peace process and we're determined to continue this momentum forward," he added.

● Build-up to vital conference — Page 11

stay 1/7/91

Key ANC personalities lobby for top positions

Star 11/7/91
 (11A)

THE SPARRING is over, and now the gloves are off in the fight for the top jobs that are viewed by many as a prelude to future government positions. It is for this reason that lobbying has been fierce, and the jockeying for position between different factions has been intense.

Already, the one battle seems over; that of former United Democratic Front officials for recognition of the role they played in mobilising the people while the ANC was banned and in exile. Resentment had built up because when the ANC was unbanned, "Lusaka was just transferred to Johannesburg", as one observer said, "as if the internal activists did not have any political ambitions."

To a large extent, this alienated the UDF and its labour ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the ANC found it difficult to re-establish itself because it depended on grassroots structures of the Mass Democratic Movement.

It was perhaps in recognition of this that the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Cyril Ramaphosa, who was being wooed by the SA Communist Party through its "workerist" thrust, has been nominated for the position of secretary-general.

Also as an indication of how seriously the ANC views the role of the union movement, another NUM official, Gwede Mantashe, has been nominated for one of the 50 positions on the national executive.

The much-talked about plan to oust the "old guard" has generally been watered down, and described rather as a "renewal process" which, members say, is a natural process for any organisation that does not wish to become stagnant.

However, sources within the ANC suggest that the group referred to in internal discussion documents as "reformists" seems to have held so much sway that it was decided to neutralise their argument for speedy settlement.

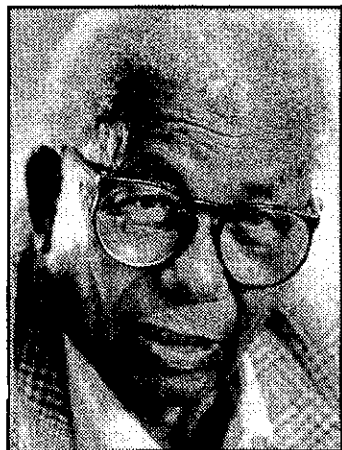
The reformists are seen as Thabo Mbeki, Barbara Masekela, Steve Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Terror Lekota, Albertina Sisulu, Joel Netshitenzi, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Ahmed Kathrada, Zola Skweyiya, Albie Sachs, Thomas Nkobi, Alfred Nzo, Simon Makana, Joe Nhlanihla, Josiah Jele, Joe Modise, Siza Sigxashe and Mzwai



Albertina Sisulu



Cyril Ramaphosa



Walter Sisulu



Popo Molefe



Chris Hani



Billy Nair

Piliso. Of these, only the first 11 have secured nominations.

A document detailing why it is believed the "reformists" are wrong in their assessment of the situation and of President de Klerk has been circulated.

According to ANC sources, the organisation has been "sending out confusing and sometimes disorganising signals" and there was a need to debate issues of strategy openly

negotiations process because they now believe in the broad objectives of our national democratic revolution... on the contrary, they are negotiating and reforming in order to conserve as much white power and privilege as possible..." declares the document.

Says the ANC source: "Opposition to the reformist position is not based on opposition to negotiations. In fact, the negotiation process presents very real possibilities for a meaningful democratic advance, provided we understand and handle the process correctly."

The document claims that there is no one within the ANC calling for "an armed alternative to negotiations, but there are those calling for a firm approach to talks". Instead, power derives from mass support and mobilisation at home, it says.

Another issue that is likely to spark much debate is representation by women on the national executive. Among those nominated are Cheryl Carolus, Sandra Africa, Barbara Masekela, Maggie Govender, Jaqueline Molefe, Janet Love, Albertina Sisulu, Phumla Williams, Sister Bernard Mncube, Thenjiwe Mtintso, Freeny Ginwala, Nosizwe Madlala, Hilda Ndude and Bridgette Mabandla.

It has been resolved that at least one third of the executive must consist of women.

On the basis of broad support, it looks as if the final directly elected executive of the ANC will be: Nelson Mandela, president; Walter Sisulu, deputy president; Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general; Popo Molefe, assistant secretary-general; Arnold Stofile, treasurer-general.

The 50 elected NEC members most likely to be elected are: Billy Nair, Sbu Ndebele, Dullah Omar, Thabo Mbeki, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Suttner, Dr Aaron Motwaledi, Chris Hani, Govan Mbeki, Kadar Asmal, Lawrence Phokanoka, Dr Pallo Jordan, Sydney Mafumadi, Blade Nzimande, Willis Mchunu, Steve Tshwete, Abraham Ismael Ebrahim, David Ndwande, Charles Ncokula, Gwede Mantashe, Joe Slovo, J J Mabena, Jacob Zuma, Terror Lekota, Harry Gwala, Gugile Nkwinti, Raymond Mhlaba, Joel Netshitenzi, John Nkadimeng, Father Smgaliso Mkhatswa, Professor I Mohammed, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Ahmed Kathrada, Job Makgoro, Zola Skweyiya, Albie Sachs and the women listed above. □

— failure to do so would "be a sign of stagnation, not health".

The view that Mr de Klerk was prepared to concede "all the major objectives of our national democratic struggle" is faulted, as is the view that the right wing is the major threat in the process towards a democratic South Africa.

"Mr de Klerk and his Government have not embarked on the

Build-up to vital conference nears its climax

Star 1/7/91

11A

IN THE build-up to the conference, the focus has been on the election of the 90-member national executive committee (NEC), to which 55 will be elected by secret ballot at the conference.

The significance of the newly elected NEC cannot be understated. These men and women — many of whom might be preparing to take up their seats on Parliament's green benches — will steer the ANC through the obstructed phase of transforming the country into a democracy.

They will stand at the helm of an organisation which has had a troubled existence since its unbanning in February last year.

The last week in the build-up to the election will have had a decisive impact on the poll.

The more than 2 000 delegates — from all walks of life, with vastly different experiences of struggle and varying degrees of suffering under the apartheid State — will closely watch the performance of possible candidates. Hectic canvassing will continue right until the end to ensure the election of leaders capable of addressing the issues confronting the ANC.

Popularity is not all that will count.

Care will be taken to ensure that the NEC reflects the tribal and racial composition of the organisation, that a suitable balance is struck between the "old guard" and the "young lions", and that core components of the ANC will be represented, such as trade unions, former exiles, Robben Islanders and Mass Democratic Movement internal activists. And then, of course, a third of the directly elected NEC positions must, in terms of the organisation's draft constitution, go to women.

A decisive week in South Africa's political history starts in Durban tomorrow, when the African National Congress holds its congress. JOE LATAKGOMO and ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE examine the issues and the personalities.

The election, crucial as it may be, pales in significance compared with the strategic decisions to be taken at the University of Durban-Westville, the venue for the historic gathering.

The ANC will have to formulate a clear, unambiguous strategy to regain the initiative it is perceived to have lost to the Government. To do this, it will take stock of its achievements and failures in the 17 months since its unbanning.

With negotiations officially having been called off, although talks are undoubtedly continuing on some level between the two parties, the ANC will have to decide whether to push ahead with talks about talks.

It will have to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of compromising even more than it has up to now — even on key demands such as a constituent assembly — or delaying negotiations further by maintaining a hardline attitude to force some concessions from the Government.

Initial indications were that the rank and file were directing their frustration about the slow progress being made with negotiations at the "moderates". These men were unfairly blamed for having "given too much away". Yet, as greater realism is setting in, some of the leaders wrongly blamed for the ANC's performance seem to be rising in the popularity stakes again.

A related issue of similarly critical importance will be to

convince supporters of the need for negotiations. The grassroots is becoming increasingly disgruntled because it has seen little effect of negotiations on their lives.

While the ANC can obviously not be blamed for not solving the housing or unemployment crises, it can lower expectations — something it has not done up to now — and contribute to efforts to solve these burning issues by formulating attainable policies to implement once it is in a position of power.

One area it show results would be to arrive at strategies to stop the protracted violence which has torn communities apart and turned township life into a living nightmare.

There has been little evidence of self-defence units having been set up. Talk of the armed struggle will not bring the bloody fighting to an end. Neither will the hope that the security forces will miraculously get its act together, or that alleged Government agents, accused by the ANC of deliberately trying to destabilise it, would stop doing so overnight.

In view of this, the ANC will have to examine its relationship with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose forces have been implicated in most of the violent attacks, and speed up efforts to arrive at an agreed code of conduct for the security forces.

Amid reports that the ANC's membership drive has been less than satisfactory, it will have to

take a stern look at its organisational skills, its financial position and ways of getting its message across to the man in the street.

Another area of self-examination will be its relation with other political forces. The Government is well on its way in setting up alliances with other groups such as the parliamentary parties, homeland leaders and tribal chiefs, and the ANC will want to regain some initiative on this front. Its efforts to unite forces against the Government have been reasonably successful among groups on the political Left, with the much-awaited patriotic-front conference now scheduled for August, but much still needs to be done.

A key issue which will be grappled with is sanctions. Delegates will take a hard look at themselves for having shunned the message from international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, at the organisation's December conference, to approve the phased lifting of punitive measures. It might finally give the green light to the selective lifting of sports and cultural sanctions, but is not expected to give way on economic and trade sanctions.

Last but not least, the ANC will have to formulate its stance on the proposed multi-party conference as a possible way of breaking the negotiations deadlock and a possible way of facilitating an interim government.

The Government's suggestion of granting ministerial positions to extra-parliamentary leaders is expected to come up for debate, and care will undoubtedly be given to ensure the membership that the ANC will not allow itself — as the government-in-waiting — to be co-opted. □

Vital week

for the ANC

IIA CT 9/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The ANC's week of reckoning has arrived, with more than 2 000 delegates gathering for the national conference, starting tomorrow, which is to decide on a new set of leaders, policies and strategies.

At Louis Botha Airport last night, Mr Nelson Mandela told a welcoming crowd that the outcome of the conference would indicate the "way forward from an apartheid state to an interim government".

He said the ANC had been the original "architects of the peace process in this country".

The outcome of the conference, the first in South Africa in more than three decades, and the choice of leaders will decide the direction of the 500 000-strong movement for the next three crucial years as South Africa moves into the transitional phase of negotiations and some form of interim government.

Major focus

Events at the week-long conference at the University of Durban-Westville will be closely followed by South Africans from all parties and also by the more than 350 high-profile foreign guests from countries as diverse as Libya, Malaysia, Cuba, Australia, the United States, Norway and the Soviet Union.

A major focus of interest will be the leadership race — for the top five positions on the executive and the elections for a further 50 positions up for grabs on the expanded executive.

Although formal balloting for the positions will begin only on Friday afternoon, hopefuls will be lobbying feverishly for the top spots all week, both during largely closed sessions of the conference and behind closed doors after hours.

The election results — expected to be announced about the same time the Durban July is decided just a few kilometres away —



VIP ARRIVALS . . . Mr Oliver Tambo (left) and Mr Nelson Mandela arrive in Durban yesterday for the ANC conference.

are likely to see the dumping of a large number of the ANC's old guard who currently dominate the 35-member national executive committee.

Although Mr Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu appear to have the positions of president and deputy president sewn up, younger activists from the former Mass Democratic Movement are expected to displace a number of the ANC old guard from leadership positions.

Whatever the final outcome, the elections should provide the ANC with a more self-confident leadership corps which, as a result of their fresh mandate, will be able to stamp their authority on the ANC and give the organisation a greater sense of coherence and direction.

However, top government sources fear that holding the elections late in the week might produce a more radical line-up which would be difficult to deal with in the upcoming multi-party conference and during negotiations for a new constitution.

But ANC sources indicate that while more militant elements such as the powerful youth league and the unions are likely to have an important impact on the conference, there is no real alternative to a negotiated solution to the country's problems.

Another major conference topic will be the extent to which the ANC is able, or wants to, change from a semi-revolutionary movement rooted in mass civil disobedience campaigns to a modern political party capable of out-

Inkatha peace pledge to ANC

Owa Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The Inkatha Freedom Party pledged yesterday to ensure that no violence occurred during the national conference of the ANC.

The pledge was made in a resolution passed at the party's central committee meeting here.

"We declare that we will do all we can to ensure that the ANC can hold its congress in peace," the committee said.

The central committee would continue acting as an interim national executive arm of the party.

The IFP also stated that it looked forward to the coming meeting between the ANC national executive committee and IFP central committee to resolve the outstanding problems between the two organisations.

organising and out-manoeuvring the ruling National Party.

Whatever specific organisational or strategic decisions the conference takes, it is clear that ANC grassroots supporters will demand greater accountability by the new leadership as well as greater internal democracy within the organisation and better communication within party structures at all levels.

A wide range of policy issues will also be debated at the conference.

Apart from the ANC constitutional proposals, delegates will have to debate and adopt proposals dealing with the economy, education, land and health matters.

As a consequence, this means the involvement of top

management (not user managers when developing a system)

to overcome potential political problems among the user

community for evaluation as a major capital investment

project.

2)

Intangible Benefits.

Intangible Benefits is generally regarded a benefit which is difficult to assign a monetary value to it. It is

From page 1

Vital week

CT 1/7/91

Bearing heavily on delegates will be the realisation that this will probably be the last normal congress of the ANC before a general election is held in South Africa under a new constitution.

The conference will culminate in a mass rally at King's Park stadium on Saturday, when the newly elected president will make his first official address.

The ANC last week said it was approaching the conference with the view that it would be South Africa's next government.

The Durban correspondent of the Cape Times reports that senior ANC spokesman Mr Patrick Lekota said the conference would be concentrating on three crucial areas — area organisation, negotiation and ANC policy.

Commenting on the election of a new national executive committee, Mr Lekota said the ANC wanted to elect the "best team to lead the ANC".

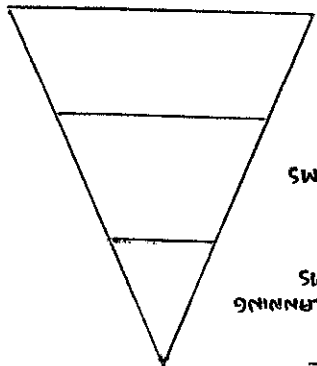
He said the press had portrayed elections as a "leadership struggle — a daggers-drawn situation". This was not so as the ANC was merely seeking to field the best team to provide competent leadership.

On negotiations there would be crucial decisions taken on the removal of remaining obstacles, how to increase pressure to speed up the release of remaining political prisoners and the issues of an interim government, constituent assembly and an all-party conference.

The future of sanctions would also be scrutinised as well as the issue of mass action.

CLASSIFICATION
 Decision Support Systems
 Traditional Data Processing Systems

TYPE OF SYSTEM
 Strategic Planning Systems
 Management Control Systems
 Operational



MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE
 GENERAL
 FUNCTIONAL
 OPERATIONAL

However, other techniques such as Value Analysis are used

Springfield colliery sale: ANC to bid

DARIUS SANAI

THE ANC was definitely interested in buying the colliery village of Springfield next to the disused Grootvlei power station, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said at the weekend.

The village, which will be auctioned tomorrow, could fetch up to R10m. It consists of more than 250 houses, a small hospital and vacant land, and was put up for sale by Anglo American earlier this year. *8/10/71 11/7/71*

Macozoma would not elaborate at the weekend on what the ANC would do with the complex if it bought it.

However, he did say the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returning Exiles (NCCR) was not involved in plans to buy Springfield.

Auctioneers Chase and Sons director Tony Chase said there was no reserve price on the complex, but that he expected it to fetch "somewhere between R4m and R10m".

He confirmed that the ANC had shown an interest in the colliery, and said a group of local farmers had also formed a committee to bid for it.

There were at least five other possible buyers, but they had asked not to be identified, he said.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan confirmed at the weekend that the ANC had shown an interest in the property, but refused to name other possible bidders.

Members of the local community oppose the sale.

At an open meeting in May, Grootvlei residents, residents of the nearby Eskom village, and members of the nearby farming community elected a committee to find a local buyer for the Springfield complex.

Committee member Daan Pretorius said at the weekend: "The aim was to keep the village open for the rural community."

The committee had found a partnership that was interested in buying the village, he said. The partnership, which he would not name, would be bidding tomorrow and would rent the land to local community members, including pensioners and people working in nearby towns.

Eskom rejects ANC's criticism

ESKOM has rejected ANC criticism that power stations are being closed despite the fact that more than 20-million people are still without electricity.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said this week that instead of closing power stations, government (and therefore Eskom) should attempt to provide electricity to the about 80% of SA's population who have not got it.

Eskom CE Ian McRae agreed there had to be a massive effort to provide electricity to the majority of South Africans, but said there were still a number of

BRENT VON MELVILLE

issues to surmount.

A major problem was the "politicisation" of electricity services. Another major problem was funding for the infrastructure.

Eskom corporate electrification manager Johan du Plessis said: "Eskom has surplus generating capacity and older, less economical power stations were mothballed to cut costs by using the modern, economical power stations with a better fuel efficiency and lower maintenance costs."

Eskom still had sufficient generating capacity

to supply electricity to all the people of SA without having to build a single extra power station, Du Plessis said.

McRae said the electrification of 20-million homes could provide up to 2-million jobs.

Du Plessis said that although it was Eskom's vision to bring electricity to all, it could be done only where it was economically viable — where people could afford it and were prepared to pay for it.

How British press sees ANC congress

Own Correspondent

ET 1/7/91

LONDON. — The South African government is expected to steal some of the ANC's thunder during its conference this week by announcing the signing of an agreement with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees enabling exiles to return home.

This was suggested yesterday by the London Sunday Times in one of several previews of this week's ANC conference.

All the articles focus on the leadership battle and the expected voting out of top office of much of the formerly exiled leadership.

And the probable election of Mr Walter Sisulu as deputy president is widely seen as a compromise, delaying for a time the confrontation between the hawks as represented by Mr Chris Hani, and the

doves represented by Mr Thabo Mbeki. Under the headline "Mandela's battered ANC seeks new path", the Sunday Times says the jockeying for leadership in the ANC "underlines the dilemma facing the ANC: Whether it can transform itself from a national liberation movement into a streamlined political party complete with specific policies".

A broad movement with members ranging from Stalinists to social democrats, the Sunday Times says "the moment it defines precisely where it stands politically, it will lose supporters".

But it says it would be a mistake to write the ANC off. Polls show it still commands the support of 70% of urbanised Africans. The Observer, like the Sunday Times, does not believe Zulu moderate Mr Jacob Zuma will be elected to the deputy presi-

dency. "As if to give the kiss of death to Mr Zuma's deputy presidency, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he would welcome Mr Zuma's election to a senior position."

Writing in the Independent on Sunday, columnist and Oxford fellow Mr RW Johnson said the conference means that the ANC, "having long talked the language of democracy, is now making a praiseworthy attempt to practise it". He said no matter what is discussed at the conference, "negotiations with the government will probably recommence soon afterwards".

Another Independent correspondent predicts that "judging by the nominations so far, two-thirds of the present leadership will lose their seats".

A CLOSE but confidential link has been forged between the African National Congress and South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs to shape South African foreign policy in a post-apartheid society.

The link has been highlighted by an invitation to the Commonwealth Secretary General, Chief Imeka Anyaoku, to lead a delegation of statesmen and other eminent persons to South Africa in early October to assess the changes that have taken place in the country that was once the pariah of Africa.

The invitation was delivered to Chief Anyaoku in London by the African National Congress.

ANC and government work together to shape foreign policy



Dr Hendrik Verwoerd



Mr Robert Mugabe



General Olesegun Obasanjo

Mugabe move

The visit by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group Mark II will have wide significance. It will come just before the Commonwealth heads of government summit begins in neighbouring Zimbabwe on October 15.

The Commonwealth is expected to announce at the Harare meeting a phased lifting of sanctions against Pretoria, and Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, will signal his country's rapprochement with South Africa and announce publicly his acceptance of the "irreversibility" of change there.

Mugabe's zeal for announcing his dramatic conversion explains his curious behaviour at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Lagos earlier this month.

While he urged fellow African heads of state to maintain strong sanctions against South Africa top Zimbabwean officials were signing a new trade agreement with Pretoria and making a formal request for "most favoured nation" treatment.

Zimbabwe maintains a 15-man diplomatic mission in Johannesburg to oil the wheels of its roaring trade with South Africa.

Torpedoed

Diplomatic sources said the structure of the EPG Mark II delegation under Chief Anyaoku had already been agreed. So, too, had the topics the delegation would discuss at a closed conference before going on to Harare to report to the heads of government.

The South African government is keen for the EPG Mark II to see the changes

that have occurred since the first disastrous EPG under Nigeria's General Olesegun Obasanjo in early 1986. On that occasion the EPG Mark I was edging close to an agreement under which the ANC would suspend armed struggle in return for Pretoria releasing Nelson Mandela from prison and opening negotiations.

But the EPG mission was deliberately torpedoed by Pretoria's hawks when the South African army launched raids into three neighbouring states.

The government's attitude towards the Commonwealth has changed completely since President F W de Klerk came to power. Both the government and the ANC agree that South Africa should rejoin the Commonwealth: the late Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd led the country out of the Commonwealth after the March 1961 London summit at which his apartheid policies were severely criticised.

ANC adamant

The South African government believes that Commonwealth civil servants have become more professional and realistic in the late Eighties and that the organisation can play an important role in smoothing the re-entry of South Africa into other international organisations.

For that reason the government would be happy to resume Commonwealth membership before South Africa's new democratic constitution is in place; but the ANC is adamant that the country should rejoin only after the first one-person-one-vote election some time in late 1994 or early 1995.

The ANC is keen for South Africa to join the Commonwealth. During its long years in exile it received important support from many Commonwealth countries, and top officials such as Thabo Mbeki, director of international affairs, and Pallo Jordan, director of information, maintained good relations with Commonwealth secretariat.

For its part the government feels the Commonwealth has undergone an important and positive transformation — ironically, largely because of the issue of South Africa.

Because it had dominated summits for the past 20 years and threatened to break up the Commonwealth, key actors decided that the organisation must "grow up" and get involved with a host of other important world issues,

such as global security and human rights other than those pertaining in South Africa.

Pretoria feels that the new breed of Commonwealth technocrats can play a particularly important role in organising an EC-type Southern African Economic Community, to the benefit of everybody in the region.

In their extraordinary secret negotiations on foreign policy the government and the ANC have agreed that South Africa has a moral responsibility to play a vital role in the reconstruction and development of the shattered or run-down economies of the region.

Watershed?

Now that South African foreign policy is no longer exclusively in the hands of the government the Commonwealth seems likely to succumb to temptation and act as facilitator.

Diplomatic sources said the EPG Mark II visit could turn out to be the watershed in the whole South African reform process. An endorsement of that process could give momentum to the constitutional talks, which are likely to be under way by the time the Commonwealth leaders meet.

Most other South African parties, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Democratic Party and the Black Consciousness Movement, support a return to the Commonwealth.

Only the Afrikaner far right wing is opposed. It sees it as a British plot, a continuation of the Boer War objectives of subjugating the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners. A recent commentary in *Die Afrikaner*, the voice of the right wing Conservative Party, said last month's visit to South Africa by Mrs Thatcher was a conspiracy "with the communist Gorbachev against the Afrikaner nation... as if South Africa is a British colony".

Die Afrikaner added: "Britain's objective is, most probably, to have southern Africa in the British sphere of influence; and for this South Africa is the most important ingredient..."

"Thatcher's motivation was not primarily a love for the blacks and the communist, but a British obsession to remove Afrikaner nationalism from South African politics — the old Milner-Rhodes-Chamberlain politics which never succeeded." — Sunday Telegraph

Alleged coup leader 'on way to ANC talks'

The Argus Correspondent

11/7/91

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Rocky Malbane-Metsing — arrested when he arrived at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday — was on his way to Durban to attend the ANC's national congress, sources within the organisation said here.

Mr Malebane-Metsing, who allegedly masterminded the abortive 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana, was released on bail of R100 after appearing in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on Saturday night.

He faces extradition to Bophuthatswana.

Spokesmen at the homes of ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu said Mr Mabelane-Metsing had come to South Africa for the congress.

His arrest has reportedly angered the ANC and has had government departments at loggerheads.

Justice Department spokesman Mr Nick Grobler said Mr Malebane-Metsing had been granted indemnity from prosecution for illegally leaving the country.

But the indemnity did not apply to the extradition application.

Department of Foreign Affairs sources indicated surprise at Mr Malebane-Metsing's arrest.

ANC conference holds key to political future

By MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ONE of the most important political gatherings of the negotiation era starts in Durban tomorrow when the ANC gets down to laying clearer policy guidelines and choosing a new team to deal with the government.

The outcome will have a direct and crucial bearing on the course and style of negotiation politics.

Feverish lobbying is expected among the 2 000 delegates before voting starts on Friday for the 50-plus top executive committee posts.

The movement's 48th annual conference, the first within South Africa in more than 30 years, will also clarify policy guidelines on key issues. Among them is the demand for an interim government to run the country during the transition to a new order.

Mr Nelson Mandela, who is expected to be elected president to replace the ailing Mr Oliver Tambo — who will probably become honorary president — said on television last night that the conference would spell out a detailed position on the demand for an interim government.

The most important feature of the conference will be the leadership elections. These will be closely watched by all political groupings in South Africa, and by governments abroad.

The present leadership is expected to come under fire for its handling of the slow release of political prisoners, likely to be aired by delegates representing former Robben Island prisoners, and the return of exiles.

Other issues likely to provoke criticism



Cruywagen

Morris

Political Staffers DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS will cover this week's ANC Congress in Durban for The Argus.

are suspension of the armed struggle without wider consultation, a belief that leaders are not fully accountable to the membership, and the perception that the ANC gave more than they gained from the government at their Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings.

It appears that Mr Walter Sisulu is assured of the post of deputy president, but tough contests are expected for the post of secretary-general, now held Mr Alfred Nzo, and the other 50-plus in the NEC.

There are broadly two camps in the ANC: those who stress the movement's role as a national liberation movement engaged in a struggle against apartheid, and those who want to see the ANC acting as a political party or a government in waiting.

Both camps are committed to a negotiated solution, but differ on how to achieve it.

Unionists are expected to send a powerful lobby to the conference.

● See page 2.



REUNION: Old friends Mr Oliver Tambo, left, and Mr Nelson Mandela arrive in Durban to attend the ANC's 48th national conference which starts tomorrow. It is the ANC's first conference in South Africa in more than 30 years. Behind the leaders are Mrs Adelaide Tambo and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

IFP to ensure peace for ANC's conference

THE Inkatha Freedom Party says it will ensure no violence occurs during the national conference of the ANC which opens in Durban today.

The pledge was made in a resolution passed at the party's central committee meeting at Ujundi, Kwa-Zulu's seat of government.

Political party

"We declare that we will do all we can to ensure that the ANC can hold its congress in peace," the committee said. *Sowetan 17/91*

In another resolution, the IFP acknowledged it had not completed its transition from a tribal movement to a modern political party. It said there had not been sufficient time and resources.

The central committee would continue acting as an interim national executive arm of the party. - *Sapa*

IFP rejects ANC's indaba invitation



Sowetan 1/7/91

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has declined an invitation to send two of its representatives to the African National Congress national conference in Durban this week.

The President of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said relations between his organisation and the ANC would first have to be normalised.

The IFP leader said he had just returned from abroad when he was told that Mr Alfred Nzo, general secretary of the ANC, "has conveyed to Dr Frank Mdlalose the ANC NEC's willingness to meet the central committee of the IFP after its (ANC) congress to resolve the setback in our relations caused by at-

tacks by the ANC on the IFP in the ultimatum that was sent to President de Klerk by the ANC".

"This is a meeting which the deputy president of the ANC discussed with me on the telephone and which we agreed was necessary in order to normalise relations between the ANC and the IFP," Buthelezi

said.

"We hope that it is this meeting which will normalise relations between the two organisations. The central committee stated that Inkatha Freedom Party cannot place the cart before the horse. We have to wait for the normalisation of relations between the two organisations first before

we relate in the normal way to each other as organisations and as members of our organisations by, for example, accepting the kind of invitation under discussion."

Buthelezi said members of the IFP were totally committed to bringing about a multi-party democracy.

"For this to happen re-

lationships between political parties will have to be normalised. This in turn will only happen if violence abates and dialogue between political parties begins," he said.

He said the central committee had resolved to "wish the ANC well in holding its congress . . . and applaud this attempt by the ANC to link itself

to the wider society around it."

It stated that Inkatha was looking forward to discussions between its central committee and the ANC's national executive.

It also said it looked forward to meeting the ANC's executive committee to resolve "the outstanding problems."

ANC's forgotten leaders left in cold

Soweto 1/7/91

11A

THEY came home to a tumultuous and emotion-charged welcome in a spectacle that captured the imagination of the international community.

Traffic came to a virtual standstill in the townships while hordes of local and international journalists jostled with hundreds of youths in an effort to get the first glimpse of Mr Walter Sisulu soon after he and six other ANC veterans walked out of prison where they had spent a total of 167 years.

Mr Andrew Mlangeni, Mr Wilton Mkwai, Mr Elias Motsoaledi and Mr Ahmed Kathrada were carried shoulder-high by chanting youths and ecstatic ANC supporters when they arrived at their homes in Soweto and Eldorado Park on the morning of October 15 1989. The same went for Mr Raymond Mhlaba in Port Elizabeth and Mr Oscar Mpetsha in Cape Town.

Chants, ululations and singing filled the air as cries of "our leaders are back" reverberated across the dusty and sprawling townships of Soweto.

Conference

Meanwhile the dust has settled and most of these men have now assumed the unfortunate status of "yesterday's heroes." Less than two years after their release, they have taken a back seat on the ANC wagon.

And as the organisation's first national conference inside the country draws closer these men, who sacrificed themselves for the emancipation of the oppressed black masses, are moving further and further into the shadows.

With the exception of Sisulu, former general secretary of the ANC, the men seem to be languishing in the dark.

Their unwavering commitment to the struggle has been forgotten.

FOCUS

By SY



MAKARINGE

The price they paid for their beliefs is no longer appreciated.

Not a single line is written about them as the names of possible candidates for the ANC's new national executive committee keep cropping up in the media.

For example Kathrada, affectionately known as "Kathy", tasted well-deserved power when he was appointed head of the organisation's department of information and publicity. Described by those who know him as a man of vision and dedication, Kathrada (62) was also part of the ANC delegation which met the Government to draw up the Groote Schuur Minute last year.

Disappear

He also accompanied ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela on his first overseas trip. But all this was shortlived.

Kathy was later to disappear into oblivion when a younger and more energetic Dr Pallo Jordan returned from exile and subsequently took over the responsibilities of the department.

Mlangeni (63), who looked as

strong as a bull on the day of his release, addressed a number of rallies in the first few weeks of his freedom. He was later elected as patron of the ANC-aligned Operation Masakhane for the Homeless, formed to address grievances of shack dwellers and the homeless.

Health

His contribution too was overshadowed by other political developments.

Motsoaledi, plagued by ill-health, addressed a few rallies before he too disappeared from the public eye.

Mkwai, Mhlaba and the ailing unionist Mpetsha also seem to have been left out in the cold.

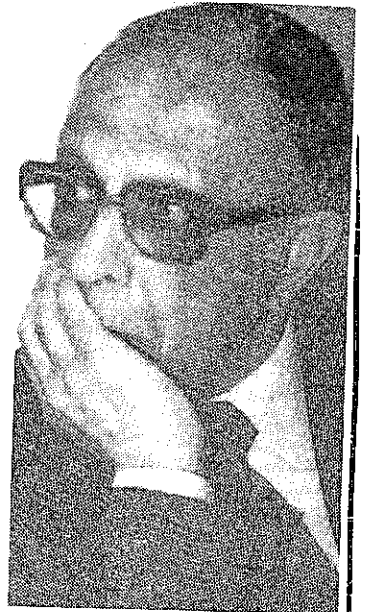
As younger and more militant ANC activists wait in the wings to be elected into the organisation's decision-making body, the older men's chances of being part of the executive committee continue to fade away.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo is set to bow out due to failing health.

No doubt

There is absolutely no doubt that the centre stage now belongs to Mandela and other ANC members such as Mr Jacob Zuma, ANC's representative in Natal; Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; Mr Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff; Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of the ANC's international affairs; Sisulu, chairman of the internal leadership corps; and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other activists whose names are always on people's lips are Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions; Mrs Gertrude Shope, president of the ANC Women's League; and Mr Peter Mokaba, leader of the ANC Youth League.



AHMED KATHRADA

Other people who are expected to be elected into the executive are some of those who spent several years in exile.

The death knell for less prominent veterans was sounded on February 11 last year, when the charismatic Mandela was released from Pollsmoor Prison.

Thousands of Soweto schoolchildren packed Orlando Stadium the following day where they expected Mandela to address them. Mandela was delayed in Cape Town and could not come to Johannesburg immediately - a fact the children didn't know.

Kathrada and Mlangeni were asked to deliver the message to the waiting schoolchildren. When the pupils saw them climbing the makeshift stage, they immediately knew Mandela would not be coming.

It was clear they did not want to listen to what Kathrada and Mlangeni had to say: they flocked out of the stadium.

It will be interesting now to see what role these men are to play in the so-called new South Africa.

ANC to boot out SACP men - IFF

11A Soweto 11/7/91

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) is likely to lose a number of key positions on the ANC's national executives.

The International Freedom Foundation said yesterday it had set up a "Congress Barometer" to analyse events leading up to the ANC Congress this week.

"Indications are that over half the members of the current ANC NEC will lose their positions to internal ANC leaders . . . this will result in the SACP losing a number of key members on the current 36-member NEC."

Key factors against their re-election to the NEC included their age and their lack of a grassroots support base. However, this would not necessarily result in

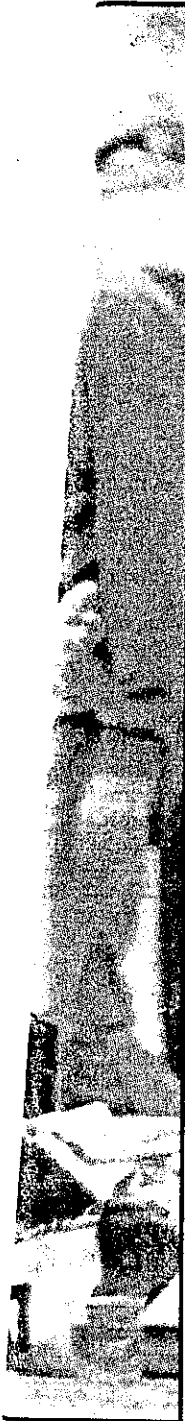
a decrease in SACP influence over the ANC.

The party would still hold important ANC administrative posts, and many younger party members, "who have risen through the ranks of the ANC's internal leadership and the trade union movement, will be elected to replace their ageing members on the current NEC".

The IFF listed 15 SACP leaders serving on the ANC's NEC who it thought faced little chance of re-election.

Mr Siphwe Nyanda, Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Ismail Ibrahim - senior SACP members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who enjoyed a high public profile at a grassroots level - also stood a good chance of election, said the IFF. - Sapa

g



ished yesterday
Picture: Reuter

Independent team to monitor ANC voting

(11A)
Star
21/7/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — The ANC has brought in an independent team to monitor and control the election of its new national executive.

A four-man electoral commission has been proposed by the existing National Executive Committee (NEC).

The independent team is headed by Charles Nupen, who founded the Independent Mediation Service of SA, an organisation which has helped to resolve disputes between trade unions and employers.

He will be assisted by Arthur Chaskalson, a leading lawyer and national director of the Legal Resources Centre, Enos Mabuza, former kaNgwane chief minister, and the Rector of the University of Durban-Westville, Dr Jaram Reddy.

The commission, once approved, will be assisted by representatives from each of the ANC's 14 regional delegations.

The appointment of an independent electoral commission is unusual in South African politics and reflects the desire of the NEC to be seen as neutral and not trying to manipulate the elections.

It comes amidst intense competition for the 55 directly elected positions on the executive.

The election will be preceded by a series of sessions, run by the electoral commission, to explain the voting procedures to the 2 000 delegates.

The result of the election will be announced on Saturday.

● The Star's Durban correspondent reports that the 2 000 delegates at the ANC conference at the University of Durban-Westville were without telephones for most of yesterday after vandals cut the main cable to the area.

All phones in the Durban suburbs of Reservoir Hills and Westville North were out of order after 150 m of copper cable was stolen near the area exchange on Sunday night.

● ANC appeal to whites

— Page 2.

Star 2/7/91

Azasco slates proposed takeover of white schools

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee's planned occupation of empty white schools would lead to the "de-culturisation" of black pupils if the move were allowed to go ahead, the Black Consciousness-aligned Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) warned yesterday.

The student movement was reacting to plans by the NECC southern Transvaal region to occupy Orange Grove Primary School, which was closed at the beginning of the year, and to spread this campaign to other under-utilised white schools in the PWV area.

"Education must be community-based and we believe

(11A) the Government is not unable to provide black pupils with the same facilities it gives to whites," said Azasco publicity secretary Siphon Maseko.

The campaign to occupy empty and under-utilised white schools came under the spotlight last week when the NECC southern Transvaal region announced plans to bus black pupils to these schools.

The campaign was "temporarily" called off on Wednesday when police threatened to take "very strong" action if the NECC went ahead with plans to move pupils to Orange Grove Primary.

NECC southern Transvaal general-secretary Amon Msane yesterday said the pupils would now be moved on Friday.

Ramaphosa gets nod to stand for ANC

TIM COHEN and ALAN FINE (11A)

DURBAN — The NUM national executive at the weekend gave permission to its general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa to stand for election as ANC secretary-general — but it is not yet definite he will do so.

Union sources said Ramaphosa's candidacy depended on certain unspecified "contingencies". They may be related to which other candidates accept nomination for election to the position.

Ramaphosa has indicated he would prefer to remain as NUM general secretary but apparently came under strong pressure to make himself available.

Conference organisers said the ANC continued to see itself as a liberation organisation and would not use the conference, which gets under way today, to transform itself into a political party.

National executive committee member Mahommed Valli said the ANC would not enter the debate on whether it was a political party or a liberation movement.

"We are still seeking national liberation and we continue to see ourselves as a national liberation organisation," he said.

It is the first ANC conference to be held inside SA for more than 30 years and the first opportunity ANC members will have to elect leaders since the ANC Kabwe Conference in Tanzania six years ago.

The conference would give the ANC the "sharp edge" it needed to lead the country into a new future, under a new constitution and to elections which the ANC must be in a position to win, Valli said.

He said the conference would "weld together" the different ANC elements — exiles, released prisoners and internal operatives — which had been forced apart because of "extreme repression".

The ANC did not meet as the representative of only its half million members. "We

□ To Page 2

Ramaphosa (11A) 2/7/91

meet here as the organisation which history has placed at the helm of the process of transformation in the country," he said.

At the same time, the new situation had given the ANC certain features of a political party, he said. It would want to ensure it could win an election.

National preparatory committee head Simon Makana said the conference would concentrate on the organisation's strategy and tactics in the new environment.

It would also have to decide on the broad outlines of a new constitution for the country and would define the organisation's policy on a broad variety of issues such as

land, the economy, local government and education and health.

ANC officials said exiles and Umkhonto we Sizwe would be represented.

ANC spokesmen yesterday confirmed that former NEC member Mac Maharaj, who resigned his position after the ANC's consultative conference in December last year, had been nominated for the NEC.

They would not comment on why he had decided to return to a senior position.

Spokesmen described a report that former KaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza might become the organisation's chief London representative as "unlikely".

(11A) □ From Page 1

Join us, ANC appeals to whites

By Patrick Laurence

11A

Star 2/7/91

DURBAN — Simon Makana, chairman of the preparatory committee for the ANC's national conference, yesterday appealed to whites to join the organisation in the final push to end apartheid.

Speaking on the eve of the five-day national conference, the first since 1958, Mr Makana told journalists from all over the world that the ANC wanted to build the "broadest possible patriotic front".

He specified: "We want to involve the whites as much as possible."

Mr Makana, a member of the ANC national executive, said one of the key tasks facing the 2 000 delegates was deciding on the "broad elements" of the ANC's proposed constitution for South Africa.

A discussion document, drawn up by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been prepared for debate. It includes proposals for a bill of rights, proportional repre-

sentation and a limitation on the tenure of office of the future president to two terms of five years each.

The conference will also consider another vital issue: the appropriate "strategy and tactics" now that the ANC is no longer a proscribed movement but a legal organisation invited to help negotiate South Africa's future.

Debate

Mr Makana was asked whether the conference would debate the question of whether the ANC should continue to operate as a "liberation movement" or whether it should transform itself into a political party.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a leader of the soon-to-be-dissolved United Democratic Front and likely to win election to the national executive, took the question.

The ANC, he said, was in the process of drawing together the various compo-

nents of its leadership, the exiles who had lived in the Frontline states and further afield, the guerillas from its camps who had fought in the war against apartheid, the men and women from South Africa's prisons and those who had served in the struggle at home.

Its purpose was to give the organisation the "sharp edge" it needed. There would be no debate about whether the ANC should be a liberation movement or a political party.

The ANC was already characterised by some of the elements of a political party. Members had been registered and organised into 900 branches, he said.

The conference opens today with the delivery of an address by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Mr Tambo is tipped to become the ANC's elder statesman and honorary president. His address should therefore be a valedictory oration.

Outlaw the pillage of black culture, says Serote

Monday 2/7/91

11A 

JUST what did Wally Serote, head of the ANC's arts and culture department, mean when he said legislation should be passed to preserve black culture? Does he envisage art police storming into studios and confiscating work that did not comply with official standards, arresting actresses who did not toe the party line?

On the contrary. Speaking at the Grahamstown Festival where he opened an exhibition of works by Mslaba Dumile, Serote said the ANC was keenly aware that SA culture was not exclusive and that it was the duty of the ANC to ensure that as many SA people as possible were able to express SA culture.

"But we can begin to demand that the pillage and rape of our craft, arts and antiques through sheer exploitation and cunning must stop. We can urge that it is the duty of a democratic state to nurture, promote and protect SA culture through non-racial and democratic cultural institutions, (through) funding, and by passing

legislation intended to preserve our culture," he said.

"We must demand restrictions that will curb the exportation of valuable arts and crafts that should remain here."

Serote said 40 years of apartheid had created a situation where it was impossible for blacks to express or appreciate culture. They were denied halls, access to art institutions and exposure to what other people were doing in the cultural world. They were denied the chance to develop their skills, to learn, and appreciate culture. Now those who wished to become cultural teachers or creators had to be trained.

"Apartheid has polarised blacks and whites, and we have to find a way of reducing that gulf. Whites in this country have to learn to accept themselves as Africans, and at the same time blacks are going to have to learn that they are part of the world from which they have been excluded for too long," he said.

JOHN MICHELL at the Grahamstown Festival

Last year the Grahamstown Festival was officially addressed by the ANC for the first time when Barbara Masekela, then arts and culture secretary, gave a fiery speech in which she said the ANC would "bring our political perspectives to bear" on the course the festival would take in future, and to develop a new and unique national aesthetic.

Not much has changed since then — once again Grahamstown is fluttering with flags and banners and there is a daunting array of theatre, dance and exhibitions, reflecting the beliefs and ideologies of a wide variety of participants. One of the highlights was Capab's *Cosi Fan Tutte*, directed with spectacular success by Janice Honeyman who not only opted for an English libretto, but also brought the humour back into Mo-

zart's famous comic opera.

This, one presumes, is precisely the sort of "Eurocentricity" Masekela was ranting against, but so far there have been no walkouts or sit-ins, no pickets or pouts. Nothing, however, has appeared under an ANC banner. When I asked Serote why, he replied that he did not believe Masekela meant that there was a need to express ANC culture specifically. The ANC's goal, he said, was to ensure that as many South Africans as possible could express their culture.

Still, it would have been gratifying to see more positive activity from the ANC, particularly after all their sabre-rattling last year. Umkonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and women's league president Gertrude Shope both cancelled their lectures to the festival's Winter School at the last moment.

Art, apparently, will run its course without the intervention of party politics and this was succinctly illus-

trated at the world premiere of *The Road to Mecca*. The film adaptation of Athol Fugard's play based on the life of Helen Martins, the strangely reclusive woman whose unique sculptures are preserved in the now famous Owl House, is probably the finest film to emerge from SA.

Yvonne Bryceland takes the starring role as the ageing, frightened Miss Helen who tries to banish darkness from her soul by creating a world of fantasy and light. Playing opposite her is Kathy Bates, who won the Oscar for her part in *Misery*, and who has contrived a suitably South African accent for the film's stark Karoo setting. Bates gives a great performance, but it's Bryceland who hogs the honours this time, giving the most moving and powerful performance of her career. In fact, she acts Bates right off the screen and if indeed justice does exist in the world of arts, Bryceland deserves to have the Oscar trophy firmly on her mantlepiece this time next year.

ANC poll: 'Neutral overseers'

(11)
CT 2/4/91

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — Neutral commissioners, including the former Chief Minister of KaNgwane Mr Enos Mabuza, have been appointed to oversee the elections later this week for the ANC's national executive.

Elaborate electoral mechanisms, including an independent mediation service, supporting staff — including lawyers — and computer voting systems, will be used in the elections to determine the ANC's leadership for the foreseeable future.

The extent to which the ANC has gone to ensure that the elections are both fair and accepted as legitimate underlines their importance for the future of the organisation.

Apart from Mr Mabuza, three other commissioners have been appointed. They are the principal of the University of Durban-Westville, Professor Jayram Reddy, the director of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Arthur

Chaskalson, and the head of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (Imssa), Mr Charles Nupen.

Imssa is also supplying administrative staff, including an advocate, Mr Paul Pretorius.

Although the elections for 55 positions on the ANC national executive committee, including the position of president, deputy president, secretary-general, assistant secretary-general and treasurer-general, are to begin on Thursday and continue on Friday, nominations are due to close at 1pm tomorrow.

With more than 2 000 delegates voting for 55 different positions, as well as re-voting if no one has a 50% majority, the potential problems with the election procedures are enormous, but the ANC hopes these will be kept to a minimum with the appointment of the four commissioners and the use of professional mediation experts.

The results of the election are to be publicly disclosed at an open session of the conference when it ends on Saturday.

Durban packed to capacity

DURBAN. — The city's Golden Mile faces a week of chaos with thousands of ANC delegates and supporters vying with July Handicap fans for scarce hotel accommodation, hired transport and other facilities.

A visit to major beachfront hotels yesterday showed that many July punters will have to forsake their favourite hotels. Staff at the hotels said they were all fully booked at a time when they usually face their greatest demands of the year.

"I don't know where all the horseracing fans are going to go," said one harassed receptionist.

The situation has been complicated by the massive interest shown by ANC supporters and world media in the historic conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

Only about one-third of the more than 3 000 delegates, supporters and media representatives have been accommodated at the university.

Meanwhile, last-minute preparations at the conference hall were still under way last night.

The hall is festooned with massive swathes of cotton painted in bright colours, each one repre-

senting a different theme of the conference.

The backdrop to the stage is covered in massive drapes of black, green and gold — the ANC colours.

Hundreds of metres of fabric and buckets of acrylic paint were used by Durban artist and ANC member Mr Andrew Verster to create the spectacular effect.

The ANC has made elaborate plans for the security of its delegates, including a mass evacuation of the conference centre in an emergency and extensive health facilities. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff

Momberg duo at ANC meet

Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC's national conference which starts here today is being attended by both Mr Jannie Momberg, the MP for Simon's Town, and his son, Jannie junior.

Jannie senior is one of five Democratic Party observers at the conference. Jannie junior is attending as a Western Cape delegate of the ANC.

(11A) 2/7/91
"I am very proud of him," the MP for Simon's Town said last night.



TIPPED ...
Allan
Boesak

ANC posts for Boesak, Mabuza?

Own Correspondent

© 11A CT 12/191

LONDON. — Dr Allan Boesak is tipped to win a senior position on the ANC's executive this week and former homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza is named as a possible ANC representative in Washington. This is according to the journal Africa Confidential.

In a two-page analysis of the ANC's national conference, Africa Confidential says many existing departments "like the rest of the national executive committee, need a serious overhaul".

The journal says Dr Boesak has been suggested by "some ANC stalwarts" as a possible new ANC treasurer-general or national organiser.

"He could use his eloquence to garner financial support internationally. He is also well connected

abroad and could relieve (Nelson) Mandela from tiresome fund-raising trips overseas.

"Boesak is still very popular and has been missed from the political centre stage ..."

The journal says members of the SA Communist Party in the Western Cape were known to have tried to use the controversy surrounding his personal relationships to "marginalise" him.

"Boesak is, however, unstoppable for election to the NEC and its (25-member) working committee."

Also likely for election to the NEC, says Africa Confidential, is former KaNgwane homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza. Noting that his namesake, Mr Lndiwe Mabuza, the present ANC representative in the US, has been "comprehensively outmanoeuvred" by new Pretoria ambassador Mr

Harry Schwarz, the journal says this is an area where Mr Mabuza's "diplomatic savvy is required".

However, it adds, "Mandela is also known to value Mabuza's expertise in the negotiating process".

The journal says: "If the conference votes — as is likely — to continue negotiations with the government, there are likely to be calls for the dissolution of Umkhonto we Sizwe."

It also speculates quite strongly that ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki could become the new deputy president. It believes his place could be taken by information and publicity department head Dr Pallo Jordan, with New Nation editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu moving into the publicity hotseat.



ENVOY ...
Enos
Mabuza

JN APRIL 1 1989 Swapo attempted to infiltrate guerillas into Namibia, violating agreements that had been more than a decade in the making. Hundreds were slaughtered for the sake of a victory that to all intents had long been won. Why did Sam Nujoma order his madness? Two reasons have always seemed paramount: bad advice and an even shakier grasp on facts.

The advice came chiefly from Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe who had pulled a similar stunt in the run-up to his own country's first independence elections. In his case, it worked. He thought it might work again.

As for Nujoma's misapprehensions, they stemmed from the years of pandering to which Swapo had been subjected by its sympathisers. Having never been corrected by those it trusted, it naively believed it could do no wrong. Its global network of sycophants had shielded the organisation from the obvious. The old geopolitical verities no longer applied. Swapo's understanding of the world had become a fly in amber. The truth, when it finally obtruded, came as a violent shock.

Touchy about facts

The ANC likewise has been chronically blinded — by prison walls, suppression, exile, the irrefutable justice of its cause and, last but not least, the sort of company it chose (indeed, still chooses) to keep. Now that it finally has the chance, nay, more the obligation, to see things clearly, efforts, some conscious, some unconscious, are being made to continue shading its eyes.

In a number of respects, the protection is being afforded because the ANC itself demands it. The movement has time and again shown itself touchy about the open dissemination of facts and opinions that conflict with its self-image and ambition.

The international Press, anxious to maintain lines of communication with a critical player, prettifies, glosses and sometimes outright distorts lest it be denied access. Much the same might be said of some domestic reporting, though, as the SA Institute of Race Relations has documented, journalists often fear a fate more debilitating than a simple loss of contacts.

More subtly, and perhaps even more perniciously, there may well be a tendency on the part of some publications to alter not only the content but the general orientation of their coverage to make it more appealing to what are assumed will be the tastes of the new order.

Misunderstanding

Broadening the focus of news gathering and expanding the range of voices that must be heard to serve a wider readership are one thing. Quite different, however, is the selection and interpretation of events to bring the news into line with the supposed political prejudices of the changing marketplace.

That may entail something worse than simple condescension — "black facts" for black readers — for it may easily lead to a dangerous misunderstanding of the way things are and of the options open to the various actors involved in shaping a post-apartheid South Africa.

Those actors, to give an important example, need to know as clearly and unequivocally as possible what the chances are of American sanctions coming off within the next few weeks and whether those opposed to such a move have any real hope of preventing it. Political and investment decisions critical to the country's future may hinge on such information.

Now a lot of activists, Congressmen and others would like South Africa to believe that they still have the power to obstruct a decision by President Bush to terminate the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. They do not. Their fulminations on the subject must not be confused with their actual capacities, even at the risk of giving offence.

Obstacles to suit

Senator Edward Kennedy has threatened to seek some form of legal injunction to vitiate, either directly or in effect, the executive order Bush has pledged to issue to lift the CAAA's sanctions once he decides that political prisoners have been released. The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law and others are currently studying ways of putting Kennedy's threat into practice.

Is it not being rude, either to them or to Kennedy, or to those in South Africa who have looked to them for support, to say the prospects of such a suit succeeding are so negligible that they may be discounted. Indeed, to construe the facts in other way is to sail perilously close to deceit.

This is not to say there will be no legal action, it is merely to fairly assess the obsta-

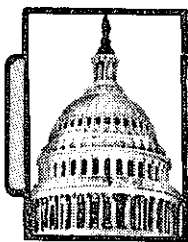
Flatterers

pull wool

over ANC

eyes about

US policy



Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER

cles such an action faces. The plaintiffs must first find a judge willing to ignore all existing case law and not dismiss their argument as a purely political matter. To obtain even a temporary restraining order they must then be able to prove that Bush's decision materially harmed their legitimate personal interests.

It is difficult to see how they could so prove but there are some quixotic judges out there, even on the Federal bench. If they lucked into one, the Justice Department would immediately appeal. There is no precedent to suggest the appeal would fail.

Plain conditions

Contrary to what Kennedy asserts, the CAAA is unambiguous in granting the executive branch exclusive authority to determine that its five conditions have been met, thus causing the automatic termination of the Act's sanctions. Section 601 states clearly that the President "shall issue such rules, regulations, licenses and orders as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act", including, needless to say, the termination clause.

So long as Bush has abided by the plain English of the conditions — for example he could not find that Nelson Mandela had been released, if, in fact, the ANC Deputy President was still in jail — the decision is his. His interpretation cannot, without a quite dazzling breach of precedent, be challenged and neither can he be accused of usurping powers that are not his.

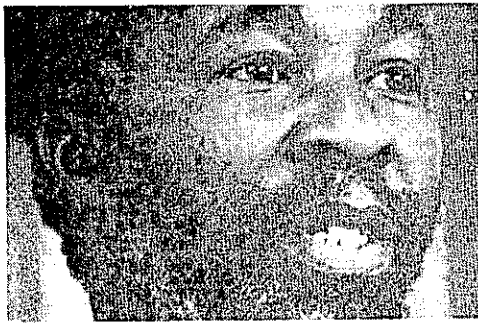
Finally, even if the plaintiffs did manage to get a hearing on the interpretation question by arguing that the president was defying the intent of Congress when it passed the Bill, they would have to contend with the statements of their own partisans when the law was being debated. Congress did intend that the sanctions should come off under present circumstances and not when a constitution had been negotiated.

Black caucus visit

One of the Bill's key managers, House majority Whip William Gray, stated in the House on June 18 1986 that: "We say to the South Africans: if you begin to dismantle apartheid, if you free the thousands of political prisoners locked in your jails, or you begin negotiating with the majority leadership there in South Africa, we say we will lift all the sanctions."

Of course there will be those who will harrumph and still try to dangle the possibility of continued sanctions before the ANC's wishful thinkers. A couple of members of the Congressional black caucus will be in Durban for the ANC's conference this week and will no doubt try to hold out the promise that something can still be done to "keep the pressure on".

It would be far better if they restricted themselves to the truth — which includes (Ambassador William Swing, please note) that the US body politic is starting to get mighty edgy about the kinds of international thugs the ANC persists in hanging out with — but, alas, their egos probably will not let them. They wish to be admired and thanked for all their efforts.



Thabo Mbeki



Chris Hani

Hani, Mbeki quit

IIA

CT 2/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — Leading figures in the ANC's hawk and dove factions — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and foreign affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki — have pulled out of the ANC's leadership stakes.

In another development, the National Union of Mineworkers executive has allowed the union's general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, to stand for election as ANC secretary-general. However, it is not yet certain that he will do so.

Yesterday top ANC sources

said Mr Mbeki and Mr Hani, representing divergent tendencies within the movement, had dropped out of contention for the top five positions on the eve of the organisation's national conference to avoid a potentially damaging and divisive succession battle.

The move will open the way for the ANC's ageing internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, to step in as a broadly acceptable compromise candidate for the crucial post of deputy president.

The successful candidates will be announced on Saturday afternoon — soon after the running of the Durban July.

Top sources said Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki are almost certain to get posts on the 90-strong national executive committee.

Their withdrawals come amid

indications that some ANC regions — particularly the three from Natal — are approaching the historic conference in a militant mood.

An ANC source said yesterday that recent outbreaks of violence in Natal were being seen as little more than warnings to the organisation. "The mood is ugly," he said.

At the weekend 16 victims of violence — including a two-year-old child who had been stabbed to death — were buried at Richmond after an outbreak of fighting in Ndaleni township.

ANC spokesmen at the funeral alleged that the 16 died in an attack by Inkatha.

The mood from the Natal regions could boost the prospects of

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arch-militant Mr Harry Gwala, who has been nominated for the deputy president's job by Southern Natal. (IIA)

Mr Ramaphosa has recently indicated he would prefer to remain as NUM general secretary but apparently came under strong pressure to make himself available for the ANC position.

Mining union sources said his candidacy decision may be related to which other candidates accept nomination for election to the position.

ANC officials said exiles would be represented by about 100 delegates and that the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be represented by a delegation.

The chairman of the ANC's national preparatory committee, Mr Simon Makana, said that a major focus of the conference would be "the rebuilding of the ANC and consolidation of our ranks".

He emphasised that the ANC needed to build unity across colour lines as it attempted to play a leading role in shaping a new, non-racial, democratic constitution for the country.

Mr Makana said that the other major areas of discussion at the conference, the first national get-together on South African soil since 1958, were:

● Tactics and strategy in the new era of negotiation. CT 2/7/91

● The continuing violence.

● A new constitution.

Today's opening session will include a two-hour address by the ANC's outgoing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

The congress is expected to elect Mr Nelson Mandela as the ANC's new president, with Mr Tambo being given the position of honorary president.

ANNC appeals to Whites

(117) AUGUST 27/1991



SIMON MAKANA, chairman of the preparatory committee for the ANC's national conference, yesterday appealed to whites to join the organisation in the final push to end apartheid.

Speaking on the eve of the start of the five-day national conference Mr Makana told scores of journalists from all over the world that the ANC wanted to build the "broadest possible patriotic front."

He specifically included whites, saying: "We want to involve the whites as much as possible. We want to talk to whites across the colour line."

Mr Makana, a member of the ANC national executive, identified one of the key tasks facing the 2 000 delegates as deciding on the "broad elements" of the ANC's proposed constitution for South Africa.

A discussion document, drawn up by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been prepared for debate at the conference. It includes proposals for a bill of rights, proportional representation and a limitation of the tenure of office of the future president to two terms of five years each.

The ANC conference will consider another vital issue: the appropriate "strategy and tactics" for the ANC now it is no longer a proscribed movement forced to operate secretly but a legal organisation invited to help negotiate South Africa's future.

Mr Makana was asked from the floor whether the conference would debate the question of whether the ANC should continue to operate as a "liberation movement" or whether it should transform itself into a political party.

Mr Mohammed Valli, a leader of the soon-to-be dissolved United Democratic Front and one of the younger generation of leaders likely to win election to the national executive, took the question.

The ANC, he said, was in the process of drawing together the various component parts of its leadership: the exiles who had lived in the frontline states and further afield, the guerrillas from its camps who had fought in the war against apartheid, the men and women from South Africa's prisons and those who had

served in the struggle at home.

Its purpose was to give the organisation the "sharp edge" which it needed. In some respects the ANC was still a liberation movement because the process of "liberation" was as yet incomplete. "We are still being ruled by a minority regime," Mr Valli said.

But the ANC was already characterised by some of the elements of a political party: members had been registered and organised into 900 branches. "We want to ensure that we will win any election that may come," Mr Valli commented.

Mr Valli disclosed, in response to questions from the floor, that about 100 of the 2 000 delegates were representing exiles, only a small proportion of whom have returned to South Africa.

The conference opened today with the delivery of an address by the ailing president, Oliver Tambo, the man who led the ANC during the long, difficult years when it was outlawed in South Africa and when many of its leaders, including the man certain to succeed him, Nelson Mandela, were in jail.

Closed-door proceedings video-taped for posterity

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN of the Political Staff, in Durban

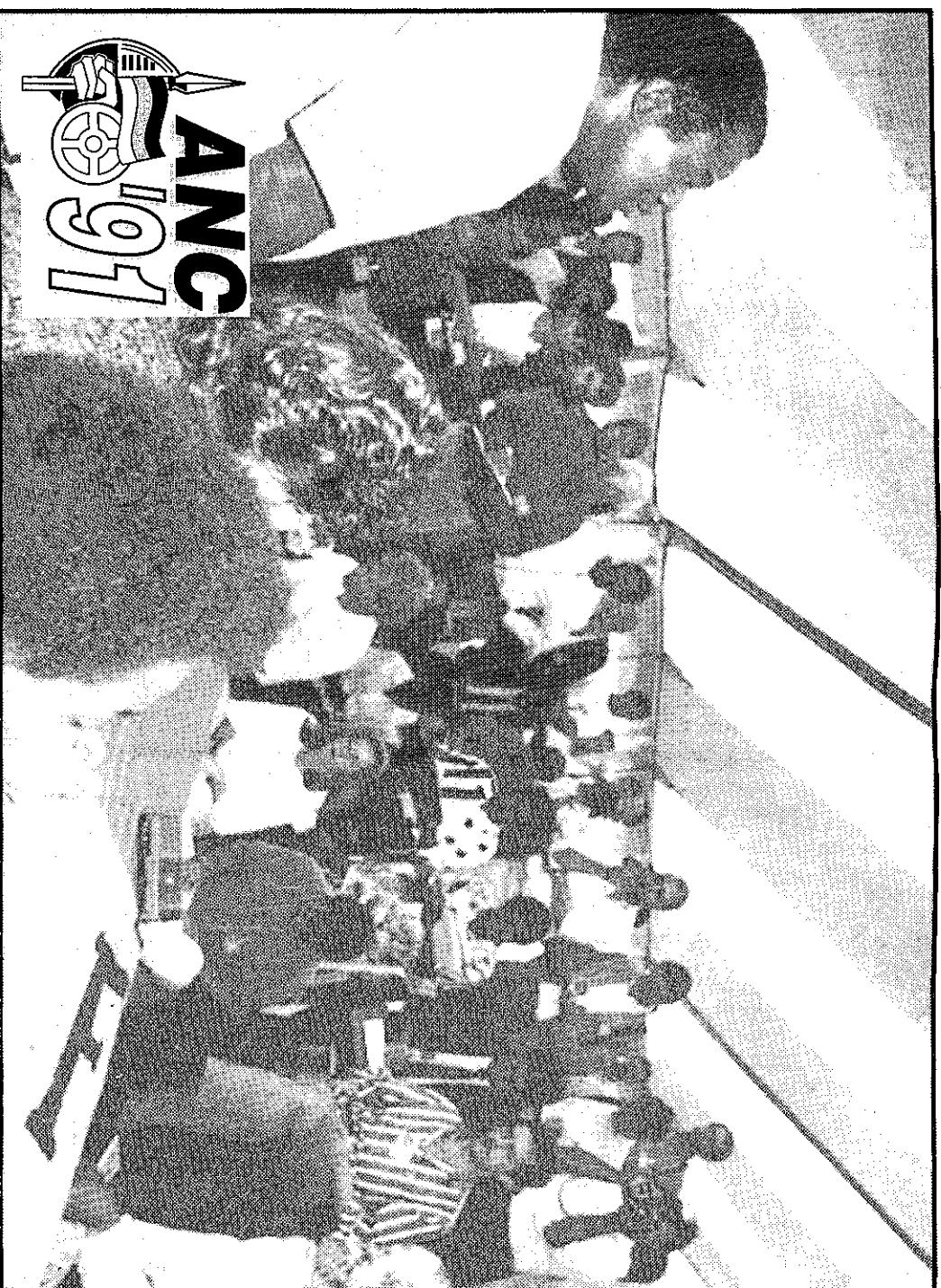
MOST of the proceedings at the ANC's first annual conference within South Africa in more than 30 years will be behind closed doors, but it will be video-taped for posterity.

An edited version of the video will be produced and distributed to regions to help with the process of reporting back to members on conference debates.

The video is being recorded by ANC personnel and other technicians and is expected to be available soon after the end of the conference on Saturday.

In addition, a full audio recording will be kept of all proceedings.

The conference is attracting media attention from around the world, and the staff of the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) were still accrediting journalists late last night and were expected to be kept busy process-



An ANC official addresses a Press briefing at the conference in Durban

Rocky Metsing a delegate

Political Staff in Durban

THE leader of the abortive coup in Bophuthatswana several years ago, Mr Rocky Metsing — who was arrested in Johannesburg on Saturday after re-entering the country — is to attend the ANC's 48th annual conference in Durban.

Mr Metsing was arrested on a murder charge and released on R100 bail on Saturday night, according to ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma.

He said police alleged that the indemnity given to Mr Metsing to return to South Africa for the conference "does not apply to murder cases".

The ANC's argument was that political prisoners who had been convicted on murder charges had been released from prison, he said.

"As far as we are concerned, it is not clear which government is running the country: that of General (Johan) van der Merwe (Commissioner of Police) or Mr De Klerk."

He said Mr Metsing would definitely be at the conference as a delegate.

Tight security web at Westville campus

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS Political Staff

TIGHT web of security has been spun around the University of Durban-Westville campus this week for the ANC's 48th annual conference.

This is despite assurances given by the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee that they would do all they could to ensure that violence would not interrupt the conference.

An ANC spokesman said it would be "politically suicidal" for Inkatha to attack the campus.

"But we are not taking any chances. Access to the conference hall will be restricted on a need-to-be-there basis."

Three colour codes are being used to limit access to the conference hall and

identity all people allowed on the campus.

Delegates, who were expected to number 3 000, are required to wear their white badges at all times, security personnel have been issued with red cards and journalists have to wear orange cards.

Last night ANC members manned all entrances to the university, stopping cars, checking the boots and asking the occupants to fill in their names and vehicle registration numbers on entry lists.

Security personnel were patrolling throughout the extensive campus.

People and goods entering the conference hall have to pass through an X-ray security barrier.

Diplomats, politicians around the world

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS of the Political Staff, in Durban

A gathering of diplomats and high-profile politicians seldom seen before in South Africa are here this week for the ANC's historic annual conference.

India, which has had an icy relationship with Pretoria, will be there, as well as representatives from the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), Cuba, Libya, Hungary, Sweden, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Malaysia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Germany, Italy and Australia.

Contrary to earlier reports, Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda and PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat were not expected to attend.

However, it is understood that Mr Ahmed Salim-Salim will be representing the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

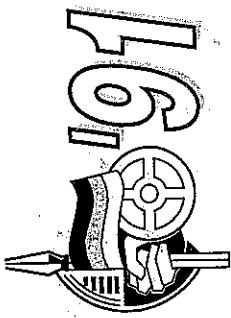
ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the South African Department of Foreign Affairs had expressed an interest to see some of the delegates.

"In the end, it will be up to the delegates if they want to see them (the South African officials)," he said.

Among the diplomats and politicians from abroad are Mr Ali Halime, the PLO ambassador to Zimbabwe, Cuban diplomat Mr Pdofo Puelo Ferro, Libyan diplomats Mr Abdalla Abdussalam Zbedi and Mr Yousef Saleh Murgham, Mr Toshio Akirawa, director general of the Japan Asia Africa Latin America Solidarity Committee, Lord and Lady Hatch of Lusby of the House of Lords, the Czech ambassador to Zimbabwe Mr Bohuslav Hynek.

Homeland leaders attending the conference include Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

ANC unity



11th AUG 2/7/91

vital — Tambo

By MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DURBAN — President of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo urged delegates at the movement's historic annual conference here today to refocus international attention on the development needs of the future and the reconstruction of a post apartheid South Africa.

Opening the ANC's first conference within South Africa in 30 years, Mr Tambo also emphasised the need to maintain the ANC's mass-based character and emphasised the importance of the ANC maintaining a leading position in the unfolding political process.

The ANC must remain the "peoples parliament" and unity was a vital element of this.

"The unity in action of our people has remained the guiding beacon throughout the days of illegality.

"To reach our goal of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa, sooner rather than later, then we must not deviate from this course.

Popular support

"We considered it important that decisions of the ANC were to be shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times even if such decisions were acceptable within the movement, they would have come to nought unless they enjoyed popular support beyond the bounds of the ANC itself."

Mr Tambo's address was devoted almost entirely to reviewing the history of the ANC's campaign against apartheid, but he turned the attention on the future when he said the ANC "must continue to assert its leadership" of the political process.

"This means we have an ongoing responsibility to lead the process of negotiations. As in the past our leadership should be exercised both here and abroad. This becomes even more important given the changing face of the international community.

"We must therefore refocus international attention on the need for continued support, including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country and region in the post-apartheid era."

Won initiative

In his assessment of the past Mr Tambo said the ANC had succeeded in winning the initiative internationally and "managed to push the enemy into crisis which could not be resolved within the confines of the old order".

"For the first time possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations were created.

"As a result of the struggle the closed door that our late president Chief Albert Luthuli knocked on for many decades was finally opened.

"It is our responsibility and destiny to seize this historic opportunity."

Transition must be short — Huddleston

From MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DURBAN. — South Africa could not look forward to a future of peace and hope until the source of the violence had been uncovered and exposed and the government had met its pledges on prisoners and exiles, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston told the ANC conference here today.

Opening the movement's 48th national conference at the University of Durban-Westville, the veteran anti-apartheid campaigner and president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement urged delegates to make sure the transitional period was a short one.

He said unity was a vital step and a priority in negotiating peace.

On violence, Archbishop Huddleston said: "From my point of view I cannot but feel there's a deliberate attempt to destabilise the peace process and to do so by trying to weaken and destabilise the ANC itself.

"We all pray that this violence may be able to go forward with confidence for the future," Archbishop Huddleston said.

"I do not think we need to look anywhere else except to the Freedom Charter as our guide and inspiration."

● See page 13.

Eyes of the world on ANC in Durban

Sowetan
21/7/91

11A

THE eyes of the world are on Durban today where the ANC begins its 48th national congress.

The last legal congress the movement held in South Africa was ironically in the same city in 1958.

The overriding difference between then and now is that today everyone who has a vested interest in the future of South Africa is holding their breath and keeping their fingers crossed.

In 1958, the ANC was regarded as a bunch of outlaws, and only a few years away from being banned.

Today, the future of the country lies as much with the ANC as it does with the Government.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said on arriving here on Sunday that this week's conference - which ends with a massive rally at Kings Park Stadium on Sunday - would be of the utmost importance for the future of the movement.

Game plan

He indicated that the ANC expected to emerge from the conference with a mandated game plan for the future and he reiterated the movement's demand for an interim government during constitutional negotiations.

He said the outcome of the conference would indicate the way ahead "from an apartheid state to an interim government".

In the weeks leading up to the congress the ANC has been scrutinised in almost microscopic detail.

The media have speculated wildly (perhaps even accurately) about the new leadership which the conference will elect.

This provoked a subtle rebuke from Mandela, who said the media was trying to run the ANC.

At Durban's Louis Botha airport, Mandela again took a swipe at the Press.

He jokingly said that the con-

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

ference would not focus on elections as "the Press has been holding them for us".

What the media had been ignoring was the significance of the political conference, not just for the ANC, but for the country as a whole, a senior source within the movement said yesterday.

He said, because of the position the ANC holds, the future of the entire country should be in slightly better focus by the end of this week.

The ANC leadership sees the violence and its demand for an interim government as inexorably linked.

It is believed within the movement that the violence is not just orchestrated to unravel the fabric of township structures that the ANC has been trying to weave.

It is simultaneously (and primarily) aimed at creating the perception that if the Government were replaced by an interim structure in which the ANC played a part, the country would slip into chaos.

This was ostensibly the reason why the ANC has said violence is a major obstacle to negotiations.

While the perennial violence is on the top half of the list the ques-

tion of an interim government is not very far down the agenda for this week.

The ANC's deputy director of foreign affairs, Mr Stanley Mabizela, last week extolled the merits of an interim government.

He said the call for an interim government did not mean that the ANC had turned its back on the Freedom Charter.

It was merely a tactful means of achieving the total objectives of the charter, Mabizela said.

"It would be idiocy and insensitive on the part of the ANC to wait for years to negotiate a new constitution while there was a crisis in education, housing, unemployment and senseless killing," he said.

Mabizela explained that the transition period could not continue unmonitored.

The security forces had to be held in check until a new constitution had been finalised by a constituent assembly.

Extrapolating from this, one can safely assume that the ANC is still in favour of a constituent assembly and that this will be discussed at this week's conference.

Demands

At this point, and in terms of earlier demands made, the ANC has said it prefers free and fair elections on a basis of one-person-one-vote to a constituent assembly.

There is little chance that the movement will change its position in this regard.

The movement's new constitution, which hopefully will be adopted by the conference, specifically calls for elections to a constituent assembly.

It is also important to note that, in terms of the new constitution, the next national congress of the ANC has to be in three years.

This coincides with the general election which, in terms of the country's constitution, is due in

the same year - 1994.

It is therefore in the interest of the ANC to concentrate on two things in the next three years - building the organisation (after the battering it has taken in the townships) and entering more serious talks with Government.

At the same time the ANC fears closer ties with the Government.

State President FW de Klerk indicated in London earlier this year, and again later in Parliament, that black people could be represented in central government - possibly in the Cabinet.

The big fear here would be that any person who participates in central government could be accused of being co-opted.

It is however interesting to note that the ANC and the Government have already started some kind of transitional "government" agreement.

Blueprint

In terms of the Groote Schuur Minute, the Pretoria Minute and the DF Malan Agreement joint working groups have been established.

So, while the world is waiting and watching, the ANC will later today go behind closed doors to establish a coherent political blueprint for the future and elect a National Executive Committee which would lead the movement, and perhaps even the country, to political stability.

There is, however, something very unsettling about being watched while you work - especially if you're trying to do the right thing...

On the other hand, Government has rejected outright all previous demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

This could mean that there is a long, hard slog ahead for both the politicians and ordinary people in South Africa.

ANC gunning for elections

Sowetan
2/7/91

11A

THE ANC wants to emerge from its 48th national conference at the end of this week with "the cutting edge" needed to win any forthcoming election.

The immediate aim of the movement is to rebuild and consolidate its structures, and to draw up a constitutional blueprint that is to be altered if need be by as broad a selection of people as possible.

While the ANC would concentrate throughout the six days on all issues of South African political life, violence would be a major topic of discussion.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Simon Makana, yesterday said that the violence in the country had become a national disaster.

"A disaster not just for black people, but for all South Africans," Makana said.

He said that the ANC would also work hard at uniting people of all colours.

"We want to involve

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

white people as much as possible. We must sort this problem together," he said.

A second spokesman, Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa, said at the pre-conference briefing yesterday that approximately 100 delegates from at least 40 countries around the world had arrived in the country over the past week for the conference.

These delegates came from military bases and settlements in countries

such as Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

There would be 2 000 delegates at the conference from 900 branches, Moosa said.

"This conference will give us the cutting edge.

"We want to ensure that we have the capacity to win any future election," Moosa said.

The conference starts today and runs for five days.

On Sunday, the newly elected national executive committee will be introduced to supporters at a rally at Kings Park Stadium in Durban.

ANC would win ^(11A) poll

Sowetan 2/7/91

SOWETAN REPORTER

IN A ONE man, one vote election today the ANC would win, but nine out of 10 people in the townships believe that it would have to build the future through negotiations, not confrontation, with the Government.

On average the National Party of State President F W de Klerk would emerge as the second-largest party among township residents.

These are three of the key findings from new research into the attitudes of people in the townships of South Africa's main cities. The research was done during March this

year by the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. It was based on questions formulated by the centre's director, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer. The research was published yesterday.

The survey, a nationwide sample of all ages, found that only one out of 10 people support the armed struggle; three out of 10 support consumer boycotts and stayaways.

But nearly half the people support protest

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marches, meetings and demonstrations and about the same number of people believe in protests aimed at the resignation of black town councillors and homeland leaders.

Two striking aspects of the survey are that Soweto people generally think differently from township dwellers in other parts of the country and that the opinions of the hostel dwellers on the Witwatersrand are completely out of step with the views of the township residents around them.

For instance: 65 percent of all township residents feel "close" or

ANC would win - survey

Sowetan 2/7/91

(11A)

New research shows that the National Party would come second if a one man, one vote election was held right now. What do you think?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and share your opinion with the nation today between 4.30 and 5pm.

Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show on mediumwave 576 KHz.

"very close" to the ANC. In Soweto that falls to 49 percent and in the hostels to 12 percent. But in the hostels more than seven out of 10 people feel "close" or "very close" to the IFP. That figure falls to less than two out of 10 in Soweto.

Nationally, the organisation which seven out of 10 people feel closest to is their church.

The researchers asked the people who they thought was responsible for starting the violence in their areas. Nearly six out of 10 people in Soweto

blamed Inkatha Freedom Party. Sixteen percent of people in hostels felt the same. Others blamed for the violence, in order of frequency, were youths who were pseudo "comrades", the South African Police, ANC or Communist Party-linked activists and then certain headmen and vigilantes.

The researchers note: "Quite substantial minorities of residents identified factions within organisations which they supported as starting the violence. Some three out

Election

In terms of political support the research found that nationally, if a free election were held today, 62 percent of township dwellers would vote for the ANC (but only 43 percent in Soweto); 12 percent would vote for the Na-

tionally Party (17 percent in Soweto) and five percent would vote for the IFP (10 percent in Soweto).

Fifteen percent of people nationally would vote for other parties (27 percent in Soweto) and six percent nationally would not vote (three percent in Soweto). In another surprise the researchers dispel the idea that most township youths are alienated, angry and radical. "If anything, the political consciousness of 16- to 24-year-olds is slightly more moderate than people older than they are, with the exception of residents of 50 years and older who are distinctly conservative.

"Clearly the stereotype of a 'lost generation' of youth is based on the actions of a highly-mobilised activist minority and on the behaviour of an anti-social minority. These minorities are not typical of youth in general - they simply get all the publicity. "This however, should not detract from the tremendous problems of black youth in townships, among whom unemployment is critically high."

IFP 'wishes the ANC well'

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party are making tentative peace moves.

The violence in the townships has largely been perceived as being between the two organisations, while the IFP has repeatedly attacked the ANC's policies.

The ANC too, has been relentless in its criticism of the IFP, notably in its open letter of April 5 to the Government.

However, in what appeared to be a conciliatory gesture, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "wished the ANC well" for this week's conference.

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POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The IFP central committee also agreed to meet with the newly elected NEC of the ANC shortly after the conference.

Both organisations have agreed that a meeting should take place with the full executive of the ANC and IFP.

Buthelezi reportedly said that ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo had expressed his organisation's willingness to meet with the IFP executive within 10 days.

The IFP will, however, not send

11A

a delegation of observers to this week's national congress of the ANC.

Speaking at a Christian youth conference in Natal on Sunday, Buthelezi praised former ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli.

During Luthuli's days at the ANC helm the political watchword was tolerance he said.

"We were led by a man to whom Christ was king.

"At that time we followed a strategy of trying to achieve our liberation through non-violent means," Buthelezi said, referring to his days in the ANC.

Azapo calls for education indaba

Sowetan 2/7/91

11A

ORGANISATIONS need to meet to take urgent steps to address the collapse of learning in schools, the head of Azapo's education secretariat, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, said.

He said this in his address to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris last week.

Mokae said the conference should be non-secretarian and cross-ideological and should look at issues like the collapse of the learning culture at schools, pupil and parent and morale and the need for a code of conduct governing a behaviour of pupils, students and tutors.

By GRACE RAPHOLO

"The education crisis cuts across the ideological divide and for any initiative to succeed, it has to be jointly organised from inception by all relevant bodies irrespective of ideology."

Mokae told the UN that organisations like the Black Students Study Project, Black Adult Literacy Advancement, Community Health Awareness Project and the Imbeleko women's organisation have been denied international financial support for their programmes because these organisations espoused Black Consciousness.

Azasco hits at school strategy

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By GRACE RAPHOLO

THOSE campaigning for the occupation of empty white schools ignored the practical limitations like transport, security and the level of income which invariably defeated the purpose of such occupation.

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azasco publicity secretary Siphon Maseko said the move sought to further sacrifice the learning process for political motives.

He said whites were capable of transporting violence into black townships and chaos would result if black pupils forcefully occupied those schools.

He urged parents not to risk the safety of their children by making them vulnerable to attacks by rampaging white gunslingers, whose track record was known in the townships.

Azasco demanded the establishment of township schools of the same standard as those in white suburbs.

He said the onus was on the Government and not on the pupils to do something about the shortage of classes.

ON APRIL 1 1989 Swapo attempted to infiltrate guerrillas into Namibia, violating agreements that had been more than a decade in the making. Hundreds were slaughtered for the sake of a victory that to all intents had long been won. Why did Sam Nujoma order this madness? Two reasons have always seemed paramount: bad advice and an even shakier grasp of facts.

The advice came chiefly from Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe who had pulled a similar stunt in the run-up to his own country's first independence elections. In his case, it worked. He thought it might work again.

As for Nujoma's misapprehensions, they stemmed from the years of pandering to which Swapo had been subjected by its sympathisers. Having never been corrected by those it trusted, it naively believed it could do no wrong. Its global network of sycophants had shielded the organisation from the obvious. The old geopolitical verities no longer applied. Swapo's understanding of the world had become a fly in amber. The truth, when it finally obtruded, came as a violent shock.

The ANC likewise has been chronically blinded — by prison walls, suppression, exile, the irrefutable justice of its cause, and, last but not least, the sort of company it chose (indeed, still chooses) to keep. Now that it finally has the chance, nay, more the obligation, to see things clearly, efforts — some conscious, some unconscious — are being made to continue shading its eyes.

In a number of respects, the protection is being afforded because the ANC itself demands it. The movement has time and again shown itself touchy about the open dissemination of facts and opinions that conflict with its self-image and ambition.

The international Press, anxious to maintain lines of communication with a critical player, prettifies, glosses, and sometimes outright distorts lest it be denied access. Much

Blinkered ANC is willing to be deluded by powerless allies

B/day 2/7/91

(11A)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

the same might be said of some domestic reporting, though, as the SA Institute of Race Relations has documented, journalists often fear a fate more debilitating than a simple loss of contacts.

More subtly, and perhaps even more perniciously, there may well be a tendency on the part of some publications to alter not only the content but the general orientation of their coverage to make it more appealing to what are assumed will be the tastes of the new order.

Broadening the focus of news-gathering and expanding the range of voices that must be heard in order to serve a wider readership are one thing. Quite different, however, is the selection and interpretation of events to bring the news into line with the supposed political prejudices of the changing marketplace.

That may entail something worse than simple condescension — "black facts" for black readers — for it may easily lead to a dangerous misunderstanding of the way things are and of the options open to the various actors involved in shaping a post-apartheid SA.

Those actors, to give an important example, need to know as clearly and unequivocally as possible what the chances are of American sanc-

tions coming off within the next few weeks and whether those opposed to such a move have any real hope of preventing it. Political and investment decisions critical to the country's future may hinge upon such information.

Now a lot of activists, congressmen and others would like SA to believe they still have the power to obstruct a decision by President George Bush to terminate the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. They do not. Their fulminations on the subject must not be confused with their actual capacities even at the risk of giving offence.

Senator Edward Kennedy has threatened to seek some form of legal injunction to vitiate, either directly or in effect, the executive order Bush has pledged to issue lifting the CAAA's sanctions once he decides that political prisoners have been released. The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law and others are currently studying ways of putting Kennedy's threat into practice.

It is not being rude either to them

or to Kennedy, or to those in SA who have looked to them for support, to say the prospects of such a suit succeeding are so negligible that they may be discounted. Indeed, to construe the facts in any other way is to sail perilously close to deceit.

This is not to say there will be no legal action, it is merely to fairly assess the obstacles such an action faces. The plaintiffs must first find a judge willing to ignore all pre-existing case law and not dismiss their argument as a purely political matter. To obtain even a temporary restraining order they must then be able to prove that Bush's decision materially harmed their legitimate personal interests.

It is difficult to see how they could so prove, but there are some quixotic judges out there even on the federal bench. If they lucked into one, the justice department would immediately appeal. There is no precedent to suggest the appeal would fail.

Contrary to what Kennedy asserts, the CAAA is unambiguous in granting the executive branch exclusive authority to determine that its five conditions have been met, thus causing the automatic termination of the Act's sanctions. Section 601 states clearly that the president "shall issue such rules, regulations, licences

and orders as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act", including, needless to say, the termination clause.

So long as Bush has abided by the plain English of the conditions — for example he could not find that Nelson Mandela had been released, if, in fact, the ANC deputy president was still in jail — the decision is his. His interpretation cannot, without a quite dazzling breach of precedent, be challenged nor can he be accused of usurping powers that are not his.

Finally, even if the plaintiffs did manage to get a hearing on the interpretation question by arguing that the president was defying the intent of Congress when it passed the Bill, they would have to contend with the statements of their own partisans when the law was being debated. Congress did intend that the sanctions should come off under present circumstances and not when a constitution had been negotiated.

One of the Bill's key managers, House majority whip William Gray, stated in the House on June 18 1986 that: "We say to the South Africans: if you begin to dismantle apartheid, if you free the thousands of political prisoners locked in your jails, if you begin negotiating with the majority leadership there in SA, we say we will lift all the sanctions"

Of course, there will be those who will harrumph and still try to dangle the possibility of continued sanctions before the ANC's wishful thinkers. A couple of members of the Congressional Black Caucus will be in Durban for the ANC's conference this week and will no doubt try to hold out the promise that something can still be done to "keep the pressure on".

It would be far better if they restricted themselves to the truth — which also includes (ambassador William Swing, please note) that the US body politic is starting to get mighty edgy about the kinds of international thugs the ANC persists in hanging out with — but alas their egos probably will not let them. They wish to be admired and thanked for all their efforts.

ANC tipped to buy town

THE ANC is tipped to make a bid for the deserted mining town of Grootvlei, which comes under the hammer at 2,30pm today.

It is understood the organisation is planning to purchase the town for the resettlement of ANC exiles.

Hot bidding is also expected from the local community, according to a spokesman for Anglo American Corporation, which owns the remote western Transvaal town. *Sowetan 2/7/91*

The auction will take place at the Springfield Colliery recreation club, near the Transvaal/Free State border, said spokesman Mr James Duncan.

The village consists of more than 250 houses, a small hospital and vacant land, and was put up for sale earlier this year.

Media representatives will be allowed to tour the property before the auction, leaving from the club at 1.30pm. - *Sapa*

Senior PAC member dies in Transkei

(11A)

Sowetan 2/7/91.

A SENIOR member of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Templeton Ntantala, has died in Transkei.

Ntantala, a member of the PAC's national executive council and founder of the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation

Army, died last Friday after a long illness, according to PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai.

In a statement yesterday, Desai said Ntantala returned to South Africa in December last year to attend the PAC's second national congress in Johannesburg after he had

been granted limited indemnity.

When his indemnity expired soon after the congress, Ntantala went to Transkei, his place of birth, where he remained active until his death.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said Ntantala's death was

"a great loss to the PAC and to the entire liberation movement".

Moseneke said Ntantala, who would have "a special place in the pantheon of PAC heroes", was one of the leading ideologists of the PAC and the liberation movement in general. - *Political Staff*

THE Minister of Police, Mr Adriaan Vlok, is "reconsidering" his position in the wake of calls for his resignation over the scandal involving the channelling of police funds to Inkatha.

On the SABC programme *Agenda* last night Mr Vlok said he would speak to the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, regarding his position.

"My standpoint is that if I am an obstacle on the road to negotiations and the future of this country, I will reconsider my position. I am reconsidering my position and will discuss it with the State President," Mr Vlok said.

The minister was responding to Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber's question: "Considering the damage that has been done to the police, the government, the security forces and the negotiation process, would it not be in the best interests of your cabinet to resign?"

During the heated debate, Mr Vlok said "each and every cent" of the money funded to Inkatha had been accounted for by senior Inkatha officials, who reported back to the police.

However, he claimed he had never spoken to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi regarding the funds.

Mr Vlok insisted repetitively throughout the debate that taxpayers' money, spent on Inkatha, had not been wasted.

He revealed that the police had funnelled "not more than R1,5million" to Inkatha's union United Workers Union of SA (Uwusa).

"The figure which has been alleged in the Press — R5 million — is way off the mark. Apart from the R250 000 spent on the two rallies, the police spent not more than R1,5 million over a period of six years," Mr Vlok said.

Questioned by Mr Harber as to why two different reasons were given as to the aim of the funding to Inkatha — one by Durban security police chief Major Louis Botha and another by him — Mr Vlok said he admitted that there was a "spin-off" in that Inkatha benefited politically from the police funds.

"I admit there was an advantage for Inkatha, which was not yet a political party, but the main aim of the police funding was to fight sanctions," Mr Vlok said.

Clearly annoyed, Mr Harber said he disagreed, and that sanctions fighting was not the major factor in the funding.

"And why should it (financial assistance) come through the police? ... How do we know that the police did not pay the killers of David Webster? How do we know just how widely you were prepared to spend the money?" asked Mr Harber.

Mr Vlok: "You are missing the point. The money was to help Inkatha to pay for the rally. It was costing them thousands to get the message (anti-sanctions) across, inside the country and abroad."

Asked why Major Botha, in documents made available to the Weekly Mail, had said that Chief Buthelezi had personally thanked him (Major Botha), Mr Vlok said: "Maybe there was a misunderstanding."

"You are too suspicious of people, Mr Harber. The important point is that certain



Mr Vlok ... insisted that taxpayers' money spent on Inkatha had not been wasted

monies were deposited for Inkatha. I think you should put the question to Buthelezi (as to whether he knew of the funding or not)".

Mr Vlok on two occasions brought up the ANC's covert operation "Operation Vula" following questions Mr Harber put to him, saying that it was important to be fair and even-handed. The ANC had been indemnified, he added.

Mr Harber accused Mr Vlok of the abuse and theft of taxpayers' money and of conducting secrecy over the use of this money.

Mr Vlok said there were "good reasons" as to why the funding of Inkatha could not be done openly — and added that Inkatha was against sanctions and the police were helping them to get their message across.

He conceded that in the past, the police had been involved in party politics, but that now it had distanced itself from politics in the light of President de Klerk's reform speech on February 2 last year.

"But the rally funded by the police came two months later ... Were you defying the State President?" asked Mr Harber.

Mr Vlok again reiterated the point that the rally was aimed at spreading the anti-sanctions message and he was satisfied that the aim was reached.

Mr Harber said he had evidence that the police had funded other organisations apart from Inkatha.

Asked whether this was in fact the case (that other organisations were funded), Mr Vlok said: "Not as far as my department is concerned."

Mr Vlok then asked Mr Harber to provide him with the information before it was published to enable him to investigate it. Mr Harber replied that he had been stopped by Mr Vlok from appearing on television when information to be published had become known to him (Vlok), further retorting: "You also closed my newspaper." (Referring to the suspension of the Weekly Mail under emergency regulations).

Mr Vlok conceded that people had perceived the police to be partial, but insisted that the "era when police took part in party politics is over".

Police projects planned before the "new era" had even been cancelled in order to facilitate this new distanced approach.

"The State President feels strongly that taxpayers' money should not be wasted. The police will make sure it is used judiciously. There were good reasons, on that occa-

sion, it could not be done openly ... We can not do it openly and I prefer it that way," he said.

Asked whether "any heads will roll" over the affair, Mr Vlok said the situation was being "carefully looked into" to see whether there were any laws or regulations broken.

He had placed his trust in the State President and his Cabinet to deal with the matter.

In a heated interview with newspaper journalists on television, Chief Buthelezi angrily denied that he or IFP officials were aware of the government aid.

In other dramatic developments yesterday, renewed calls were made for Mr Vlok's resignation, the Conservative Party called for the entire government to resign, IFP leader Chief Buthelezi referred to the disclosures as "bullsh..." and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha justified the payments as part of a widespread sanctions-busting campaign.

In Ulundi, an emotional Chief Buthelezi — who was re-elected unanimously as IFP leader at the organisation's national conference — dismissed calls for his resignation by saying anyone who thought the country's future could be decided without his participation should have "their heads read".

Revelations of the government's clandestine funding of the IFP — one of the ANC's main rivals — coincided with renewed claims of a sophisticated police "dirty tricks" campaign to fuel township violence.

The weekly newspaper *New Nation* on Friday claimed that a special security force unit, 5 Recces, had used attackers from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique to carry out attacks, including the bloody Reef train massacres.

Amid fears that the negotiating process could be derailed because of the government's covert support of the IFP, the ANC announced that its national working committee (NWC) would meet today or tomorrow to discuss the repercussions of the scandal.

In Spain, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the IFP had been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

The violence in South Africa was not black-on-black, but a prepared strategy, orchestrated by the security forces, between "this black organisation and the government. That's why they are paying them."

Mr Pik Botha yesterday issued a statement to justify the use of Foreign Affairs funds to sponsor IFP activities.

Following an earlier announcement that he had authorised R250 000 from the Foreign Affairs Special Account to sponsor two Inkatha rallies and Uwusa's anti-sanctions activities, the minister said the government's funding of sanctions-busting organisations had nothing to do with the support of a political goal or ideology.

It was aimed solely at the ending and the prevention of further sanctions.

Mr Botha said his department did, from time to time, in good faith support bona fide attempts by the private sector, academics and a variety of organisations to oppose sanctions.

ANC 'does not want newspaper'

Biday 2/17/91

(11)

Reports by
MARCIA KLEIN

THE ANC did not want to own newspapers or radio stations, the organisation's information chief, Pallo Jordan, told a Media Association of SA meeting last week.

SA should not expect to see a Radio ANC, ANC TV or an ANC daily, he said.

Jordan's comments came a few days before it was reported that the ANC was to make another bid to buy the Sowetan newspaper.

Weekend reports quoted ANC publicity official Saki Macozoma as saying that a feasibility study into running a daily newspaper was under way.

Argus Newspapers CE Peter McLean said the Sowetan was not for sale.

Jordan told the meeting the ANC did not want to own media.

It would join with other interested parties to establish "a democratic media", as there was not a consistent voice for the democratic movement in SA.

He said the ANC "would participate with a consortium, of which we would be a shareholder, with a democratic voice".

The ANC was not opposed to political parties owning newspapers, but it would not go that way, he said.

Media and freedom of expression in SA had suffered "some of the gravest assaults imaginable".

The battle for freedom of expression had not been won, said Jordan.

There were at least five vigorous African newspapers in SA before 1910. Now the English-speaking community had the most papers serving it. The Zulu community, which was three to four times larger, had only one, and other groups "probably none".

There was an alarming concentration of ownership and control of print media in SA, and the state controlled the bulk of electronic media, he said. The latter was the tool of government policy, not a publicly owned information asset.

Freedom of the media should entail giving

people the capacity to produce media in their own languages.

The ANC had three propositions for media in a democratic SA:

- Media production in all languages;
- The "disaggregation" of media monopolies, especially in the print sector; and
- Democratisation of state-owned electronic media, which, with privately owned media, should reflect the variety of the community.

Jordan said a government which sought to curtail media freedom was one that wanted to evade public scrutiny.

The ANC would accept criticism from every quarter and reserve the right to respond.

He said a poor community would not be an attractive market for advertisers.

Media owners who could stand on their own feet should do so. Others should be given a safety net to keep them going, both in the electronic and print sectors.

Jordan said monopolies might be willing to assist in setting up own-language media through grants or long-term loans.

Alternative Press still seeks a distinct identity

THE mainstream and alternative Press are moving closer together in terms of editorial content, says Hunt Lascaris TBWA media director Lyndall Campher.

She says the "protest media" are changing their strategies to face the challenge of 1991, which is to be distinct without becoming extinct.

New Nation, Vrye Weekblad and Weekly Mail have each chosen their own response to "mainstream encroachment", she says.

"It is becoming increasingly difficult to out-radicalise the mainstream press without marginalising yourself right off the planet."

Mainstream newspapers were able to accommodate wide-ranging views in the year ahead and "the protest papers" were showing a lot of inventiveness in response.

New Nation's marketing is now being handled by the Argus and Caxton Groups' Newspaper Marketing Bureau.

Vrye Weekblad is becoming more like a magazine and more bilingual as it seeks to widen its appeal.

The Weekly Mail is now "lashing out to both left and right".

UN team aids ANC in investment review

By Hugh Robertson
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A four-man team of experts on foreign investment and monopolies has been appointed by the United Nations to assist the ANC in a review of its economic investment policies and to advise it on the privatisation of state-owned monopolies.

The team was appointed at the request of the ANC and has already visited South Africa for "preliminary discussions". A report is to be presented to the UN and the ANC in the next few weeks, and the South African Government has been briefed on the UN action.

In terms of a UN General Assembly resolution, the world

body is empowered to give advice and assistance to UN-recognised "liberation movements" on matters pertaining to the dismantling of apartheid structures.

The UN Centre for the Study of Transnational Corporations — a body set up in the mid-1970s to draw up a code of conduct for international companies — appointed a senior member of the UN secretariat, Maurice Odle, to head the team.

Other members are Joe Davi-dow, an American lawyer and expert on investment policy and monopolies and the author of a book on foreign investment and free competition, Dr Michael Faber, an economist and development specialist at Sussex University, and Roland Brown, former general counsel to the UN Centre for the Study of Transnational Corporations and an expert on investment law.

A member of the team said yesterday: "To some extent our discussions so far have been more a process of mutual education. We have tried to establish what the ANC's major concerns are, what their present position is on various economic matters, and from that to develop a design for specific research on South Africa.

"A report of our preliminary talks has been drawn up, and last Friday we also had a meeting in Pretoria to brief the government on the purpose of our activities.

"We are, after all, being employed to do this job by the UN, and South Africa is a member of the UN, so it was only natural that we should keep the government informed."

A copy of the team's report is expected to be made public in the next three weeks.

68 percent of blacks would vote ANC ^{star} ^{11A} ^{3 (7) 91} poll

Some 68 percent of blacks say they would definitely vote for the ANC if there were an election, according to a recent Gallup Poll by Markinor.

Markinor said in a statement yesterday that the Inkatha Freedom Party had far more support among whites than among urban blacks, while "home" for many whites remained the National Party with 42 percent indicating a definite "yes" vote.

These results by Markinor were drawn from 800 whites and 1300 blacks in metropolitan areas throughout the country.

The poll did not ask for straight "pro" or "con" attitudes towards specific parties, but different degrees of acceptance and rejection, according to Markinor deputy director Christine

Woessner.

"It looked at the dynamics operating within each party. This method of questioning is very popular overseas because it enables politicians to pinpoint specific segments of the population who are uncertain in their allegiance, and, therefore, open to external influences such as advertising."

Some 62 percent of metropolitan blacks rejected Inkatha "completely and on principle", with another 16 percent personally opposed to it. Only 3 percent said they would definitely or "perhaps" vote for it in the event of an election.

Just more than 30 percent of whites said they felt "quite good" about Inkatha, with an additional 15 percent "perhaps" voting for it and 4 percent "definitely" supporting the party if there were an election.

"Not unexpectedly, the

ANC emerges as the out-and-out winner among metropolitan blacks, with 68 percent saying they would definitely vote for the party and another 12 percent saying they would perhaps support it in an election."

For blacks, next in line in popularity was the PAC with 7 percent definite support. However, an additional 24 percent said they would perhaps vote for the PAC, with 17 percent "feeling quite good" about the organization. Its potential stood at 48 percent.

Among the whites, the National Party came out ahead, with 42 percent of respondents registering a definite "yes" vote, 20 percent a possible vote, and 11 percent "feeling quite good" about the party although they would not vote for it. This added up to a resounding total of 73 percent potential support.

Among blacks, potential support came to 46 percent, consisting of 6 percent "definite" votes, 22 percent possible votes and 18 percent "feeling quite good" about the NP.

The Conservative Party was rejected totally by 48 percent of blacks and 38 percent of whites, and partially by 18 percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites.

Only 16 percent of whites would definitely vote for the CP, with 9 percent possible votes and a further 10 percent "feeling quite good about the party".

Markinor said the Democratic Party showed some strength among both whites and blacks. Some 6 percent of whites and 4 percent of blacks would definitely vote for the DP, while 17 percent of whites and 10 percent of blacks would possibly vote for it. — Sapa.

stev 317191 11A

Boesak keeps the ANC guessing

DURBAN — Dr Allan Boesak is keeping the ANC guessing on whether he is making a bid for the leadership stakes — despite having commanded considerable support for election to the national executive committee.

Nominations for the NEC elections at the ANC national conference here close today, and still Dr Boesak has not clearly indicated whether he will seek election.

He said yesterday he was still awaiting "clarification" from the ANC leadership on issues he had raised with deputy president Nelson Mandela at a private discussion more than two months ago.

Dr Boesak, a UDF patron and anti-apartheid activist, is known for his strong opposition to the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party. — Political Reporter.

Committed to negotiation, but struggle goes on

By Esmaré van der Merwe
and Patrick Laurence

Star 3/7/91 (11A)

DURBAN — ANC stalwarts Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo yesterday reaffirmed the organisation's commitment to negotiation — while Mr Mandela strongly attacked the Government.

In his opening address to the ANC's crucial national conference at the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Mandela called the Government "a regime steeped in a culture of racism, violence and domination".

To cheers from delegates, he said: "We are dealing with a group of politicians who do not want to negotiate themselves out of power."

Looking further ahead, Mr Mandela envisaged the holding of an all-party congress where the mechanism for drawing up a new constitution and the establishment of an interim government would be hammered out.

Accusing the Government of attempting to "discredit the process of negotiation by dragging its feet", Mr Mandela said: "It has never been on the agenda of the NP to enter into negotiation with anyone other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power". Mr Mandela counselled delegates to prepare themselves for continued struggle. "We have not defeated the regime," he said.

But he reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to negotiations as "a continuation of the struggle leading to ... the transfer of power to the people".



Historic moment ... Archbishop Trevor Huddleston (left) and SACP chief Joe Slovo at the ANC's national congress yesterday.

Mr Mandela said the ANC should find ways "by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted".

Earlier, ailing ANC president Mr Tambo opened the conference with an appeal to the international community to support reconstruction in SA.

In apparent anticipation of intense — and possibly divisive — competition for seats on the ANC's national executive, Mr

Tambo urged delegates to act as they had in the past by fostering and defending the "unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general".

Mr Tambo was given a standing ovation for what was almost certainly his last speech as ANC president.

More than 2 000 fists were raised in the air to cries of "Amandla!" in tribute to the man who led the ANC during its 30 years of exile.

More than 200 foreign dignitaries as well as members of local political parties including

the DP, attended the session.

In contrast to his speech at the ANC's consultative conference in December — where he tried to persuade delegates to revise their stance on sanctions — Mr Tambo's address was, in large measure, a dispassionate overview of the landmarks during the three decades of banning.

He remarked that the conference would be the last "under minority rule". Referring to "the changing face of the international community", he counselled the con-

ference to "refocus international attention on the need for continued support — including support we shall need in order to reconstruct our country".

Delegates from 14 regions paid tribute to colleagues who had died in exile and during the struggle against apartheid.

Banners reflected aspects of the past struggle and future challenges.

One contained extracts from a letter written by Solomon Mahlangu, the first ANC guerrilla to be hanged after the 1976

student rebellion. The letter said in part: "My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom."

The proceedings began with an address by anti-apartheid stalwart, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

He told the conference that apartheid was not yet dead. And he was applauded when he criticised those Western countries which, having been loath to impose sanctions in the first place, now wanted to lift them "out of greed".

Mandela: More attention to recruitment

11A
CT 317191

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday expressed concern that the organisation was failing to attract large numbers of whites, coloureds and Indians and said urgent attention had to be paid to more effective recruitment strategies.

He commended the ANC for recruiting 700 000 members in the 17 months since it was unbanned, about 200 000 more than the official total a month ago.

However, he said the organisation could ill-afford to be content with the low level of success in attracting whites, coloureds and Indians to the ANC.

He also said that something had to be done about the low membership in rural areas. Much more had to be done to get members from these areas as

well as those from the middle strata. "We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so ... confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future," he said.

The ANC had to remain a movement representative of all the people of South Africa both in name and reality.

"As we build our organisation, we must therefore constantly watch this issue to ensure that we do not just concentrate on one sector of our population," Mr Mandela said.

Referring to the trade union movement, the civic associations and other organisations, he said contact had been bad and had to be improved. The ANC's strength lay in the masses and the closest attention had to be paid to them.

The ANC had to ensure that the masses were in fact engaged in the struggle and were drawn into the fundamental discussions about the future of South Africa.

ANC beaten in bid to buy town

11A CT 3/7/91

GROOTVLEI. — A bid by the African National Congress to buy the Springfield mining village collapsed yesterday when a young attorney snapped it up at a swift auction.

But, it emerged after the auction, which lasted less than 30 minutes, that lawyer Mr Danie Heyns, 32, had entered into a pact with the mining village community to keep the area in white hands.

The white people at the auction smothered him with congratulations after his contenders failed to outbid his R4,6 million.

Lawyer Mr Ismail Ayob, apparently representing the ANC, stopped his bid at R4,5 million.

The three portions of the 740-hectare village were provisional-

ly sold separately, but were offered en bloc after the auctioneers, Chase, felt dissatisfied with the R1,315 million total.

"I'm not buying this property for any political party," Mr Heyns said.

'Ganging up'

Mr Ayob declined to comment on the outcome of the auction, which severely tested the tempers of the mainly Afrikaner community that has settled here since 1960.

Mr Heyns, a Pretoria-based lawyer, said he had offered to buy the property in May, but farmers and businessmen in the village co-opted him into a close corporation in what appeared to be a ganging up against the anti-apartheid movement.

The auctioneers did not identify the bidders, but at least four people entered the battle. It was not immediately clear who the other bidders were. But it emerged that one bidder, Mr Gert Viljoen, a mastermind behind the corporation, had liaised with Mr Heyns.

The 300-odd mainly white group gathered in the tent watched proceedings with bated breath and stifled murmurs rose when initial offers fell short of the auctioneer's expectations.

A few police officers, who had walked from the nearby police station, were in the group.

A group of blacks, one clad in khaki and ANC colours, sang on the side of the road just a short distance from the club. — Sapa

Local farmers outbid ANC for Grootvlei

THE ANC yesterday failed to buy the Springfield colliery near Grootvlei in the southern Transvaal when a group of local farmers outbid it in a public auction.

The colliery, serving the mothballed Grootvlei power station, was put up for sale by Anglo American last year. It incorporates a 150-house village, a high-density hostel complex, a game reserve and a dam on its 773ha of land.

The ANC was believed to be interested in using the colliery as a base for returning exiles.

But in yesterday's tense auction, held in

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a marquee on the colliery grounds, 200 white farmers looked on as a bidder from the hastily formed Grootvlei Development company bettered each new bid by ANC welfare department head Winnie Mandela's lawyer Ismail Ayob.

The colliery was sold to the local company's director Danie Heyns for R4,6m after Ayob, sitting alone, declined to improve on his final offer of R4,5m.

Heyns, a Pretoria businessman, and his partner, local farmer-turned-businessman

Gert Viljoen, were immediately mobbed by the jubilant crowd.

Ayob slipped out soon afterwards.

Viljoen said the company planned to sell off the houses in the village — with existing residents being given first option to buy — before redeveloping the area and attracting new residents.

He and Heyns insisted that their company's bid was not politically motivated.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan said yesterday only 350 mining personnel still lived at the colliery.

● Picture: Page 3



Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

MUCH of the publicity and speculation in the run-up to the ANC's conference in Durban this week has quite understandably involved the leadership races for the top spots on the executive.

But a related issue, the battle for the ANC to establish a new identity, is probably of greater significance in the longer term.

The organisation will this week have to resolve the vexed question of whether it really wants to be a "national liberation movement" or a modern political party.

By the time the conference opened on Tuesday morning, it was clear that the issue was still very much up in the air and that some members of the organisation continue to hope that it will try to be everything to all people.

Briefing journalists shortly before the start of the conference, one of its chief organisers, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, did not want to commit the ANC to either going the way of a liberation movement or that of a conventional political party.

Model constitution

The party versus broad liberation movement dilemma facing the ANC is also evident in the area of policy.

At the moment, the ANC's membership reflects a wide range of ideological groupings ranging from Stalinists to social democrats.

One of the dangers facing the ANC is that if it tries to force its many disparate elements into a straight-jacket of specific policies on issues of the day, it is bound to shed some support.

Perhaps that is why the chairman of the ANC's national preparatory committee for the conference, Mr Simon Makana, told journalists just before the conference that the ANC would not strive to come up with "fixed

Conference should help to establish ANC identity

(11A)
CT 3/7/91

and unchangeable" positions on a variety of policy issues ranging from the economy and land reform to education, health and local government.

Neither would the ANC conference take a vote "in the strict sense of the word" on a model constitution.

Instead, it would concentrate on drawing as many of its supporters and those outside the movement into the broad debate of what the new South Africa should look like.

Election

But by delaying a final decision on specific policy positions, the ANC would be denying itself the opportunity of going into an election with a set of crisp, clearly identifiable positions on issues of the day.

Such a tactic would appear all the more surprising given the fact that, as outgoing ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo pointed out in his opening address, this is the last regular conference the ANC will be holding before non-racial elections for a new constitution in South Africa.

If some in the ANC do not

believe that an election will be held for some time, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is clearly not one of them.

Responsibility

Apart from stressing the need to get the ANC's election machinery ready as a matter of urgency, he noted that the process of gradually elaborating the ANC's policies on issues of the day could not go on forever.

"We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with this country once we become the governing party," he emphasised during his opening address.

Mr Mandela emphasised that the conference should give the ANC's followers a clear indication of its policy position as quickly as possible.

"The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility.

"They want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision."

Clearly, the scene is set for a lively debate.

Mandela's praise for MK

Reunion for old comrades

ANC 'war talk'

11A
CR3/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
DURBAN. — The ANC conference got off to a militant start here yesterday with president-elect Mr Nelson Mandela accusing the government of pursuing a double agenda — "talking peace while actually conducting war".

The lively opening day of the conference was marked by strident rhetoric from a number of speakers, with the loudest applause being reserved for the members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and military achievements.

The tone for the conference was set by Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who attacked those countries now lifting sanctions as being motivated by "greed and the desire to make money".

Outgoing ANC president Mr

Oliver Tambo, who was given a rousing welcome by the delegates, received the loudest applause during his lengthy address when he said the Defence Force had "met their match" at the battle of Cuito Canavale in Angola.

His remarks about ANC programmes to make the country ungovernable and make apartheid unworkable also struck a responsive chord among delegates from the 14 regions.

Mr Mandela, in his address, was repeatedly applauded during a long eulogy to the ANC's "heroic army", Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Points made during his address included:

● The ANC had merely suspended, not terminated, the armed struggle and that MK — whether cadres were deployed inside or outside the country — had the responsibility to keep it-

self in a state of readiness.

● MK would have "a vital role" to play once an interim government had been installed and in the meantime had to help communities in establishing self-defence units.

● The SA Communist Party was a "firm and dependable ally" of the ANC and all efforts to drive a wedge between the two organisations would be rebuffed.

● Ways needed to be found to arrest the erosion of sanctions so that "we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted".

● The government's contention that mass mobilisation stood in the way of the negotiating process was rejected and the mobilisation would continue until all had the vote.

To page 4

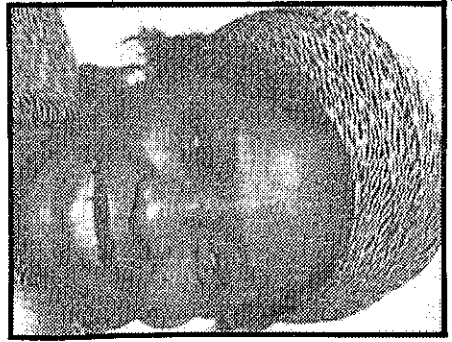


ELDER STATESMEN . . . The two most senior members of the ANC shake hands at the opening yesterday of the organisation's national conference in Durban. Mr Nelson Mandela will succeed Mr Oliver Tambo as president of the ANC this week. Yesterday the two leaders made speeches setting the tone of the conference, Mr Mandela accusing the government of "talking peace while actually conducting war" and Mr Tambo called for international support in the reconstruction in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Picture: AP



Focus on top posts



Mrs Tambo

Mrs Tambo's thanks for 'help in strange lands'

MARTIN CHALLENGOR, Political Staff

MRS Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, last night offered a special word of thanks to people in other countries who had helped her family in their more than three decades of exile.

Mrs Tambo made an impromptu address to overseas journalists at a reception the ANC held in a Durban beach-front hotel for the hundreds of Press representatives covering the conference and for the nearly 300 overseas guests invited to the conference.

A steady stream of people went up to greet the Tambos at the reception. They were sitting next to Mr Harry Gwala, the chairman of the Natal Midlands region of the ANC who, like Mr Tambo, is in poor health.

Speaking "especially to the overseas Press," so as to reach international communities, Mrs Tambo said: "We left here 30 years ago. Throughout the 30 years in strange lands very far from home our life was made tolerable by you."

The people of the international community were their family.

"The climate was cold while the people were warm."

Mrs Tambo said their children grew up on English soil. To the people in America, Britain, Africa, particularly Egypt and most of the Asian countries, "I want to thank you for having made it possible for my husband to lead the struggle for 30 years".

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUWAGEN, Political Staff

ANC delegates have gone behind closed doors for day two of the movement's 48th annual conference on the campus of the University of Durban-Westville, the first day of brass tacks debate.

Money matters came first this morning with a discussion of the treasurer-general's report.

Then delegates split up into so-called "commissions" — five smaller groups in all — to debate the ANC constitution, violence, negotiations, building the organisation and formulating strategy and tactics.

The idea behind this procedure is to make an exchange of views more manageable — particularly in view of the fact that there are more than 2 500 delegates — and to allow the maximum opportunity for participation by individuals.

However, much of the focus today rests on nominations for top posts in the movement — the five senior leadership positions and the 50 elected posts on the 87-person national executive committee.

Nominations were to close at 1pm and nominees had until 5.30pm to accept or refuse. It was clear this morning that Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu were assured of the posts of president and deputy president.

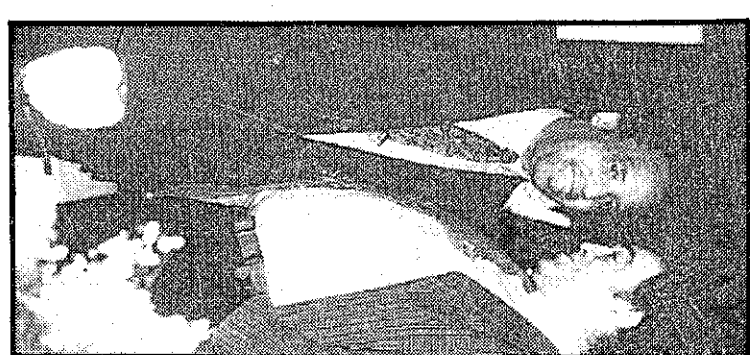
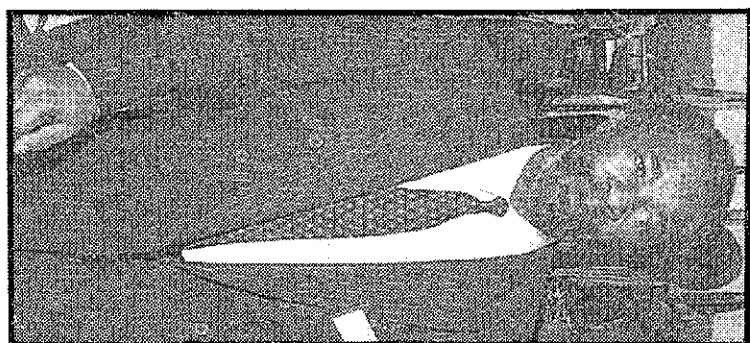
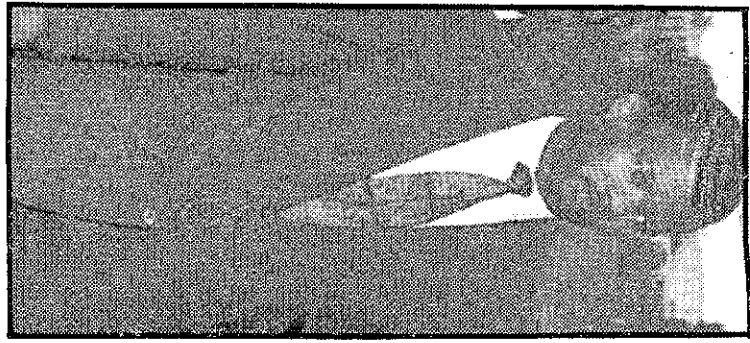
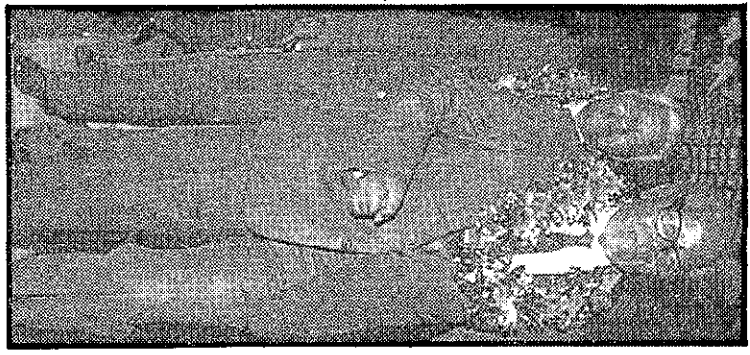
Most of the 14 regions — some of whom had initially proposed others for the post of deputy president — were expected to fall in with the view that a Mandela-Sisulu combination would best serve the movement's interests. Fears have been that a fight over the deputy leadership of the ANC would inflame differences between moderates and militants.

One of the men at the centre of pre-conference speculation, head of intelligence and a key figure in backroom talks with the government, Mr Jacob Zuma, said yesterday that he was not "going for" any particular job, and would accept the will of the conference.

Mr Zuma generally has support among moderates, but is not trusted by militants, who believe he is too cosy with the government.

The post to watch is that of secretary general, now held by dozen of the exiles Mr Alfred Nzo, who is widely expected to be dropped by the conference.

Voting takes place on Friday and the results will be announced on Saturday.



'One-man-one-vote and SA welcome in OAU'

DENNIS CRUWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

SOUTH Africa would be welcome in the fold of the Organisation of African Unity only when it had a government elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote, the ANC conference was told.

President of the OAU, Nigerian Head of State General Ibrahim Babangida, spelled out this bottom line in a message of solidarity and greeting read at the conference by a Nigerian diplomat yesterday. His was one of many messages of support from organisations and governments around the world.

In another message, Congresswoman Maxine Waters said President George Bush had been urged by the black caucus in the US Congress not to hasten the end of sanctions because not all the conditions set out in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 had been met.

General Babangida said in his message that Africa and the world were excited at South Africa's chances of regaining its place in the international community.

There was room in the OAU for South Africa, but only if a new government was elected on the basis of one person one vote.

Ms Waters told the conference that members of the black caucus would follow the direction of the ANC in the lifting of sanctions, she said.

"South Africa stands poised on the brink of a new beginning. My friends, we need time for a transfer of power to the people for a democratic South Africa," she said.

She had greetings from the Rev Jesse Jackson, trade unions, Mr Randall Robinson's Trans-Africa Organisation and the Free South Africa Movement in America.

British Labour Party MP Ms Joan Lister struck a militant note — earning a round of applause — when she said: "Sanctions stay until the commitment (to change, by the government) has been met."

In a message read to the conference, Professor Ibrahim Gannbari, chairman of the UN special committee against apartheid said that while the repeal of key apartheid Acts were "positive steps", the international com-

Five DP MPs present for 'contribution to struggle'

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUWAGEN, Political Staff

FIVE Democratic Party MPs attended yesterday's opening session of the ANC's 48th annual conference here as guests specially invited in recognition of their contribution to the "struggle".

The DP was formally represented by leader Dr Zac de Beer and Cape Western chairman and Pinelands MP Mr Jasper Walsh.

But five others, two from Peninsula, were specially invited.

They were Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck, Simon's Town MP Mr Jannie Momborg, Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling, Maritzburg South MP Mr Rob Haswell and Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje.

Mr van Eck said the letter of invitation sent to them specifically acknowledged their "contribution to the struggle against apartheid".

He said he and others in the DP had "always been close to the majority of people, the black people, and the ANC happens to represent the majority of black people".

ANC Youth 'no' to compromise on interim government

BY DENNIS CRUWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

ANC attempts to draw the leadership into existing government structures — or any compromise of the movement's demand for an interim government — will be strongly resisted by the ANC Youth League.

And, in a rare and frank public criticism of the movement's leadership, the League said the absence of a consistent or "common" view in the ANC had led to it "losing the tactical initiative to the De Klerk regime from time to time".

The League points accusingly at a lack of consultation with the membership, by the leadership, as the reason for "most of the problems the ANC has found itself in".

These sentiments were expressed yesterday by Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba as the ANC began its watershed national conference.

The influential Youth League, acknowledged as a militant element in the movement, will fight any attempt to water down the ANC's central political demands and is expected to make its voice heard during the course of the conference.

Some senior members of the ANC are known to favour a more flexible, watered-down approach on the issue of an interim government.

The league rejects that view. Mr Mokaba told The Argus that the League's view was that the ANC must remain a liberation movement "until the advent of a new constitution and the opportunity for the movement to compete with other groupings on an equal basis".

The League felt that the debate on whether the ANC should become a political party or remain a liberation movement was important because it defined "who the ANC is".

"The ANC is not just opposed to apartheid, but is an alternative power outside of State structures, and aiming at being a new State, rather than operating within existing State structures."

ANC fails to buy village

By THEMBA MOLEFE

TWO white developers beat the ANC to the post in buying a mining village at an auction in Grootvlei yesterday, leaving hundreds of black villagers disappointed.

The 774 hectare village, which includes a farm, 250 houses, a hostel housing 900 people, a hospital and vacant land was bought for R4,6 million by Mr Tony Hyns and Mr Gert Viljoen of the Grootvlei Development Agency.

The ANC's representative, attorney Mr Ismael Ayob, gave up after bidding R4,1 million.

Inside the huge marquee at the Springfield Colliery Recreation Club, scores of khaki-clad AWB supporters cheered and carried Hyns aloft, some kissing him after he outbid Ayob.

Outside, hundreds of Grootvlei villagers were singing songs saying ANC leader Nelson Mandela would buy them the land.

When they heard that Ayob had failed in his bidding, one woman said: "How could 'the old man' (Mandela) fail to pay R5 million for the land?"

Mr Joseph Kheswa and Mr Jabu Nyembe, who are teachers at the mine village, said they were doubtful whether the future of their school was secure.

"Does the ANC not have R5 million, to be beaten by whites?"

ANC's ^{11A}
sowetan 3/7/91
budget

THE ANC has budgetted R2 million for the accommodation and meals of 2 000 delegates and 350 foreign guests at its conference in Durban.

Hotel bills will be R500 000. Durban artist Andrew Verster was commissioned to design the hall's interior decorations.

Mandela warning

Sowetan
3/7/91
(11A)

From Page 1

gle - subject to advances and reverses as any other form of struggle.

"Despite our heroic efforts, we have not defeated the regime. Consequently, we see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people.

"There are therefore some issues which are non-negotiable. Among others are: our demand for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights," Mandela said.

As soon as the obstacle to negotiations have been removed, he said, the ANC must proceed to an all-party congress - an event which the Government initially placed on the agenda.

But Mandela warned that, before an all-party conference could begin, the Government had to meet the demands made in the Harare Declaration, among which was the unconditional release of all political prisoners.

"One of the issues we must note carefully is the way in which the Government has acted to discredit the process of negotiations by dragging its feet in terms of implementing what has been agreed to," Mandela said.

PAC, ²⁰
Azapo ^{11A}
support
business
^{Soweto}
boycott

31/7/91
By IKE MOTSAPI

THE PAC and Azapo have thrown their weight behind the consumer boycott called on the Reef by the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP.

The two organisations, however, said they felt other black organisations "should have been consulted before the decision to start the boycott was taken".

The boycott, which started yesterday, was called by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance to protest against the Government's secret funding of Inkatha and its labour wing, the United Workers' Union of South Africa.

Scandal

Mr Phambile Ntlokwe, of Azapo, said his organisation supported "this type of action" especially in the wake of the slush fund scandal.

Mr Bonginkosi Mhlanga, an official in the regional office of the PAC, said: "My organisation supports the call for a boycott of white shops in principle."

'Survey is bad news'

Sowetan 31/1/91 11A
SURVEY results showing the National Party would be the official opposition after a one man, one vote election means that liberation movements should get their act together, said callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talk-back show.

Lucky from Dube said the results show that blacks have a short memory if they could vote for the party that caused years of repression and subjugation.

He said it is sad that affluent blacks are associating themselves more and more with the NP.



However, other callers felt that the survey did not reflect the truth, as the NP would remain in power.

Rodney from Johannesburg said the NP had improved its image a lot since the survey was conducted and only the youth, most of them not eligible to vote, are supporters of the ANC.

Len from Soweto said the NP would come first because it has proved to a lot of former ANC supporters that it has control.

He said the ANC blames the NP for a lot of things that it itself cannot control, like violence.

Peter, a staunch ANC supporter from Carletonville, said the ANC would win and to him it was immaterial who came second.

ANC, Govt in fresh row

Sowetan 3/7/91. (11A) ~~2001~~
A FRESH row between the Government and the ANC overshadowed yesterday's opening of the ANC's first legal conference in South Africa in 30 years.

As 2 000 ANC delegates gathered for the conference, President FW de Klerk announced on Monday that his Government and Mr Nelson Mandela's ANC had agreed there were no more political prisoners in South Africa.

The presidential statement was swiftly denounced by the ANC.

"This is absolute twaddle," ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said. "There has been no such agreement. Somebody is

playing propaganda games. We don't know why."

The row focused on a long festering dispute between the ANC, the country's biggest black grouping, and the Government.

Prisoners

The Government says it has released all political prisoners - a key condition for the lifting of US sanctions - while the ANC says more than 900 are still in jail.

ANC displeasure with the pace of Government action in freeing political prisoners, as well as what it calls the Government's failure to halt black township violence,

has stalled black-white power-sharing talks.

Conference organisers said the ANC was looking ahead to forming the country's first non-racial government after elections due in 1994.

"We are here to prepare the machinery to be the next government," said Natal ANC leader Mr Manto Tshabalala.

"We are hoping to come out with a clear programme for majority rule."

Political analysts say the conference will seek ways of recapturing the initiative from De Klerk. - *Sapa-Reuter*

Tambo calls for assertion

TIM COHEN

DURBAN — ANC president Oliver Tambo opened the ANC's conference yesterday by calling on the organisation to lead the process of negotiations and stressing the need to refocus international attention on SA. *3/7/91*

The ailing president said operating within the logic of a "people's struggle" with support from the international community, the ANC managed to push "the enemy" into a crisis.

"For the first time, possibilities to end apartheid and national oppression through negotiations, were created.

"As a result of struggle, the closed door that our late president Chief A J Luthuli knocked on for many decades was finally opened," he said.

The organisation had to seize this historic opportunity, he said.

But the ANC should assert its leadership of the process of negotiations.

He said that the ANC had to refocus international attention on the need for continued support which was needed to reconstruct the country.

Jacob Zuma, ANC intelligence head and a candidate for the post of secretary general, delivered the welcoming statement.

He said the ANC's next conference must be held in a democratic country.

ANC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Concern over failure to attract minority groups

DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela expressed concern yesterday that the organisation was failing to attract large numbers of whites, coloureds and Asians and said urgent attention had to be given to more effective recruiting strategies.

Speaking to a packed audience of more than 2 000 delegates, hundreds of dignitaries, diplomats and media at the ANC's national conference, he commended the organisation for recruiting 700 000 members in the 17 months since it was unbanned, about 200 000 more members than the official total a month ago.

However, he said the organisation could not afford to be content with the low level of success in attracting whites, coloureds and Asians.

Something had to be done, too, about the low membership in rural

BILLY PADDOCK

areas. Much more had to be done about this and about getting members from the middle strata.

"We must ask ourselves frankly why this is so ... confront the real issue that these national minorities might have fears about the future," he said.

The ANC had to remain a movement representative of all the people of SA, in name and reality.

Referring to the trade union movement, civic associations and other organisations, he said contact had been bad and had to be improved. The ANC's strength lay in the masses.

The ANC had to ensure that the masses were, in fact, engaged in the struggle and were drawn into fundamental discussions about the future of SA.

To ensure this, ANC organisers

should concentrate on door-to-door campaigning and smaller local meetings.

By being in touch and responsive to their needs, the ANC would be capable of "drawing them into action in their millions" and enjoy genuine allegiance and voluntary support.

Mandela said the conference would be discussing the ANC's internal constitution. It had to be ensured that all agreed on a structure which enabled the membership to participate in the formulation of policy and direction.

The leadership that was elected should recognise that, while it was accountable, it should not compromise its ability to lead.

"Much work remains to be done (within the ANC) to raise the level of political consciousness so that every cadre, however high the position they may occupy, is schooled in the policies of our movement, its character, strategy and its tactics," he said.



Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo shake hands at the opening of the ANC's national conference in Durban yesterday. Picture: AP

Biday 3/7/91
Alliance with SACP defended

ALAN FINE (11A)

DURBAN — Nelson Mandela yesterday told critics of the ANC's alliance with the SACP to "outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment they all express in favour of a multiparty democracy".

Mandela reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to the alliance and its goal of ending apartheid, and said the ANC would rebuff attempts to drive a wedge between the two organisations.

However, he emphasised that the ANC and the SACP were separate organisations which did not decide one another's policies.

Mandela also referred to the ANC's alliance with Cosatu. He said the ANC would respect the independence of the trade union movement.

MK will stay

Mandela

ALAN FINE

DURBAN — The ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) will have an important part to play when the issue of control of the security forces under an interim government arises, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Rejecting the recent call by President F W de Klerk for the ANC to move beyond suspension of armed action and to declare it terminated — and, by implication, disband MK — Mandela paid tribute to MK's efforts, which, he said, brought SA to the point of negotiations.

Mandela said control of the security forces was one of the major tasks which still awaited MK and was one of the most important issues for an interim government.

The ANC's army should also, where possible, "make its expertise available to those communities engaged in the process of establishing their self-defence units", Mandela said.

In the longer term, "MK must prepare itself to become part of the new national defence force we shall have to build as part of the process of the reconstruction of our country.

"The task of training this cadre cannot await the adoption of a democratic constitution," he said.

NP urged to show commitment

Mandela calls for full talks to start soon

11A ~~3~~

B10am 317/91

BILLY PADDOCK, ALAN FINE and TIM COHEN

DURBAN — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday steered the organisation's 48th national conference towards an urgent resumption of the negotiating process.

In his opening address, delivered jointly with Oliver Tambo, he urged delegates to prepare for the next stage in the process — a multiparty congress — “sooner rather than later”.

Mandela said those responsible for the violence that had delayed the talks “should not be allowed to succeed in their intention of slowing down the process”.

In a brief and ambiguous reference to sanctions, Mandela charged the conference with the responsibility of finding ways to arrest the erosion of international economic pressures.

Indications from other top ANC officials suggest the ANC leadership believes this would be best achieved by adopting a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions as various stages of progress are reached.

Mandela said the ANC did not wish to “lose this weapon, which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted”.

Meanwhile, Mandela said the first principal step towards a parliamentary election was the complete removal of obstacles to negotiations including the ending of a “campaign of terror against the people”.

In reference to another perceived obstacle, he denied reports of a final agreement between the ANC and government on the release of political prisoners.

He said a heavy responsibility rested on the ruling NP “to demonstrate that it is, in practical terms, as committed to change as its statements suggest. This it cannot do by engaging in manoeuvres designed to discredit the process of negotiations”.

“Neither can it expect that we accept its good faith when it sits paralysed as the security forces it controls themselves engage in violence against people (and) permit such violence to occur.”

However, Mandela said the ANC must “push the process forward leading to the transfer of power” and the organisation should prepare for participation in an all-party congress “with some urgency”.

Mandela said that a crucial part of the all-party congress's work would be the creation of an interim government.

“The importance of the matter cannot be over-emphasised. (It will) have to be constituted in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country. To that extent, it will take on the character of a transitional government of national unity.”

He reiterated the ANC's demand that a

□ To Page 2

Mandela

B10am 317/91

~~3~~

11A

□ From Page 1

new constitution should be drafted by an elected constituent assembly and warned that this would not be achieved solely through negotiations. In order to force government to accept this demand the ANC would have to mobilise mass support.

He rejected government's contention that mass mobilisation was an obstacle to negotiations but said the ANC had a duty to entrench a culture of political tolerance. “It is absolutely impermissible for any one of us to use force against the people. As we continue to engage in mass struggles we must ensure that people join these struggles as a result of conviction and not because of intimidation.”

Mandela attacked the NP saying “it has never been on the agenda of the party to enter into negotiations with anybody other than those whom it had itself placed in supposed positions of power”.

There are people within state structures who remain opposed to the transformation of the country and who did not like the fact that agreement was reached to release all political prisoners and detainees, to allow the free return of exiles, the termination of political trials and a review of security legislation, he said.

● See Page 6
● Comment: Page 8

AAM's role to be discussed

From GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement has called a national conference for its local groups and affiliates to decide its role in — and attitude towards — a post-apartheid South Africa.

But it has ruled out any suggestion of winding up the movement until all the people of South Africa can elect a democratic government of their choice.

The meeting's main objective will be to establish a post-apartheid solidarity movement to investigate "possible structures and alternative timetables" for the process of transition.

The decision to convene the Consultative Conference — to be held on July 13 — was taken at the movement's 1990 annual meeting held in Sheffield last year.

A spokesman said: "It will be one further stage in a process of debate and discussion which will also involve organisations with whom the AAM has been working over the years."

It will be opened by AAM chairman Mr Robert Hughes, who will report back on the ANC national conference.

He said: "Our AGM decided this conference should be convened at a time when there was much greater optimism that the 'peace process' would move forward rapidly.

In fact President De Klerk has broken his promises over the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and above all failed to curb the violence which has put the entire prospect of political settlement at risk.

"But we have decided to go ahead so we can take stock of the situation and begin to make the necessary preparations for the future. I will be able to report on the role the ANC sees for the international anti-apartheid movement.

"Above all we want to get across the message that if we achieve the goal of the AAM — a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa — this does not mean that solidarity work in Britain and internationally will be over."

11A
AGT 3/1/91

ANC would win an election, says poll



The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — In a one man, one vote election today the ANC would win, but nine out of 10 people in the townships believe that it would have to build the future through negotiations, not confrontation, with the government.

A new poll says on average President FW De Klerk's National Party would emerge as the second-largest party among township residents.

These are three of the key findings from research into the attitudes of people in the town-

ships of South Africa's main cities, published today.

The research was conducted during March this year by the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and was based on questions formulated by the centre's director, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

The survey, a nationwide sample of all ages, found that only one out of 10 people support the armed struggle and three out of 10 support consumer boycotts and stayaways.

But nearly half of the people

back protest marches, meetings and demonstrations and about the same number believe in protests aimed at the resignation of black town councillors and homeland leaders.

The survey found that 65 percent of all township residents feel "close" or "very close" to the ANC.

In Soweto that falls to 49 percent and in the hostels to 12 percent. In the hostels more than seven out of 10 people feel "close" or "very close" to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Nationally, the organisation

which seven out of 10 people feel closest to is their church.

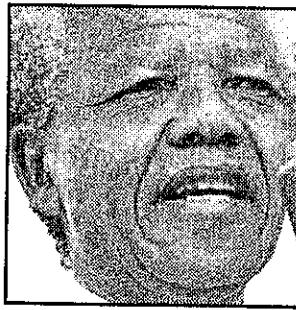
The researches asked the people who they thought was responsible for starting the violence in their areas. Nearly six out of 10 people in Soweto blamed Inkatha Freedom Party. Sixteen percent of people in hostels felt the same.

Others blamed for the violence, in order of frequency, were youths who were pseudo "comrades", the police, ANC or Communist Party-linked activists, and then certain headmen and vigilantes.

ARCTIS 3/7/91

Mandela a certainty

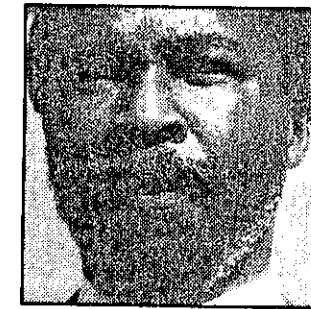
Battle



Nelson Mandela.



Harry Gwala.



Thabo Mbeki.



Walter Sisulu.

Star 4/7/91

on for top ANC posts

Political Staff (11A)

DURBAN — Nelson Mandela yesterday became the undisputed president-elect of the African National Congress, but potentially major battles loomed for the next four top positions, including the deputy presidency.

As preliminary nominations closed yesterday, the prospect of a clash for the deputy presidency re-emerged despite earlier indications that a compromise had been agreed upon.

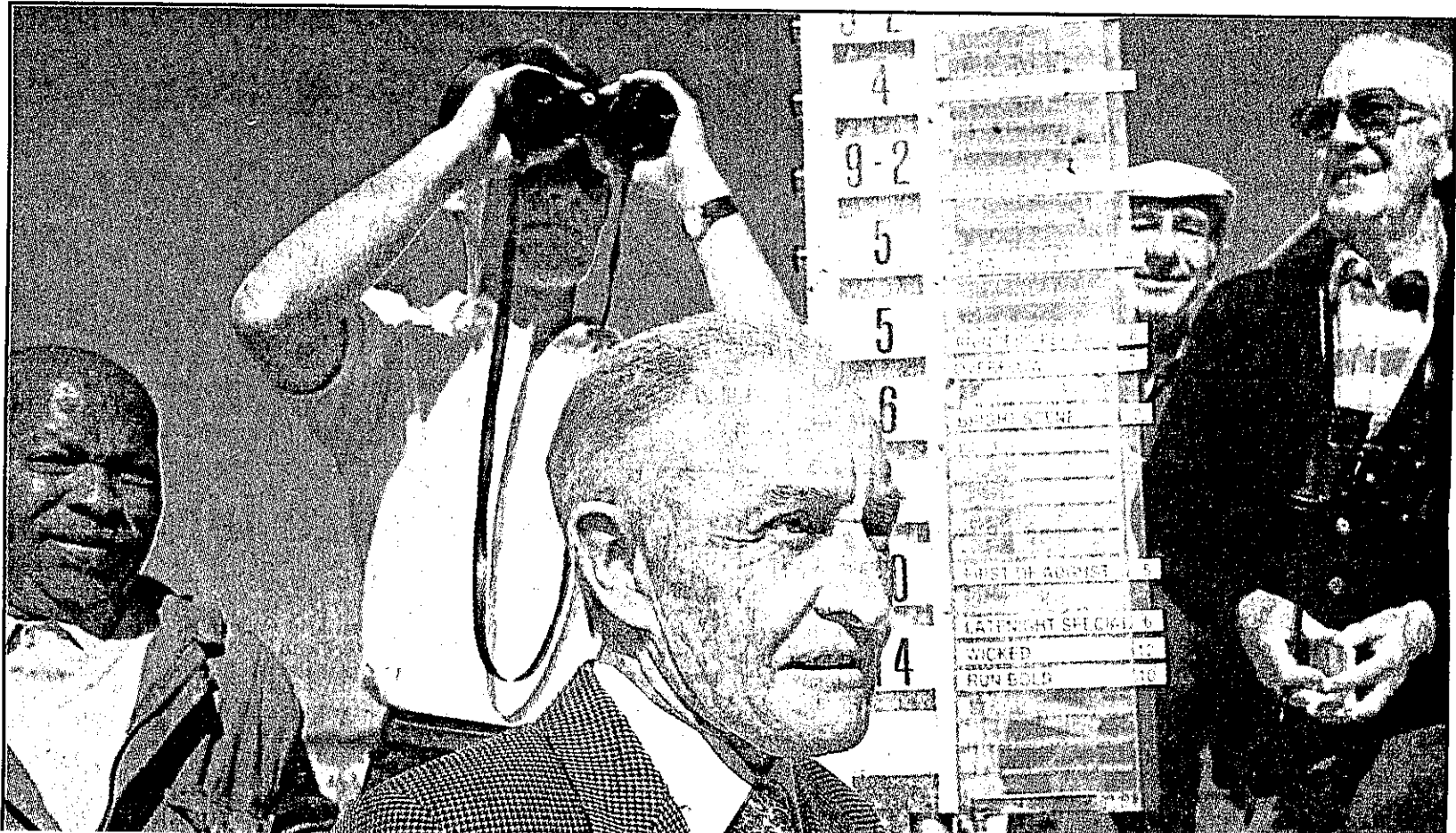
Top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa figured prominently as a candidate for the key position as secretary-general when nominations from the ANC's 14 regions were finalised yesterday.

And intelligence chief Jacob Zuma — believed to have been damaged by premature speculation about his prospects — appeared to

More reports Pages 6 and 22

have made a comeback with nominations for two of the top five positions.

To the surprise of many



had been agreed upon. Top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa figured prominently as a candidate for the key position as secretary-general when nominations from the ANC's 14 regions were finalised yesterday.

And intelligence chief Jacob Zuma — believed to have been damaged by premature speculation about his prospects — appeared to

More reports Pages 6 and 22

have made a comeback with nominations for two of the top five positions.

To the surprise of many observers, ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, a reputed "dove", emerged as a candidate — along with hardline communist Harry Gwala and the veteran compromise candidate Walter Sisulu — for the position of deputy president.

Earlier indications had been that Mr Mbeki would stand back to avoid a clash between "hawks" and "doves". It was not clear last night that he would.

Nor was it certain that his rival, Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC underground army, would not challenge him.

His exclusion from the list of nominees for the top five positions surprised delegates. He could be nominated from the floor today, thereby precipitating a clash.

A last-minute withdrawal by Mr Sisulu in favour of Mr Mbeki — a possibility raised by observers yesterday — would probably bring Mr Hani into contention.

Mr Mandela was the only nominee to succeed Oliver Tambo as president on a "preliminary list" of candidates.

Three candidates have been nominated for the positions of deputy president, secretary-general and his deputy, and four for the post of treasurer.

The nominees are:

● Deputy president: ANC stalwart Mr Sisulu, Mr Mbeki and Natal Midlands chairman Mr Gwala.

● Secretary-general: the incumbent, Alfred Nzo, Mr Ramaphosa and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

● Deputy secretary-general: Mr Nzo, United Democratic Front general-secretary Popo Molefe and Mr Ramaphosa.

● Treasurer: incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, Border regional chairman Arnold Stofile, ANC chief representative in Britain Msimang Mendi and Mr Zuma.

At least four members of the present ANC executive

● To Page 2 ■

Battle for top ANC posts ^{Star 4/7/91}

● From Page 1 (114) dropped out of the reckoning: South African Communist Party chairman Dan Tloome, trade unionist Steve Dlamini, and their colleagues Anthony Mongalo and Sindiso Mfenyana.

Excluding the five top positions, 102 candidates were nominated for the remaining 50 directly elected positions on the national executive.

A total of 25 of the candidates were women, for whom 18 positions have been reserved on the executive.

The position could change slightly today when the 2 000 delegates will have the opportunity to nominate candidates from the floor.

The question which observers were asking yesterday was whether Mr Hani would be nominated from the floor to challenge Mr Mbeki for the critical post of deputy president.

At one stage it was thought that neither Mr Mbeki nor Mr Hani would stand and that Mr Sisulu would be elected as a candidate acceptable to both "doves" and "hawks".

But according to con-

ference speculation, the 79-year-old Mr Sisulu — known to have been reluctant to continue holding a taxing senior job — could even stand down in favour of Mr Mbeki.

The list of 102 candidates nominated by the regions included 12 people who were already assured of places on the executive. They were drawn from the ranks of regional chairmen and their deputies as well as the president and national secretaries of the ANC Women's League and ANC Youth League.

One of the 102 candidates was Winnie Mandela, controversial wife of Mr Mandela. The reservation for women of a third of the 50 directly elected seats for women makes her election highly probable.

Among the 102 candidates were several leading members of the SACP: Joe Slovo; SACP general-secretary Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the Vula underground operation; Mac Maharaj; and his underground comrade, Raymond Suttner, a former university lecturer, prisoner and detainee.

In the red at end of fiscal year

Political Reporter **NA**

DURBAN — The ANC ended its financial year to December in the red — despite large donations pledged during deputy president Nelson Mandela's tour of the United States (which have not been received), head of finance Vusi Khanyile said yesterday.

This was the situation for the period March to December, in which the ANC had to transform itself — at great cost — from a purely external movement to a fully fledged internal organisation.

"It is a question of

^{Star 4/7/91}
barely having enough for what we need," he told a media briefing.

Financial statements could not be released publicly, and all he was prepared to say was that the ANC was working on a tight budget and had not allowed for the sudden increase in its political activity in the past few months.

Mr Khanyile said that from September to December, membership fees had accounted for less than 10 percent of financial income.

This figure did not reflect the true state of the finances because some members — such as pen-

sioners and unemployed people — were excluded from the R12 membership fee, while some had paid the full annual amount and others were paying in monthly instalments.

He said the ANC would concentrate on raising its members' contributions.

The report was the first to be delivered since the ANC's 1985 conference.

National executive member Aziz Pahad said that by a conservative estimate, ANC membership was now 700 000 — up more than 20 percent in a few months.

The ANC leader kept his delegates happy, Shaun Johnson reports from Durban

Mandela's great balancing act

Star 4/1/91

11A

December, ANC delegates emerged from the opening day of their consultative conference somewhat confused, and potentially divided. This week, they were all smiles. President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela had something for everyone in his opening address.

President de Klerk's administration and some Western governments will no doubt be smarting after the start to the watershed conference in Durban — both came in for robust attacks.

But Mr Mandela's speech was not really written for them. In a crucial internal pre-election period, he delivered an address that was finely tuned to strike chords with both the more militant and more moderate (or "revolutionary" and "reformist") tendencies that are present in the organisation.

That the ANC remains committed to negotiations as the solution to the South African conundrum was never in question: what the conference must pronounce upon is whether the organisation will enter those negotiations in a mood that is suspicious and unyielding, or trusting and magnanimous.

This is the crucial nuance within the ANC — it is certainly not about to split, but there are important differences in emphasis. Some believe the current struggle with the Government is the primary challenge, while others look beyond this period and want to concentrate on an ANC government's post-apartheid policies. In plainer language, there are those who want to trust the Government more, and get on with negotiating, and those who want to trust it less and weaken it before starting to strike a deal.

This makes for deeply-felt, albeit by-and-large "comradely", disagreement.

In his keynote speech Mr Mandela, displaying the characteristics of a consummate politician, offered palliatives to both sides. He managed, subtly and plausibly, to swap emphasis almost paragraph by paragraph. His juxtapositions were revealing, and some examples will demonstrate this.

On the one hand, Mr Mandela argued that mass struggle had forced the Government "to accept the fact that it has no strength to maintain the apartheid system".

On the other, he conceded that "we have not defeated the regime".

He insisted that there must be a "transfer of power to the people" (this terminology is crucially distinct from "power sharing"), but also warned that the conference must reach "rational, constructive and realistic" decisions.

He lambasted the Government for acting in bad faith, but left open the possibility that in the matter of violence, mavericks within the State rather than the State itself could be responsible.

He endorsed the idea of "self-defence units" and intensified "mass action" (the rallying cries of the cynics), while at the same time saying "we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles" and plan swiftly for both negotiations and elections (a key concern of the less hard-line delegates).

Furthermore, he said detailed electoral policy was an "urgent" task, but that "elaboration of policy itself cannot go on forever."

Mr Mandela repeated unambiguously the ANC's conviction that an elected Constituent Assembly is the correct mechanism via

which a new constitution should be drafted, but did not include this in his list of ANC "non-negotiables". These latter were much broader issues: "Among others, our demands for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights."

On sanctions, Mr Mandela delivered a ringing endorsement of the need for "political and material support from the international community for the present phase of our struggle".

He added the rider: "Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussion of the sanctions question which began at our consultative conference last December. The challenge that faces us is to find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted."

Regarding armed struggle and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela said: "We need to pay better attention to our heroic army than we have done during the past year

or so. MK has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible", and he called for the rapid integration of a new defence force.

He added: "It also requires that MK continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent."

On the persistent controversy surrounding the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party, Mr Mandela's double-edged approach was at its clearest.

"The SACP is a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule," he said, "and we will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organisations."

"At the same time, the point must be borne in mind that the SACP is a separate organisation ... the policies of the ANC are not decided in the SACP as neither are the policies of the SACP decided in the ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organisations."

Finally, and against the background of his stern rebuke in December to those who sought to put the national executive committee on a shorter leash, Mr Mandela said the ANC's new internal constitution must ensure that "the membership is enabled to participate in the formulation of policy and direction ... while the leadership we will elect recognises that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead".

The ANC leader also stated pointedly that the organisation "could not tolerate the formation of factions. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinions".

This latter sentiment might have been the inspiration for his entire speech. In any event, it is likely to have ensured that while there will certainly be hot debate in this week's closed sessions — perhaps even as heated as it was in December — a much firmer foundation has been laid for the ANC to be able to present a unified face to the world when its conference closes on Saturday. □

ANC 'wrong to think it has claim to power'

Star 4/7/91

Staff Reporter (11A)

The ANC was mistaken in believing it alone had a claim to political power in South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night.

He said the IFP would not tolerate ANC attempts to mobilise blacks against whites in order to achieve a hand-over of power to the ANC by the Government.

"There shall be democratic procedures that determine who governs after apartheid," he told the National Student

Federation congress in Midrand.

The ANC was trying to develop what it called a patriotic front in order to dominate the negotiating process.

"The patriotic front they have in mind is a patriotic front of black political organisations."

A multiparty conference, involving leaders across the political spectrum, had become an urgent necessity.

He predicted that the ANC would emerge from its current conference committed to determining the constitutional future for South Africa through "mass action".

Chief Buthelezi said the IFP was doing its ut-

most to establish cross-constituency ties because it wanted reconciliation between black and white. Without this there would be no democracy.

There could be no real consultations with the people while the level of violence continued.

Inkatha was waiting to finalise dates for an ANC national executive committee/IFP central committee meeting to examine what could be done to normalise relations.

"But I must say that I am not encouraged by the message that came through in the opening address (at the ANC congress) of the deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela," he said.

New code of conduct called for

Political Reporter (11A)

DURBAN — The ANC's leadership had not always met expectations on accountability and democracy, national executive member Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

This was attributable partly to its 30 years' enforced exile and "the state of repression", he told a media briefing on the ANC secretary-general's report which was presented at the organisation's national conference.

Mr Pahad said the congress had proposed that a new code of conduct should be implemented to ensure that these concerns were addressed.

Delegates told The Star that secretary-general Alfred Nzo's report was received critically during the closed session.

However, Mr Pahad said the report had been received enthusiastically and that its general trend had been accepted.



Speaking to the media . . . ANC national executive member Aziz Pahad.

Staw 4/17/91
He said yesterday's discussion on the report had reflected deputy president Nelson Mandela's concern that the membership drive among whites, Indians and coloureds should be stepped up.

Mr Pahad said the "wealth of support" for the ANC had not been fully exploited, largely because of the overarching problem of violence and organisational difficulties since the ANC's unbanning.

One way of attracting members was through

"mass action", he said, although the ANC was fully conscious that it was "moving into a new (political) situation".

He did not believe mass action campaigns had alienated "the middle ground".

The ANC was "heartened by the good progress" of the Women's and Youth leagues, Mr Pahad said.

He added that the ANC would, far from shutting down its external missions set up during exile, seek to expand them.

Mandela's speech warmly praised

Political Staff (11A) 4/7-91
DURBAN. — Diplomats yesterday gave Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the opening of the ANC conference here warm, if qualified, praise.

The diplomats particularly welcomed his commitment to negotiations and his call for the organization to transform itself by preparing for elections for a constituent assembly.

However, his strong support for the ANC's close links with the

SACP drew reaction which ranged from concern to open alarm.

The diplomats pointed out that the ANC had been steadily losing ground on the international front by maintaining its warm association with a political party whose policies are now in discredit throughout the West and the former Eastern Bloc states.

They noted that Mr Mandela's brief reference to sanctions was ambiguous, although it could

pave the way for a possible rethink at this week's conference.

They believe sanctions are on the way out anyway, regardless of the ANC's views, and if the ANC did get in step with changing international realities, they will lose their ability to wield influence on world forums. The diplomats also pointed out that Mr Mandela's wide-ranging address attempted to meet the concerns of a variety of disparate interest groups that make up the ANC.

'ANC must get more funds from inside SA'

(11A)
CT 4/7/91

DURBAN. — The ANC raised about 10% of its funds inside South Africa during the last three months of 1990, an ANC financial spokesman, Mr Vusi Khanyile, said yesterday.

He also said the ANC would have to generate far more of its finances from inside the country, particularly as some sources of funding had dried up.

No political organisation in the world had ever survived by being dependent on subscriptions alone and fund-raising was essential, he said at a press conference at the ANC's conference here.

He also said that none of the money raised by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela during his tour of the United States more than a year ago "have been remitted to the ANC".

Mr Khanyile declined to state how much money had been pledged, but it is understood to be about R9 million.

In another development, Detroit mayoral representative Mrs Margaret Baylon arrived at the conference and told journalists she had travelled to South Africa with letters to the ANC from the city to find out what the organisation wanted to do with the R3,3 million it had raised.

She said the money had not yet been sent to the organisation because the city had no idea what the ANC wanted to do with it. "Whatever they say, we will do," she added.

Neither Mrs Baylon nor Mr Khanyile could explain why the money had not been remitted to South Africa.

Mr Khanyile made his comments at a media briefing on the treasurer-general's report, which had been delivered to a closed session of the conference.

He declined to disclose details of the ANC's balance sheet, but said the ANC had to operate on a "tight budget".

Boesak bid

Surprise candidate on ANC list

11A
CT 4/1/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — In a shock move, Dr Allan Boesak has been nominated for the ANC's national executive committee, despite not being a member of the organisation.

But the unprecedented step immediately sparked controversy among a number of delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a position in an organisation of which he is not even a member.

The high-powered election commission still has to rule whether the former UDF patron's candidacy is valid, but Dr Boesak's name does appear near the top of a provision-

al list of 120 candidates released at the ANC's national conference here last night.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said non-members could not be elected on to the executive.

However, she later said that those whose names appeared on the list had effectively accepted that their nominations go forward and it was unlikely that they would withdraw.

Repeated attempts yesterday to contact Dr Boesak to qualify his position were unsuccessful.

However, a delegate from Transkei yesterday told the Cape Times that the homeland had nominated Dr Boesak for a position on the NEC — but it is understood that Dr Boesak did not get the backing from his own Western Cape region.

One of the thorny problems facing the election commission is that the ANC's own constitution will only be finalised this week and

this could have a decisive bearing on whether his nomination will be accepted.

More candidates could still be put on the list, but the election for 50 places on the executive is hotly contested and 15 of these have provisionally been reserved for women.

ANC 'must look for internal funding'

See PAGE 2

The developments have exacerbated tensions within the ANC's Western Cape region and some delegates have said Dr Boesak was merely a guest at the conference and, as such, would not be considered for election.

When he arrived at the opening of the conference on Tuesday he sat among the guests at the back of the hall.

In the past Dr Boesak has made it clear that he would not join the ANC until it had clarified its relationship with the SA Communist Party and "personal and ideological" differences with the ANC's Western Cape leadership were resolved.

It is known that the Mr Nelson Mandela held discussions with Dr Boesak about joining the ANC.

It has been suggested that Dr Boesak could improve the low level of recruitment to membership of the ANC in the Western Cape.

However, the Western Cape leadership have made it clear that they feel Dr Boesak should first join the organisation and become a member of a local branch, instead of leap-frogging into a top leadership position.

One Western Cape delegate said yesterday that Dr Boesak apparently hoped to be voted on the national executive by "acclamation"

To page 2

3 shot in

From page 1

and had let it be known that under these circumstances he would no choice but to respond to popular demand.

However, a possible compromise is that Dr Boesak will be co-opted on to the NEC.

Apart from Dr Boesak and the Western Cape chairman and treasurer of the ANC, Mr Christmas Tinto, and Mr Amos Lengisi, who are automatically members of the executive, six Western Cape people have been nominated. They are Professor Kadar Asmal, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Trevor Manuel, Ms Hilda Ndude, Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Reg Sember.

Three other people, Mr Jeremy Cronin, Dr Pallo Jordan and Mr Albie Sachs, have strong Western Cape links.

Close contest for top jobs

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — A close contest exists within the ANC for the positions of secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general.

This emerged yesterday when the ANC released the names of people who had been nominated by two regions for positions on its national executive committee.

The list shows that 102 people, 25 of them women, have been nominated for the 50 vacancies on the national executive.

Mr Nelson Mandela has been nominated unopposed as the new president of the ANC and Mr Walter Sisulu is also expected to be unopposed as deputy president.

The position of secretary-general is to be contested between the incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, the general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the ANC's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma.

Both Mr Nzo and Mr Ramaphosa have been nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

Treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi faces the ANC's London representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, Border chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile and Mr Zuma.

ANC recruiting drive

(117) 4/7/91

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE ANC is to step up its drive for support among whites, coloured people and Indians, clean up its image and review its campaigns in a move to counter the National Party strategy of spreading its support base among all groups.

NEC member Mr Aziz Pahad told a press briefing on secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo's report to the conference here that violence and false perceptions in the wider community had contributed to the ANC not recruiting as effectively as it had wanted to.

His remarks echo the sentiments expressed on the opening day by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela who warned the movement not to be complacent about having achieved a membership tally of 700 000 since being unbanned last year.

The movement has 1 000 branches around the country. Mr Pahad also acknowledged that the NP had developed a strategy to "win over sectors of the oppressed".

He added: "This strategy can only work if we are not doing our work in the communities. We do not believe the NP has a strategy to serve the interests of these communities."

"The question we face is: are we able to counter this strategy of the NP? We must get strategies to push that policy forward."

He said he believed that among whites there was a perception that the ANC reflected instability, was responsible for the violence and was an organisation that appeared not to have the capacity to lead.

"But our ultimate view is that because of violence, we have not been able to assert our political presence in many areas as effectively as we have wanted."

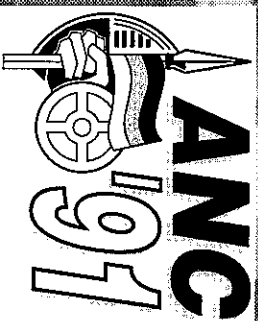
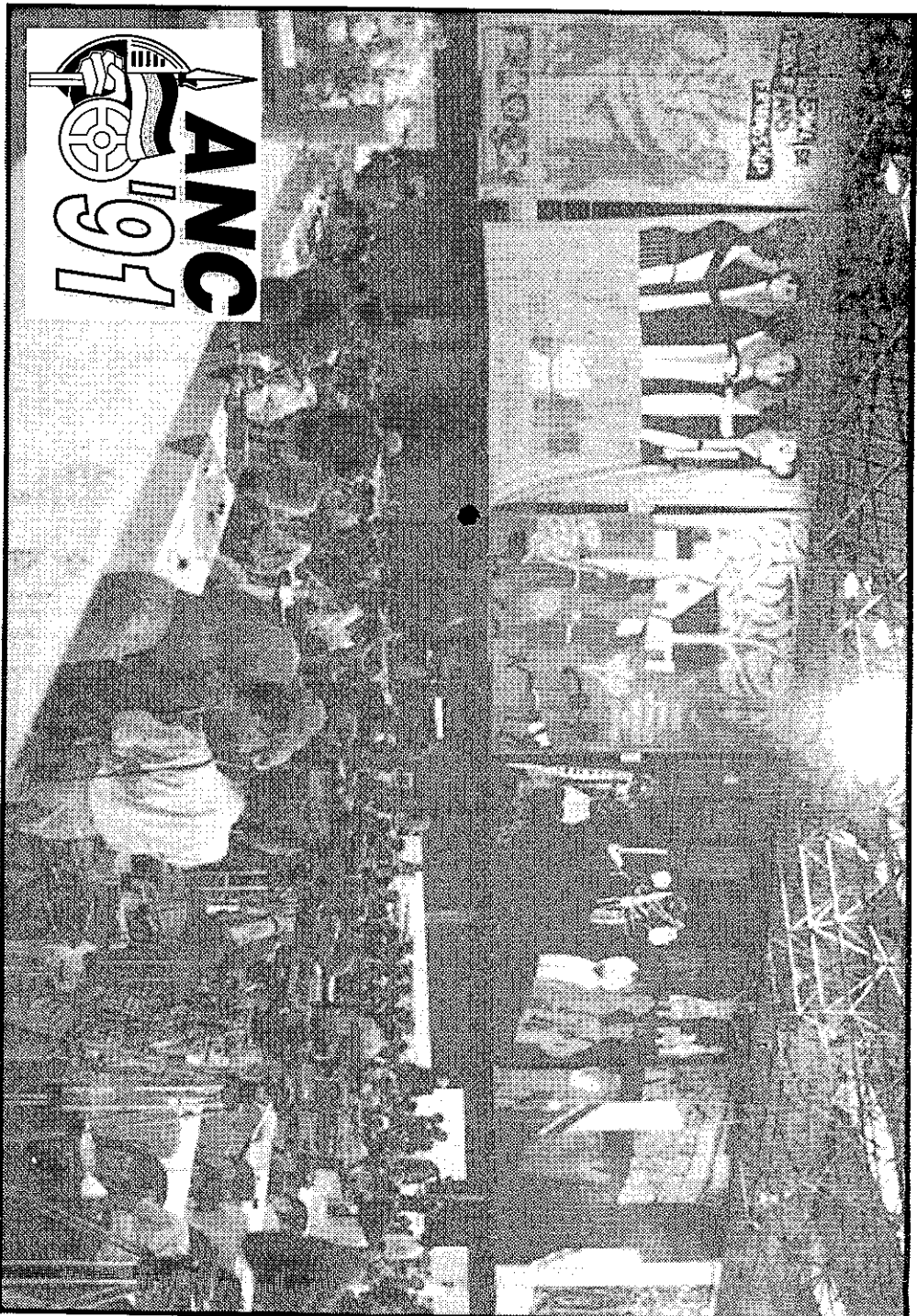
He noted that where there had been a reduction in violence, the movement had been able to "deal with policy issues, rather than acting as fire-fighters wherever fighting breaks out".

Mr Pahad said the ANC was convinced that as long as it was able to concentrate on its policy programmes it could counter false perceptions and make headway in recruiting more supporters.

He said: "Our analysis indicates that there is a wealth of support for the ANC in (white, coloured and Indian) communities, but, unfortunately, because of the organisational transformation and the violence, we have not used all the potential to mobilise that support."

"We are convinced we will be able to make decisive inroads in these communities."

He disclosed that the ANC's Youth League had a membership of 400 000 and had committees in all 14 regions of the country.



The main conference hall at the University of Durban-Westville outside Durban where the ANC's 48th annual congress is being held this week

'Democratic newspaper'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE ANC, which has complained of receiving a hostile press, does not want to own a newspaper simply to have its own "mouthpiece", but would favour a new "democratic" publication on the South African press scene.

This emerged during a press briefing at the annual conference.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said: "We feel there is a need for a democratic newspaper which the ANC would be part of, but not an ANC newspaper as a mouthpiece. We do not want a propaganda paper. We feel it should have its own editorial authority and a measure of independence."

A feasibility study was underway to assess the viability of such a venture. The possibility of a new ANC-backed newspaper would depend on the outcome of the study, she said.

She said a newspaper would take some time to set up.

Govt lawyer outbids ANC (11A)

MR Danie Heyns, the Pretoria advocate who outbid the ANC for the mining village Grootvlei, is on the staff of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Don Brunette.

Heyns (32) yesterday

Sowetan 4/7/91
bought the East Rand village for R4,6 million on behalf of a consortium of farmers and businessmen called Grootvlei Ontwikkelings.

His successful bid was R100 000 higher than that of Johannesburg attorney

Mr Ishmail Ayob, who bid on behalf of the ANC.

Although Heyns said after the auction he had appeared on behalf of a close corporation that had no political motives, the closing of the sale was greeted by cries of "Op die boere!" and "Mooi so!" from local residents.

Local businessman Mr Gert Viljoen, who heads Grootvlei Ontwikkelings, said the consortium intends to keep the village intact with its present infrastructure.

He said part of the village will be developed as a retirement resort.

Grootvlei came under the hammer after Eskom decided in November to close the Grootvlei power station, which served the Springfield Colliery near the village.

The property consists of more than 250 houses, a hospital, farmland and a golf course. - Sapa.

ANC elections put into perspective

Southen 4/7/91. (11A)

FOCUS

RONNIE MAMOEPA, regional spokesman for the ANC, puts this weekend's leadership elections into perspective.

IT is universally customary that elections are a subject of speculation by the Press. The object of such speculation is usually centred on individuals to be elected and the policies they represent. The ANC too has been subjected to such speculation by the media.

We welcome the interest shown by the media in our elections but we think it is misdirected.

While we in the ANC remain committed to the freedom of the Press, we differ on the way in which the nominations of candidates to the National Executive Committee have been handled.

The way in which the media has sought to deal with the question of elections shows a distinct misunderstanding of the nature of the movement. This should be corrected.

Disturbing

A particularly disturbing feature of the way in which the media seeks to address our elections has been its emphasis on the role of individuals. It has sought to interpret developments in such a way as to imply a leadership crisis and struggle for power. Such is not the case.

The root of the problem is that the media does not seem to understand or accept that the ANC is a national liberation movement and not a political party.

In contrast to a political party,



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, arrive at the first national conference of the organisation inside South Africa in 30 years.

which conducts itself on the basis of a party programme or manifesto, the ANC seeks to carry out the mandate of the people it represents. Accordingly, the emphasis that should be placed on us is not who is in our leadership but what is the mandate of the people.

Having said that, we do not wish to underplay the importance of the role played by individual leaders. After all, it is the charisma and clear-sighted vision of leaders of the calibre of Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu that has been responsible for leading our people to the present heights that the movement presently commands.

While the individual's role in the shaping of destinies of countries cannot be undermined, history is not made by individuals but by society or certain sections of society which have had demands placed upon them in a particular historical moment.

Our society at this juncture demands of its people a transfer of power to the majority of people, who will then use that power to radically transform our society into a non-racial democratic order.

And the forum for such discus-

sion is the national conference, which is the highest decision-making body in the movement.

The strategic objective of our time remains the transfer of power - and this is the guiding light of the national congress of the ANC now being held in Durban. The congress basically will focus on how best and quickly this transfer of power can be achieved.

It is this strategic objective which will and should guide the conference. Those who will be elected will be expected to operate within the broad guidelines of our strategic objective.

Mandate

The office-bearers of the new national executive committee are therefore obliged to carry out the mandate given them. In the fulfillment of duties directed by the conference they do so, not as individuals, but first and foremost as members of the ANC and finally as part of a unit, that of collective leadership.

However, collective leadership does not imply a forum of like-minded people. For obvious reasons, there will be differences of

opinion. There is nothing wrong with this. If the differences are carelessly handled they will result in destruction but, if properly channelled, they will become the force of development in the organisation.

In all the speculations of the Press, there is an implication that the differences within the ANC are so severe that the organisation is likely to crumble. One newspaper even ran the headline: "Knives are out in the ANC."

There are those who emphasise negotiations over all other forms of struggle, particularly armed struggle.

The decision to suspend one form of struggle was not the decision of one leader or a section of the leadership but a result of constructive debates within the ranks of the movement.

It took into account the fact that the armed struggle was one of four main pillars of the struggle and not the only one.

The ANC prides itself on handling differences in such a way that they have led to the growth and development of the organisation in those trying and dark movements in the history of our struggle.

Mandela for president a formality

From Page 1

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was also nominated for both positions.

Mr Jacob Zuma was the third nominee for the position of secretary-general. He was also nominated treasurer.

United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe was nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

Three other nominees for the treasurer's position were Mr Arnold Stofile, Mr Thomas Nkobi and Mr Mendi Msimang.

More than a hundred other people were nominated for the new NEC which will be elected tomorrow.

Among the newcomers were Mr Elijah Barayi, Dr Allan Boesak, Ms Barbara Hogan, Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Saki Macozoma and Mr Moses Mayekiso, Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Mr Peter Mokaba, Mr Murphy Morobi, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, Ms Marión Sparg and Mr Raymond Suttner.

Step down

25 women were nominated.

The president of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, who indicated he would step down, has been nominated for a seat on the NEC along with his wife, Adelaide.

The preliminary list of nominees include human rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar, constitutional expert Mr Kadar Asmal, Cosatu secretary-general Mr J Naidoo, Sister Bernard Ncube, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Chris Hani, Mrs Gertrude Shope, Mrs Ruth Mompoti and Mr Joe Slovo.

Three Sisulus have been nominated (Albertina, Max and Walter), as has Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Three regions have nominated Mbeki for one of the five offices - president, deputy president, secretary-general, assistant secretary-general and treasurer-general - but he has indicated he was not particularly interested in one of these five positions.

Smooth flow

Delegates and guests at this week's conference have commented on the smooth flow and high standard of the conference.

A simultaneous translation service has been provided, including Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho.

A giant video screen provides close-ups for delegates.

There is a medical service, refreshments are served while delegates are seated and on the first day of the conference the internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, decreed: "Those who want to smoke must do so outside."

* Nominations can still come from the floor but Mandela's position remains unchallenged.

Mandela to be



A dead Yugoslav soldier lies on the ground near an empty ammunition case

the boss

Massive support for ANC leader

Sowetan 4/7/91

11A

MR NELSON Mandela was yesterday unanimously nominated for the presidency of the African National Congress.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Walter Sisulu were among three nominees for deputy

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

president.

The present secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, was nominated for two positions - secretary-general and deputy secretary-general.

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P.T.O.

Strain of exile, by Mrs Tambo

Sowetan 4/7/91

~~236~~ 11A



ADELAIDE TAMBO

MRS Adelaide Tambo on Tuesday night gave outsiders a rare glimpse of the strain of 30 years in exile.

Mrs Tambo briefly addressed foreign guests at an informal reception in Durban to thank foreign countries for their support of the ANC during three decades of banning in South Africa.

She said she had been married to Mr Oliver Tambo for 34 years but from 1961 to 1988 she had seen her husband for four days a year only while he had been based in Africa and she had been living in Britain.

"The climate was cold, while the people were warm," she said.

Although most countries did not have a traditional African way of life, which she had missed, they had steadfastly supported the "extended" Tambo family and the ANC.

"You were there to give us moral support, to help us with our revolutionary struggle and to make life tolerable.

"Thank you for making it possible for my husband to carry on for 30 years while other leaders were in jail."

- *Political Staff.*

Surge in activity puts ANC in the red

DURBAN — A surge in the ANC's activity since it was unbanned had landed the organisation with an overdraft, its finance department head Vusi Khanyile said yesterday. *Blown 4/7/91*

Delivering a briefing on the treasurer-general's report presented to the national conference, Khanyile said the ANC had "barely enough for what we need".

He said the finance commission, which will sit at the conference over the next few days, would do some serious planning for fund raising.

He said the ANC wanted to work towards a situation where membership fees made up the bulk of its income, which was

ALAN FINE

not the case at present.

He said that while the ANC suffered from the same financial strains as any other political party, its problems were compounded by high levels of unemployment among its supporters.

Khanyile said details of the ANC's bank balance were confidential.

Legal advisers were involved in efforts to have transferred to SA funds raised by deputy president Nelson Mandela during his US visit last year.

Speculation has put the amount destined for the ANC at about R6m.



ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie arrive for the second day of the ANC national conference in Durban yesterday. Picture: AP

Boesak nomination whips up a storm

B1000 4/7/91
11A

DURBAN — UDF patron Allan Boesak has been nominated for the ANC's NEC, despite not being a member of the organisation.

The unprecedented step sparked controversy among some delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a position of an organisation of which he is not a member.

The independent electoral commission ruled yesterday that his candidacy was valid.

Boesak's name appears near the top of an alphabetical computer printout of more than 90 candidates circulating among the delegates.

Boesak's nomination has exacerbated tensions within the ANC's Western Cape region and some delegates have flatly stated that Boesak was merely a guest at the conference and, as such, should not be considered for election.

When he arrived at the opening of the conference on Tuesday morning, he took up his seat among the invited guests at the back of the hall in raised seating, separate from the more than 2 000 delegates on the conference floor.

In the past, Boesak had made it clear that he would not join the ANC until it had

Political Staff

clarified its relationship with the SA Communist Party and "personal and ideological" differences with the ANC's Western Cape leadership were resolved.

It is known that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has held discussions with Boesak about joining the ANC.

It has been suggested that Boesak could improve the low level of recruitment to membership of the ANC in the Western Cape, particularly among coloured people in both urban and rural areas because of his widespread popularity.

However, the Western Cape leadership has made it clear it feels Boesak should first join the organisation and become a member of a local branch, instead of leap-frogging into a top leadership position.

One Western Cape delegate said yesterday that Boesak apparently hoped to be voted on to the national executive by "acclamation" and had let it be known that under these circumstances he would have no choice but to respond to popular demand.

Attempts to contact Boesak yesterday were unsuccessful.

Qualified praise for Mandela speech

DURBAN — Diplomats yesterday gave Nelson Mandela's opening speech at the ANC conference warm, if qualified, praise.

The diplomats particularly welcomed his commitment to negotiations and his call for the ANC to transform itself by preparing for elections B1000 4/7/91

However, his strong support for the ANC's close links with the SA Communist Party drew reaction which ranged from concern to open alarm.

They pointed out that the ANC had been steadily losing ground on the international front by maintaining its warm association with a political party whose policies are discredited throughout the West and the former East bloc states.

The diplomats noted that Mandela's brief reference to sanctions was ambiguous, although it could pave the way for a rethink at this week's conference.

They believe sanctions are on the way

Political Staff

out anyway, regardless of the ANC's views, and if the ANC does not get in step with changing realities it will lose its influence in world forums.

The diplomats pointed out that Mandela's wide-ranging address attempted to meet the concerns of a variety of interest groups that made up the ANC.

"Mr Mandela was clearly trying to straddle the different streams within the ANC, but it is not yet clear whether the organisation will emerge much more unified," said one senior diplomat.

Diplomats said they were not unduly concerned by the several apparently hard-line references Mandela made in regard to Umkhonto we Sizwe, mass action and self-defence units, saying it was clearly an election speech aimed at the broad mass of the 2 000 delegates.

Picture: AP

Cosatu wanted to expose harassment, court told

11A 119 4/17/91

COSATU officials did not use the man they allegedly kidnapped as a pawn to enhance their political interests but wanted to expose the harassment of Cosatu, its general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

Naidoo told the Johannesburg Regional Court that senior union officials had called a news conference at Cosatu's offices to expose the harassment and fears the federation had experienced and to enable security policeman Monge Maleka to explain what he was doing when he was apprehended outside the Cosatu building.

Naidoo, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, office staffer Baba Schalk and Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso have pleaded not guilty to kidnapping and assaulting Maleka on August 28 last year.

Naidoo said he did not consider Maleka a pawn as Maleka had in his possession two photographs of SACP official Geraldine Fraser and had admitted he was watching the building and was to contact his superior if Fraser left the building.

Naidoo said it was not a premeditated decision to hold the news conference before the police arrived. A conference ex-

VERA VON LIERES

plaining what Maleka was doing would be important in putting pressure on the police to investigate the matter.

"To have Maleka himself having to explain in a Press conference may have been stronger than us explaining as Cosatu."

Naidoo denied he put pressure on Maleka to attend the media conference and said Maleka agreed to address it.

He conceded that Maleka's reaction at the news conference was fearful, but said his fear was based on the fact that he did not want to be photographed.

Asked by prosecutor Joe Davidowitz whether the Cosatu officials felt they were entitled to take the law into their own hands, Naidoo said he did not think they had taken the law into their own hands.

He said the intention in apprehending Maleka was to get the SA Police to investigate suspicions "with greater enthusiasm and success" than in the past. This required a political intervention which was made by contacting the ANC's security department.

The case continues.

Tambo's daughter linked to R3m home

11A 119 4/17/91

ONE of ANC president Oliver Tambo's two daughters is believed to have bought a R3m mansion in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, while her famous father will soon move into a house in Wattville, Benoni, worth R850 000.

An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday that one of Tambo's daughters and her husband, believed to be an American banker, were buying a property.

An estate agent operating in the north-

ern suburbs said the house had been sold for more than R3m and the property behind it for an undisclosed sum.

It was previously widely speculated that Tambo would swap his Wattville home for a larger Sandhurst property, Villa Rosa.

The spokesman said Tambo would definitely move into the house in Wattville, where he lived before leaving SA.

Business Day Reporters

Secretary-general race draws three

(11A) ALAN FINE, TIM COHEN
and BILLY PADDOCK 4/7/91

DURBAN — With Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu assured of becoming the ANC's president and deputy president, the way has been cleared for a tough fight for the organisation's third most important post, that of secretary-general.

A preliminary list of nominees for all leadership positions was released yesterday. Independent Mediation Service of SA director Charles Nupen, appointed by the ANC to head an electoral commission at the conference, stressed that the list was not necessarily complete.

Nominations were still open and nominees might still decline nomination, he said. A deadline for nominations had provisionally been set for about midday today, but conference might change this, he said.

The preliminary list indicates that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela is the only nominee for the post of president.

Walter Sisulu, Harry Gwala and Thabo Mbeki have been nominated for the deputy presidency. However, it has been widely predicted that other candidates would stand down if Sisulu accepted the nomination, and yesterday he confirmed to Business Day that he intended doing so.

Three powerful candidates have been nominated for the post of secretary-general. They are NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC intelligence head Jacob Zuma and incumbent Alfred Nzo.

Ramaphosa has not personally indicated

To Page 2

Three 6/10am 4/7/91

whether he intends accepting nomination. However, both NUM president James Motlatsi and vice-president Elijah Barayi said yesterday that Ramaphosa would stand in the election for the post. Zuma and Nzo could not be reached for comment, but are also expected to contest the position.

Ramaphosa and Nzo, along with former UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, have also been nominated for the position of deputy secretary-general.

However, a number of delegates yesterday said they did not expect either Nzo or Ramaphosa to accept nomination for the junior position. This will result in Molefe being elected unopposed if no further nominations are forthcoming.

Four candidates have received the required support of at least two ANC regions for the position of treasurer general: the incumbent Thomas Nkobi, ANC chief rep-

resentative in London Mendi Msimang, former UDF leader and chairman of the Border region Arnold Stofile, and Zuma.

There are 102 nominations for the remaining 50 national executive committee (NEC) positions.

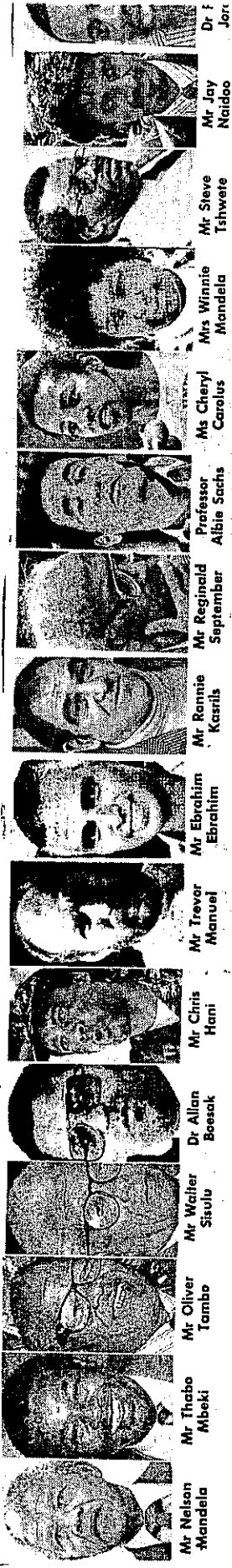
There are 25 women on the list of nominees. If the conference approves a quota system whereby 30% of the NEC must be women, a special electoral system will have to be devised.

The list of nominees includes the bulk of the existing NEC, a few trade unionists including Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Sydney Mafumadi and Numsa's Moses Mayekiso, a number of former UDF leaders and ex-political prisoners.

Among the nominees are Allan Boesak, Winnie Mandela, Marion Sparg, Mac Maharaj, Albie Sachs and Gill Marcus.

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(11A) From Page 1



ANC line-up for top jobs

11A
August 17/191

from DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

DURBAN. — Eight Western Cape political personalities — including surprise candidate Dr Allan Boesak — are in the line-up for top jobs in the ANC.

The Western Cape nominees will vie with 94 others for the 50 posts in the movement's "shadow government", the National Executive Committee, which will be elected at the weekend.

Mr Nelson Mandela is certain to consolidate his leadership and be elected president, but the militant Mr Harry Gwala and the suave Mr Thabo Mbeki have emerged as possible contenders for his deputy.

The surprise nominations could turn the battle for the deputy presidency into a three-way contest with veteran Mr Walter Sisulu, who has the support of many regions, including the Western Cape.

Sources say his election would unite the ANC and avoid head-on fights between factions.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani and ANC intelligence head Mr Jacob Zuma have dropped out of the contest for deputy president but it is understood Mr Gwala has the support of more militant members who would have voted for Mr Hani.

Dr Boesak, a former UDF patron who has not yet joined the ANC, is set to return to national politics with his nomination.

Boesak popular nominee

NEC nominees must obviously be members of the ANC, but it is believed Dr Boesak is a popular nominee with many regions which were unaware that he was not a signed-up member.

Other candidates from the Western Cape are South African Communist Party leader Ms Cheryl Carolus; University of the Western Cape academic and ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal; Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC publicity secretary; Ms Hilda Ndude, Western Cape ANC deputy president; civil rights lawyer Mr Dullah Omar; ANC co-ordinator Mr Reginald September and author Professor Albie Sachs, who has a post at the University of Cape Town.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the conference would have to discuss Dr Boesak's position.

Dr Boesak said: "I must honestly say this nomination is unexpected. It is a great honour and if this means that the people want me, it would be difficult to say no."

Dr Boesak's strong following in the Western Cape and his status as a highly regarded national and international figure could see him elected to the NEC.

His stature, credibility and charisma would make him an ideal NEC member to sell the ANC's policies to white, coloured and Indian — groups which Mr Mandela says have not been attracted to the movement in sufficient numbers.

Acknowledged as one of the Western Cape's top political figures, Dr Boesak has been steadily re-asserting his presence in the region after a period in the political background.

The preliminary list of NEC candidates includes Mrs Winnie Mandela, outgoing president Mr Oliver Tambo, his wife Adelaide, ANC veteran Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Sisulu, his wife Alberta and their son Max.

SCHOOL WATCH

ANC supports campaign to occupy empty white schools

New Nation (Learning Nation)
Support for the campaign to occupy empty white schools is growing and new initiatives are being developed.

The campaign was launched last week by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC). 517-11719

Indications are that almost all ANC branches in the Johannesburg area, including the white suburbs, have pledged their support for the campaign and have shown a willingness to take part in it.

The Johannesburg Education Committee also supports the campaign.

On the other hand, progressive structures in Johannesburg are on the lookout for empty schools in the white residential areas.

A planning meeting was held this week in which several structures, including ANC branches, took part. The meeting discussed ways to intensify the campaign in the Witwatersrand area.

One of the issues discussed was the plight of pupils attending inner-city schools, most of whom are "fly-by-nights".

Reliable sources said the possibility of starting a campaign to move pupils from those institutions to the empty white schools was discussed.

Region

Commenting on the move, NECC Southern Transvaal regional secretary, Amon Msane, said several of these schools have been closing down due to the lack of funds and other issues such as maladministration.

"Those schools cater for youngsters who do not find accommodation in township schools. But, unfortunately, they cannot operate properly because some of them rely solely on school fees payment to run their daily business.

"Secondly, those schools are inside the city, creating a situation where there are no physical education facilities.

"The other factor is that education and training minister, Stoffel van der Merwe, claims that his department would feel compelled to bus students from the township should it make a schools available in white areas.

"If that is the case, then the kids attending inner-city schools have proved that they can pay for their transportation. The department should therefore not worry about that," said Msane.

Msane also disclosed that his organisation was working on a meeting to look into problems faced by private schools. He said several organisations as well as parents of children attending these institutions would be invited.

The owners, administrators and associations of private schools are also expected to attend the meeting.

MUDDLE TROUBLE

Fm 517191

11A

It's troubling to imagine what lies in store for constitutional negotiations between government and the ANC.

On the eve of the ANC's national conference, and with the release of political prisoners now the major stumbling block to talks, President FW de Klerk announced that the ANC and government had agreed that "finality has now been reached in terms of the process of release set out in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes."

Whatever the truth of the statement — and it was not a model of clarity — something went wrong: Mandela denied

its accuracy.

If such an agreement had indeed been reached, say the Lawyers for Human Rights, "we would imagine that a joint statement by the parties involved would have been issued."

To its knowledge, adds the organisation, the release process is "the subject of ongoing discussion and investigation, and we believe that all parties concerned know that in fact it is nowhere near finality." There are still a large number of political prisoners who qualify for release and the Indemnity Committees are still busy on their behalf, it adds.

THE ANC CONFERENCE

FM

5/7/91

11A

WATCHING THEIR BACKS

The ANC's Nelson Mandela set the tone for the movement's first national conference inside SA in 30 years with a speech that had something in it for all factions of his broad church. But he seemed to hint several times that the organisation is running out of time if it wishes to regain the political initiative.

Whatever emerges from the four days of closed debate in Durban, Mandela's opening address came across as a holding operation in the best ANC tradition.

It was hardly surprising that the rituals were just that. The real focus was on intense lobbying for the elections at the end of the week. The outcome will set the ANC's political tone for months to come. President F W de Klerk and his chief negotiators will have been watching the proceedings with as much interest as any ANC delegate.

Mandela duly stated that securing the objective of a constituent assembly to formulate the political future could not be achieved through negotiation alone. Rejecting "the regime's contention that mass mobilisation stands in the way of the negotiating process," he argued that it was the only power available in the absence of the vote.

The transitional period was likely to prove one of the most difficult, complex and challenging in the life of the ANC, said Mandela. Only once an interim government generally acceptable to all political movements had been formed would white minority rule cease. The call for a constituent assembly remains central to the ANC's stance.

Such an assembly implies elections, said Mandela, for which the organisation must prepare itself. "Among other things, this means that we must have the necessary policies to present to the country at large and the organisational machinery to do this."

The ANC should continue explaining itself to the people as a whole on the various policy decisions, said Mandela. "We must begin to arrive at firm conclusions about what we would do with the country once we become the governing party . . . all our people want to know how we would govern the country . . ." This seemed to be a clear hint to delegates to get their act together.

Among Mandela's other points:

- The ANC recognises that other political groups in the country are entitled to exist;
- Though the ANC has 700 000 members, too few are drawn from rural areas and from whites, coloureds and Indians;
- The ANC has to find ways to check the erosion of sanctions and create the situation where it does not lose this weapon;
- It must strengthen its world links; and
- The SA Communist Party's position as a dependable ally and the alliance with Cosatu are confirmed.

At the hectic conference, leadership contenders Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani carefully avoided the press. Hani had informed Mbeki and Zuma a fortnight ago that he was out of the race for deputy president. Zuma, in turn, made it clear that



Mandela . . . steering the ANC's transition

he sought to be secretary-general.

It emerged on Tuesday evening that mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa was getting strong support from the communist lobby for the post of secretary-general. As he is generally popular in the ANC, his chances were regarded as good. But despite the antagonism of the SACP lobby, Zuma, the southern Natal chairman, remained a strong contender.

Thabo Mbeki remained firmly in the running for deputy president; most delegates the *FM* spoke to regarded him as the strongest candidate for deputy president. Walter Sisulu (78) was expected to lose support because of his age.

In a surprise move, Mac Maharaj, head of the proposed Operation Vula, accepted nominations from some regions to sit on the NEC again. Maharaj resigned last year in disgust at the way the leadership handled the Vula affair.

Maharaj, an SACP central committee member, was long one of the ANC's most important strategists and a valued military tactician. His agreement to serve was seen as an indication that more militant factions in the ANC were uniting against the carefully planned takeover of the NEC by more moderate factions.

Despite Mandela's scolding the press for allegedly inventing factions within the ANC, the organisation leaked profusely as the various factions jostled and plotted for ascendancy. The 2 000 representatives of the 14 regions were meeting informally up to three times a day, before and after their gruelling 12-hour days in conference, to thrash out positions.

Voting by secret ballot was arranged for Friday and Saturday, with the services of independent mediators to ensure fairness.

The influence of the ANC Youth League, powerful during 15 years of militant mass activity, was expected to be moderated by powerful lobbies within the ANC who believe it needs to be more pragmatic.

Powerful Youth League president Peter Mokaba — a victim of pre-conference leaks and allegations of being a police spy — told the *FM* about some other key issues that the conference would have to address. "The most important is the conceptualisation of the period we are in. Are we in transition or not? In a period of transition we would only deal with how to put people into an interim government and begin to prepare for an election. Those who believe we are in transition will say sanctions must go, for instance."

This latter group is known as the Thabo Mbeki school. It believes sanctions must go; that SA will see nonracial, democratic elections within three years, and that the ANC must prepare for that. But the Mokaba grouping believes that change is not yet irreversible and is committed to mass action.

Next week there should be some clarity on which school of thought has won the soul of the ANC (for now, at least) — after what was probably the most democratic experience in the history of the organisation. ■

Pretoria Correspondent

Heyns 'not out to stop ANC'

Star 5/7/91

11A

State advocate Danie Heyns, who earlier this week beat the ANC for the mining village of Grootvlei near Heidelberg, has remained adamant that his bid was not a quest to prevent the ANC buying the village.

Both the Department of Justice and the office of the Attorney-General of the Transvaal have stated that Mr Heyns's bid at the auction was made in his private capacity and no disciplinary steps would be taken.

Mr Heyns said yesterday he did not act on behalf of a con-

sortium of local farmers and businessmen.

"I do not belong to any political party and neither am I carrying R4,6 million for any political party," he said.

The money had been raised through normal financing channels, he said.

He intended getting the 250-house village proclaimed as a township before selling the houses individually on a first-come, first-served basis.

"A number of people have al-

ready indicated they are interested in buying property. I will try to accommodate the present occupiers and I am not after a huge profit. But business is business and profit remains the bottom line."

He said a committee of local residents, on hearing that he intended bidding for the village, approached him before the auction on Monday to find out what his plans were.

They were apparently satisfied with his plans and did not

oppose his bid, although some, including local businessman Gert Viljoen, had bid for some individual properties.

"The whole thing became politicised when it became known that the ANC was interested. It is regrettable that the Department of Justice has been drawn into the controversy, but the department had nothing to do with my bid," Mr Heyns said.

Ismail Ayob, the attorney who represented the ANC at the

auction, said he had no comment on whether the sale was politically motivated. The ANC also declined to comment.

Deputy Attorney-General John Welsh said yesterday that Mr Heyns's action had been above board.

"There is absolutely nothing to stop him from doing something which leads to profit," Mr Welsh said.

The village was bought for R4,6 million, R100 000 more than the ANC was prepared to offer. The ANC apparently wanted to use Grootvlei to accommodate returning political exiles.



Nominee for No 2 spot . . . Natal hardliner Harry Gwala at the ANC conference yesterday. Mr Gwala and Walter Sisulu are the only remaining candidates for the position of deputy president.

Picture: Argus

Discipline essential in defence units - Hani

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

DURBAN — Community self-defence units should be strictly controlled to ensure they did not degenerate into vigilante forces, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

Addressing a media briefing at the ANC's national confer-

ence in Durban, he said great care should be taken to ensure that self-defence units were accountable and disciplined.

"We are going to be very strict at this conference about the need for discipline and accountability," he said.

Although he expected criticism from delegates about the delay in setting up self-defence units, there was "no rush" to do

this because good foundations had to be laid to ensure control and the participation of all political groupings.

However, such structures, in which MK would be used in a training capacity, would not be necessary if the security forces acted impartially.

He said MK cadres were being re-trained to prepare them for incorporation in the

South African security forces.

He admitted they might not have received "adequate attention" since talks with the Government on the suspension of the armed struggle began.

He believed the ANC's national conference would endorse the earlier decision to suspend armed operations. But he would not say whether recruitment for MK was continuing.

Radio Beijing's man joins media melee

Political Staff

11A

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star 57191

DURBAN — Some journalists count their readers, viewers or listeners in thousands. Some count them in millions.

But Jih Yu Chen of Radio Beijing simply has too many listeners to be able to count them.

Mr Chen is one of the hundreds of journalists from around the world who has con-

verged on Durban to cover the ANC conference.

They are serving newspapers, TV stations, radio stations, magazines and journals around the world.

South African journalists say this is probably the biggest international news event in the country's history.

Before this, the biggest inter-

national news event in Natal was the Seychelles hijack trial of 1982. Maritzburg City Council was so flattered by the presence of so many international journalists that it arranged a civic reception for them.

The conference probably eclipses — in terms of international media coverage — the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.



Tambo gets key role

Open race for 3 top ANC posts

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
and Peter Fabricius

DURBAN — Tough battles for three of the top jobs in the African National Congress are expected today at the organisation's national conference here.

The race for the positions of secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general remained wide open after nominations officially closed yesterday.

After a day of high drama and intense lobbying, several top contenders are out of the race for executive positions.

They include foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and

leading clerics Dr Allan Boesak, the Rev Arnold Stofile and Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa.

And in a surprise move, outgoing president Oliver Tambo is to retain an executive post — the position of national chairman of the ANC has been specially created for him.

Mr Mbeki's withdrawal narrowed the contest for the deputy presidency to a straight fight between veteran internal leader Walter Sisulu and Natal hardliner Harry Gwala — who is widely expected to be trounced.

Mr Mbeki's decision to stand aside followed an earlier announcement by the ANC's other crown prince, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, that he

would not contest any of the top five jobs.

And as expected, Nelson Mandela was elected to the presidency uncontested.

The special position of national chairman — which existed before the banning of the ANC in 1960 — has been reactivated to accommodate the ailing Mr Tambo, who stood down as president but was nominated as an ordinary national executive committee (NEC) member.

This would give him full executive powers, despite speculation that the widely revered stalwart would bow out of active politics.

Information head Dr Pallo Jordan said Mr Tambo's post — which would include the

● To Page 2

Battle for three of top five ANC posts

● From Page 1

responsibility of chairing NEC meetings — had been filled by veteran Govan Mbeki in the 1950s, but it had lapsed during the ANC's 30 years as an underground organisation.

Dr Jordan said the revival of the position would require a constitutional amendment, but the proposal by Mr Mandela had been received "with wild acclamation" by the entire conference.

Indicative of the behind-the-scenes moves was the withdrawal of trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa from the post of deputy secretary-general.

He has staked all on winning the key secretary-general job, which he will contest with in-

cumbent Alfred Nzo and intelligence chief Jacob Zuma.

Mr Zuma, the ANC's highest-ranking Zulu, and chairman of the southern Natal region, seems to have lowered his sights by also making himself available for the position of deputy secretary-general — possibly as a result of reading the mood of the conference.

He was the only person nominated from the floor by a show of hands for any of the top positions.

He withdrew from the contest for the job of treasurer-general, as did the ANC's Border chairman, Mr Stofile.

This leaves a straight fight today between veteran incumbent Thomas Nkobi and challenger Mendi Msimang, ANC head of mission in Britain.

And as election fever peaked, the conference's 2 224 delegates nominated a further 40 members to contest the NEC election, in addition to the 102 already nominated by all regions.

Among them are alleged Bophuthatswana coup leader Rocky Malebane Metsing, Human Rights Commission official Dr Max Coleman, human rights lawyer Willie Hofmeyr, trade unionist Alec Erwin and the head of the ANC's financial department, Vusi Khanyile.

In another dramatic development yesterday, the conference rejected the proposal that at least 30 percent of the 50 positions should be held by women. Many women delegates vehemently resisted the decision to drop the quota.

● More reports — Page 6

Maharaj urges real negotiations

By Shaun Johnson

11A

DURBAN — Mac Maharaj, one of the most powerful and militant personalities in the ANC, confirmed his return to active politics yesterday with a strong call to the ANC to force the Government into "genuine negotiations".

Addressing a media briefing during the ANC's national conference, Mr Maharaj said he had accepted nomination to the organisation's executive because of grassroots pressure. He retired from the national executive council amid a blaze of publicity last year.

It was speculated that the underground chief — and head of Operation Vula — was angry about the leadership's "lack of interest" in his plight as a detainee and that he believed the ANC was giving too much away to the Government.

Yesterday he declined to expand on his reasons for pulling out, but said he was satisfied that "the ANC stood by the underground" and felt he could make a contribution in future.

"I think I am returning because people believe I have contributed, and still have something to contribute."

Support for Mr Maharaj is said to be such in the ANC conference that he is assured of being voted back on to the NEC.

On negotiations, he called for a tough approach from the ANC, with "mass action" and international pressure playing a key part.

Mr Maharaj alleged that he was assaulted during his detention last year at Sandton police station by Colonel Frik Verster, but said the "torture was insignificant compared to what I underwent in 1964".

Boesak joins ANC but won't run for office

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

DURBAN — Last-minute discussions with ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu persuaded Dr Allan Boesak not to run for office in the organisation.

The maverick churchman and former UDF patron ended months of speculation yesterday by announcing at a packed media briefing that he would join the ANC but not in time to be elected on to the national executive committee this week.

Dr Boesak said that although he had been nominated for the NEC, he did not wish to create controversy by joining the party immediately before the elections.

He explained that he did not wish to create the impression he was joining only in order to be elected.

But there was also a "technical problem" because the ANC constitution was not clear about whether he could stand after being nominated as a non-mem-

ber. He had thus chosen to stand down to avoid a controversial debate about his eligibility.

However, Charles Nupen, of the Independent Electoral Commission monitoring the elections and ANC spokesmen, had earlier said he believed there was no constitutional reason for Dr Boesak not to join yesterday before nominations closed.

Dr Boesak said he would join the ANC within a week and refused to confirm or deny speculation that he might then be co-opted on to the NEC.

In earlier discussion with Mr Mandela, he had been assured of a special role in the ANC, but not a special position, Dr Boesak revealed.

Asked if he would be brought into the leadership to attract coloured voters, he indicated that he would like to play a wider role and not become the ANC's "coloured attache".

It has become clear at the conference that the ANC is growing increasingly concerned about its failure to attract support from coloureds, Indians and whites.

The guessing game over whether he would stand for election raised Dr Boesak from an invited guest to a controversial main player, and diverted media attention.

As nominations closed at 3.45 pm it was still not clear whether Dr Boesak had joined the ANC, and hordes of journalists hovered outside the conference hall watching him locked in discussion with Mr Sisulu and spokesman Gill Marcus.

Ms Marcus then called a press conference where Dr Boesak announced his decision.

He said that once he had joined he would raise his concerns inside the ANC about its alliance with the South African Communist Party "without any problem".

He had made up his mind to join because of assurances from the conference, and his personal discussions about ANC policy and strategy issues which had earlier concerned him.

He was satisfied with the ANC's firm commitment to continue with and speed up negotiations and its commitment to democracy.

ANC denies alliance tensions

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC yesterday moved quickly to play down suggestions that there were tensions in the organisation over the alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP).

Publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan said reports that secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo had included an attack on the SACP alliance in his address had been "blown out of proportion".

He said Mr Nzo's reference amounted to four words in a 30-page report.

Mr Nzo had listed eight reasons why the ANC was not winning support in the Indian, "coloured" and white community. One said: "The alliance with the SACP is perceived as a problem by some communities."

He said Mr Nzo's comment should not be seen in any way as a suggestion that the ANC should distance itself from the SACP.

Pro-woman proposal scrapped

11A CTS/7/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The most heated debate at the ANC national conference so far has led to the scrapping of a draft proposal for a quota system requiring that 30% of members of the NEC be women.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said a majority of delegates had decided that, while they supported the principle of affirmative action to advance the position of women, they did not think the quota system was the

best way of handling it. However, there had been "vehement" opposition to the decision taken after five hours of debate.

An ANC source disclosed yesterday that debate on the issue had sparked a rowdy protest by women in the conference hall on Wednesday evening. She said it was led by Mrs Adelaide Tambo and disrupted procedures to such an extent that chairman Mr Joe Slovo had to call an early supper break.

Mr Macozoma said opposition had been "vehement" but did not know if it could be described as a protest.

Mr Charles Nupen, one of the independent electoral committee that will run today's elections, said yesterday: "They (the women) will take their place as candidates along with the men."

The draft ANC constitution had proposed that 30% of the 50 ordinary NEC posts that will be voted on today should go to women.

However, there was resistance to this. Some apparently believed it was entrenching a form of "group rights" in the organisation.

Others argued that the women elected in a quota system would have a diminished status if they did not get their seats in an open contest.

"People felt that while they supported affirmative action, they did not think the quota system was the best way of handling it," said Mr Macozoma.

Hani calls for control of self-defence units

Political Staff

DURBAN. — South Africans, both black and white, were concerned that proposed self-defence units could degenerate into "lynching squads", the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Mr Chris Hani, said yesterday.

He stressed that it was essential that all self-defence units established should be subject to strict control, discipline and accountability.

He also emphasised that defence units should not become the instruments of any political organisation, but should be controlled by communities themselves.

Mr Hani told a press briefing at the ANC's conference here that the establishment of defence units was still "at an initial stage" because a great deal

needed to be done to ensure that they were built on strong foundations under democratic control.

"There is no need to rush."

He emphasised that everything possible would be done to ensure they did not turn into vigilante groups.

"Organisations must be careful how they handle the question of defence units. They must be seen by the people as protecting the people.

"They should not be used as an instrument of maintaining the hegemony of any political organisation."

Mr Hani also said that MK and other military formations, including homeland defence forces, the PAC armed wing and the Defence Force, needed to be integrated during the transition process towards democracy.

THE African National Congress succeeded this week in getting across its commitment to negotiation and the speedy adoption of a new constitution.

Even the supposed firebrand and acknowledged communist, Chris Hani, has come across as a reasonable man of moderate views, as much committed to a negotiated compromise as any of his colleagues.

Yet questions arise. In the light of the clandestine violence against ANC members, which continues relentlessly, does the ANC yet feel sufficiently secure to negotiate with confidence?

The ANC will go into negotiations and move ahead as quickly as it can, it appears, because it is anxious to get to a situation where the security forces are subject to non-partisan monitoring and tight control.

But what about the ANC's communist link? What about Mr Hani and his two masters? Mr Hani is no longer

seeking a top position in the ANC. Yet the ambivalence of his position and that of others similarly placed is becoming increasingly awkward in the arena of electoral politics. Some will disavow the communist label, no doubt, but others will in time have to make a choice one way or the other.

Core support

There is concern among the ANC leadership because the organisation's support among the white, coloured and Indian minorities turns out to be minimal. The problem, in part, is thought to be the link with the SACP, which troubles middle-class people and seems to have driven quite a few into the seductive arms of the Nationalists. This trend is reinforced by the township violence, which has often come across in the media in simplistic terms as a demonstration of black-on-black savagery.

So far the ANC has been concerned to keep in touch with its core support in the black masses. Judging by the opinion polls, it has succeeded. It is way ahead of its nearest rivals for the favour of the black electorate.

Yet the ANC is supposed to be offering a non-racial philosophy of broad South African patriotism. A continuation of the present trend

It's time to lay the communist spectre to rest

11A



Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

CT 511191

could polarise politics in unhealthy fashion, with blacks appearing to be ganging up against the rest. And the relentless NP propaganda machine is exploiting the situation to the hilt.

Against this background, the process of disentangling the two movements in the public perception and on the ground is already beginning, as the election of ANC office-bearers may well show.

A symbiotic relationship in which executive members of the SACP, such as Mr Joe Slovo, are at the same time executive members of the ANC, is not only damaging to the ANC. It is rapidly becoming untenable for both organisations. Once the country has moved some distance away from armed struggle/repression in the direction of democratic politics, the relationship will not be long for this world.

The SACP is a working-class movement. The ANC has a much broader constituency. There are obvious conflicts of interest which will sharpen as an election approaches. Unless the ANC is going to abandon its current positions, it will reject doctrinal socialism and favour a pragmatic approach. Economic growth is seen as the priority, with a mixed economy and a commitment to redistributing wealth, providing a safety net for the poor — as generously as the country's resources will stand.

The SACP goes along with this for

the present. But its spokesmen make no secret of their longer-term commitment to a very different kind of society in which public ownership will be the rule.

Communist spokesmen characterise themselves as democratic socialists, rejecting the label of social democrat. Yet socialism, if it means anything, means public ownership of the means of production. It does not allow exceptions. How can an enforced system of public ownership — to the exclusion of individual rights — be called democratic?

Once private ownership is admitted, on the other hand, what we have is not socialism, but social democracy and a mixed economy. The argument then is about the nature and extent of the mix.

Legal might

The contribution of communists to the national debate is valuable, forcing people to think things through, and to consider the lot of the poor. Yet their system is wholly discredited and is hardly a threat. If their penchant for conspiracy turns out to be incurable after all, then the legal might of the State can be vigorously invoked.

Obsessive McCarthyite fears, on the Right, and unrealistic expectations in the townships, on the Left, have created a public perception that communists are a powerful influence in national affairs. Perceptions count in politics and so the spectre of communism will no doubt continue to stalk the land.

But no one should lose too much sleep. Negotiations will move ahead, we may hope, as the hard men on all sides lose out to the negotiators, and even the ghost of Stalin himself will eventually go to rest.

Boesak is

(11A) CT 5/7/91

Dramatic last-minute withdrawal

Out

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — Dr Allan Boesak made a dramatic last-minute withdrawal from the ANC's national executive election race — but said he would join the organisation within a week.

Dr Boesak, who held 11th-hour discussions yesterday with the ANC's new president, Mr Nelson Mandela, and its internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said he would not seek membership of the ANC merely to be eligible for tomorrow's election.

Mr Mandela was the only nominee for president of the ANC after nominations closed late yesterday afternoon for the top leadership positions at the ANC's national conference here.

As expected, the organisation's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, dropped out of the contest for deputy president and although the ANC's hardline Natal Midlands chairman, Mr Harry Gwala, was still in the race, Mr Walter Sisulu expected to trounce him during today's voting.

Earlier, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, confirmed that he would not be contesting any of the top five spots.

The former president, Mr Oliver Tambo, was elected "by acclamation" to the newly created position of national chairman.

The responsibilities of the non-symbolic position are still largely undefined but he will chair meetings of the national executive and party conferences.

The race for the party's secretary-general post is wide open, with the incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the ANC's intelligence

chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, still contending.

Significantly, Mr Ramaphosa yesterday signalled his confidence of winning the ANC's most tightly contested election by withdrawing as a candidate for the post of deputy secretary-general.

Mr Nzo and Mr Zuma, however, have signalled their willingness to play second fiddle by also making themselves available for the deputy secretary-general post in case they lose the more important contest.

The battle for treasurer-general is now a straight fight between the incumbent, Mr Thomas Nkobi, and the ANC's London representative, Mr Monde Msimang.

FULL LIST OF ANC CANDIDATES

See PAGE 2

These positions will be decided today, in secret ballots under the supervision of the four independent electoral commissioners.

Another 40 people have been nominated for the national executive, and the ANC yesterday decided to scrap the original provision of a quota of 30% of the positions for women, a move which met with "very vehement opposition" from the ANC's Women's League.

With four withdrawals from the race for ordinary positions on the national executive, about 138 people will now be standing for election to the 50 ordinary positions on the national executive committee.

Dr Boesak's nomination to the national executive, without his having joined the ANC, became the talk of the conference, with a number of disgruntled groups openly questioning such an unprecedented move.

From page 1
A press conference called yesterday, specially to defuse the situation, Dr Boesak said he was "surprised but very, very honoured" that a number of the ANC's 14 regions were keen for him to serve on the national executive committee.

However, although a number of branches in the region had asked him to stand, his own Western Cape region had not nominated him, quite rightly because he was not a member. Dr Boesak added that the personal and ideological differences he had had with the leadership in the Western Cape had now been resolved. He said a number of the misgivings he and others who had approached him had harboured about the ANC had been cleared up at this week's conference.

He declined to go into much detail and said he would raise the problematic alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party only once he was a member of the ANC, and even then he would raise it only through its internal structures.

Despite the controversy surrounding his position, Dr Boesak said he had not experienced "any ill-feeling" but rather encouragement during his attendance at the conference as a guest. (11A) CT 5/7/91

Dr Boesak told the Cape Times that he had been approached by a number of branches in the Western Cape to join, including Stellenbosch, Heathfield and Retreat. However, he said he was likely to join the Lavender Hill branch, where he had received a call by the local NG Sendingkerk to resume his ministry. The results of the elections for the five top positions — which have caused intense speculation and lobbying — are expected to be announced today. But the outcome of the elections for 50 national executive positions, where the 224 delegates are entitled to 50 votes in a secret ballot, was expected only in the early hours of Sunday morning, said one of the electoral commissioners, Mr Charles Nupen.

ANC: ^{27/7/91} All the names ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

THE full list of candidates for today's ANC elections are:

PRESIDENT: Nelson Mandela (unopposed).

DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Harry Gwala and Walter Sisulu

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Alfred Nzo, Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma.

DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL: Popo Molefe, Alfred Nzo, Jacob Zuma.

TREASURER-GENERAL: Mendi Msimang and Thomas Nkobi

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (50 to be elected): Kadar Asmal; Elijah Barayi; Thozamile Botha; Cheryl Carolus; Max Coleman; Jeremy Cronin; Paul Daphne; Ben Dikobe; Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim; Frene Ginwala; Archie Gumede; Harry Gwala; Reggie Hadebe; Chris Hani; Willie Hofmeyr; Alec Erwin; Pallo Jordan; Ronnie Kasrils (ANC Khumalo); Ahmed Kathrada; James Kari; Baleka Kgositsile; Vusi Khanyile; Pius Langa; Patrick "Terror" Lekota; Amos Lengisi; Janet Love; J.J. Mabena; Stanley Mabizela; Judds Modibane; Joe Modise; Thandi Modise; Prof Ismail Mohammed; Peter Mokaba; Job Mokgoro; Timothy Mokoena; Jacqueline Molefe; Popo Molefe; Ruth Mompati; Anthony Mongalo; Mohamed Valli Moosa; Murphy Morobe; Caleb Motsabi; Aaron Motsoaledi; Elias Motsoaledi; Mendi Msimang; Jackson Mthembu; Thenjiwe Mthintso; Eric Mtshali; Billy Nair; Sister Bernard Ncube; David Ndawonde; Sibusiso Ndebele; Curnick Ndlovu; Hilda Ndude; Joel Netshitenzhe (Peter Mayibuye); Ivy Ngcina; Bulelani Ngcuka; Phumzile Ngcuka; Joe Nhlanhla; John Nkadimeng; Thomas Nkobi; Abe Nkomo; Sankie Nkondo; Ngugile Nkwinti; Charles Nqakula (Sandile); Siphwe Nyanda (Gebuz); Blade Nzimande; Lindiwe Mabuzza; Saki Macozoma; Panuel Maduna; Sidney Mafumadi; Mac Maharaj; Nomhle Mahlawe; Simon Makana (Nkokheli); Henry Makgothi; Rocky Malebane-Metsing; Winnie Mandela; Trevor Manuel; Nosiviwe Maphisa (Thembi Dywili); Andrew Maphuto; Noni Maqhutyana; Gill Marcus; Barbara Masekela; Andrew Masondo; Ivy Matsepe; Jerry Matsila; Moses Mayekiso; Thabo Mbeki; Willis Mccunu; Mathews Meyiwa; Sindiso Mfenyana; Raymond Mhlaba; Diliza Mji; Wilton Mkwayi; Andrew Mlangeni; Alfred Nzo; Dullah Omar; Che o'Gara; Aziz Pahad; Nadia Pandor; Mathews Phosa; Mzwandile Piliiso (Tata Mzwai); Ivan Vis Pillay; Jeff Radebe (Matam); Cyril Ramaphosa; Mewa Ramgobin; Albie Sachs; Pupsey Sebogodi; Tokyo Sekgwale; Jackie Selebi; Reginald September; Manto Shabalala; Gertrude Shope; Ntombi Shope; Sizakhele Sigxashe; Albertina Sisulu; Max Sisulu; Walter Sisulu; Zola Skweyiya; Joe Slovo; Marion Sparg; Mittah Sperepere; Arnold Stofile; James Stuart; Raymond Suttner; Adelaide Tambo; Oliver Tambo; Steve Tshwete; Alfred Xobololo; Tony Yengeni; Linda Zama; Mwayizeni Zulu; Jacob Zuma; Nkosazana Zuma.

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Gwala won't quit

Political Staff

(11A)

DURBAN. — The hardline chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region Mr Harry Gwala has refused to withdraw his challenge for the deputy presidency of the ANC.

His battle with Mr Walter Sisulu for the position could turn into a major test for negotiations. While both are old guard, Mr Sisulu is a supporter of the pragmatic approach to negotiations where Mr Gwala stands for mass insurrection as a means of forcing concessions from the government.

Two W Cape regions for the ANC?

(11P)

CT 5/7/91
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC's Western Cape region may be divided into two to give more attention to the needs of impoverished and often neglected rural areas.

The ANC's information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, told a press briefing yesterday that the organisation's national conference here had discussed the possibil-

ity of splitting the Western Cape region.

However, no final decision has been taken on whether to create a new sub-region encompassing the Boland and the West and South Coast areas.

One of the issues raised at the conference was that people in the rural areas often lacked the most basic facilities — like telephones,

fax machines and vehicles — needed to build the ANC into a strong organisation.

"Perhaps given these highly differentiated regions, a sub-region might be formed so that greater attention can be devoted to the rural areas and better focus can be achieved on the problems in these areas," Dr Jordan said.

Women lose battle of the sexes

^{ARGUS 51719}
DURBAN. — A male-dominated ANC conference has made sure women lost a battle of the sexes when they rejected a proposal that 30 percent of NEC posts be filled by females.

Delegates supported the concept of affirmative action to promote sexual equality in the running of the ANC, but they felt that imposing a sexual

quota was not the best remedy.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said there had been "vehement" opposition from women delegates.

It is understood that scores showed their displeasure by mounting their own mass action, toyi-toying up and down the aisles of the conference venue.

Voting for ANC

posts under way

From DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

DURBAN. — Voting is under way in the most closely followed and keenly contested election for the top four positions in the ANC here today in what amounts to the first taste of ballot-box democracy at a national-level for many delegates.

An air of expectancy pervades the campus of the University of Durban-Westville and all eyes are on the outcome.

An independent nine-member electoral commission comprising mainly lawyers is overseeing the election in which only Mr Nelson Mandela's position is assured.

The names of Mr Mandela's four top assistants will be known this afternoon.

● More congress reports ... page 4.

ARCUS 5/7/41 (11A)

Mandela tells diplomats to maintain pressure on SA

DURBAN.— President-elect of the ANC Mr Nelson Mandela has told diplomats following deliberations at the movement's annual conference here that international pressure on Pretoria must remain to help maintain the tempo of change.

Speaking at a closed briefing for diplomats at a seafront hotel last night, Mr Mandela indicated that sanctions should be maintained as a means of exerting pressure on the government not merely to remove discrimination, but to speed the end of minority rule and the granting of

full political rights to the disfranchised.

However, diplomats said they did not perceive Mr Mandela's remarks as a rigid commitment to existing sanctions so much as a desire to see the maintenance of some form of international pressure.

Though he expressed the view that he believed it would be premature for the international community to shift its position on sanctions, diplomats say the ANC has allowed some leeway by referring to "imaginative ways" of maintaining pressure which would not necessarily be limited to sanctions.

Why Boesak quit executive race...

11A

ANC 5/7/91

DURBAN. — Dr Allan Boesak returns to Cape Town in the next few days to sign up with the ANC as a first step towards reviving his role in mainstream politics.

A buoyant Dr Boesak ended intense speculation about his immediate political ambitions — and his response to his unexpected nomination to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) — by announcing his withdrawal from the ballot.

His nomination posed a constitutional dilemma for the ANC because he was not a member.

Constitutionally, only members are eligible for election to the NEC.

Nevertheless, the nomination reflects the Western Cape theologian's popularity among the ANC rank and file. Although he was not nominated by the Western Cape, three other regions put his name forward.

Indeed, he stands a good chance of being co-opted into the ANC hierarchy. Dr Boesak, however, would not be drawn on whether he had been promised a position. Nor had he sought one.

Observers believe that since

his decision not to seek election here — and land the ANC in a controversial constitutional dilemma — will save the movement embarrassment, he might be rewarded with an inner-sanctum position.

It is known that reservations about the ANC's alliance with the SACP are among reasons why Dr Boesak has not joined the ANC before now.

However, he told a Press conference yesterday that he had raised his concerns with president-elect Mr Nelson Mandela and internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu and was satisfied.

He said he had been impressed by Mr Mandela's opening address to the conference on Tuesday when he emphasised a commitment to democracy, negotiations, an all-party conference and the "haste" with which he urged the ANC to approach the process.

Asked about his constituency, he said: "I will not accept a portfolio which says you are going to be the ANC's coloured attraction."

He said he would address his concerns about the ANC/SACP alliance once he had joined the ANC.

ANC flexible on interim government

~~11A~~
11A
ARG 5/7/91

DURBAN. — Hints that the ANC would be prepared to adopt a more flexible approach in its demand for an interim government to run the country during negotiations were given here by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani.

Mr Hani, often considered a hawk by the white establishment, yesterday rejected a rigid approach to negotiations, and expressed a preparedness to consider other proposals offered at the negotiation table.

Asked at a Press briefing whether he considered an interim government "an absolute non-negotiable", he replied: "I would prefer not to use the word 'absolute'.

"We should never absolutise anything.

"The interim government is the position of the ANC and it wants to discuss that with other parties.

"We will go to the negotiation table with that position, but we will listen to other positions put by the government, the PAC, Inkatha and the homelands."

Reports by Political
Correspondent MICHAEL
MORRIS and Political Staff
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN.

While the ANC believed an interim government offered an important solution to the problems of handling the transition to a new order, he added: "We want to know from other interested parties how they hope to handle the process of transition, and in that process of talks, something that might not be quite what the ANC proposes might emerge.

"You never know what will emerge. You never close your ears to other suggestions.

"The ANC is not going to prescribe to other groups. We will keep an open mind and listen to the reasonable arguments of other groups."

He said he fully endorsed the ANC's commitment to negotiations and was not merely "paying lip service" to it.

Mr Hani acknowledged that his frankness might not always be popular.

(118)

ANC pastor's family shot dead

CT 5/7/91
JOHANNESBURG. — The wife, daughter and grandchild of a pastor and ANC education officer were gunned down on Wednesday night in the township of Boipatong near Vanderbijl Park.

Their house was then set alight.

The Rev Ernest Sotsu was at the African National Congress's 48th annual conference in Durban when he was told of the AK-47 rifle attack which killed his wife Constance, aged 49, daughter Margaret, 33, and his grandson Goodwill.

Sebokeng Hospital superintendent Dr

Anne van der Spuy said that Goodwill, who was about four years old, had died on the operating table after being admitted with bullet wounds.

Two other Sotsu youngsters injured in the attack, Vuyani and Vusi, were in a stable condition after treatment for bullet wounds.

The children were being protected because of inquiries as to their whereabouts. "We have put them safely in hospital," said Dr Van der Spuy.

● Five people — including members of the Sotsu family — were killed and 10

injured in three incidents of violence on Wednesday, the police unrest report said yesterday.

One man was killed and three were wounded when gunmen fired a number of rounds at them in Guguletu.

Another man was shot dead and four others were wounded when shots were fired at two homes at Gamalakhe near Port Shepstone.

On Wednesday, police arrested a man and seized a shotgun, a pistol and ammunition at a hostel in Kathlehong, Germiston. — Japa

CP 5/17/91

Hani rejects 'individual' claim

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), yesterday denied that he had ever played a role "as an individual" in the detention of people in ANC camps.

He said the role he had played was as a soldier in defeating a mutiny in 1984 at Quatro camp in Angola.

Mr Hani told a press briefing at the ANC's conference here that rebels had taken over the camp, killing ten ANC members, and "it was only natural for the ANC

to assert its authority".

Britain or the United States would have done the same.

"As a soldier, I had to participate in crushing a mutiny against the ANC. That was my role and that was my only role."

The detention of enemy agents was handled by ANC's security wing and he was not involved in this aspect of the ANC's work. ANC members and rebels had died outside South Africa for a number of reasons, including clashes with Unita and natural causes such as malaria.

"When we have time we will come up

with figures and statistics as to who was killed and when."

Mr Hani said that the ANC had now released all its detainees.

"The ANC is no longer holding a single prisoner. Everybody is free."

All that remained was for former detainees to be transported to areas where they wanted to go.

During the briefing, Mr Hani also acknowledged that the ANC had probably not paid enough attention to MK members still outside the country, but he denied charges that they had been neglected.

Memorial service for ^(1/A) ^(2/D) Azapo's Muntu Myeza

THE Azanian People's Organisation will hold a memorial service in honour of its former defence secretary Mr Muntu Myeza in Soweto on Sunday.

Azapo Soweto branch chairperson Mr Monwabisi Duna told Sowetan that the service would be held at the Modisha Yo Botse Church in Zone 4, Diepkloof, starting at 1pm.

Myeza died on July 3 1990 on his way from Bloemfontein under mysterious circumstances

^{Sowetan 5/7/91}
when his car veered off the road at about 8pm.

He was discovered the following morning by a young girl who then summoned help.

Tribute

He was certified dead on arrival at the hospital.

At the time of his death, Myeza had been the longest serving member of Azapo's central committee and served in the post of publicity secretary for a number of successive terms.

Paying tribute to

Myeza at his funeral, former Azapo president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, said: "It would be an unpardonable betrayal not to mention that above all Muntu Myeza was a black person respected by both blacks and whites.

"For even white people respect a genuine black person; white people do not respect non-persons."

Duna said speakers would come from Azasco, Azasm, Imbeleko Women's Organisation and trade unions.

Bop party plans to join the ANC

THE PEOPLE'S Progressive Party, which has been banned in Bophuthatswana, plans to join the ANC.

However, the PPP said it would seek affiliation rather than be absorbed.

Spokesman Mr Mika Moeti said members were advised to join the ANC but to remain members of PPP.

He said he believed the ANC was the party which was going to become the next government.

The PPP would pur-

South Africa 5/7/91.
By GRACE RAPHOLO

sue a stand that was non-racial, non-sexist, unitary and in alignment with a new South Africa, said Moeti.

He said the PPP, which has 400 000 members, is considering registering as a political party in South Africa and not in Bophuthatswana because the party sees itself as part of South Africa and has a role to play in the negotiation process.

Moeki said his party wants to emphasise that it strongly abhors the humiliation caused Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing who had been indemnified and granted a visa by the Government, but was arrested by the SAP when he arrived at the weekend. ~~PPP~~ (11A)

Responding to the statement by Bophuthatswana Minister of Justice, Mr Godfrey Mothibe, that his government was lodging an extradition application with the South African government, he said it was ironical that this happened when South Africa was releasing its political prisoners and indemnifying exiles.

ANC claim shocks us says Asro

By MONK NKOMO

THE Saulsville/Atteridgeville Interim Committee yesterday said it had been "shocked" by recent official announcements that the local civic organisation was aligned to the ANC.

In a statement released yesterday Mr Nkosi Molala, liaison officer of SAIC, said: "Residents' organisations can ill afford ideological affinities because nowhere do we find in residents, uniformity of political affiliation."

SAIC was reacting to an article in *Sowetan* last Friday, in which the general secretary of the Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents' Organisation, Mr Simon Tshidi, admitted that the civic organisation was "leaning towards the ANC".

Organisation

Molala said a residents' organisation which was affiliated to a political organisation "does not only cease to represent all residents, but also turns into a political organisation and, without really meaning to do so, actually divides the community it sets out to serve".

The SAIC, which negotiated the reconnection of electricity last month after agreeing to an interim flat rate of R90 a month with the local Administrator, Dr Ernie Jacobson, said: "We either stick to the R50 monthly flat rate, plunge ourselves into darkness or pay the R90 flat rate, retain the electricity supply and negotiate areas of concern. The choice is ours to make."

Govt is keep on ANC debate

11A
Sowetan
5/7/91

THE South African Government was following the proceedings and statements of the ANC closely and with interest, a senior spokesman said yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed the ANC conference as it was important that the ANC should have the opportunity to discuss its policies, positions and leadership issues.

Until this happened, the ANC would not be able to move forward into proper negotiations.

"The Government is watching developments with intense interest, taking note of the statements and positions during the conference."

Government officials had studied the opening statements by ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela with great care.

The Government was reluctant to comment on everything that came out of the conference as it did not want to be seen to be interfering.

'Ordinary people killed apartheid'

11A
~~2021~~

Sowetan 577191.

CRITICS of apartheid who dismissed changes in the country as insignificant denied the achievement of ordinary blacks who non-violently caused racist laws to crumble.

In the second edition of *South Africa Silent Revolution* Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, argues that ordinary

people, rather than political organisations, sanctions or State President FW de Klerk, contributed more to the scrapping of racist laws.

The *Sowetan* Nation Building programme was a revolt against the myth of black helplessness, against what amounted to a view that the only good black was a powerless black - exploited and exiled and dependent on foreign fundings, Kane-

Berman said.

The late Mr Sam Mabe, who was Assistant Editor of *Sowetan*, was quoted as saying: "I am sick and tired of people using apartheid as an excuse for not doing anything for themselves."

Kane-Berman said apartheid legislation was scrapped when the Government realised the laws were not enforceable.

MK to be an ordinary army

Sowetan 5/7/91



By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

STEPS are being taken to transform the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from a guerrilla army to a more conventional army.

MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday told delegates in the ANC's conference in Durban that the army in a new South Africa had to serve society.

Under a new dispensation, political parties will not be allowed to have private armies. There will be a single army - which would hopefully be made up of MK, the South African Defence Force, the military wings of the PAC, Apla, and of the Black Consciousness Movement, Azanla, Hani said.

Rumours

The MK chief was commenting on rumours that his army was being "retrained".

He also said that the ANC was committed to the agreements in the



CHRIS HANI

Pretoria Minute, which included the suspension of armed struggle.

This week's conference will stress the importance of negotiations. He agreed that a multi-party conference was the next step, but added that the biggest stumbling

block to an MPC was the violence in the country.

In this regard the ANC has encouraged people to establish defence units.

MK would not be used as defence units, but they had a role to play in instructing people, Hani said.

Warning

"Defence units must not entrench the hegemony of political organisations. They will not be defence units of the ANC. They will serve the community," Hani said.

He warned that the ANC would not allow defence units to degenerate into vigilante groups.

Turning to the present race for elections to the top five position as office bearers in the ANC, Hani said that if he were to be nominated from the floor he would not stand.

There was still a lot of work to be done in the organisation and in MK, Hani said.

MK receives homage, but is it a sop?

THE legend of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) has permeated and inspired this week's African National Congress conference.

In the speeches on the opening day, the 2 000 delegates burst into applause every time MK was mentioned and in his address, deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This conference should pay homage to all the commanders and combatants of MK who laid down their lives and made other invaluable sacrifices that have brought us where we are today."

Mandela also insisted that the ANC had "not terminated the armed struggle. Whether it is deployed inside the country or outside, Umkhonto weSizwe ... has a responsibility to keep itself in a state of readiness in case the forces of counter-revolution once more block the path to a peaceful transition of a democratic society."

But is Mandela acknowledging a real role to be played by the ANC's army, or was this comment merely a diplomatic but insubstantial sop to an MK that is known to be discontent?

Many members of MK believe that their role has been sidelined since negotiations began, and that, even though they are supposed to be "deployed", lack of funds and lack of commitment from leadership have rendered them impotent.

A strong MK delegation is present at the conference and, while MK commander and ANC head of special projects Tokyo Sexwale commented that "we are here to look specifically at MK issues", he did acknowledge that the cadres present were to decide on "the type and nature of support that MK would give to the negotiations process" and that the army did have specific concerns it would raise, among them the welfare of demobilised soldiers and the role that MK would play in a national army.

But Sexwale is adamant that "MK is committed to the negotiations process. If not, you would have seen terrifying mutiny, you would

w/mant 5/7-11/7/91.
The ANC cannot afford to leave discontented Umkhonto weSizwe cadres out in the cold, reports **MARK GEVISSER**



Chris Hani

have seen bombs blowing up all over South Africa. But there hasn't been one incident since the ANC announced its suspension of the armed struggle."

Other MK delegates have commented that while they have obeyed suspension orders, they are unhappy with concessions made in the negotiations process. They told *The Weekly Mail* they would raise the issue of accountability: isolated in the camps in Uganda and the "forward areas" surrounding South Africa, they feel they have been left out of the thought process behind negotiations.

"Our leaders have made some mistakes," one said, "and we feel that they made these mistakes because they didn't consult widely enough. Mandela might say publically that we are still deployed, but if our role isn't clarified at this conference, it will be impossible for us

to continue operating.

MK commander Chris Hani admitted that "because of the preoccupation with the talks, we probably have not paid enough attention to the cadres in the camps". But, he added, it must be remembered that "those talks led to the release of MK cadres from prisons".

Hani said MK was in the process of being transformed into a conventional army. "Only a professional army will be competent to man a future democratic order. MK is preparing to be part of this."

And Sexwale emphasised that "upgrading and recruiting of MK soldiers is continuing" in preparation for this professional army. "We have 15 different armies running around South Africa. If we don't integrate them soon, there will be carnage here — a bloody civil war."

He maintained that the integration of armies was a logical outcome of the negotiation process. "If peace is a national desire, General Magnus Malan has no choice as an individual but to fall in line with the general trend."

Sexwale said that "MK will push very hard for the establishment of an integrated national army, but this is not a precondition for a settlement." Other MK delegates, however, said they would try to persuade the conference to make this non-negotiable.

If the conference were to adopt this stance, it could serve to polarise the ANC and the government further on the issue of MK's role.

Minister for constitutional development Gerrit Viljoen said earlier this week that the "dirtiest" comment he could make about the ANC's commitment to peace was that MK was still mobilised. With government holding this position, the issue of MK can only remain a stumbling block in the negotiations process and, unless the conference translates its obvious emotional support for the ANC's army into a clear policy, the army will continue to be sidelined.

Gqozo purges ANC from the airwaves

W/ Mail 5/7-11/7/91

By FRANZ KRUGER: Grahamstown

THE "Bisho Spring" is over at Radio Ciskei, where military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has barred mention of any political groups he doesn't like.

While Ciskei officials flatly denied that such a ban had been declared, it is clearly reflected in minutes of a June 22 meeting involving top management, the programmes section and the news team, which were obtained by *Weekly Mail* reporters.

The minutes said there was "an urgent need to change programmes due to a call from the head of state and Cabinet of dissatisfaction on our news and programmes content".

Among the resolutions taken were that the station would now be "highly musical", and that there would be "no mention whatsoever of any political organisation including PAC, ANC, Azapo, etc."

Yet, at the same time, Gqozo is attempting to expand the station's audience.

He has been involved in discussions with the SABC to have the station's signal extended right across the Cape, to reach Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The move is being linked to reports that Gqozo is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party. Sources close to Radio Ciskei say the extended listenership, coupled with tight control over content, will be used to boost the party.

Observers point to the similarity in name with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and to Gqozo's sympathies with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They believe the party is intended to build a base for Gqozo to pit against the ANC, and earn him a place at the negotiating table.

The Ciskei government has so far been silent on the party, but there have been many reports of recruitment going on in the rural areas, and of membership cards being printed in Dimbaza in black, green and gold.

The chief executive of Radio Ciskei, Fikile Lubisi, confirmed a meeting was held late last week to discuss the extension of the Radio Ciskei's signal.

Lubisi said the Radio Ciskei delegation, which included military ruler Brigadier Gqozo, had met "top brass" of the SABC. He said he was optimistic the request would be granted.

In response to a series of faxed questions, the SABC's chief executive of radio, Carel van der Merwe, said only that the Ciskei Broadcasting Corporation "has approached the SABC with certain proposals. We are discussing it in consultation with Foreign Affairs".

Lubisi denied the move had anything to do with the Ciskei Freedom Party.

"Our sole intention is to boost revenue which will result in less dependence on government," Lubisi said.

The crackdown on Radio Ciskei comes after a series of conflicts between Gqozo and news staff. In February, news presenter Lindile Silimela was suspended on the direct orders of Gqozo for showing too little respect to him.

In April, disc jockey Mputumi Mafani was detained by Ciskei police for three days after allowing an official of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) to telephone in and announce a union meeting over the air.

During the visit of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in May, two news actuality presenters, Nomava Didiza and Mziwubanzi Tshikazana, were suspended for inviting Transkei ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa to comment on the visit. — Ecna.

● Sapa reports Gqozo as blaming "political opponents" of Ciskei for an incident in which soldiers forcibly removed Pan Africanist Congress leader Barney De-sai from Radio Ciskei studios last month.

CONFERENCE IN DURBAN

with me and 5/7-11/7/91

Bop is the main obstacle in ANC prisoner dispute

By GAVIN EVANS

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S nominal independence is threatening to become the key obstacle in the way of a resolution between the government and the African National Congress of the political prisoners dispute.

According to the Human Rights Commission at least 133 political prisoners are currently being held in the "independent homeland's" jails, 61 of them currently on hunger strike.

So far there have been no moves to release these people and the problem has been compounded by the Bophuthatswana government's application for the extradition of 1988 coup leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing — now an ANC member — who received indemnity from the SA government to attend the ANC conference in Durban.

ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus stressed that the movement saw no distinction between the Bophuthatswana political prisoners "and those held in the rest of South Africa", and placed responsibility for their release on Pretoria's shoulders.

The Malebane-Metsing arrest, which was ordered by the attorney-general's office following a Bophuthatswana request, seems to have taken the justice and foreign affairs departments by surprise. He was detained by police at Jan Smuts airport on Monday and later released on R100 bail to allow him to attend the Durban conference.

Metsing led the 1988 coup which briefly toppled the government of President Lucas Mangope, before the SADF restored their man to power.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela reiterated on Wednesday that there had been no agreement between the government and the ANC on the political prisoners issue. "For the ANC the issue will reach finality when all political prisoners are released," he said, adding that there were still over 900 political prisoners in South Africa.

But he added a note of optimism: "Productive discussions with the government are continuing through the relevant working group. The resolution of this obstacle is therefore not completely out of sight."

Thokoza risks new blackout

810 am 517191

THEO RAWANAN

THOKOZA township, which owes neighbouring Alberton R1.9m for electricity, risks being blacked out again, Thokoza town clerk Herman Combrinck said yesterday.

Three weeks ago electricity supply was restored to the township's 250 000 residents after a six-month blackout followed a 15-month rent boycott which had built up a R15m debt.

Residents last month signed an agreement covering June and July in which those with electrified homes undertook to pay R71 a month and other householders R25 a month for other services. But Combrinck said yesterday only 50% of residents had paid for services last month and only about 17% had honoured the agreement this month.

Hani, Maharaj differ on strategies of negotiation

810 am 517191

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BILLY PADDOCK

DURBAN — Two reputed ANC hardliners, Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj, yesterday expressed greatly differing views on the strategies used in, and results achieved from, the negotiation process.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Hani expressed strong commitment to the process during a media briefing at the ANC's national conference yesterday. He said murders of ANC and MK members by right-wing elements opposed to the process was no reason to withdraw from negotiations with government.

However, in a separate briefing, Operation Vula commander Maharaj said he believed the ANC had made far too many concessions to government and it had gained nothing in return.

He said the August 6 1990 decision to suspend armed action was seen as a sign of weakness by government.

Further hinting at the reasons behind the decision he took last year to retire from the ANC NEC, Maharaj said he believed the ANC had failed to adequately mobilise its membership in support of its strategic goals.

Maharaj has been nominated for re-election to the NEC and has agreed to stand, citing grassroots pressure on him to do so.

Hani said the ANC had to accept that its members were living with people who had been indoctrinated into believing apart-

heid would always exist. "They feel let down and some will use force to defend the status quo."

He called for an integrated defence force during the transition period, incorporating the SADF, Umkhonto and the armed movements of the PAC and other parties accountable to the interim government.

"The ANC cannot have a private army. A number of organisations have built up forces. We feel a need for an integrated force during the transition period that will be accountable to the government of the day. Umkhonto should be part of this."

Hani said the setting up of self defence units in the townships was in its initial stages but the ANC was worried about them degenerating into vigilante groups.

"We want very firm control, discipline and accountability." The units should not be used to maintain the domination of political organisations, he said.

Maharaj said government had yielded to pressure of the armed struggle and sanctions to engage in talks with the ANC. However, mass struggle should continue.

"We should actively pursue the talks about talks as a terrain of struggle and we should combine it with mass actions. This is not to destabilise the current position but because we still do not have the vote."

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Heated debate ends with scrapping of ANC's female quota

DURBAN — The most heated debate at the ANC national conference so far has led to the scrapping of a draft proposal for a quota system requiring that 30% of NEC members be women.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said a majority of delegates had decided that, while they supported the principle of affirmative action to advance the position of women, they did not think the quota system was the best way of handling it.

However, there had been "vehement" opposition to the decision.

Another official, Thiery Matala, said

that while a number of Women's League members were unhappy about the decision, many had supported it.

This view held that the quota proposal had achieved the goal of raising the issue of inadequate women's representation on leadership structures. However, there were obvious disadvantages to having people elected on a basis other than merit.

Elections for the top five ANC posts were scheduled to be completed by this evening, independent electoral commission head Charles Nupen said yesterday. The results for the remaining 50 NEC posts

8 Bay st 799 (11A)
ALAN FINE and
TIM COHEN

should be available by Sunday morning.

And it was announced that a sixth top position, that of national NEC chairman, was to be created. The sole candidate is Oliver Tambo, whose nomination was proposed by president-elect Nelson Mandela.

It was emphasised that the post was an active, not an honorary, one.

The field for the deputy presidency narrowed yesterday afternoon when international affairs director Thabo Mbeki declined nomination. This left the contest

between elder statesman Walter Sisulu and hardline SACP leader Harry Gwala.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa remained in the race for the position of secretary-general, but has declined nomination for deputy should he not be successful in the contest for the former position. Both other secretary-general hopefuls, Alfred Nzo and Jacob Zuma, were down to contest the junior position.

Incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi will be up against former London representative Mendi Msimang.

Nupen, director of the Independent Me-

proposal

mediation Service of SA (Imssa), said the elections would be managed by nine lawyers or legal academics, all members of the Imssa mediation panel with balloting training.

Allan Boesak yesterday announced he planned to join the ANC within a week but not in time to become eligible for election to the NEC. This was because he did not wish to set an undesirable precedent.

He said in discussions with ANC leaders he had been convinced that concerns which prevented him joining earlier could be remedied, but declined to elaborate. He also said he had been greatly impressed by the general direction of the conference.

American author Arthur Miller talks to Nelson Mandela about life, liberty and leadership

WHAT struck me strongly about Nelson Mandela in his American public appearances was the absence in him of any sign of bitterness. After more than 27 years with his nose against the bars he seemed uninterested in cursing out the whites who had put him there for the crime of demanding the vote in a country where his people outnumber their rulers by about six to one.

I suppose his rather majestic poise, unmarred by rancour, lowered white defensiveness to the point where reactionaries could join with liberals in applauding his speech to Congress. But such unanimous appreciation is bound to be suspect when an honest man can hardly please everyone with his views; after all, with all his charm and civility he was still the man who had organised the African National Congress's guerrilla force, for one thing.

Watching from a distance I had found him extraordinarily straightforward in his persistent refusal to pulverise his history to suit current American tastes, crediting communists for being the first whites to befriend his movement, sometimes at the risk of their lives. Likewise, he criticised Israel and in the same breath reminded us that the overwhelming majority of his earliest supporters had been Jews.

In short, he allows himself to remain complicated; with a grandson named Ghaddafi (which was not his idea, however), he has written that the highest expression of democracy is the British House of Commons and the best legal system the American, with its written Bill of Rights. To me in our interview he would say that he had never joined the Communist Party. He did not add that he had never been a Marxist, but whether or not he thought he had been, I judge that he sees people in all their variety of character and deed in the foreground of events, rather than as shadowy creatures manipulated by forces, as a Marxist usually must.

I agreed to a conversation with Mandela after much hesitation, lasting a couple of weeks. The whole thing had begun with a London phone call from one Beverly Marcus, through whose South African English I discerned that she had proposed to the BBC that they film Mandela and me talking about life rather than politics, and that Mandela was receptive to the idea because he had called a halt to any more interviews in which the same simple-minded questions would inevitably be asked.

Lacking a reporter's killer instinct or investigative techniques I was simply very curious about the roots of this man's unusual character. How does one manage to emerge from nearly three decades in prison with such hopefulness, such inner calm?

But my main impulse came out of my background in New York, a racially splintered city with more than 2 000 people murdered last year. It has next to no inspiring black leadership, and so Mandela's success or failure seemed far from an academic question for me. If he can lead his riven country into a multiracial democracy the ripples could rock New York, Chicago, Detroit — and London and Europe and Israel, where the most explosive social problem is ethnicity and its unmet, often incoherent demands.

South Africa was full of surprises, the first being the fact that Beverly Marcus's younger sister, Gill, is Nelson Mandela's veritable right hand and a spokesperson for the ANC, and the second, that their father was his accountant.

One can drive around the Cape and Cape Town and indeed South Africa end to end without the slightest awareness that the sanitised prosperity involves only five million of its 30 million inhabitants. The famous South African schizophrenia is not hard to understand. To be sure, the

The playwright and the politician



A MEETING OF MINDS ... Arthur Miller travelled to Soweto to interview Nelson Mandela

back pages of the papers display ads for razor wire with which to surround one's home, and the walls surrounding most whites' homes show a metal sign reading "Instant Armed Response", and in many areas you are instructed not to stop at red lights at night lest your car be hijacked. But you quickly get used to this palpable fear, just as we have in New York, where as a child in Harlem I always carried my belongings with me to the blackboard or they'd be gone when I got back to my seat.

But South Africa is unique; it has state socialism for the whites — until very recent privatisations, 60 percent of all jobs were in state enterprises — and fascism for the blacks. Still, by the time we got back to Johannesburg after five days in the country I felt the place strange but comprehensible as merely one more kingdom of denial, unusual mainly for the immense proportion of its majority ghettoised and stripped of all civil rights.

Mandela's new house in the middle of Soweto has been criticised by some as one of Winnie Mandela's ostentations, standing as it does in the midst of the Soweto slum. Actually, donations built it. And there is a scattering of other quite good middle-class homes in the midst of the squalor, since the few successful middle-class blacks have been barred from white areas along with the poor. It is all part of a hopeless muddle of a modern technological state trying to sustain the most primitive, chest-pounding, Nazi master-race dogmas.

From the outside the Mandela house seems less elaborate than odd, a large chesty configuration of obliquely angular brick walls, an impromptu sort of construction until one is inside and realises that it is a kind of fortress, its vulnerable dining and living rooms with their glass doors protected by a deep brick veranda.

Our crew was stringing its cables out; Gill Marcus was already on the phone; the floors and walls seemed covered with gifts, trophies and bric-a-brac; and now Winnie was here, explaining that she would not be eating with us because Nelson kept watching her calories and she liked to eat what she liked.

Renowned playwright Arthur Miller was curious about Nelson Mandela's 'unusual character'. He met the ANC leader at his home in Soweto

Mandela was not wearing one of his formal London suits but a collarless short-sleeved African blouse with a gold-embroidered yoke — a chief's blouse, it looked to me. Gill hoped he would relax with me, and after a while he did come quite close. But he is by nature a formal, conservative man who in a peaceful country would have been chief justice of its Supreme Court or perhaps the head of a large law firm. My first question to him — after he had walked out on his veranda and looked down at Soweto, the dumping ground for human beings — was how he had been raised.

At first he sat pressed against the back of his couch, somewhat on guard, having been cornered by interviewers who find it impossible to believe that he simply means what he says. He was the son of a chief, and one could see how serious it was to be a chief's son; he had been taught early on that he would have the responsibilities of governing and judging. Even now he straightened a bit as he told with pride how, when he was 10 and his father died, an uncle had taken over his education and his life. "My father occupied a position equivalent to that of prime minister in the tribe ... To me as a child the Transkei was the centre of the entire world ... The missionaries tried to destroy the belief in custom and they created the perception that we have no history or culture." And with an amused grin: "When the 1939 war began we felt we were loyal subjects of the British monarch. That was the atmosphere in which we were brought up."

And what went on inside you when the missionaries told you you had no history? "I'm not so sure I knew that. I had a history." And later, "I must confess that Africa remained a dark continent in that I knew very little about it and I knew better about Europe, especially Britain."

This meticulous specificity, and his staid, almost Victorian structure of

speech and demeanour suddenly had a root and expressed an innate authority which no doubt helped to keep him together through his prison decades. Mandela, to put it simply, is a chief.

And this may help explain why it has been so difficult for him to deign to confer with Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Zulus, who have recently been on the attack against the ANC Xhosa people. Buthelezi, it is felt, helped to justify apartheid by accepting the headship of a concocted homeland where his people were dumped.

The tribe, he insists, is basically an extended family. And in modern times there is no "natural" conflict between tribes, which are largely urbanised now, living side by side and intermarrying, joining the same unions and attending the same schools. It was the British and then the apartheid government that had always tried to tribalise Africa, pitting one against the other, setting up so-called homelands, newly founded territories that had never existed before. "There is one Africa and there will be one," Mandela said, creating a ball with his two hands.

The present conflict is "simply a conflict between two political organisations", a conflict that has failed to make headway in Soweto, as one example, because Soweto is more politically sophisticated rather than because the people are mainly Xhosa. "But when Zulus attack they never ask whether you are Zulu or something else, like the recent attack on people in the train, who do not sit according to tribes. They attack anyone."

And who would be interested in orchestrating these attacks?

He pauses before his answer, which goes to the heart of his hopes. "My belief is that Mr de Klerk wants South Africa to take a new direction, and it is therefore difficult ... to say that the government itself is orchestrating this violence."

De Klerk still has Mandela's confidence, it seems, but the miasma remains dense and impenetrable where some of his government's lower officials are concerned. Last July Mandela's people had gotten information that an Inkatha attack on a township

was being planned and had notified the police and higher officials. The attack came off, 30 were murdered, and the police did nothing to prevent it. "I immediately went to see De Klerk ... Why were they allowed to enter the township when we told you beforehand that this attack was coming? ... Mr de Klerk is a very smart man, a strong leader. He was unable to give me an answer." However, on the day of Mandela's visit to the scene of the slaughter De Klerk personally sent four helicopters and 500 police to protect him. And besides, "When you discuss with Mr de Klerk he seems to have a genuine sense of shock, unlike others."

And finally, "They have either lost control over certain elements of their security forces or those elements are doing precisely what the government wants ... They want to negotiate with a weakened ANC ... You are not dealing with tribal people from the countryside but people who are sophisticated in the use of weapons, who know how to move very swiftly with military precision ... There are efforts now to start the Renamo movement in South Africa."

I turned to a discussion of his prison time. He and his comrades had originally been assured by a prison officer that they'd be out in five years because the world was so outraged by their life sentences. But five years came and went. Winnie could visit only twice a year; his children were growing up with no father. Here his face showed pain at his inability to protect his family — the helplessness desecrated his chiefly role.

Government harassment of Winnie was driving her out of one job after another until "there were certain moments when I wondered whether I had taken the correct decision of getting committed to the struggle. But at the end of these hesitations with myself I would feel that I had taken the right decision ... The certainty of our final victory was always there. Of course I sometimes became very angry when I thought about the persecution of my wife and that I could not give her the support she needed. I felt powerless."

His vulnerability was plain here, but over it his hardness flared. This was as close as he was able to come to acknowledging what must have been the loss of hope for release before he died; instead he preferred to find something positive to emphasise. When the world began to forget him and all black movements were suppressed, the government restated that a life sentence meant life, "but in the English universities they came all-out to oppose these harsh measures ... People tend to forget the contribution that was made by the National Union of South African Students, which was a white organisation."

This was not an opportune, upbeat recollection but his ultimate vision of a nonracial South Africa. I am convinced it is more than a tactic to recognise the absolute future need for whites who have advanced education and business prowess. It was striking how he never seemed to categorise people by race or even class, and that he spontaneously tended to cite good men even among the enemy.

"That came from my prison experience. It gets very cold on Robben Island and we had no underwear. Some warders went strictly by regulations — you were allowed two blankets. But another warder would slip you an extra one. I made some good friends among the warders; some of them visit me now."

In fact, toward the end of his imprisonment he ran "Mandela University" on Robben Island, and white warders were among his pupils. But there wasn't time to talk about this. We'd scheduled two sessions and at the last minute had to settle for one because he had to rush off to deal with the murders going on all over the place and the government's inability — or unwillingness — to keep order.

The Nation

It's Blood River II as ANC is outbid

Conservative farmers and the African National Congress bid against each other to buy a small Transvaal village this week. The farmers won — but denied there were political overtones to the auction. **By DREW FORREST**

UNDER the blue and white marquee, men with the leathery necks and forearms of farmers are slapping backs, shaking hands and embracing one another.

"It's like Blood River," enthuses Walter Beyer, who owns 70 morgen nearby. "It shows what white people can do when they stand together."

"*Dankie ou swaar, ou kerels!*" a big-bellied, florid-faced reveller shouts over the heads of the assembled pressmen.

A Conservative Party by-election victory? A court judgment against squatters?

In fact, the cause of the jubilation is an auction, and the object of the general gratitude a Pretoria advocate, Danie Heyns — now the provisional owner of 775ha at Grootvlei, near the Transvaal-Free State border.

With the help of his negotiator, local pharmacist Gert Viljoen, Heyns has just purchased land belonging to Anglo American's now-defunct Springfield colliery for a cool R4,6-million. Included in the deal is a mine compound — politely described in the auctioneer's brochure as "a high-density complex" — a village for white miners, a dam and an 18-hole golf course.

His under-bidder was the African National Congress — in the person of lawyer Ismail Ayob — which had re-



BLOOD RIVER II ... Conservative farmers celebrate after defeating the African National Congress at the auction of a now-defunct Anglo American mine

Photograph: GUY ADAMS

portedly targeted the property for returning exiles.

Heyns was adamant that politics played no role in the transaction. "This is a purely commercial deal," he insist-

ed. "I'm not even a member of a political party."

His aim, he said, was to "breathe new life into Grootvlei". A town would be developed and proclaimed, and the

houses sold, with first option going to the current residents.

The dam, golf course and tennis courts could also draw weekend trippers from the Reef.

His collaborator, Viljoen, was equally insistent that race and politics were not the issue.

"Black and white people built Grootvlei with their sweat," he said. "None of them wants to move."

While some locals may have been concerned about an ANC presence, others were just as worried that no one would bid for the property, he said.

For the audience at the auction — local whites had gathered at Springfield from miles around — the sale appeared in a different light. "*Op die boere!*" went up the cry, as the auctioneer clinched the deal.

"This part of the country is white South Africa," declared Conservative Party MP for Standerton, Rosier de Ville, who had put in an appearance.

"This is a very important day: we have shown the ANC that they cannot survive against the Boer people."

The CP had distributed pamphlets in the area warning that those who bought property there "did so at their own risk".

"We will do everything in our power to persuade the new owners to sell only to whites," De Ville added.

Not all the locals saw the auction as a political battlefield.

"I'm just happy because facilities which have been here for years will stay in the community," said Gerhard Pieters.

But the prevailing mood was summed up by farmer Beyer, a former "South-Wester" now in his eighties: "If the ANC sets up a fort here, we'd be looted out of house and home.

"And they would undermine our employees. We wouldn't live a moment in peace."

Compromise over quota of women

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LEAD MAN: Nelson Mandela, the ANC's president-to-be

AN initiative proposed by the African National Congress Women's League — that there be a 30 percent quota of women on the National Executive Committee — was shelved yesterday after the hottest and most controversial debate yet in the conference.

After fierce debate about the quota of women on the NEC a compromise was reached at the ANC conference.

By **MARK GEVISSER** and **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

A compromise resolution supporting affirmative action for women was accepted instead. Even though the Women's League proposal had the support of the current NEC and many regions, including the PWV, most delegates did not see the need to establish a quota.

earlier this year, the league decided to demand the institution of a 30 percent quota. Initially, the Women's League proposed that at least 30 percent of the nominations should be women, but it had since firmed up its demand to insist that the quota should be applied to electees and not just nominations.

In hours-long debate spilling over from Wednesday night to Thursday morning, women delegates were pitted against men over this resolution, and movement leaders were forced to take sides on a potentially divisive issue. Women's League secretary-general Baleka Kgositsile said that "although we are not entirely satisfied with the outcome, it is a good thing that it has generated this amount of debate. We have made our point."

Twenty-five of the 104 nominees proposed by Thursday for 45 NEC positions are, in fact, women, and most delegates felt that this was as far as affirmative action should go. They think that any quota system is abhorrent, and that leaders should be elected on merit alone. Some members seemed to think that it would be misconstrued as "group rights" and be used against the movement.



OLIVER TAMBO ... Saluted Women's League

Mandela's director of research and an NEC candidate, Dr Frene Ginwala, added that "in no stage of our history has the consciousness of gender been raised and argued so substantially. That in itself is important." The Women's League delegates are, however, bitterly disappointed. On Wednesday night, they were so angry that they threatened to abstain from voting and to walk out of the conference.

Ginwala responded however that "affirmative action is not about protection of privilege". She commented that although the ANC leadership had taken "very advanced positions on gender issues, they had not had the time to actually engage and educate the membership". She said the process of educating the membership would have to continue.

And Patrick "Terror" Lekota, an active supporter of the quota, publicly upbraided Nelson Mandela for being undemocratic when he proposed, in the interests of unity, that a separate caucus decide the issue.

ANC spokesperson Saki Macozoma said "there was a feeling that if you commit to a percentage, it can be very inflexible. But if you commit yourself to a principle, you can find more appropriate ways of implementing it". Some women felt that the quota would "ghettoise" them — and put a ceiling on the number of women elected.

Even Adelaide Tambo, who is not a delegate, became involved in the debate when she stood up and declared that 30 percent was already a compromise and that women should insist on at least 50 percent.

The debate seems to be around the following: is it enough that consciousness has been raised around the issue of gender-representation, or is there an imperative to make sure that women actually do serve on the NEC? Many men claim to be worried that women who are not qualified will be elected because of the quota — but some of the most effective and competent nominees for the NEC are in fact women: Cheryl Carolus, Freine Ginwala, Barbara Hogan, Lindiwe Mabuzza, Barbara Masekela, Thenjiwe Mthintso. It remains to be seen whether these women will be elected anyway, now that there isn't a quota to help them.

In his opening address on Tuesday, ANC president Oliver Tambo said that "we salute the ANC Women's League for steadfastly championing our cause and particularly the largely unresolved issue of women's emancipation".

But even though ANC leaders say "non-sexist" every time they say "non-racial", the Women's League maintains that gender discrimination has to be fought first and foremost within the ANC itself: you can't have an almost entirely male leadership calling for women's emancipation, and so, at its conference in Kimberley

Ginwala commented, however, that more women had been nominated from the floor yesterday after the debate and the compromise resolution.



IN SUPPORT: Visiting dignitary Father Trevor Huddleston

Photographs: PETER MCKENZIE

SOUTH AFRICA stood on the brink of talks for a new constitution this week as a regenerated African National Congress emerged from its national conference ready and determined to move speedily to negotiations and a democratic South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, soon to be installed as ANC president, delivered one of the most important speeches of his political life at the opening of the conference, laying out the ANC's vision of the country's path to democracy. "We do not want a long-drawn or endless process with regard to this matter," Mandela said, indicating that the ANC would move with speed into the negotiations and beyond. "The sooner power transfers into the hands of the people, the better."

The conference has a businesslike, almost sober mood, in contrast to the toyi-toyiing exuberance of last December's consultative conference in Soweto. However, with substantive

No time to toyi-toyi

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talks looming, there is a strong feeling among delegates that the ANC has to design tougher strategies to push the government along.

This view is likely to be underlined by the election to top office of many former "internal" activists of the Mass Democratic Movement, whose political baptism was in the mass struggles of the eighties.

Mac Maharaj, who returned from retirement this week to seek almost certain election to the new NEC, said the strategy of mass mobilisation should be combined with negotiations "not simply as an exercise to combine the two, but because we still don't have the vote".

The 26-member National Working Committee team — the inner cabinet that will run the ANC on a day to day

The ANC got down to business at its Durban conference, where Nelson Mandela said the organisation wanted speedy negotiations.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

basis — looks set to be both mandated and committed to the negotiations, but also much more militant and dynamic in its approach.

Mandela's speech on Tuesday put flesh on the ANC's statement in January calling for an All-Party Congress (APC) to kick off the constitutional talks. Three things still stand in the way of the APC — the release of the political prisoners and agreements on the return of all exiles and on ways to

curb and monitor the violence. Sources here have indicated that these obstacles could be cleared within weeks. Mandela confirmed on the political prisoners issue that "productive discussions" were continuing and that "the resolution of this obstacle is, therefore, not completely out of sight".

Agreement between the government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees on the return of the exiles — which would eliminate that obstacle — is expected any day. That leaves only the neutrally-convened violence summit, expected in August, and the conclusion of agreements on codes of conducts for the security forces and all political parties, and mechanisms such as an independent group to monitor the vio-

Full speed for talks

A CLEAR SIGNAL FROM THE ANC CONFERENCE IS THAT GETTING TALKS MOVING IS TOP PRIORITY

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK in Durban

A BUSINESSLIKE and confident-looking African National Congress made it clear at its national conference in Durban this week that it was ready and determined to move speedily to negotiations.

The conference was sober, in contrast with the toyi-toying exuberance of last December's consultative conference in Soweto. But it took South Africa closer to talks of a new constitution. The ANC appeared likely to emerge from its deliberations regenerated and showing it is prepared to move with speed into the negotiations and beyond.

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were virtually assured the two top places in the ANC as a major battle loomed for the post of secretary general.

With the announcement of final nominations yesterday, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki withdrew from the contest for deputy president. This leaves the way open for the 79-year-old Sisulu, facing only hard-liner Harry Gwala, who is expected to be trounced in the election on Friday morning.

The three-way contest for secretary general is the most keenly fought of the elections. National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma and the incumbent Alfred Nzo are all still in the running.

Ramaphosa has pulled out of the contest for the fall-back position of deputy secretary-general, leaving Zuma and Nzo to face former United Democratic Front secretary general Popo Molefe.

• See PAGES 4 and 5



Photograph: GUY ADAMS

Why does the dog bite the man? Because the man joined a peaceful protest

SECONDS ago, this man was part of an orderly placard protest in front of John Vorster Square, calling for charges against union leaders to be dropped.

There were no stones, no burning effigies, no threats to passersby, no attempts to obstruct the traffic.

Then came an unintelligible warning over a loud-hailer ... followed by the dog charge.

First a woman was dragged to the pavement by a dog. Two fleeing protesters collided and fell in the middle of the road.

And then the elderly man at left tumbled to the ground, his spectacles flying, the right sleeve of his jacket torn off by a police dog.

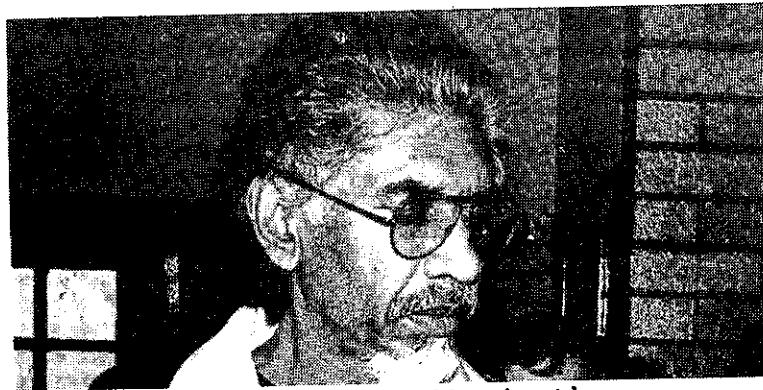
Within seconds, the area outside police headquarters was cleared. Bystanders with bloodied tissues tried to staunch the wounds of the injured woman.

"It was obvious that these people were pushing up emotions and obstructing the sidewalk," explained police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman. The crowd had twice been warned to disperse before dogs were used.

Full story: See overleaf

as ANC talks talks

11A



Mac Maharaj ... 'We still don't have the vote'

lence.

A conference of "patriotic forces", due in August, could see the ANC attempting to open the way for the participation of other liberation move-

ments, such as the Pan Africanist congress and Azapo.

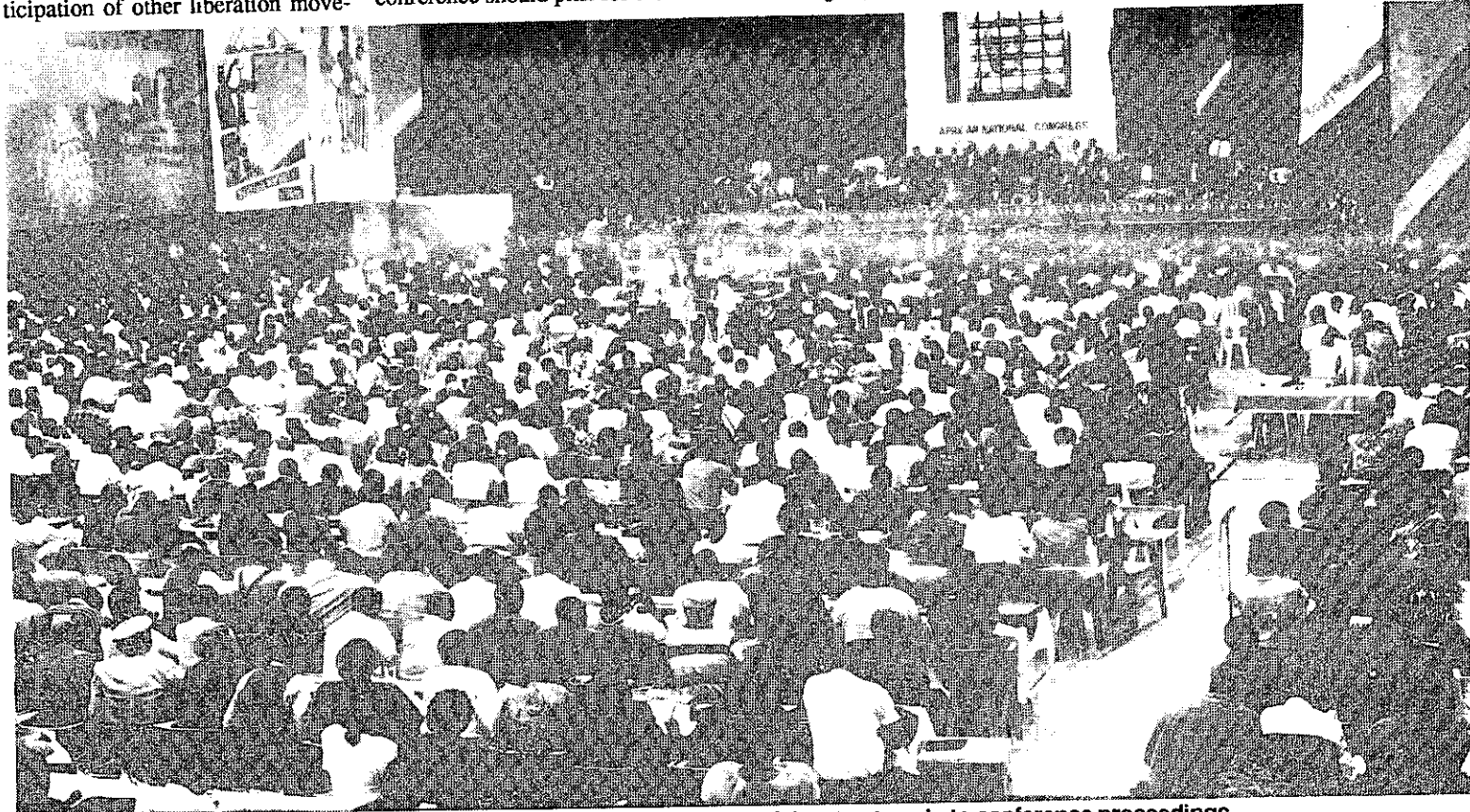
Mandela said on Tuesday that the conference should plan for the APC

W/M of 5/7-11/7/91.
"sooner rather than later" and "therefore approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency". The APC — to which everyone from the Conservative Party to Azapo and the PAC will be invited — will discuss the constitutional principles for a new South Africa and the mechanism for the actual drawing up of the new constitution. interim "government of national unity" can precede an election for a constituent assembly. The government has already moved on this point, indicating that it would be prepared to bring members of other political parties into the cabinet during the transition. This would push the main sticking point — the constituent assembly — to the bottom of the line, adding speed to the negotiations. This is one of the

issues to be tackled by the APC. If the agreement on the constitutional principles and a Bill of Rights is made at the APC, this could remove many of the A crucial new element is acceptance by the ANC that the formation of an areas of contention from the constituent assembly, which would simply flesh out principles already agreed upon.

The ANC signalled that all of the transition issues were negotiable. Chris Hani, MK Chief of Staff, signalled the overwhelming readiness of the ANC for negotiations yesterday. "You never know what is going to emerge from the negotiating table," he said.

The ANC, said Mandela, was already starting to look at the broad outlines of its policies as a future government. "The matter should not be underestimated that all our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us the responsibility," Mandela said.



MASS ACTION: Under the serried banners of the ANC's regions, 2 000 delegates tune in to conference proceedings.

Photos: PETER MCKENZIE

A SENIOR ANC official has brought into the open the problem of the organisation's long-standing alliance with the SA Communist Party.

According to reports, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Alfred Nzo, raised in his report tabled at the movement's 48th national conference in Durban, the problems that the ANC faces.

One of them was the alliance with the SACP.

Nzo identified the alliance with the SACP as a problem for the ANC when it came to building membership.

Dr Allan Boesak, a nominee for a position on the ANC's national executive committee, has also raised the question of the alliance.

Alliance is a problem - Nzo

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By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

It has been reported that Boesak was approached to join the ANC by top leadership, but he has declined to do so because, he said, the constituency he represents, the people in the Boland, was uncomfortable with the presence of communists in the ANC and the alliance itself.

Commenting on the is-

sue, Mr Mac Maharaj, a member of the SACP's central committee and ANC executive, said that there has only been a "perception of a problem".

He said that Boesak's constituency was small in relation to the rest of the country.

He said that confining the course of the future to

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a particular constituency was hindering progress.

"You may lose more votes in the Boland, but I'm not sure how many votes you will lose in Soweto," Maharaj said.

Mr Sakkie Macozoma of the ANC's department of information and publicity yesterday said that "it was a problem among problems" which the conference will discuss.

"But don't raise your hopes. There won't be a

special session to discuss the perceived problem of the alliance," Macozoma said.

This was the first time that a senior member of the ANC has mentioned the "problem" of the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

The American government has recently, because of the alliance, decided to withhold millions of dollars which it had promised the ANC.

'Mystery' (11A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

tection there." (25)

The daily said that Paris sent an official to Mr Mandela on May 2 to make it clear that "Mr Guenon is not a French agent in any way". In addition, Mr Mandela was also warned to beware of him.

The report said that Mr Guenon, with Mr Mandela's blessing, arrived in Paris 10 days ago accompanied by ANC leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Sivulé Haiya. They were the guests of SAGEM, who paid their air fares and all additional expenses.

Their visit was the logical outcome of an earlier trip here two months ago, also organ-

ised by Mr Guenon, Liberation reported.

On this occasion, Mr Sexwale headed a delegation comprised of four ANC men and Transkei President General Bantu Holomisa. Mr Sexwale told Liberation on June 20 that the aim of the visit was "mainly to seek SAGEM aid in training ANC cadres".

He explained that "the Groote Schuur accord does not prevent the ANC from having its militants given military training outside South Africa."

Liberation commented that: "This explains the presence of General Holomisa."

It wondered whether the ANC was seeking to have its armed branch trained in Transkei, with its officers sent on courses to Paris.

Star 6/17/79

Soviet 'bear' has advice for SA Communist Party

Star 6/7/91

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

DURBAN — "The SA Communist Party has a right to make its own mistakes — but not to repeat ours." This pithy advice to the SACP comes from no less an authority than the top Soviet official who has "minded" the African National Congress and SACP for 23 years.

The ANC chief contact person in the USSR since 1969, Dr Vladimir Shubin, head of the Africa section in the Soviet Union's Communist Party and member of the Central Committee, is visiting South Africa for the first time this week to attend the ANC's national congress here.

He was given one of the loudest ovations by the 2 000 delegates when the many foreign visitors were introduced to them.

The USSR has sent a four-man delegation, others being the head of its interest section in SA, Dr Alexei Makarov and two members of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee — the ANC's chief point of Soviet contact.

Dr Shubin, a big bear of a man, looks like a caricature of a Russian, but scoffs at what he regards as stereotype images and perceptions of the Soviet Union's role in South Africa.

He guffaws at the "total on-

slaught" perception that the USSR was the sinister puppet-master manipulating the ANC in order to seize South Africa.

Even under Brezhnev, he claims, the USSR had no designs on SA's strategic minerals, as successive National Party governments used to proclaim from election platforms.

But he concedes that Mr Gorbachev's perestroika policy, with its termination of the USSR's military involvement in regional conflicts, contributed to the unbanning of the ANC and SACP.

It helped South Africans overcome the "bogeyman" image of the USSR as leader of a total onslaught on SA.

"After that it became easier for whites here to accept that the Soviet Union was a country of peace and political settlement."

He says white SA has wrongly characterised the relationship between the USSR and the ANC as almost entirely military.

In fact it extended much further, with scholarships to attend Soviet universities, medical treatment for Umkhonto we Sizwe ca-

sualties in the war with the SA Government, and material help in building schools such as the Solomon Mahlangu school in Tanzania.

On current relations, he dismisses suggestions that the rapidly-reforming Soviet Communist Party has become embarrassed by the still-doctrinaire SACP.

Rather than damaging relations with the SACP, perestroika has enhanced them, he says, and has made the dialogue between them "more profound."

It is "nonsense" to suggest that the USSR has snubbed ANC leader Nelson Mandela by putting off two planned visits to Moscow.

The tendency in SA to brand SACP chief Joe Slovo as a Stalinist is a big joke, he says.

"He was always a very sober politician, very critical of the mistakes of (pre-perestroika) communism."

"Cave anti-communism" is Dr Shubin's colourful epithet for what he regards as the local vilification of the SACP and Mr Slovo.

He says that the USSR/ANC relationship has been wrongly characterised as a dependent one of patron to client.

He claims it is rather a relationship of equals — and says that other countries such as Sweden



"MINDER" OF THE ANC: Dr Vladimir Shubin, visiting South Africa for the first time this week.

and Norway have probably given more support to the ANC than has the USSR.

Dr Shubin claims that his party "does not advise the fraternal parties" — such as the SACP — on policy. (Except, of course, to suggest it should not repeat the mistakes of Soviet communism.)

The USSR is interested only in seeing a non-racial democracy being established here, he avers.

It is for South Africans to decide on their own economic system. He observes that nowhere in its official documents, does the ANC proclaim its policy as socialism.

However, Dr Makarov is unable

to say whether the ANC and SACP approved of the Soviet Government's decision to establish a diplomatic presence in SA.

"We discussed it with them and we haven't heard any objections. We are continually in contact."

Both men reject the common wisdom that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet foreign affairs department are at odds over SA policy — with the committee being much more sympathetic to the ANC.

Dr Makarov stresses that although the Soviet Union has a diplomatic presence in SA, it will not establish formal diplomatic relations until it believes the transformation to a non-racial democracy has become irreversible.

Although the USSR has not decided when this point will have been reached, it is likely to be only when a new constitution is implemented.

Both men are critical of what they regard as an inexplicable delay by the Government in releasing political prisoners — a delay they fear might destabilise the delicate political situation.

And both endorse the ANC view that the Government is deliberately trying to destabilise the ANC to weaken it.

But Dr Makarov believes that relations will improve and that the USSR could become acceptable to both blacks and whites.

He alludes to a friendlier past by remarking that Russia assisted the Boer forces during the second Anglo-Boer War. Dr Shubin says the Soviet Union's relationship with the ANC stretches back to 1927 when the ANC president visited Moscow, but only intensified in the 1960s after the ANC went underground and its leaders fled into exile.

His personal contact began in 1969 when he was on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and was continued there and in Africa.

Dr Makarov relates how in 1981 he took Mr Slovo to visit his birthplace in the town of Obelai in Lithuania — now a republic of the Soviet Union — which he had left in 1935.

"It was mid-September and very beautiful. The leaves were turning yellow and bronze."

They looked in vain for the house in which Mr Slovo was born but did find two old ladies distantly related — all that was left of his Jewish family after the extermination by the Nazis.

Mitterrand warns Mandela off 'mystery' man

PARIS — A mysterious French businessman friend of the Mandelas has been discussed at head-of-state level in both Paris and Pretoria, it was reliably revealed here.

President Mitterrand even sent an emissary last May to warn Nelson Mandela about him.

The businessman is Alain Guenon, who has lived in South Africa for seven years and is today the representative of the French firm of SAGEM, specialising in electronic military equipment.

The Paris daily Liberation yesterday de-

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JAMES TOMLINS
Foreign News Service

voted a two-page special report to him.

They noted that Mr Guenon had acted as a consultant for two other French firms — the ELF oil company and the Spie-Batignolles construction firm. But these are regarded as covers for his many political activities, centring around both Nelson and Winnie Mandela, the newspaper said.

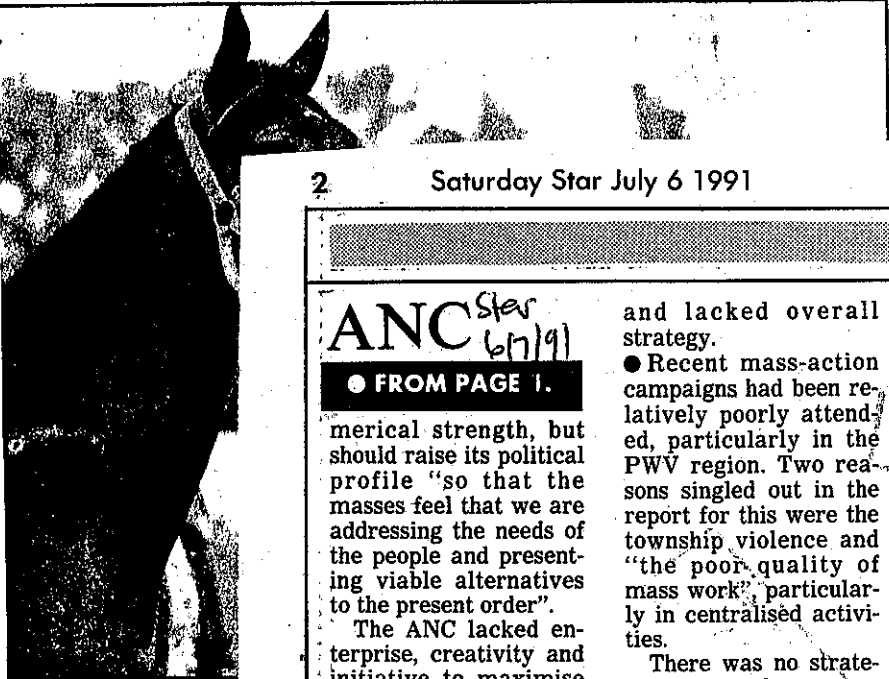
It commented: "Are Mr Guenon's motives, as he claims, purely commercial?"

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②
"We have in our possession confidential documents which show that both French and South African officials suspect him of being a secret service agent, which he denies. But he has never been able to explain the protection he enjoys in South Africa."

A French friend of his, General Antoine, told Liberation that: "Obviously, acting as Mr Guenon is doing in a country like South Africa, he must have top level official pro-

● TO PAGE 2.

ANC in disarray, says secret report



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● FROM PAGE 1.

merical strength, but should raise its political profile "so that the masses feel that we are addressing the needs of the people and presenting viable alternatives to the present order".

The ANC lacked enterprise, creativity and initiative to maximise support for its policies on major issues, even though these policies could not be doubted. ^{11A}

"We appear very happy to remain pigeon-holed within the confines of populist rhetoric and cliches."

The report expressed concern about the ANC performance in a number of areas, including:

● A "very poor relationship" between ANC structures and civic associations. Not only was there a lack of co-operation, but in many instances different approaches were taken on burning issues which affected communities. This had resulted in strain.

● Campaigns by the ANC's Land Commission — a vehicle to mobilise millions of people — had been isolated, largely unco-ordinated

and lacked overall strategy.

● Recent mass-action campaigns had been relatively poorly attended, particularly in the PWV region. Two reasons singled out in the report for this were the township violence and "the poor quality of mass work", particularly in centralised activities.

There was no strategic approach to mass campaigns and the ANC was reactive rather than proactive.

The document said the ANC's approach to incorporating other political organisations in campaigns had been problematic, and that consultations were often only held after ANC structures had taken decisions and printed leaflets and posters.

"The way we take decisions on campaigns makes it difficult to get effective participation even from organisations that have supported the MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) in the past.

The report revealed that only four of the ANC's 14 regions had reached their targeted membership figures by June this year.

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ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

DURBAN — The ANC has candidly admitted that organisational disarray and complacency could cost it its position as the major political player in South Africa.

A hard-hitting assessment of the ANC's performance since its unbanning 17 months ago is contained in a confidential report by outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo. It was presented to the organisation's national conference here this week.

A copy of the soul-searching document, presented by Mr Nzo as a summary of assessments by the ANC's various structures, is in the possession of Saturday Star.

The document reveals concern within the organisation about its inability to transform popular support into signed-up members.

It is the first official, comprehensive ANC assessment of its performance since the organisation's last national conference in Kabwe in 1985.

A constant refrain throughout the highly critical report is the need to adhere to the principles of democracy and accountability.

The report warns that complacency about the ANC's undisputed position as the leading anti-apartheid force could jeopardise its chances of coming to power.

"There is little doubt as to the capacity of the movement to command a degree of massive support. But it would be blatantly naive of us to become complacent and act as if under no circumstances whatsoever can the ANC be threatened or even be removed from the leadership pedestal it now occupies."

The ANC should thus not only increase its nu-

● TO PAGE 2.



Big win for unionist Cyril (38)

Star 6/7/91 PATRICK LAURENCE (11A)

DURBAN — Trade union leader Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday won a stunning victory when he was elected secretary-general of the African National Congress by decisively more votes than the combined total won by his two opponents, both senior ANC men. The election of Mr Ramaphosa at the young age of 38 to the key post of secretary-general overshadowed even the formal election of Nelson Mandela as ANC president and the choice of his lifelong friend, Walter Sisulu, for deputy-president.

An eruption of joy greeted the announcement of Mr Ramaphosa's triumph over Alfred Nzo, the ANC's incumbent secretary-general until late yesterday, and Jacob Zuma, the organisation's intelligence chief.

There was consolation for Mr Zuma in his election as deputy secretary-general. He won handsomely against former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe and Mr Nzo.

Mr Zuma attracted 1 039 votes against 659 for Mr Molefe and 258 for Mr Nzo.

Mr Ramaphosa was carried shoulder high by his jubilant supporters from his place at the back of the hall to take his place on the podium as a member of the ANC executive.



Resistance

Mr Ramaphosa, general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, South Africa's largest trade union, received 1 156 votes against 371 for Mr Nzo and 450 for Mr Zuma, both members of the executive.

His victory represents the rise within the ANC of the young men and women who led the resistance against the apartheid policies of President P W Botha and, before him, Prime Minister B J Vorster, in the 1970s and 1980s.

It presages success for the many young candidates, drawn from extra-parliamentary resistance movements and from the underground resistance, who are contesting the remaining 50 seats on the national executive. Voting for these seats takes place today.

In the election contest for the post of deputy president Mr Sisulu, (79), easily defeated another septuagenarian, Harry Gwala. He won 1 567 votes against 412 for Mr Gwala.

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Big win FROM PAGE 1.

Mr Sisulu was a compromise candidate, chosen to avoid a bruising and probably divisive contest between two younger men: Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's urbane and pragmatic international affairs secretary, and Chris Hani, MK chief of staff and a dedicated communist.

Mr Sisulu's victory signalled that the ANC rank and file has little taste for the militant, communism and revolutionary rhetoric espoused by Mr Gwala. It does not mean, however, that the new brand of "democratic communism" propagated by men like Mr Hani has no appeal.

Thomas Nkobi, the incumbent treasurer-general, easily beat off

a challenge from Mendi Msimang, the ANC's London representative.

At a news conference after the election results Mr Ramaphosa ducked a question on whether he was an SA Communist Party member.

He responded by suggesting that the question was outdated. "I thought questions like that were asked before 1989, before the collapse of governments in Eastern Europe. I don't think... whether I am a member or not a member of the Communist Party should be of such great interest to people."

Commenting on the election results, Mr Sisulu said: "I think the conference has shown confidence in the leadership... we will be able to move forward with confidence."

ANC must search its soul in privacy

Star 6/7/91

AT the ANC jamboree in Durban this week — on which all of South Africa's and half of the world's political journalists appear to have converged — a great deal has been made of the organisation's decision to shut all but its opening and closing sessions to the public. There are dark mutterings about anti-democratic practice, secretive *konkelinge* and general political *verneukery*.

I believe this is unfair and an example of double standards — or at least differential expectations — being applied in the case of the ANC. It is hardly unheard of in Western (or indeed white South African) politics that an organisation should choose to keep some of its most sensitive soul-searching to itself.

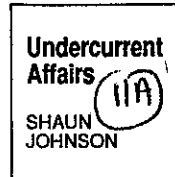
And, when you are dealing with a group that is coming together openly for the first time in more than three decades, that is effectively unifying its different components for the first time, it is eminently understandable.

Journalists have a right, if not a duty, to try to open doors that are closed to them by politicians.

But the fact of their closure should not skew their overall judgment.

Two tests should be applied to the ANC at this stage.

One: is what is going on *inside* the conference hall entirely democratic? And two: is there a gen-



SHAUN JOHNSON

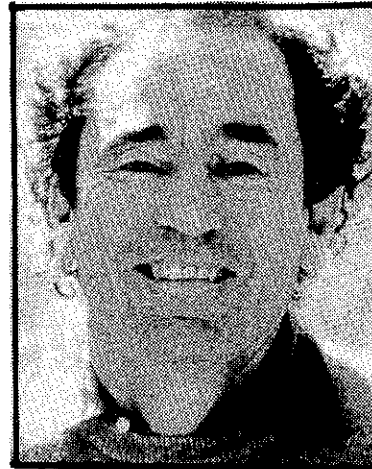


uine will to open sessions of future conferences, once the foundations have been laid? Many of us who have spent the week in Durban believe there is cause for optimism on both counts.

The fact that the race for top positions remained so open right up until the end is in itself revealing of the first. A briefing by ANC constitutional expert and bomb victim Albie Sachs says a lot about the second.

Mr Sachs, whose mutilation by a car bomb in Maputo has not altered his gentle, soft-spoken character, is a man whose integrity is unquestioned even by the ANC's more energetic opponents. His views at this crucial stage in our history therefore deserve careful consideration.

He says the closed sessions this time round should not be regarded as a precedent: "It was an arrangement for this particular con-



ALBIE SACHS: You must understand that some of the feelings are still so raw.

ference, under very particular circumstances ...

"You must understand that some of the feelings are still so raw ... We are now dealing with the very soul and character of the ANC."

The intensity of open discussion on the floor was "enough to give one a headache." He adds: "In fact the debates have been so rich and wonderful that I personally wish

the public could have seen them — hundreds of hands shooting up from the floor on every point raised."

Mr Sachs points, moreover, to the wider, extraordinary significance of the process now unfolding in Durban.

Black South Africa is having its first taste of real democracy at home, and is seeming to find the flavour very much to its liking.

"These are very special moments in South African history," says Mr Sachs. "In that hall over there we have what must amount to thousands of years of imprisonments, bannings, exiles and (what they are talking about is) democracy coming together.

"We are establishing for all of our members, from all over the country, that it is through the vote, tolerance and free speech that our problems will be solved. They will be reporting back to their constituencies on secret ballots and the like, on how democracy works."

Away from the clangour of electioneering and sloganeering, away from the famous faces on the podium, ordinary delegates are undergoing — are wrestling with — a political lesson which could determine our future for years to come.

Perhaps the ANC could do with a bit of goodwill from its detractors right now, not for the sake of the ANC, but for South Africa and all of its people.

Only the planes soared higher than the spirits

DURBAN — As hundreds of observers milled agitatedly around the ANC conference centre yesterday, waiting for the election results, a single-propeller aircraft sputtered into view.

Trailing behind it was a propaganda banner, larger than most of those in the hall itself. It was also rather different in approach from the injunctions to "build defence units" and "transfer power to the people". It read: "Jesus says: Come to Me".

By all accounts, Messrs Harry Gwala and Joe Slovo were unmoved by the last-minute appeal, and in the case of Dr Allan Boesak, the airborne activist was preaching to the converted. He or she had, however, provided some sorely needed light relief in a day of otherwise unleavened tension.

Stamina

The ANC conference has demanded from its participants and observers a Bruce

Fordyce-like degree of stamina. To call the schedule and scale of the thing gruelling is to be unnecessarily coy. It is fortunate for political parties that these occasions do not occur every week — they would otherwise die quick, natural deaths.

There should be no mistaking the fact that what distinguishes this week in the ANC's life from all others is that the movement, after a dodgy re-entry into the world of legality, is fair-

ly bursting with self-confidence and self-respect. Nothing could demonstrate this more graphically than the scenes which greeted the announcement of the winners of the "top five" executive positions.

The more than 2 000 delegates were animated and voluble almost beyond description. Oliver Tambo, National Chairman, and Nelson

Mandela, President, received deafening applause. There was none of the stagginess which usually attends such events: it was an affirmation of popularity which would not have been out of place at a Revivalist meeting. Mr Mandela looked, for a moment, as if he would weep as he gazed at the sea of adoration; instead he grinned for all he was worth, and then set his face for the gravity of the moment. He was followed by the new Deputy President, Walter Si-

sulu, no less revered than Mr Mandela. The battle for the position took a strange turn when, after electoral officer Charles Nupen read out the name of first candidate Harry Gwala, the Natal hardliner's supporters broke into a wild dance. They were sheepish when Mr Sisulu's comprehensive win was announced.

Cyril Ramaphosa, formidable general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, was greeted like a pop star when his successful

bid for the secretary-generalship was announced. He was carried, literally, to the podium. Incumbent treasurer general Thomas Nkobi's welcome was less dramatic, but no less heartfelt.

No one who was present in the sports hall of the University of Durban-Westville will ever forget those brief moments. It was the day on which the politics of the new South Africa arrived. The country will never be the same again.

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Cool Cyril's journey to the top

Star 6/11/91

PATRICK LAURENCE

CYRIL Ramaphosa, the trade union leader who won a spectacular victory yesterday in elections to the African National Congress national executive, is a seasoned politician, able administrator and cool negotiator.



Mr Ramaphosa's experience in the political arena was gained at a young age. Born in November 1952, Mr Ramaphosa is only 38 and has years ahead of him as a politician.

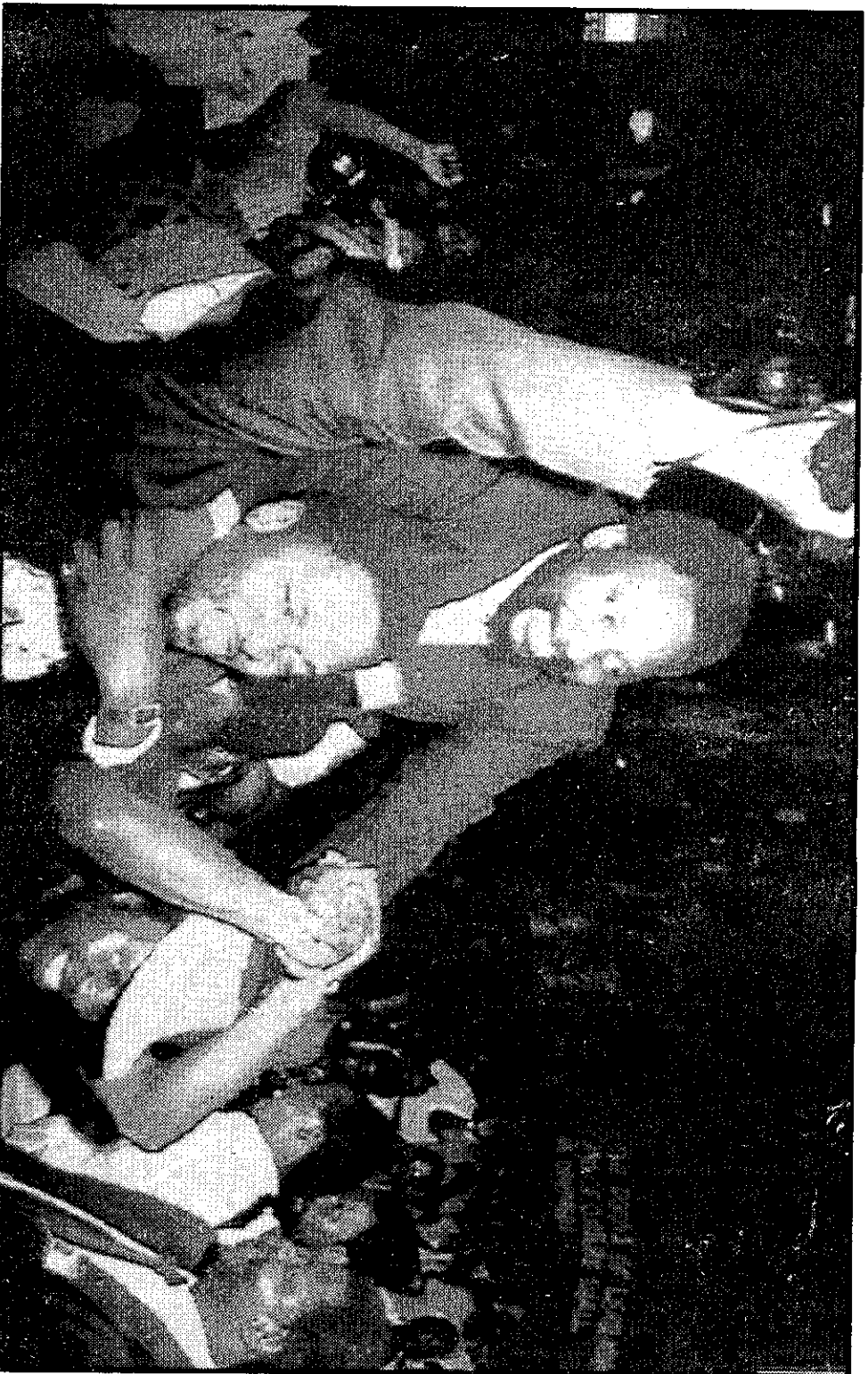
His career so far can be divided into three phases: he started his political life as a student activist, moved into the trade union field and then assumed an increasingly important role in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), the Soweto People's Delegation and the ANC.

His election to the key position of secretary-general in the ANC yesterday ended a dilemma which has faced — perhaps even annihilated — Mr Ramaphosa in recent years: whether to concentrate on honing his skills as a trade union leader or to focus on a more overtly political role.

Judging from the wide acclaim which greeted Mr Ramaphosa's re-election yesterday, when he polled three times more votes than either of his opponents, he is a man to be watched in future years.

One observer summed it up when he remarked of Mr Ramaphosa: "He will be the second black president of South Africa after Nelson Mandela."

One word captures his political style: cool. Even when he is angry, he is controlled.



MAN OF THE MOMENT: Cyril Ramaphosa is carried shoulder high after being elected secretary-general of the ANC yesterday.

The son of a policeman, he spent most of his boyhood in Soweto. He matriculated at Mphahuli High School in Sibasa in the Northern Transvaal and later attended the University of the North.

As a young man, Mr Ramaphosa served his political apprenticeship at university as a member of the pro-black consciousness student movement, Saso, and the Student Christian Movement. It was a tough experience: in 1974 he was detained and held for 11 months

for his role in organising a pro-Frelimo rally at the university.

After the 1976 student rebellion, during which he was again detained, Mr Ramaphosa studied law at the University of South Africa. His legal studies — he obtained a B Proc — took him into trade unionism.

He joined the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) as a legal adviser in 1981 after qualifying as a lawyer. The next year Cusa de-

clined to establish a trade union for mine workers. Mr Ramaphosa emerged as the natural candidate to help launch the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

It was as the NUM's general secretary that he quickly attracted attention as an efficient administrator and a methodical negotiator. Within a short time the NUM became a force to be reckoned with.

A turning point came in the next

year or two, when he was instrumental in the decision to take the NUM out of Cusa and into the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Cusa was inclined to black consciousness. Cosatu was part of the non-racial tradition of the Freedom Charter and the ANC. By then the NUM was the biggest black trade union and its decision to join Cosatu was a major coup for the Freedom Charter camp. Mr Ramaphosa was held in such

high esteem by trade union organisers and workers that he was asked to deliver the keynote address at the launch of Cosatu.

At a press conference last night Mr Ramaphosa identified the NUM's decision to leave Cusa as one of the two turning points in his journey from black consciousness to non-racialism. The first was his detention in 1974.

During his 11 months in solitary confinement he realised that the "ideology of black consciousness had come full cycle" and that it "could take us no further", he told scores of journalists.

When Cosatu joined forces with the United Democratic Front to resist attempts by the Botha administration to fetter extra-Parliamentary opposition movements Mr Ramaphosa began to play an increasingly political role.

He was on the National Reception Committee which welcomed Nelson Mandela back to freedom after 28 years of imprisonment.

During 1990 he appeared to suffer a setback in the political arena, perhaps because he had aroused the ire of Winnie Mandela for his role, as a MDM leader, in the criticism of her "undemocratic" behaviour after the death of Stompie Moketsi. The boy was kidnapped from the Methodist manse in Soweto along with three others.

But Mr Ramaphosa came back strongly as a leader of the Soweto People's Delegation, which helped end the Soweto rent boycott by negotiating an accord with the Transvaal Provincial Association.

He played a pivotal role, too, in the formation of the Metropolitan Chamber, an institution which links civic associations, black town councillors and their white counterparts and which may help rescue local government from paralysis.

But all these achievements now pale before his election yesterday as secretary-general of the ANC.

ANC's finance secrets revealed

118
17/6/91

From BARRY STREEK
and ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The ANC has extensive assets throughout the world but the organisation faces a cash crisis back home, the treasurer-general's secret report reveals.

The ANC had an income of R79,7 million and spent R69,9 million — mostly on activities outside the country — last year.

A copy of the confidential treasurer-general's report which the Cape Times has obtained discloses that the ANC spent R10 million during the 10 months between February 2, when it was unbanned, and December 31 last year.

Its income internally totalled R11,3 million but 90,3% came from grants and donations and only 5,3% — R598 420 — came from membership fees.

The 43-page document shows that the ANC's fixed assets outside the country total R657,9 million but much of this is in immovable property in Tanzania which will be handed over to that country when the ANC leaves.

Despite the apparently high budget the ANC is in fact strapped for cash and it had at the end of last year current liabilities of R1,3 million inside the country, including a bank overdraft of R818 385.

ANC financial spokesman Mr Vusi

Khanyile told a press briefing at the ANC's national conference here this week that the overdraft had not been reduced yet but declined to say how large it was.

The internal financial statement shows that the largest item of expenditure (16,8% of the total) went to employment costs or salaries which totalled R1,9 million for the 10 months last year.

Travel costs made up R1,7 million of the internal expenditure (14,9%), and the Women's and Youth Leagues cost R1,1 million (9,7%).

'Mandela trip'

Externally, transfers to regions outside the country amounted to R44,5 million (64,1%), administration to R15,6 million (22%) — including R8,8 million for the ANC's Lusaka headquarters and R6,8 million for its missions — and air travel R6,1 million (9%).

An amount of R604 800 was spent on the "Mandela trip", the document noted.

It also reveals that the ANC has R41,1 million in cash reserves, including R27,9 million at bankers and R13,1 million in the United States.

The ANC's treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, told a press conference last night that the ANC had received its donations from Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi but had yet to receive the

millions Mr Mandela had raised during his recent tour to the US.

Outside South Africa, the ANC owns 269 motor vehicles, including 147 in Zambia, 25 in Zimbabwe and 92 in Tanzania.

It owns seven properties in London with an estimated value of R3,5 million, as well as accommodation in Brussels, Bonn, Oslo, Stockholm and Toronto.

It also owns 32 "dwelling houses" in Harare and Bulawayo with an estimated value of R3,4 million, various properties in Zambia with an estimated value of R9,3 million, a number of properties in Tanzania valued at R575,8 million. However, the Tanzanian properties will be ceded to the country's government when the ANC closes down these facilities.

The ANC also owns four farms in Zambia valued at R4,2 million and a farm in Zimbabwe valued at R63 200.

Within South Africa, the ANC owns three properties in Johannesburg valued at R685 000 and vehicles worth over R1 million.

The report reveals that the ANC's external funding derives mainly from the Nordic countries, Australia and Italy.

But Mr Nkobi warns in his report that external funding will be phased out over the next two to five years and that no new capital investment will take place externally in future.

Hardliners in ANC are beaten

11A
CT 6/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — The ANC yesterday voted in a strong pro-negotiations leader-

ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma came in second with 450 votes. Mr Zuma was later elected deputy secretary-general.

The vote for Mr Ramaphosa reflected dissatisfaction within the ANC about its present internal organisation, and served as a strong message from delegates that the ANC needed to beef itself up into an efficient party machine.

ANC'S FINANCE SECRETS REVEALED

See PAGE 2

The incumbent treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, was re-elected despite heavy criticisms of the ANC's financial affairs and allegations of mismanagement at the conference during the week.

Mr Nkobi polled 1 277 votes while the ANC's London representative, Mr Mendi Msimang, received 682 votes.

In a mere formality, the election of Mr Nelson Mandela as the ANC's new president and Mr Oliver Tambo as its national chairman was confirmed by

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the chairman for the four independent electoral commissioners, Mr Charles Nupen. CT 6/7/91

These announcements were also received with much jubilation and singing, and Mr Ramaphosa was triumphantly carried shoulder-high from the back of the hall to the podium by a group of excited supporters.

Voting for the other 50 elected positions on the national executive will be held today.

Delegates and diplomats described the outcome of the elections as a green light for negotiations and said the well-balanced team, representing different streams in the ANC, boded well for forging unity.

"I know one thing: The militants have been smashed — at least for another three years," a UDF stalwart remarked afterwards.

A senior diplomat commented: "If Harry Gwala had been elected, that would have been the end of the ANC, at home and internationally."

Both delegates and diplomats noted that the ANC had merely postponed the issue of which younger leaders would eventually take over from Mr Mandela.

Mr Ramaphosa's elevation to one of the most pivotal positions in the ANC could hurt the chances of both Mr Chris Hani and Mr Thabo Mbeki when a successor is eventually chosen.

Addressing a victory press conference after the results were announced, Mr Sisulu said the conference had discussed many aspects for improving negotiations, adding: "We will be able to move forward in confidence and revitalise after this conference."

Mr Ramaphosa ducked questions about whether he was a member of the

South African Communist Party.

"I do not think whether or not I am a member of the Communist Party is of great interest," he told unconvinced journalists who immediately asked: "Is that a yes or a no?" He did not respond. (11A)

Asked whether he felt his experience as a negotiator on labour issues would be of use in upcoming negotiations with the government, Mr Ramaphosa said: "Negotiations are negotiations are negotiations. So, I don't think it will be much different."

Mr Nkobi, who was questioned about the ANC's reported overdraft, said the organisation did not have a regular income and he would have to look at shifting its fund-raising from international sources to contributions from the South African public.

He said to laughter that donations from Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi were "in the Movement but funds from the United States are still in the United States".

Yesterday's elections were conducted by secret ballot and polling and counting lasted much of the day. The process was complicated by the fact that a number of delegates were illiterate and had never voted before.

The general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, who described himself as "stateless", said: "I am 65. It is the first time I have ever voted in a secret ballot this way."

One of the ANC's constitutional experts, Mr Albie Sachs, said: "We are witnessing a very special moment in South African history. We are seeing democracy at work."

"Democracy is lively and effervescent in the ANC, which is the leading political organisation in the country," Mr Sachs said.

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and MICHAEL MORRIS**

Weekend Argus
Political Staff

DURBAN — Leadership elections at the African National Congress's 48th national conference have given a resounding endorsement to its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, to continue with negotiations.

In the first elections held by secret ballot, the conference also elected one of South Africa's most skilled black negotiators, mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, to the key post of secretary general.

In the same three-post ballot, it handed a crushing defeat to the militant Natal Midlands chairman, Mr Harry Gwala, an outspoken opponent of negotiations.

Mr Gwala was defeated by the 78-year-old Rivonia trial veteran and confidante of President Mandela, internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, who now succeeds Mr Mandela as deputy president.

The vote went 1507 to 412 against Mr Gwala and is seen as the clearest possible signal that the moderates and the pro-negotiations camp are firmly in control of the ANC.

Mr Ramaphosa's election triumph has strengthened the ANC's negotiating hand and emboldened the influence of the Young Turks in the movement. It is expected to exert a unifying influence after increasingly-bitter criticism of the leadership had become a divisive and damaging factor.

The vote showed just how serious the dissatisfaction was: Mr Ramaphosa cornered 1156 votes, easily sweeping aside contender Mr Jacob Zuma (450) and incumbent Mr Nzo (a mere 371).

A sea of emotion swept through the hall as the results were announced and elated supporters carried Mr Ramaphosa shoulder-high to the stage where he was warmly congratulated by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his predecessor, Mr Oliver Tambo.

A clearly dejected Mr Nzo sportingly left his place in the front rank to be among the first to congratulate him. The 66-year-old Mr Nzo, who has served as secretary general since 1969, faces an uncertain political future.

Mr Ramaphosa is to relinquish his job as general-secretary of the Nation-

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AFRICA NEETS SOON'S

ANC tells Mandela: 'Y.H.S.' for negotiations

11R
1987-6/11/91

P.T.O.

'Yes for Mandela' (11A)

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al Union of Mineworkers, but will continue to advise the union.

Rapturous applause and singing greeted the unanimous election of Mr Tambo as national chairman and the unopposed election of Mr Mandela as president.

Mr Tambo was the first to congratulate Mr Mandela, and Mrs Winnie Mandela rushed over to hug him as chanting delegates stood with clenched fists, some waving ANC flags.

Mr Sisulu's resounding victory against Natal strongman Mr Gwala — 1 567 against 412 — for the deputy president's job drew an equally enthusiastic response. This was another indication of the movement closing ranks in the interests of unity: Mr Gwala's nomination was seen as a move by hawks to get close to the seat of power and delegates clearly feared this would be divisive.

So enthusiastic was the applause, cheering and whistling that the electoral officer was drowned out before actually giving the full result.

Treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi easily held on to his post, polling 1 275 in a contest with Mr Mendi Msimang who won only 680 votes.

Later last night, after a second ballot, Southern Natal leader Mr Jacob Zuma's election as deputy secretary general brought the curtain down on Mr Nzo's career in the top echelons of the movement. Mr Zuma won 1 039 votes to the 659 of senior MDM figure Mr Popo Molefe, leaving Mr Nzo trailing a poor third with 258. Mr Zuma's success brings a Zulu presence to the leadership of the ANC at a time when

the ANC is being accused of being Xhosa-dominated.

Speaking at press conference yesterday, Mr Ramaphosa said he had been "humbled" by his election, "thrilled" at the support he had received, and was "daunted by the task that lies ahead". However he felt "fully equipped" to take on the job.

Asked if he was a communist, he said: "I thought questions of that kind were asked only before 1989, before the governments of Eastern Europe collapsed. I do not think that whether I am a member of the SACP should be of such great interest."

He said he had had much experience of negotiating and there was not likely to be much different about negotiating with the government. "It depends on what is on the negotiating table."

The government will be pleased by the rise of Mr Ramaphosa, as he is highly thought of in top government circles. Government members have been encouraged by that fact that the labour movement in South Africa worked closely with organised business and state officials to hammer out the Labour Relations Amendment Act that went through Parliament in February.

Through tough negotiations over two years, hard attitudes were moulded into what was probably the first nationally agreed upon compromise legislation in South Africa.

The elections to fill the remaining 50 seats on the executive start today but results are expected only tomorrow. There are 134 nominees. Delegates will vote for the 50 members.

The conference ends with a rally at Kings Park Stadium tomorrow.

Unions come out tops with their man Ramaphosa

11A
ARC 6/7/91

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

Weekend Argus Political Staff

HIGH profile trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's landslide victory for the position of ANC secretary-general is the result of a concerted effort by Cosatu to push unionists into top positions in the ANC.

Intense behind-the-scenes canvassing by Cosatu officials and sympathisers has increased dramatically during the past few weeks and can also be seen as a move to counter the lobbying by the more moderate factions within the ANC.

Sources say Cosatu was unhappy with the political direction the ANC had taken over the past months.

They felt many ANC national executive committee members involved in negotiations with the government were not equipped with the necessary negotiating and bargaining skills which had resulted in the ANC backing down unnecessarily on major issues and often taking what was viewed as a soft line.

Cosatu was also dissatisfied with the lack of accountability shown by many top-level ANC leaders to their members — a feeling, sources said, which was echoed by many rank-and-file ANC members.

Mr Ramaphosa, who is currently

secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers, has unquestionable negotiating skills.

Coming from a trade union background, he is also deeply aware of the need for accountability with mass-based and predominantly working-class structures.

"After negotiating with Anglo, the government will seem like a piece of cake," one of his colleagues said.

Mr Ramaphosa, 38, is the son of a policeman and once held office in the Student Christian Movement.

He is from Soweto and traces his political career through the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention.

After qualifying as a lawyer, he moved into trade union work.

In December 1982, he was elected the first person to serve as general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Under his guidance, the NUM grew to 340 000 members. The union spearheaded a national strike by mineworkers in 1987.

Mr Ramaphosa gave the key note address at the launch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions in Durban in 1985.

He has been detained at least twice, once being held for 11 months in solitary confinement.

REC'D 6/7/91

Support among township dwellers of all ages for peaceful negotiations is overwhelming: barely one out of every 10 favours armed struggle. This is the starting finding of a new study by a top researcher. It offers the first real hope for curbing the current wave of violence.

Majority support for talks



BY
LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER

Director of the Centre
for Policy Studies,
University of the
Witwatersrand

Survey item from Professor Schlemmer's research report:

PERCEPTIONS OF STRATEGY

	Ages: 16-			
	24yrs %	25-34 %	35-49 %	50+ %
Support armed struggle	14	11	13	14
Support talks with govt	89	91	91	94
Support boycotts	42	36	35	17
Support demonstrations	55	45	46	37

try's largest township, Soweto, support for the ANC drops to some four out of 10 people and other parties have correspondingly higher support.

On average, the National Party would emerge as the second largest party among residents of metropolitan townships.

Respondents were probed more deeply concerning political organisations and parties, however. They were asked how "close" they felt to a range of social and political agencies, in terms of their knowledge of what the organisations were doing, how much they trusted them, and how helpful the organisations were in terms of their own interests.

Township residents felt "closest" to their churches, followed by the ANC and the De Klerk administration with virtually the same level of identification: over 60 percent of respondents felt "close" to these organisations.

This virtual "tie" between the ANC and the De Klerk administration was repeated in responses to another question on how satisfied they were with what political leaders were doing.

Just behind the leading organisations were individual trade unions. Over five out of 10 respondents felt "close" to a trade union that they or members of their family belonged to.

Township civic associations, street committees, Cosatu, the SACP and em-

ployers are in a broadly equal position in terms of how "close" respondents felt to them.

Very roughly, some four out of 10 respondents feel closely identified with these organisations. In Soweto, once again, Cosatu and the SACP enjoy significantly lower levels of identification.

The PAC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party and black town councillors lag behind the organisations mentioned above. Very broadly, more or less two out of 10 residents identify with these organisations. In Soweto, however, Azapo is not far behind the level of identification enjoyed by the De Klerk administration and the ANC.

A study of current violence shows that by now the violence, in its impacts on all relevant parties, is self-reinforcing. One cannot assume that the people on the ground can be fully controlled. Any intervention must deal directly with them.

This point notwithstanding, there are aspects of strategies or responses in all parties and agencies involved which could reinforce tensions, whether deliberately or inadvertently.

All the agencies have their rationales for the responses. This includes police who may be slow to intervene where they might otherwise have been more effective; it certainly includes mass action and consumer boycotts at a time of exceptional economic privation, and it includes assumptions, deliberately or unconsciously made by some participants, that the best method of defence is concerted attack.

Public sanction of such responses needs to develop more muscle.

Against this background, then, it might be appropriate to consider the following guidelines for addressing violence:

● The current emphasis placed on negotiations between political leaders, and on agreements or "pacts" relating to political conduct, are obviously of crucial importance;

● Because much of the violence is beyond the control of leaders, top-level negotiation is not the only answer. Equal emphasis should be placed on establishing active, full-time small task forces of communicators and mediators in each local area;

● The media must strengthen their capacity to editorialise with authority and effect on the behaviour of parties;

● Any action taken against groups whose participation in violence might be in defence of interests or self-esteem must be done in such a way as to make them feel part of the solution, and

● The frequent accusations against the police highlight the need for the system of local monitoring committees involving the police and parties active in a particular district to be revitalised.

IN broad overview, the results (of my latest research among blacks) suggest massive popular endorsement of the principle of negotiations.

The sooner all political leaders start taking the sentiments of rank-and-file people really seriously, the sooner South Africa's transition to inclusive democracy will be facilitated.

The study was based on questions formulated by the author. Fieldwork was conducted by the firm Market and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd — an agency which has been conducting political surveys since the late '50s and was established by a former research director and professor at the University of Natal.

Personal interviews were conducted by trained black interviewers among a panel of 905 black households in townships in major metropolitan areas.

Some of the key findings include:

● Results of the study completely dispel the stereotyped notion that township youth at large are alienated, angry and radical. If anything, the political consciousness of 16 to 24-year-olds is slightly more moderate than that of people older than they are — with the exception of residents of 50 years and older, who are distinctly conservative;

● Township residents are neither "militant" nor "moderate" in terms of popular stereotypes;

● Over nine out of 10 residents support negotiations and talks between their leaders and the government. Correspondingly, only slightly more than one out of 10 support the armed struggle and militant confrontation of the authorities;

● Only about one-third of residents endorse consumer boycotts and stayaways. At the same time, nearly five out of 10 support protest marches, meetings and demonstrations, and about the same proportion believe in protests aimed at the resignation of black town councillors and homeland leaders;

● Soweto, once again, has a different profile. Only about a quarter of Sowetans endorse demonstrations, protests, and pressure on councillors and homeland leaders to resign. An overwhelming majority of Sowetans support negotiations and a large majority support nothing else, and

● The hostels are overwhelmingly conservative. Hostel dwellers support negotiations but fewer than two out of 10 support more activist strategies.

In general, the findings do not fully confirm any of the strongly held and polarised views of politicians regarding reactions to current events in the townships.

In line with findings in a large number of earlier surveys, the ANC emerges as the dominant party in the townships. Some six out of 10 township residents would most likely vote for the ANC in a hypothetical future general election.

At the same time, however, in the coun-

Cargo Cult coming down to earth for ANC

HUGH ROBERTON

Weekend Argus Bureau

11A
RRT 6/1/91

WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress is fast learning that it is a victim of the Cargo Cult — a naive belief shared by many groups and governments around the world that the United States and, to a lesser extent Japan and Western Europe, are a limitless source of money for deserving causes.

The term has been used to describe the ANC's attitude to foreign capital by an eminent American commentator, Mr Francis Fukuyama, author of the controversial book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, and it is backed by the ANC's most recent experience of trying to raise money in the United States.

A fortnight ago the US House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly to block \$10 million (R25 million) earmarked for the ANC by the National Endowment for Democracy, a government

body set up with federal money by the Reagan administration to encourage democratic anti-communist movements in countries like Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Ostensibly the vote went against the ANC because of the organisation's links with the South African Communist Party.

Many congressmen said it would be a perversion of the aims and objects of the National Endowment for Democracy for its funding to be used in support of any organisation linked to an unrepentant Communist Party with Stalinist roots and a communist political and economic agenda.

But that was a questionable reason, since the same congressmen backed FED funding to support the anti-Sandinista coalition in Nicaragua, a coalition which ironically includes the Communist Party.

A possible explanation for the hold-up could be uncertainty about the ANC's policy on violence, following statements by MK chief Chris Hani and Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The ANC's hassles with American funding bring wry smiles to many Africans in Washington — notably Namibians and Zimbabweans — who point to the huge amounts offered in development assistance to these countries prior to independence, and the comparatively small amounts which have materialised since then.

"It is not so much a question of American big talk as it is of African naivete", a Namibian diplomat remarked this week.

In an article in the conservative political journal, *The National Interest*, Mr Francis Fukuyama, a former deputy head of the State Department's planning staff, described the phenomenon this way: "The ANC has a rather naive belief in how much foreign capital it can attract, based in part on overzealous promises by Western sympathisers.

"Like others around the world, its leaders are believers in the Cargo Cult of the 1990s, the mythical 'Japanese investor' or American foundation that will bring capital to South Africa once its industries have been 'democratised'."

A high-powered role linked with African National Congress initiatives is on the cards for former homeland leader Mr Enos Mabuza — a long-time friend and admirer of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Some analysts see Mr Mabuza as the man best qualified to lead the black homelands back to reintegration with South Africa. Another possibility is a role for him — directly or indirectly — in future constitutional negotiations and in initiatives to seek an end to the current violence.

Known as an influential peacemaker, negotiator and committed democrat, he has also been named as a possible ANC representative in Washington.

Mr Mabuza, who had a key role as a commissioner at this week's ANC conference in Durban, has been appointed part-time consultant with the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town. He will take office on September 1.

He will serve on an advisory committee for a project entitled *Understanding the violence in South Africa: Towards interpretation and intervention*.

He will also contribute to the Centre's facilitation and mediation services programme now being expanded into a community-based operation.

The trust which the ANC's top leadership places in Mr Mabuza was reflected in Durban this week when he was appointed as one of four neutral commissioners to oversee the elections for the ANC's national executive.

Great emphasis was placed on ensuring the elections were both fair

Mabuza set for powerful ANC role

IPA
AREAS 6/7/81

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent



ENOS MABUZA: qualified

and legitimate, for the very future of the organisation could depend on these factors.

Earlier Mr Mabuza, who resigned in March this year as Chief Minister of KaNgwane, was named by the usually authoritative journal *Africa Confidential* as a possible new ANC representative in Washington — an area where his "diplomatic savvy is required."

But the journal added that Mr Mandela was known to value Mabuza's expertise in the negotiating process.

Since his resignation as homeland leader Mr Mabuza has accepted directorships of some leading companies.

His links with the ANC and with Mr Nelson Mandela, in particular, go back a long way ...

As he puts it: "Our contact with the movement goes back to well before the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and spans nearly a decade of communication and discussions attended by the top-ranking leadership of the ANC, including the president.

Mr Mabuza made it clear he saw no need for permanent government buildings. At a time when his administration was getting less than R250m a year from Pretoria, he preferred to spend the money on schools, clinics and the like.

At an early stage he was already eyeing the abundance of government buildings in Cape Town and Pretoria where, as far as he was concerned, South Africa's black leaders were going. To him Louieville — and Lusaka — are just stops along the way.

No, Mr Gwala, Stalin's atrocities put everything else in the shade!

ANY observers are calling it the political blunder of the week: self-confessed Stalinist hardliner Harry Gwala's remark on television that "the atrocities of apartheid put the atrocities of Stalinism in the shade."

His view will be disputed not only from Pretoria to Moscow, but also from most political groupings in South Africa and from various schools of thought within the ANC itself — with the exception, perhaps, of SA Communist Party (SACP) members.

When Mr Gwala, an SACP member since 1942, said it he showed remarkable ignorance or insensitivity about recent information from Soviet sources showing atrocities of the Stalin era had claimed the lives of tens of millions of people, including cold-blooded killings in the great purges and millions who died in the Siberian forced labour camps.

Facts and figures of the atrocities of the Stalin regime have for the first time been coming to light from Soviet sources in recent years — since the beginning of the new era of *glasnost*.

Such information, obtained by Stellenbosch University's Unit for Soviet Studies, clearly overshadows in magnitude and brutality most of the world's worst state atrocities, including the Nazi holocaust in which six-million Jews were killed.

Professor Phillip Nel, head of the unit, told Weekend Argus the atrocities of the Stalin era could be divided into three categories — people who died under collectivisation programmes, people killed during the great purges of the 1930s, and

ANC hardliner Harry Gwala has put his head in a political hornets' nest with his open defence of Stalinism. He told a live television audience during the debut screening of M-Nel's docu-news programme, Camera 7, that the horrors of apartheid put Stalin "in the shade". Latest statistics — and new atrocities are constantly being unearthed — indicate that Mr Gwala's view of history is badly distorted, reports FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus political correspondent.

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people who died in forced labour and concentration camps in Siberia.

He said that according to statistics released recently by the KGB and other Soviet sources:

- 19 848 000 Soviet people were arrested from January 1, 1935, to June 22, 1941. Of them, seven million were shot.
- 9,4 million Soviet citizens died between 1931 and 1933 during Stalin's forced collectivisation programme. Many of them died of hunger and others were killed when they resisted.
- seven million citizens were killed during the great purges from 1935 to 1941. This figure does not include those who died in concentration camps.
- 10 million citizens died in Siberian forced labour ("punishment") camps between 1941 and 1946.
- close to 11 million Soviet citizens died during

the Lenin period from 1917 to 1924. These include deaths in the 1917 revolution.

Professor Nel does not think comparisons between atrocities committed by various regimes contribute to any fruitful debate. "Rather look at the facts and reject all such systems," he suggests.

This, he notes, was the approach of top Soviet specialist on Africa Dr Boris Asoyan when he examined Stalinism and South African apartheid in his recent writings.

Dr Asoyan, in an article published in Weekend Argus last year, wrote: "Stalinism was a form of apartheid brought to the extreme, or rather to absurdity. Stalin's system of concentration camps, with its slave labour, surpassed in its brutality, scope and duration the most abhorrent methods of oppressing people of all time."

And then he added: "The totalitarian regimes in any part of the globe have much more in common in the methods of propaganda warfare they conducted against the whole world, in hypocrisy and falsity of the laws, in the ways of solving the national question, and in the paranoid distrust for their own and other peoples."

"The collapse of such regimes entails similar social, economic and political shocks."

Even in the new enlightened era of *glasnost* and the collapse of communism, the mere memory of Stalin's Iron grip still seems to make Soviet citizens shudder, as shown by reports from the Soviet Union.

A correspondent of the Independent News Ser-

vice, John Mitchell, reported from Moscow last year that "a thick mist of fear" had enveloped the Soviet Union for many years.

"It was the creation of one man, Stalin. So terrible was he, so deeply imbued with horrors, suspicions and treacheries, that his fearful emanations remained powerful for about 35 years after his death."

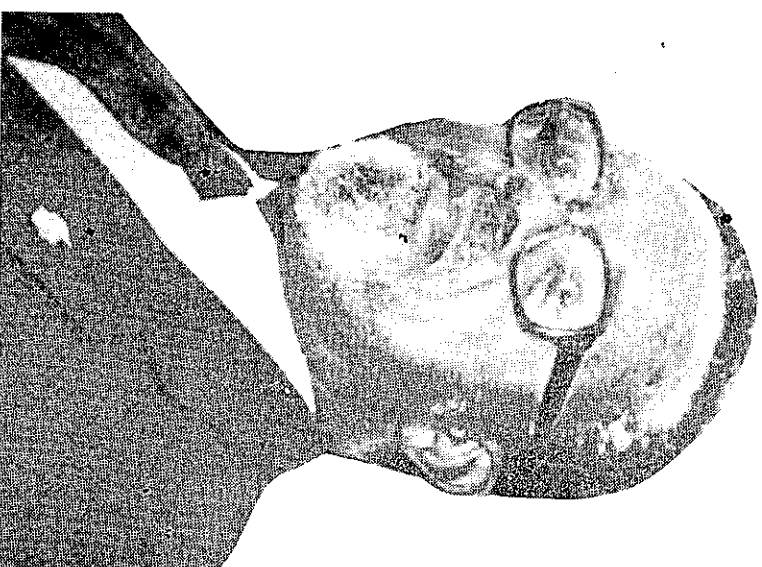
"The ideology which backed him has lost its vitality, but the cloud of fear which spread from him has not entirely dissolved ..."

Last year Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev signed a decree ordering the widest rehabilitation yet of the millions of victims of Stalin's purges. Reuter news agency quoted the decree as saying the action against victims of the purges was illegal and a violation of basic rights.

Stalin's industrial drive of the 1930s drew widespread discontent, which was suppressed violently. In that decade alone about 25 million peasants were forcibly shifted from rural areas to industrial centres to work under harsh conditions.

At the height of the industrial drive, Stalin staged the great purge trials in which most of the old Bolsheviks and some military leaders were charged with treason, terrorism, and espionage and brought to confess "guilt". In this way Stalin exterminated the people who might have been able to overthrow him.

The purges, carried out on a mass scale, imparted to the Stalinist regime what has been described as "its peculiar terrorist character".



□ HARRY GWALA: Stalin apologist

SACP 'double agents'

By BRIAN POTTINGER

ASTONISHED Cosatu members discovered only the day before the launch of the SA Communist Party last year that some of their highest executives had been secretly recruited by the party, claims a top union man.

Unionists were again shocked when they discovered that most of the people they had elected to represent Cosatu at a joint ANC-SACP-Cosatu meeting were also representatives of the SACP.

These disclosures by Mr John Copelyn, general secretary of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, are the latest exchanges in an increasingly bitter war of words between unionists and communists.

The row — primarily between Mr Copelyn and SACP member Jeremy Cronin — has drawn charges and counter-charges of betrayal, Stalinism, smear tactics and lack of democracy.

And, claims Mr Copelyn, a unionist was recently threatened by a prominent communist with a "people's court" for questioning the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

At the heart of the row is an acrimonious dispute over whether top unionists should, or can, serve in senior positions in political organisations.

This dispute — called the "two-hats debate" by unionists — has again bubbled to the surface in the SA Labour Bulletin, a respected journal of opinion and news on the trade union movement.

Bitter row erupts as unionists accuse party of duplicity

SITimes 7/7/91
 Writing in the latest edition, Mr Copelyn says that before the SACP's launch on July 29 last year, the SACP had secretly approached top members of Cosatu to serve on its Interim Leadership Group.

"Either this was done very late in the day, or all comrades concerned were asked not to discuss the matter in the union until very late in the day. Whichever way this happened, there was no debate whatsoever in Cosatu executive structures prior to July 29."

Worse

In September or October last year, said Mr Copelyn, the executive committee of Cosatu was suddenly told by the organisation's vice-president (Mr Chris Dhlamini) that he would be representing the SACP — not Cosatu — in all future dealings between the SACP, ANC and Cosatu.

Worse, said Mr Copelyn, it then became apparent that most of the members who had been chosen by Cosatu to serve on the

liaison body between the three were also members of the SACP's Interim Leadership Group.

"The person who should have been our leading spokesperson was now to represent the party in its dealings with us. And our actual representatives who were to represent us in all our dealings with the party were at the same time on the Interim Leadership Group of the party."

When this was challenged, Cosatu's executive committee had said it could not change the appointments to the liaison group.

"Small wonder that several unions in Coastu began expressing real concern at those developments and began adopting resolutions attacking the whole idea of national union leadership conducting itself in this way," said Mr Copelyn.

Mr Copelyn returns to an attack on the SACP's Mr Cronin who, in an earlier article in the SA Labour Bulletin, had charged Mr Copelyn with "betraying" the debate about dual leadership in the unions

and political organisations by discussing it at a meeting of the Institute of Personnel Managers.

"Vilifying people in the movement as traitors is unfortunately a long-standing tradition of many activists around the world," said Mr Copelyn. "While the SACP says it is changing its approach to debate, it is really disappointing to find one of its leading spokespeople falling back at the earliest opportunity on the classic Stalinist techniques of smearing individuals and alleging they are guilty of some breach of a duty of secrecy.

"I am not surprised that this is how some party people think. It comes from years of 'democratic centralism' practice where the only debate a good comrade engages in is inside the party."

Mischief

Mr Copelyn also recounts an incident at a Cosatu meeting in the Eastern Cape when a unionist stood up to question the alliance between the ANC-SACP and Cosatu.

"Raymond Mhlaba, chairperson of the (SACP) Interim Leadership Group, responded curtly: 'We have had an alliance for decades. Those who challenge it are mischief-makers and need to be brought before a people's court,'" records Mr Copelyn.

It was this sort of approach, said Mr Copelyn, that needed changing in the party if it was to emerge from the years of illegality and become part of an open and vibrant debate.

in Cosatu

ANC sacks its caterers

THE ANC fired its caterer hours before its conference ended in Durban yesterday. *S Times 7/7/91*

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the catering company had been dismissed because its food "was not up to standard".

"There was a lot of unhappiness about the standard of the food, so we told them to pack up on Friday night," he said.

The contract, valued at several hundred thousand rands, was awarded to the Durban catering company Magic Pan.

A spokesman for the company could not be reached for comment.

Ramaphosa's election likely to help negotiations along

Sunday Times 7/11/91

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA'S appointment as secretary-general of the ANC is significant not only for the ANC but for the entire negotiating process in South Africa, according to his long-standing opponent, Anglo American executive director Bobby Godsell.

"Cyril Ramaphosa is the most competent negotiator I have ever come across. He is an adversary of stature and knows how to cut a deal. He will not only be an asset to the ANC," said Mr Godsell.

With him to the nation's bargaining table the trade union boss will bring much-needed practical negotiating experience built up during a decade as the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Mr Godsell said: "More than any other group, the trade unions have learnt to exercise power in a disciplined, strategic way — they have developed far beyond the politics of protest."

"Cyril is tremendously effective in making a point. He can combine mobilising power and demonstrating power across the negotiating table with knowing when his interests are best served with pragmatic compromise."

By yesterday, Mr Ramaphosa was still not sure where to report for duty tomorrow. "I still have to ask the president where I should go to."

Effects

"I still have to study the methods of the ANC and then compare them with Cosatu and the NUM before I can assess what contribution I should make."

The effects of his hand-slide victory on Friday over the aged Mr Alfred Nzo and ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma will not

stop at the national negotiating table. Within the ANC, Mr Ramaphosa's election is likely to signal:

● Winnie Mandela's decline: In the late 80s Mr Ramaphosa played an increasingly prominent role in extra-parliamentary politics. But after Mr Mandela's release last year, his fortunes waned considerably — as did those of other Mass Democratic Movement members who joined him in 1989 in publicly denouncing Mrs Mandela for her part in the Stompie Seipei scandal.

He was sidelined to such an extent that, earlier this year, he considered following the path of Mrs Mandela's other critics and going to "study overseas".

His appointment, despite Mr Mandela's active lobbying for Mr Nzo in Durban this week, represents a dramatic comeback.

● Increased participation by the rank and file in decision-making: With his roots in the trade union movement, he is sensitive to the wishes of the masses and the grassroots style of consultation built up during the 70s. His appointment is likely to check the "top-down" style of exiles that has so evoked the wrath of rank-and-file members. He is regarded as one of the few able to stand up to Mr Mandela and his "old guard".



PRAGMATIST ... Cyril Ramaphosa, praised for his negotiating prowess Picture: JIMMY HUTTON

While he leans to the left of the ANC and is unlikely to budge on demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, he is pragmatic.

● An attempt at mending the cracks within the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance: He is thought to wear all three hats, but is not a member of the the SACP's internal leadership. He brings with him the almost unqualified support of 250 000 NUM members.

● Increased power for internal leadership and the rise of young blood within

Delighted Soweto residents, familiar with the man who led the Soweto People's Delegation in a bid to end the Soweto rent boycott, regard him as "number one — number one with the working class and number one in civic politics".

Building the union up to about 340 000 members. This number has, however, fallen to about 250 000 because of redundancies in mining. In 1989 he presented a code of conduct for the mining industry and later that year joined Anglo American in drawing up a joint code of conduct.

He bumped his head hard during the gold and coal mining strike of 1987. About 300 000 workers were called back to work without winning their pay increase.

Black Consciousness Movement. He was detained for attending a pro-Frelimo rally in 1974 and again during the 1976 student rebellion. He then began his articles with the Johannesburg firm of attorneys, EFK Tucker, under former Perm boss Bob Tucker.

Resilience

Nine miners died in clashes and 500 were injured, 400 arrested and 46 000 fired. The NUM lost 50 000 members. But Mr Ramaphosa showed his resilience, coming back strongly and building the union up to about 340 000 members.

Natural

Mr Ramaphosa completed his degree through Unisa, but did not write the board exams which would have admitted him as an attorney. Part of the reason, according to sources, was a marital break-up.

ANC talks go-ahead

SI Times 7/7/91. (11A)

ORGANISATION GEARS UP FOR AN ALL-PARTY CONFERENCE

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC has given Mr Nelson Mandela the go-ahead to get an all-party conference going as soon as possible.

The ANC conference in Durban yesterday adopted a resolution which mandated its leadership to continue the process of "talks about talks" and invested Mr Mandela with discretionary powers to decide when real negotiations should start.

Violence remained the main obstacle to the convening of an all-party conference, said spokesmen.

However, the ANC has thrown its full weight behind church efforts to establish codes of conduct for security forces and political parties, and also to resolve the prisoner and exile questions.

Rejuvenated

The achievement of these two, believed to be imminent, will be a signal for Mr Mandela to start talks on an all-party conference.

The ANC conference laid the blame for violence at the door of the government. The ANC intends to step up mass action and appeal for increased international pressure to force the government to combat violence.

The conference also handed the ANC a clear

mandate to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa in the shortest possible time.

But there will be no compromising on its basic demands for the government to satisfactorily address violence and agree to the appointment of an interim government. Once negotiations are under way it will campaign furiously for constituent assembly

elections.

Mr Mandela will lead a rejuvenated executive after elections which saw top trade union leader Cyril Ramaphosa sweeping aside "old guard" member Alfred Nzo for the important post of secretary-general.

The conference signalled its clear commitment to negotiations by according Mr Walter Sisulu a huge

victory over unreconstructed Stalinist Harry Gwala for the post of deputy president.

This was later reinforced by the election of Mr Jacob Zuma — the Southern Natal leader who has to date headed negotiations with the government — to the post of deputy secretary-general.

Mr Thomas Nkobi retained his position as trea-

surer general.

Political education head Raymond Suttner said the ANC would fight the first non-racial elections in South Africa as a liberation movement and not a political party. The tripartite alliance with the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions would remain in place.

The conference also

endorsed the involvement of Umkhonto we Sizwe members in setting up defence units to protect communities.

But MK member and former Vula trialist Siphwe Nyanda was at pains to point out that this would not mean arming communities.

Mr Nyanda said communities were already armed. MK members would provide them with organisational skills and training on certain elementary elements of defence, such as the setting up of barricades and look-out posts.

Fellow Vula trialist Ronnie Kasrils said defence units would be

answerable to civic committees and not the ANC.

At the time of going to press, the results of the elections for the remaining 50 places on the NEC were not known.

However, the trouncing of Mr Nzo by Mr Ramaphosa came as a rude shock to many sitting national executive committee members.

Mr Nzo's poor performance is an indication that many of the old guard might suffer a similar fate.

With 130 members competing for 50 places, few delegates were prepared to hazard a guess as to the outcome.

The only sitting NEC members who can be regarded as definites are international head Thabo Mbeki, information chief Pallo Jordan, MK commander Joe Modise, MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo, Women's League president Getrude Shope and organisation and sport head Steve Tshwete.

Certainties

Others delegates regarded as virtual certainties were former UDF and MDM leaders Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Raymond Suttner, Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada and former NEC member and Vula activist Mac Maharaj.

SACP members who stood a good chance of being elected included Cheryl Carolus, Jeremy Cronin, Harry Gwala, Chris Hani, Sidney Mafumadi, Mac Maharaj, Moses Mayekiso and Mohammed Valli Moosa.

Addressing journalists after the elections, Mr Sisulu said the ANC had emerged revitalised after its conference.

Foreign funding drying up

S Times 7/7/91

11A

THE ANC received more than 90 percent of its total R90-million income in the 10 months to the end of December in grants and donations.

This was said by treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi who also warned delegates that foreign funding was drying up. He added that the ANC would have to raise funds internally to survive.

In the short term, the ANC is reasonably well funded with R27,9-million deposited with bankers and another R13-million, raised during Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to the US, await-

By EDYTH BULBRING

ing collection.

It also has a property portfolio worth about R593-million.

But Mr Nkobi warned: "We must recognise the reality that the external sources of financial and other support are not stable."

The ANC, he said, should endeavour to end its dependence on external forces and become self-sufficient. Unless this happened, it would be vulnerable to external forces.

Recognising that exter-

nal support would diminish drastically, the key question facing the organisation was whether it could sustain growth using its own resources.

In the first 10 months after the ANC was unbanned, 86 percent of its R11-million internal income came from grants, while five percent came from membership fees.

Assets

The ANC's largest expenditure, R1,7-million, was on travel while the second highest was on employment.

The movement retained a surplus of R1,3-million at the end of the 10-month period.

Its assets inside South Africa are a guest house in Johannesburg, motor vehicles, office equipment and furniture totalling R1,8-million.

The ANC was facing

more social, political, economic and financial problems than in exile, said Mr Nkobi.

These included bringing political exiles back to SA, assisting ANC members with academic and military training abroad, re-establishing the ANC inside the country and the maintenance of MK cadres.

The ANC's external income for the first 10 months of 1990 was R79-million, of which R75-million was in the form of grants and donations. Most of the funding had come from Scandinavian countries.

Total external expenditure for the 10-month period amounted to R69,9-million, leaving a surplus of R9,8-million.

Intended projects to raise money for the ANC internally include the

establishment of an ANC travel agency, the purchase of a printing company and the setting up of an ANC garage.

Plans for the establishment of an ANC buying club are also in the pipeline, said Mr Nkobi.

Members of the club would qualify for discounts of up to 10 percent with major furniture chains, clothing and grocery stores across South Africa.

Mr Nkobi said the ANC's donors were keen to support and redirect the bulk of funding inside the country.

Funding for external projects would be phased out over two to five years and there would be no new capital investment.

The ANC's main funders are the Swedish aid agency Sida and the Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Australian governments.

The people

THE debates were exhaustive, the criticism often brutal and the food awful. The ANC's determined attempt at democracy this past week was as hard as the delegates's beds — and as uncomfortable.

But, for the more than 2 000 representatives to the 48th conference of the African National Congress which ends in Durban today, it was an opportunity to shape a movement which had been banned for 30 years. They grasped it with both hands.

In the annals of congresses of South African political movements it was unique.

For starters, the list of foreign dignitaries ranged from Nigerians, through former US congressmen and Soviet diplomats, to representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Every country had its own message of solidarity and, by the time they had finished, the congress was already well behind schedule.

Indian under-secretary of African Affairs Sushil Dubey travelled 69 hours from New Delhi to Durban only to miss the opening ceremony. Salamm el Herfi, adviser to PLO leader Yasser Arafat, was given a hero's welcome.

Strenuous

A breakfast scene at Durban's Maharan Hotel on the third day of the conference captured the flavour of it all.

At one table sat two representatives of the PLO, eating dried fruit and drinking coffee. At another, tucking into eggs and toast, was Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa. British Labour Party MP Joan Lester hovered around while the children of Pan Africanist Congress vice-president Dikgang Moseneke attacked cream buns with relish.

With press cameras tracking his every move outside the conference hall at the University of Durban-Westville, president-elect Nelson Mandela worked the crowd like an American presidential candidate.

Inside the conference, delegates accorded outgoing president Oliver Tambo a standing ovation and the full medley of

Shall get

their act

Strivers
7/11/91
11/A
together

MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING find a fractious but more mature ANC at its 48th annual conference in Durban this week

struggle songs virtually every time he entered the hall.

But, once they got beyond the razzmatazz and symbolism, the going got incredibly tough. The ANC's rhetoric on democracy was given the litmus test and, according to the delegates inside the conference, it passed.

One of the main questions facing the delegates was the process of electing the men and women to lead the organisation.

Frank

For six hours the delegates debated how to ensure that their women members were given top leadership positions. After a strenuous debate in which more than 70 speakers took part, the ANC rejected a proposal that women be guaranteed a minimum of 30 percent of the places on the National Executive Committee (NEC).

This decision was reached despite NEC and Women's League support for the proposal. In the run-up to the conference,

secretary-general Alfred Nzo was subjected to scathing criticism by those, particularly in the PWV region of the ANC, who wanted him removed from this top post. (Later he did go — voted out in favour of Cyril Ramaphosa.)

Delivering his report, which covered the entire period the ANC spent in exile as well as the 18 months since its unbanning, Mr Nzo proved that he, too, could be rigorously critical.

A section of his report was misconstrued by some of the media as an attack on the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party and as a partial acceptance that the ANC was responsible for violence.

Information head Dr Pallo Jordan was forced to explain the next day that the section of the report in which these two issues were mentioned was one dealing with the ANC's failure to attract a significant number of members from the coloured, Indian and white communities. He said discussions had been held with representatives from



various regions and with members of the different communities, during which violence and the alliance with the SACP were among eight points raised as possible factors contributing to the ANC's limited success in the communities.

Mr Nzo's report is remarkably frank about the problems confronting the ANC in recruiting members.

Important

Among items listed under the heading "Problems hampering growth" are:

- Factionalism, cliquism and ignorance.
- A sense of complacency that nothing is at stake and that the ANC's ascendancy to power is already assured.
- The apparent state of confusion at head office and the bureaucracy that accompanies it. Commenting on mass rallies and marches, the report says:

"Attendances vary greatly, for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the quality of mass work done beforehand is poor, especially by or centralised activities. On the other hand, the same forms of activity are repeated for the same demands. There seems to be little creativity or variety on campaigns."

Sch rigorous self-criticism was also forthcoming in other debates.

Southern Natal region during an important debate on strategies and tactics were:

- The ANC had not come any where near the government in mastering the new art of political contest.
- The ANC's practices and structures remained geared as if 1990 had not happened.
- The government was winning the "image" game;
- The ANC needed to inject creativity into its campaigns

because "the Nats are creating an image of being winners" and the ANC was portrayed as inefficient, leaderless, inept, disunited and incoherent.

Criticism

A major criticism of the ANC congress was that most of it was closed. This, however, allowed a searching analysis of problems.

The conference brought together for the first time the exiled leadership, cadres from

the camps, the Rivonia generation, internal members who learnt their politics in the United Democratic Front, and trade unionists.

All had their own ideas and were determined to have a critical and constructive say in dealing with these problems.

The ANC clearly underestimated the time its exercise in internal democracy would consume — throwing even the best-conceived schedules out of kilter.

The leadership, however, had made its intentions clear.

In his opening address, Mr Mandela, for once, emphasised the victories the ANC had achieved in having its members released from prison, forcing the government to jettison racist legislation, and beginning the process of the repatriation of exiles.

Urgent

He told the conference to count on an all-party congress "taking place sooner rather than later and, therefore, to approach all preparations for our own participation with some urgency".

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani reiterated this sense of urgency later in the week when he told a media briefing that, even if ANC members were killed by assassins, this should not be allowed to sidetrack negotiations.

Compared with the December consultative conference, there was a marked increase in the level of maturity with which delegates approached issues.

The elections will undoubtedly see the removal of some of the old guard NEC members who committed the organisation to negotiations in the first place. But the newer members are no less committed to a negotiated settlement — although not at any price. Tough talking can be expected.

SMILING Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie (right) great activist and former detainee Shirley Gunn and her son Haron, two, at the ANC conference in Durban

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

ANC has
R655M
in

foreign

SI Times 7/7/91
assets (11A)

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC has external assets worth R655-million, including cash reserves of R41-million and property of R600-million.

This was revealed in the report of treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi to the ANC conference in Durban.

The report said the ANC owns a house in Bonn, an office and a house in Belgium, an office, a printing works, a vacant plot and two flats in London, flats in Oslo, Stockholm and Toronto, 31 houses in Harare, a mechanical workshop and a house in Lusaka. It also has four farms in Zambia and land and buildings in Zimbabwe.

Two projects in Tanzania are valued at R575-million. One, Dakawa, is a village housing about 8 000 people with services and infrastructure to provide training and employment.

The other, Mazimbu, is a farm which includes the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

The ANC also has 269 vehicles outside South Africa.

● See Page 2



WINNING SIDE . . . Lawyer Danie Heyns (left) and resident Gert Viljoen seem satisfied.

**Report by LEN KALANE
Pictures by MIKE MZILENI**

IT was a political auction, the day a small mining town on the border of the Transvaal and Free State was put under the hammer.

The ANC was pitted against white farmers . . . and the ANC lost.

Before the auction got underway on Tuesday afternoon, the political factions were already showing their colours.

A group of blacks, one man dressed in khaki with green, black and gold trimmings, chanted "ANCI ANCI ANCI" while they toyi-toyed on the side of the road, just a few metres away from the marquee where the big sale was about to begin.

The other extreme of the political spectrum was represented by a group of about 300 white farmers — most of them dressed in khaki, AWB-style. It was a scene reminiscent of the battlefields during the Voortrekker era.

The main actors in this drama were lawyers Ismail Ayob, for the ANC, and Danie Heyns for the farmers. Heyns is also partner in the hastily formed Grootvlei Development Corporation.

R4,5-million

Victory finally went to Heyns who outbid Ayob amid chants of "voort met die boere" (up the farmers!) from the winning side.

Heyns bid R4,6-million after Ayob had declined to improve on his R4,5-million offer.

A tide of overjoyed whites surged forward, mobbing Heyns after the final bidding, dancing and chanting.

That's how the ANC failed to buy the mining town of Grootvlei at Springfield colliery, 90km from Johannesburg — a town it had hoped to convert into a resettlement camp for its cadres returning home from exile.

Grootvlei is a quiet 774 hectare village comprising a coal mine which has closed down, a hospital, a hostel complex and a beer garden on one side of the main road.

The other side of the street is the residential area with about 250 houses and a golf course.

Heyns, a Pretoria-based lawyer, told reporters he was "not buying this property for any political party", as he signed the sale agreement.

ANC social welfare

114

Rightwings farmers outbid ANC



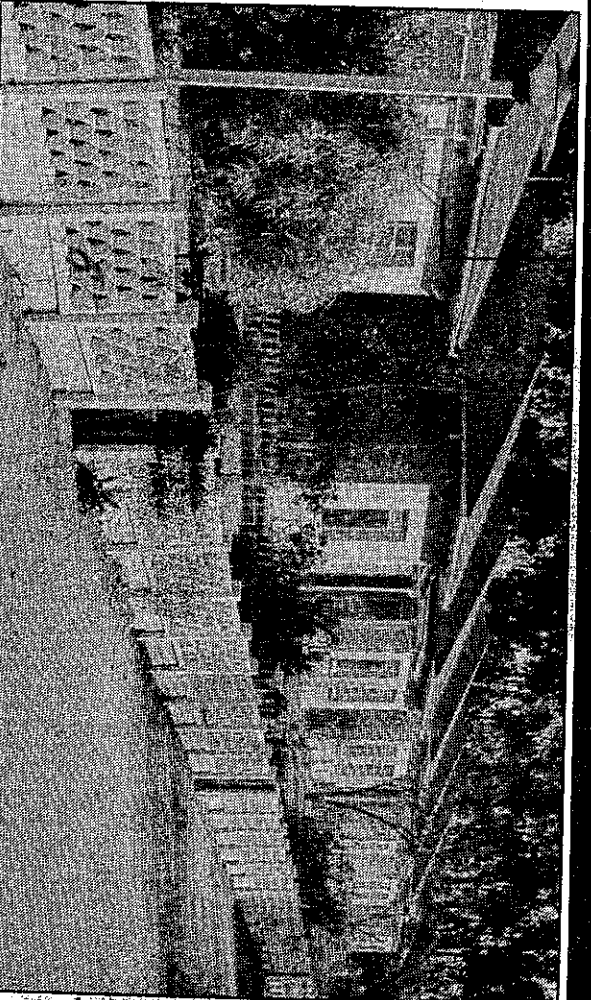
VIVA ANCI . . . These supporters were disappointed when their side lost.

head Winnie Mandela recently visited the village and liked what she saw.

The day before the auction AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche was seen at the mining town.

Heyns had joined a local liaison committee formed by farmers and businessmen to buy the property, allegedly to stop the village from falling into the hands of the ANC.

A leading member of the committee, Gert Viljoen, who was also bidding, said the community had negotiated with auctioneers Chase on the terms of the sale. They sought to "maintain stan-



QUIET SUBURBIA . . . Would have been ideal for resettling ANC exiles.

ards" in Grootvlei, he said.

A young farmer who lives in the village heaved a sigh of relief after the sale.

"Now the situation is normal and stable. We don't want any trouble. It is the best thing that has happened."

Another was heard saying: "They (ANC) would bring lots of trouble in the area."

Saddened and disappointed was the group of black people, who had earlier been rooting for the ANC. They hoped that once the ANC had secured Grootvlei, their future would be guaran-

teed in the area.

"Anglo American looked after us very well," said Sarah Radebe, who has lived in the area since 1969.

"We stayed for free in our houses. 'I think they are now going to charge us rent,' she lamented.

She lives in a luxury eight-roomed house with her husband, four children and three grandchildren.

One man said he did not believe the ANC could not afford to buy the property. "I think this was a business stunt and that the ANC's name was dragged into it to get the stakes higher.

of the local school, Tshepehang, which has about 800 pupils.

"We might as well forget about the school," said Kheswa.

"Local farmers around here are rightwingers. I don't think they will entertain the idea of a black school in their midst."

Mothballs

Heyns said he would have the area proclaimed a town and sell the houses.

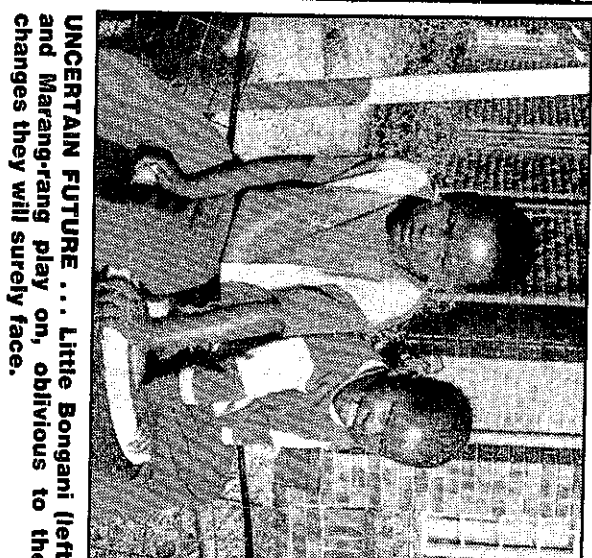
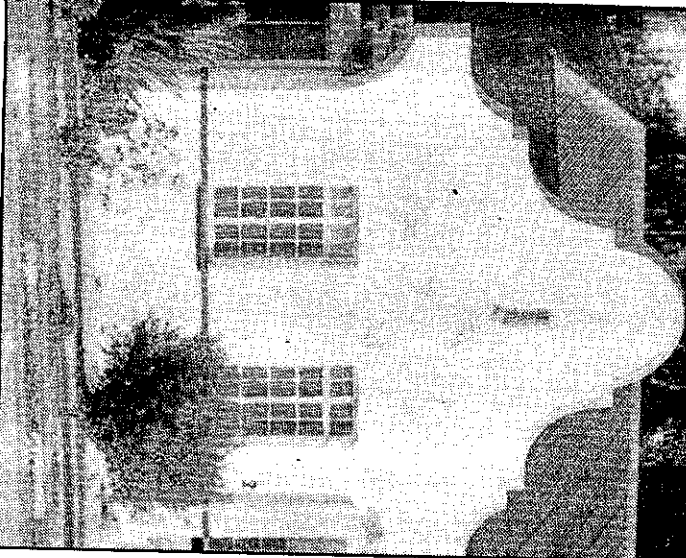
The school would be kept open until December 1993 with teachers staying on rent-free till then. In November last year Eskom took the decision to mothball three of its middle-order power stations, including Grootvlei which was supplied by Springfield colliery.

The decision came as a result of excess capacity in Eskom's system and financial constraints imposed by low tariffs.

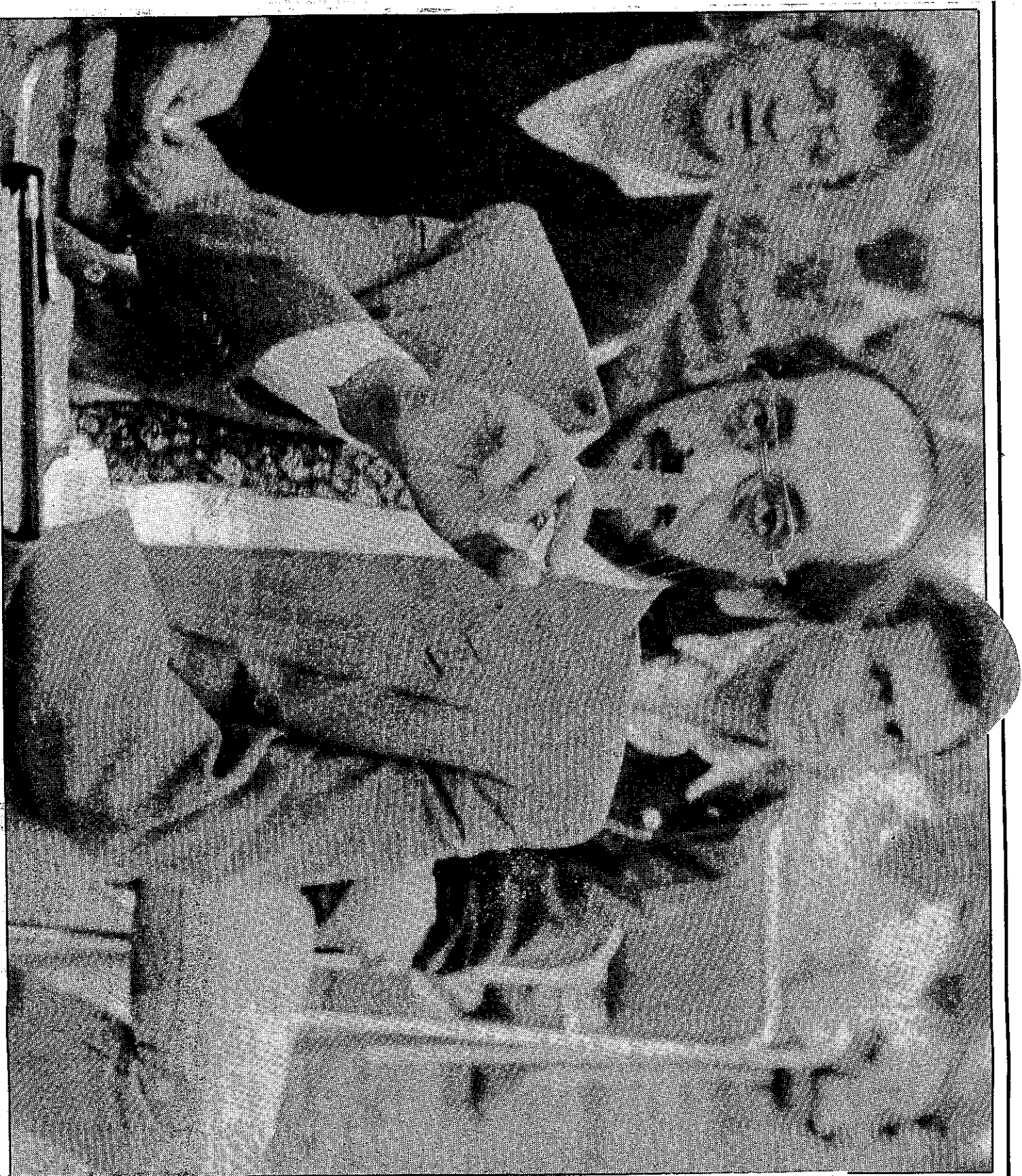
Because the power station was expected to be mothballed for an extended period and the general poor geological conditions underground, it was agreed with Eskom that the mine should be closed.

So came the demise of Grootvlei, which Heyns promised was now going to be "put on the map".

COLONIAL SPLENDOR . . . About 250 houses, including this Dutch-gabled house, fell under the auctioneer's hammer at Grootvlei.



UNCERTAIN FUTURE . . . Little Bongani (left) and Marang-rang play on, oblivious to the changes they will surely face.



TENSE MOMENT . . . ANC lawyer Ismail Av'rb makes a higher bid for Springfield colliery. He stuck on R4.5-million and lost.

PAGE 8

CITY PRESS, July 7 1991

GOING, GOING, GONE!

City Press 7/7/91

Despite illness veteran returns to fill senior ANC job

OLIVER Tambo has bowed out as president of the ANC after 24 years.

And it looks like the 73-year-old ANC stalwart will not be sidelined despite his recent ill health.

Tambo was appointed ANC national chairman at the ANC's national conference in Durban which ended today, a post previously held by Walter Sisulu, who is now in the running for the post of deputy president.

Since Tambo suffered a severe stroke in Zambia two years ago he has only played a behind-the-scenes role in the practical running of the ANC.

But during the months leading up to the five-day conference, Tambo continued giving direction to the ANC at its most crucial period of its 79 years of existence.

A senior ANC source said this week: "The respect the people still have for Tambo, including those still in exile and those in the ANC military wing, is overwhelming."

This indicates that Tambo's wisdom and leadership ability is still needed.

His new assignment enables him to play a major role in assisting Nelson Mandela, the only nominee for the job of ANC president.

Tambo was largely responsible for building the ANC in exile following the organisation's banning inside the country in 1960.

His task was to rally international support for the isolation of the South African Government, which he did successfully.

Sanctions against South Africa and its political, cultural, academic and sports isolation were the fruits of Tambo's work.

Addressing the conference this week, Tambo recalled that the ANC had to create a "reliable

rear base for our struggle".

"I left the country in 1960, a week after the Sharpeville massacre and just before the ANC and PAC were banned."

The ANC in exile suffered through difficult years of fighting for the political and economic rights of black South Africans.

From exile Tambo succeeded in directing the ANC to that historic moment in May last year when, for the first time, the ANC met President FW De Klerk's govern-

ment in Cape Town.

Under his leadership the ANC has entrenched its positions as the major political player in the new South Africa.

"Even as we provided leadership, we were always conscious of the fact the ANC was the people's parliament," said Tambo.

"In this context, we considered it important that ANC decisions were shaped by popular mass endorsement at all times."

Looking back over the past 30 years, Tambo

said the ANC leadership did not become disillusioned when times were hard.

"We were always ready to accept our mistakes and to correct them."

"Above all, we succeeded in fostering and defending the unity of the ANC and the unity of our people in general."

"Even in bleak moments, we never doubted that we would win our freedom and have never been in doubt that the people's cause would triumph." - ANO

Tambo steps down

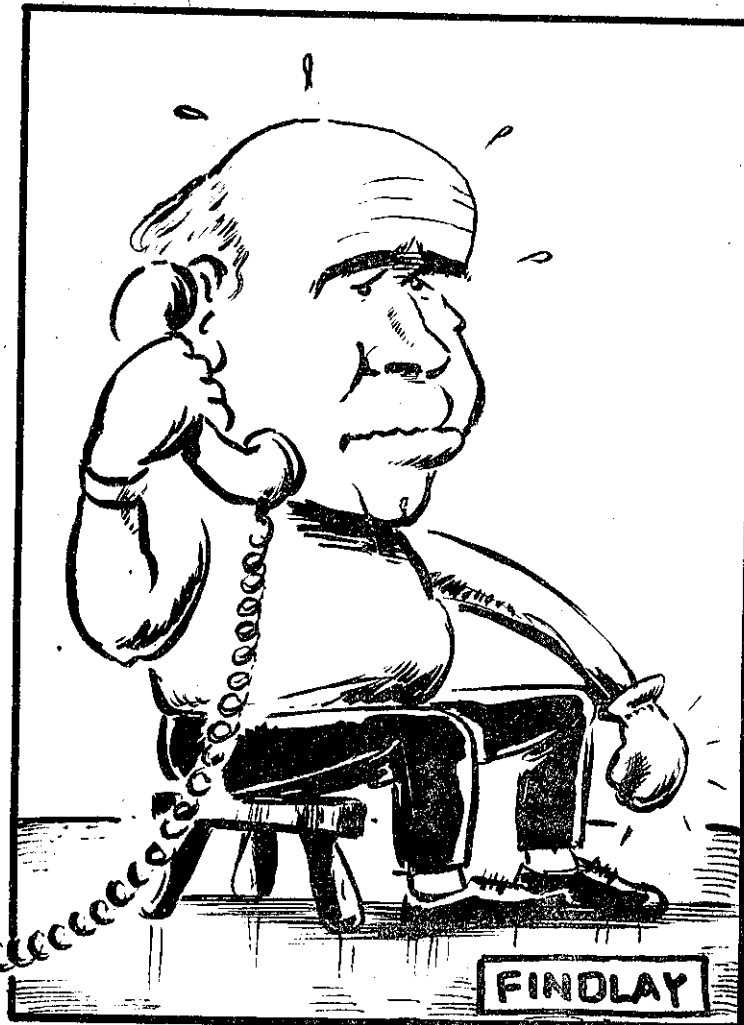


but not out

VICTORY IS CERTAIN . . . Oliver Tambo told the ANC conference: "Even in bleak moments, we never doubted that we would win our freedom and have never been in doubt that the people's cause would triumph." (Below) Delegates at the first ANC conference on home soil in 30 years.

■ Pic: PETER MCKENZIE

I'M READY!
WHAT ABOUT YOU?



HAD a grandstand seat at the five-day ANC national conference in Durban this week.

Few of the journalists from all over the world who flocked to the conference had such a great view of the proceedings.

Mine was a bird's eye-view of the outgoing national executive committee and all the delegates. I could pick up the smallest sound from the floor, even whispers from those complaining about the long speeches.

On the first day the outgoing ANC president Oliver Tambo, now national chairman, gave his speech.

This was followed by a speech from the new president, Nelson Mandela.

Who would have dreamt a year or so back that we would be holding this conference, let alone attending it dressed in suits, well-ironed shirts and polished shoes?

What happened to the activists in scruffy jeans, dirty running shoes and those T-shirts emblazoned with slogans?

What happened to the

□ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

New political era has begun

C/press 7/7/91

(11A)



toyi-toyi and ululating that punctuated all the speeches?

Not once did I hear the chairman call for order.

Obviously Mandela and the old guard have brought discipline to our youth.

Their presence on the podium was enough to get across the message that the days of goofing off in the name of the struggle were over.

Obviously there were divisions and tensions among delegates. Maybe the internal activists were sceptical of the exiles; the young of the old; the moderates of the radicals or the workers of the

intellectuals.

But the ANC conference will go down in our history as orderly, disciplined and constructive.

Mandela set the tone of the conference when he said in his speech: "During the few days ahead of us, we will have to take very important decisions, which may very well decide the fate of this country for many years to come..."

I have been to many black liberation conferences where I came out wondering why they were held at all. They were riddled with political rhetoric, slogans, and hate for the system - but no solutions were offered and

resolutions were never carried out.

I saw no hint of this at the ANC conference.

Critical analysis of who we are, where we are, where we are going and how to get there were the order of the day.

The wisdom of the old guard overruled the emotional outbursts associated with the restless and militant youth.

Back to Mandela's opening speech. He spoke about the need for self-criticism within ANC ranks.

He spoke about negotiations being a theatre of struggle and about the transfer of power to the people. He reminded his

audience that the regime had not yet been defeated.

But Mandela did not say whether the ANC was aiming to seize power from the Nats or whether they would align with others in the liberation struggle.

The conference agreed to an All-Party Congress, but I cannot reveal what format this congress will take or what its agenda may be.

Also discussed was the question of sanctions.

While the moderates won most of the issues put to the house for debate, they lost this one.

But the most positive aspect that emerged from the conference was that the ANC leadership has a full mandate to lead us to a new South Africa.

Addressing foreign diplomats on Thursday night, Mandela said sanctions were still official ANC policy until the government had met all their demands.

But this political weapon is gradually slipping away from the ANC's control.



HEARD IT ON THE GRAPEVINE ... Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils share a lighter moment. Pic: PETER MCKENZIE



WARM WELCOME ... Campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston blesses the congress.



FACE OF CONFIDENCE ... President Nelson Mandela officially heads up the ANC.

NO EASY

TALKS TO FREEDOM

By SEKOLA SELLO *CIPRES 7/7/91*
(HA)

THE 48th congress of the ANC ended yesterday with the organisation now believed to be firmly locked into a negotiated settlement as the means of resolving the country's political problems.

This is the impression one gained during the first three days of the congress. However, with the discussions held in closed sessions, save for the occasional press briefing, it was difficult to come to an informed opinion.

However, the major issues of strategy and tactics, violence, organising the ANC and international relations had not yet been dealt with at the time of going to press.

Outgoing deputy president and new president, Nelson Mandela, set the tone during his opening address when he stated that the ANC wanted negotiations to start sooner rather than later.

Observers believe this strong pro-negotiations position was given added impetus two days before the congress when ...



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Outgoing deputy president and new president, Nelson Mandela, set the tone during his opening address when he stated that the ANC wanted negotiations to start sooner rather than later.

Observers believe this strong pro-negotiations position was given added impetus two days into the congress when, with five hours to go before the election of national leaders, Thabo Mbeki withdrew his nomination for deputy president.

This was interpreted as a tactic by the pro-negotiations lobby to strengthen the hand of another nominee for deputy president, Walter Sisulu, against the more hardline Harry Gwala. Sisulu, apart from being a confidante of Mandela, is also considered to strongly favour negotiations.

Gwala is regarded as a wild horse, and there was fear in some quarters that his election to any of the top five positions would divide the organisation into two hostile camps.

The armed struggle, although not entirely abandoned, is now being accorded less primacy - much to the chagrin of many Umkhonto weSizwe commanders, some of whom slipped into the country to lobby congress support for continued armed action.

Yet it would be wrong to downgrade the influence of MK. The ANC's fighting arm made several gains at congress including taking part in the deliberations as a region.

For the first time, MK was also granted automatic representation by about six or seven members (commanders or heads of sections). They also got from congress a concession to have a special commission set up to look into their position in the light of the shift towards a peaceful settlement.

The new ANC leadership is expected to pursue a more vigorous negotiating style. The outgoing office reportedly again faced the criticism of being "soft and too conciliatory" in dealings with the government.

However, delegates were quick to emphasise that this did not mean the ANC should, as policy, be confrontational in the talks.

Nor did it mean the so-called ANC hawks had "lost the initiative" in a struggle against moderates.

In fact, a delegate who

Leaders' stance gets full support

asked to remain anonymous, said the media were being blamed for drumming up the whole idea of two opposing camps.

Held in the tranquil ambience of the University of Durban Westville -



FIRST COUPLE ... Nelson Mandela shares a word with his glamorous wife, Winnie.

away from the madding crowd of the toyi-toyi brigade - the pin-striped congress had an intense, businesslike air.

There was little of the raucous and acrimonious politicking that can go on when positions of power

are at stake.

However, most delegates reiterated the bitter feelings of the December Consultative Conference where it was felt that the ANC had conceded much, while the government expediently continued to allow violence to be

waged against the townships.

They were also critical of the way the leadership handled the April deadlines and the May 9 ultimatums. Some delegates felt that the ANC lost out badly by backing down on

the issues.

However, during the first two days much energy was spent in the National Executive election contest. There was serious jockeying for positions.

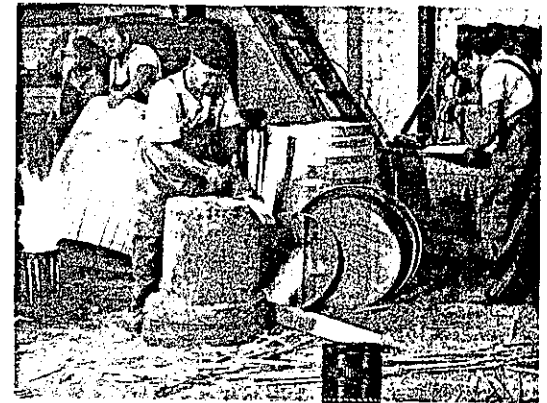
While the congress dealt extensively with the

issue of negotiations, there was some conflict over the strategy of popular demonstrations.

The feeling seemed to be that street marches and petitions are now regarded as ineffectual and that new political strategies had to be devised.

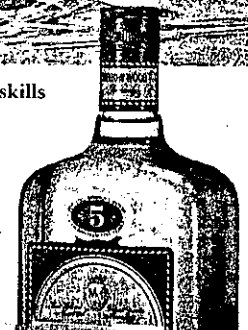


PRO TALKS ... ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu



We pay homage to the skills of our coopers.

The pot still brandy content in Mellow-Wood has been aged for at least five years in maturation cellars, becoming rich, mellow and exquisitely smooth. Infused with subtle flavours from the oak.



ANC TO

11-2 JUL 1991

GIVE MK

C/Press 7/7/91

11A

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BOOST

By **SEKOLA SELLO**
and **S'BU MNGADI**

THE ANC conference in Durban yesterday resolved to strengthen its military wing Umkhonto weSizwe in a move that could strain relations with the government.

The conference, however, also fully endorsed its president Nelson Mandela's commitment to negotiations.

The ANC yesterday resolved at its five-day conference that:

- MK shall remain combat-ready;
 - the ANC accepts full responsibility for cadres taken to court in the execution of their duties, defending their people;
 - the ANC would establish MK structures throughout the country at all levels, including the opening of offices; and
 - the ANC would maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.
- Until such time MK equipment would not be surrendered.

The organisation stressed that the suspension of armed action did not mean abandoning the struggle.

The conference also resolved to mandate its national executive to continue with talks about talks.



HE'S OUR MAN . . . Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's new secretary-general, is held aloft by exuberant supporters. ■ Pic: AP

It stressed the need to build unity among those committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa and resolved that a Patriotic Front be established as soon as possible.

The conference said the gains made in the mass struggle would be reflected at the negotiations table and noted that the government had not yet removed all the obstacles to negotiations.

It criticised the "campaign of terror" it claimed was being

carried out to destabilise society, intimidate people and undermine and weaken the ANC and its allies.

The NEC was asked to implement a policy to defeat this strategy.

The conference set out the steps that would lead to a democratic constitution and a representative parliament, and resolved that a time limit be set to reach these objectives.

It also resolved that immediate steps be taken to put together a comprehensive team of ne-

gotiators, working groups and researchers.

It resolved to retain the four pillars of the struggle, namely Umkhonto weSizwe, international isolation of South Africa, underground operations and mass mobilisation.

However, in a shift of emphasis, however, the fact that mass mobilisation and organisation replaced the armed struggle at the centre of the battle for democracy.

The meeting also endorsed and supported the initiative taken by church and business organisations to convene a peace conference.

■ The ANC's commission on strategy and tactics yesterday made it clear the movement was not going to be converted into a political party and was determined to step up mass action.

Chairman Ray Suttner, with two other high-profile members, Ronnie Kasrils and Cheryl Carolus, conveyed the ANC's position on strategy to a media conference.

Suttner said the ANC was receiving "a lot of unsolicited advice" to become a political party.

"The government feels it easier to deal with a political party and with one of a particular type," he said. "We say, no."

■ The election of a new national executive committee was still being held last night.

■ See pages 4, 5 and 13



Cyril's welcome triumph

CP Correspondent
and Sapa Reuter *CP News 17/191*

CHEERS and wild scenes followed the announcement at the ANC's congress in Durban on Friday that Cyril Ramaphosa had been elected to the position of secretary-general.

Ramaphosa, 39, the NUM secretary-general and a key figure in Cosatu, was elected by an overwhelming 1 156 votes.

The two other contenders for the position, Alfred Nzo, who served as secretary-general of the ANC in exile for many years, and Jacob Zuma, member of the NEC and head of ANC intelligence, polled 371 and 450 votes respectively.

Grassroots leader

Ramaphosa is the only person from the ranks of the former internal UDF/Cosatu alliance elected to one of the five executive positions on the NEC.

Nelson Mandela was unanimously elected president; Walter Sisulu deputy president; Jacob Zuma to the new position of deputy secretary-general; and Thomas Nkobi - the only person to retain his former position - was re-elected treasurer-general.

Nkobi polled 1 277 votes to the 680 of Msimang Mendi.

When the results of the election of office bearers was announced on Friday, Ramapho-

Ramaphosa election a victory for Young Lions *(11A)*

sa's supporters carried him triumphantly to the stage on their shoulders.

The announcement of Sisulu's crushing victory over firebrand Harry Gwala was also received with great applause. The 79-year-old Sisulu polled 1 567 votes to Gwala's 412.

But the afternoon undoubtedly belonged to Ramaphosa.

Although it was a foregone conclusion, the announcement of Mandela's unanimous election to president was also greeted by exuberant applause and singing.

Zuma's election to the new position of deputy secretary-general was against the expectations of many people. They expected former UDF secretary-general Popo Molefe to take the post. However, Zuma polled 1 039 votes to Molefe's 659. Nzo polled just 258 votes.

As serving members of the NEC, Nzo and Zuma were on the stage when the results of the election were announced.

Both smiled when Ramaphosa was carried on to the stage, but they were obviously

disappointed.

It is expected that Ramaphosa will now resign as Num secretary-general.

Ramaphosa's election is seen as a victory for the young anti-apartheid activists of the turbulent 1970s and 1980s.

He is the standard bearer of a generation whose fiery township rebellions shook the foundations of white rule while ANC veterans languished in prison.

Ramaphosa and others who cut their anti-apartheid teeth in the 1970s have for months complained of being deliberately excluded from top ANC posts by former exiles and prisoners.

Their criticism of Mandela's generation as autocratic, secretive and undemocratic expresses widespread rank-and-file anger at distaste shown by the "old men" for a tradition of grassroots consultation built up in the 1970s and 1980s.

They said the secrecy employed by former exiles like Nzo was an unnecessary relic born of the insecurity of years of banning and exile.

Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa

was born in Johannesburg in 1952 and grew up in Soweto.

Like many of the younger ANC officials, his political roots lie in the Black Consciousness movement of the late Steve Biko, which campaigned to free blacks from what it called a slave mentality induced by both apartheid and white liberalism.

He qualified as a lawyer in Johannesburg in 1981 and joined a labour federation's legal department. He was appointed general secretary of the Num on its formation in 1982.

Union experience

Ramaphosa built the union's membership from 6 000 at its inception to about 340 000 in 1986, but this has fallen to about 250 000 because of retrenchments.

He campaigned against racial discrimination in the industry and staged strikes to demand improved safety and equal pay and pensions.

The union staged one of the largest strikes in South African history in 1987, involving 40 gold and coal mines, but failed to win the pay increases it had demanded. Nine miners died in clashes and 500 were injured.

Ramaphosa was detained twice in the 1970s for a total of 17 months under anti-terrorism legislation. He is active in civic politics in Soweto, where he lives with his wife Nomazizi.

Power to the president!

cyren 7/7/91
NELSON Mandela moved closer to becoming the first black president of South Africa on Friday when he was elected president of the ANC at the organisation's 48th congress, held in Durban.

Mandela will head the national executive committee which is expected to lead South Africa into its first non-racial elections.

Should the ANC win at the polls, Mandela is likely to be rewarded for his lifetime's work by being elected South Africa's first black head of state.

Unseen for more than a quarter of a century, Mandela dominated the fight for black rights in South Africa as an enduring symbol of resistance to white domination.

Dignity

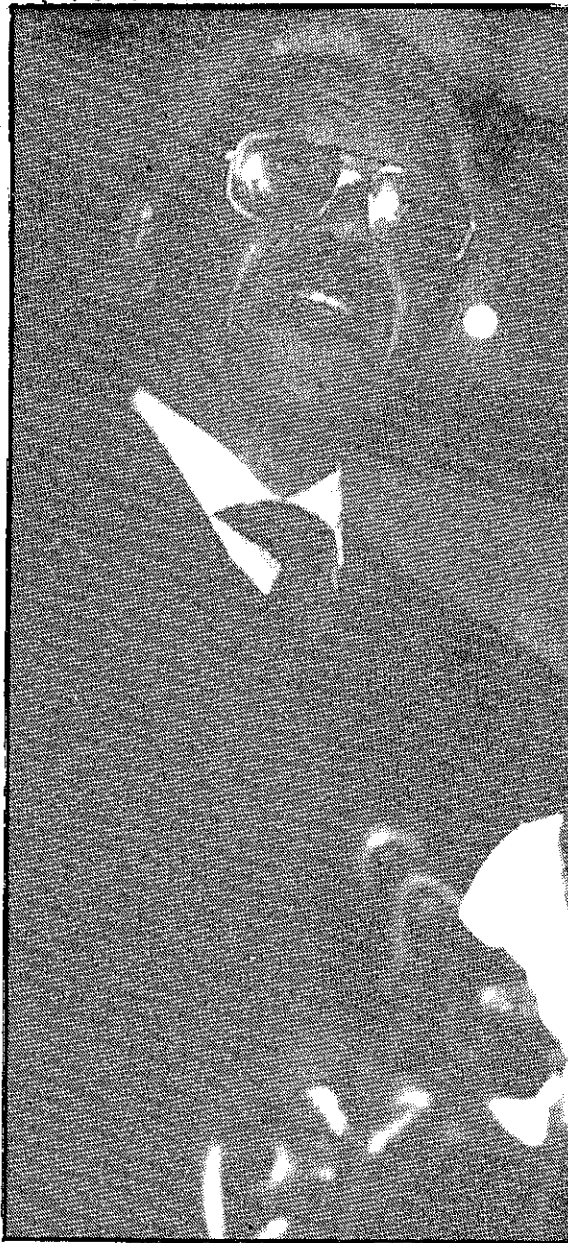
He emerged from 27 years in jail on February 11 last year to take his place as a pragmatist, willing to put the past behind him and work with the white government.

"Mandela has emerged with immense dignity and an unshaken belief in his people's demand for justice and equality," said political scientist Gary van Staden.

"He is firmly in charge. He is running the show. He is nobody's puppet. He listens to his close advisers. He executes decisions with stature," he said.

Four months after his release, Mandela and officials of the ANC held historic talks with the South African government to discuss obstacles impeding non-racial democracy.

"(President FW) de Klerk and some of his ministers are serious when they say they want a change in South Africa. I deal with them on that basis," Mandela told re-



Nelson Mandela.

■ Pic: PETER MCKENZIE

porters.

"But I am not misled by their honesty. They are honest, but I am concerned with harsh reality. And the harsh reality is that apartheid is still in place."

ANC colleagues say that, at 72, Mandela looks well despite his punishing schedule. He has toured major capitals to raise funds for the ANC, to brief heads of govern-

ment about the reform process and to appeal for the maintenance of sanctions until Pretoria has dismantled apartheid entirely.

Despite his statesmanlike stature, things have not been smooth sailing for Mandela.

Abroad, his appeals for the diplomatic isolation of South Africa and intensified sanctions have been politely rebuffed.

(11A)
 At home he has been drawn into a range of domestic conflicts and his appeals to stop vicious township faction fighting between his supporters and those of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party have largely fallen on deaf ears.

His firebrand wife Winnie, who is appealing against a six-year jail term imposed for kidnaping anti-apartheid activists and being an accessory to their assault, has also tarnished his moderate image.

Mandela says since his release he has found the attitudes of whites towards blacks, especially that of De Klerk's ruling National Party, have changed for the better.

But he says the ANC's central demand is the extension of the vote to all South Africans without discrimination on grounds of colour or creed.

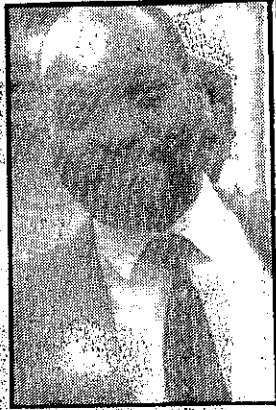
"We are very far from that," he said.

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in a mud hut in the Transkei on July 18, 1918, the son of a Xhosa chief, and was educated at Fort Hare, where he obtained an arts degree.

He went to Johannesburg to study law while working as a gold mine security guard and then as an estate agent.

He married Evelyn Nomathamsanga, a nurse who helped finance his studies but who disapproved strongly of his growing involvement in the ANC. The marriage broke up when he met and married his current wife, Winnie.

He was arrested in 1962 and jailed for life on June 12, 1964 with seven others for conspiring to overthrow the government - Sapa-Reuter



Jacob Zuma . . .
trounced opponents.

Outsider Zuma (11A) charms his way to top

By SBU MNGADI

DISMISSED by many as standing no chance of surviving the PWV region's intense behind-the-scenes canvassing, Jacob Zuma did what he does best - charmed his way into the hearts of them all.

The Southern Natal ANC leader caused an upset at the ANC conference on Friday night when he beat Popo Molefe - "every delegate's favourite" - to become deputy secretary-general.

Zuma polled 1 039 votes against the 659 of former UDF general secretary Molefe, and the 258 of outgoing ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

Those close to him were not surprised. Zuma, chief of the ANC's intelligence and a soldier for all 28 years of Umkhonto weSizwe's armed struggle, is a charmer.

He is praised as an astute diplomat by his counterparts in the ANC-government negotiations, where he is the ANC's chief negotiator.

He has also been singled out for praise by Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his recent diplomacy efforts in Natal.

Since he returned from exile early last year, he has travelled the length and breadth of Natal, meeting even the smallest cells of the ANC.

Zuma had no formal schooling and educated himself on Robben Island, before continuing his studies later.

He was involved in MK's sabotage campaign in Natal, but was caught trying to leave the country, and sent to Robben Island for 10 years.

After his release, he helped establish ANC underground structures in Natal between 1983 and 1985.

In exile he rose through the ranks of the ANC and survived several assassination attempts.

Walter — head of the fighting Sisulus

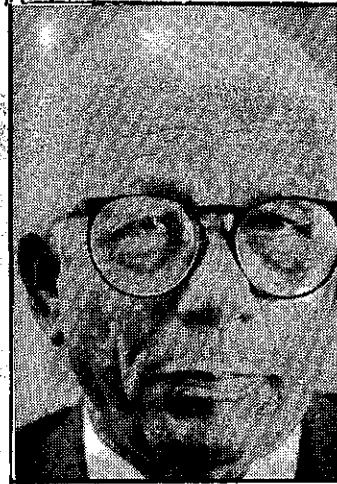
Clips 7/7/91
WALTER Sisulu, elected on Friday as ANC deputy president, is the patriarch of anti-apartheid resistance; the head of a family of fighters against white domination.

Since being released from jail a few months before his close friend Nelson Mandela, he has headed the internal wing of the ANC, trying to forge the movement into a single, cohesive force.

It has been an uphill struggle, straddling the differences between the elder statesmen, township firebrands, and the leadership-in-exile which has streamed home since the movement was legalised in February 1990.

Sisulu, 79, will continue this unifying work in his new post as Mandela's immediate deputy.

Police seized Sisulu and other senior ANC leaders in a raid on the movement's underground



Sisulu ... forging the ANC into a cohesive force.

headquarters at Rivonia, near Johannesburg, on July 11, 1963.

He was sentenced with Mandela in June 1964 at the Rivonia treason trial to life imprisonment for plotting sabotage and

11A
revolution.

After serving most of his jail term on Robben Island he was moved, along with Mandela, to Pollsmoor Prison in 1982.

During his incarceration, Sisulu's close family continued the anti-apartheid fight.

His wife Albertina, who works as a nurse in a township clinic, is a widely-respected symbol of black defiance and was a target of government crackdowns.

Sisulu's son Zwelakhe, editor of the *New Nation* newspaper, was one of the most famous victims of Pretoria's State of Emergency, which was lifted last year.

He was detained without trial in December 1986 and released without explanation two years later.

The government slapped severe restrictions on his liberty, however, including a ban on

producing material for publication.

Like Mandela, Walter Sisulu was born in the Transkei. He was educated by missionaries.

He worked as a mineworker and in a bakery, and his militant politics were shaped by strikes and clashes with the authorities.

Sisulu joined the ANC in 1940 but soon became dissatisfied with the organisation's moderate approach. With Mandela and Oliver Tambo he founded the more radical Youth Wing.

He worked his way through ANC structures and in 1949 became secretary-general, effectively running the movement.

In response to the bar on peaceful activities, the ANC formed the military wing Umkhonto weSizwe, which Sisulu joined three months before his final arrest. — Sapa-Reuter

Govt faces tougher ANC stand

'We won't negotiate as beggars'

Star 8/7/91

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

(11A)

DURBAN — The ANC has emerged from its historic national conference with a rejuvenated leadership and a firm resolve to get tougher with the Government.

Summing up the five-day conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the 2 244 delegates at a pre-dawn closing session yesterday morning that negotiations would be used to realise the ANC's objective of "transferring power to the people".

The ANC was determined that the Government would not occupy centre stage and would not be allowed to be "the manager of transition" while treating the ANC as an unequal partner which should merely be consulted.

Deliberations with the Government would be backed up by mass action.

And, although calling for the maintenance of sanctions, Mr Mandela publicly endorsed the proposals of international affairs head Thabo Mbeki for the phased lifting of punitive measures once the obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

The resolutions on sanc-

tions adopted at the conference had not been made public by last night. But ANC sources said the conference had adopted a three-phase plan for the lifting of sanctions endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity.

In terms of the ANC-proposed plan, punitive measures including sport, cultural and academic sanctions as well as restrictions on tourism and air links should be

● More reports - Pages 6 and 11

lifted once all political prisoners had been freed, exiles unconditionally indemnified, repressive security laws repealed, political trials stopped and effective Government measures taken to stop the violence.

The ANC would support the lifting of trade sanctions and restrictions on foreign investment once an interim government had been set up, and the lifting of the oil and arms embargo once a democratic government had been elected.

The Government hoped the decisions taken at the conference signalled a new willingness to embark on constitutional negotiations, despite the ANC's "failure to abandon violence", Minister

of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen said last night.

He emphasised that the ANC should keep in mind that it would be only one of the important players in constitutional talks.

Dr Viljoen said the Government was disappointed that the ANC had failed to clear up its relationship with the South African Communist Party, which still appeared to be playing a decisive role in the ANC.

He also said decisions taken on the future role of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, gave the impression the ANC was recommitting itself to violence.

Speaking at a well-attended and peaceful rally at King's Park yesterday, Mr Mandela said the conference — the "parliament of the people" — had clearly mapped out the road ahead.

"Everyone must understand that we are claiming what is ours. We do not go to the negotiation table as beggars. Compromise may be unavoidable on some questions, but surrender on our basic rights — never."

The conference had given the new national executive committee (NEC) a clear mandate to lead the organisation through the period of

● To Page 3

P.T.O.

Communists riding high in

new team

THE NEW African National Congress executive, elected before dawn yesterday, is a visible embodiment of the organisation's commitment to nonracism.

Chosen in an independently organised election, it contains men and women of all races.

The two most successful candidates present analysts with a conundrum: Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, topped the poll with 1 858 votes, and Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for international affairs, came second with 1 824 votes.

The two men reportedly represent different factions of the ANC, Mr Hani the militants and Mr Mbeki the pragmatists. But, clearly, a major portion of the 2 244 delegates like both men enough to vote for them.

The dividing line between the two wings is less rigid and more porous than observers thought. The new executive may represent a fusing of the various strands in the ANC.

A number of points can, however, be made confidently about

PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the ANC's new national executive

114

the 50 members who were formally elected to applause early yesterday at the close of the five-day annual conference, the first to be held on South African soil in more than three decades.

It is a younger executive.

The only significant exceptions are the men who were jailed either with Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial of 1964 or at about the same time: Ahmed Kathrada (62), Andrew Mlangeni (66), Elias Mokoaleli (66) and Billy Nair (61).

Attrition

Typical of the younger members are Patrick Lekota (43), Popo Molefe (39) and Trevor Manuel (35), all of whom had leadership roles in the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement.

They fall into the same mould as Cyril Ramaphosa, the 38-year-old trade union leader who was spectacularly victorious in the triangular contest against two members of the old execu-

tive for the key post of secretary-general.

A second point which stands out starkly is the powerful position of the South African Communist Party on the new executive. Although the SACP lost one or two members, including its chairman, Dan Tloome, that was due to the attrition of age, not to dislike of its members or their policies.

Five of the 10 top positions went to communists, with Mr Hani, a member of the SACP central committee, and Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, winning first and third places.

If Mr Mbeki, a reputed member of the central committee who appears to have become a "non-practising communist", is included, communists won the three top places on the poll and secured six of the first 10 rungs.

Of the 50 newly elected members, at least half are members of the SACP. The proportion

may be greater. Not all communists in the executive have declared their ideological allegiance.

The official line, voiced by Mr Ramaphosa when he was asked whether he is a member of the SACP, is that SACP affiliation is irrelevant and that to inquire is to exhibit an antiquated ideological prejudice appropriate to the Cold War.

Another distinguishing feature of the conference is represented by the surprise election of two men: Rocky Malebane-Metsing and Mwayizeni Zulu.

Approval

The two men rose to prominence in opposing leaders in South Africa's tribal homelands: Mr Malebane-Metsing for leading an attempted military coup in 1988 against President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Prince Zulu, a member of the Zulu royal family, for his opposition to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Their election reflects dislike

among ANC rank-and-file members of "bantustans" — as they derisively refer to the "homelands" — and approval of the strong stand taken by the ANC against leaders of these territories who have refused to throw in their lot with the ANC.

Looking at the conference more broadly, one overwhelming theme stands out: a much tougher attitude towards President de Klerk's administration by the ANC, one which encompasses supposed "doves" such as Mr Mbeki as much as "hawks" like Mr Hani.

While the conference endorsed the concept of negotiations, they were seen as "a terrain of the struggle", and Mr de Klerk as a shrewd political foe whose still-firm hold on power would have to be pried loose.

The new executive includes able negotiators. Mr Ramaphosa, who honed his negotiating skills in encounters with South Africa's tough mining bosses, is a typical example.

The conference looked critically at itself, as the outgoing secretary-general's report makes clear. The report high-

lights a host of organisational weaknesses.

"We lack enterprise, creativity and initiative," the reports says with what Mr Mandela later referred to as brutal frankness. "We appear very happy to remain pigeon-holed within the confines of populist rhetoric and clichés."

It attributes poor attendance at mass rallies and marches in the past six months to bad planning and poor organisation.

The need for urgent remedial action is implicit in the importance attached by the ANC to "mass action" as a means of pressuring Mr de Klerk into giving "power to the people".

Competent

Ronnie Kasrils, underground operative and former ANC intelligence chief, remarked to journalists: "Organisation is everything."

The new executive has potentially competent organisers. Whether they will realise their potential remains to be seen.

Another task the ANC set itself is to improve its "low im-

pact" recruitment in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities. It has not removed one of the barriers to better performance identified in the secretary-general's report: its alliance with the SACP.

An even bigger problem is looming for the ANC: financial crisis. A confidential report by the treasurer-general shows that the organisation is almost totally dependent on donations to meet its internal costs. Barely 5 percent of its income comes from membership fees.

The ANC runs a sizeable operation from its Johannesburg headquarters: the building from which it operates is said to have cost it R20 million, and salaries account for nearly one-fifth of its expenses.

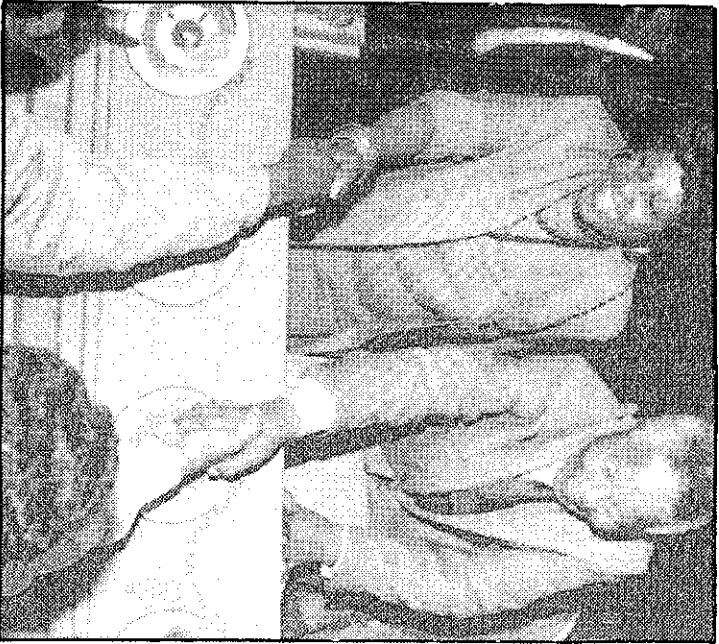
The treasurer-general expressed concern over the size of the ANC's administrative structures. He questioned the "financial viability of the organisation in the long term".

These questions are underlined by the admission of the ANC's head of finance, Vusi Khanyile, that the organisation is in the red. □

ANC CONFERENCE

ANC wants masses on the streets

By Peter Fabricius (11A)
Political Correspondent



Congratulations . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie shake hands with wellwishers at the closing ceremony of the national conference in Durban yesterday.
Picture: Reuter

DURBAN — The African National Congress is planning to emulate the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe by bringing masses of people on to the streets to force the Government out of power.

This was made clear at its national conference at the weekend.

Although the conference firmly endorsed negotiations, it left no doubt that these would work only if backed up by "mass action" and other pressure tactics.

Prominent communist and national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils said the ANC did not regard negotiations as one of the

pillars of the struggle to effect a change of government; negotiations merely reflected the strength of the ANC on the street.

A resolution adopted by the conference noted that "negotiations do not win our freedom, but represent the victories we win on the ground".

And new NEC member, Raymond Suttner, another SACP member, said the ANC would remain a liberation movement and not become a conventional political party.

Mr Kasrils acknowledged that the ANC's strategy of mass action had not been very successful so far.

But he and other members of the strategy and tactics commission said better organisation would bring thousands — "and even millions" — of people on to the streets in mass action like that which topped the commu-

nist governments of Eastern Europe.

Mr Kasrils said one of the reasons mass action had not worked too well was because ANC supporters had been intimidated by the "deliberate strategy of violence" directed against them.

The conference said that although the armed struggle was suspended last August, it had not been abandoned.

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), would "maintain its combat readiness" because of "vulnerable attacks" by the Government.

The next phase of negotiations — talks about talks in an all-party conference — could start only when violence ended and the other conditions in the Harare Declaration were met.

The conference resolved that the violence was a deliberate counter-revolution-

ary strategy "directed by agencies of the State and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain white right-wing elements".

The aim was to destabilise and weaken the ANC and ensure that the Government determined the pace of change.

ANC spokesmen said the organisation's ultimatum to the Government on violence delivered in May had been endorsed.

But the conference commission on violence pinned its hopes on the current church and business initiative to end the violence.

Members of the commission said at a briefing that they believed that a multi-lateral conference on violence could succeed where bilateral peace agreements

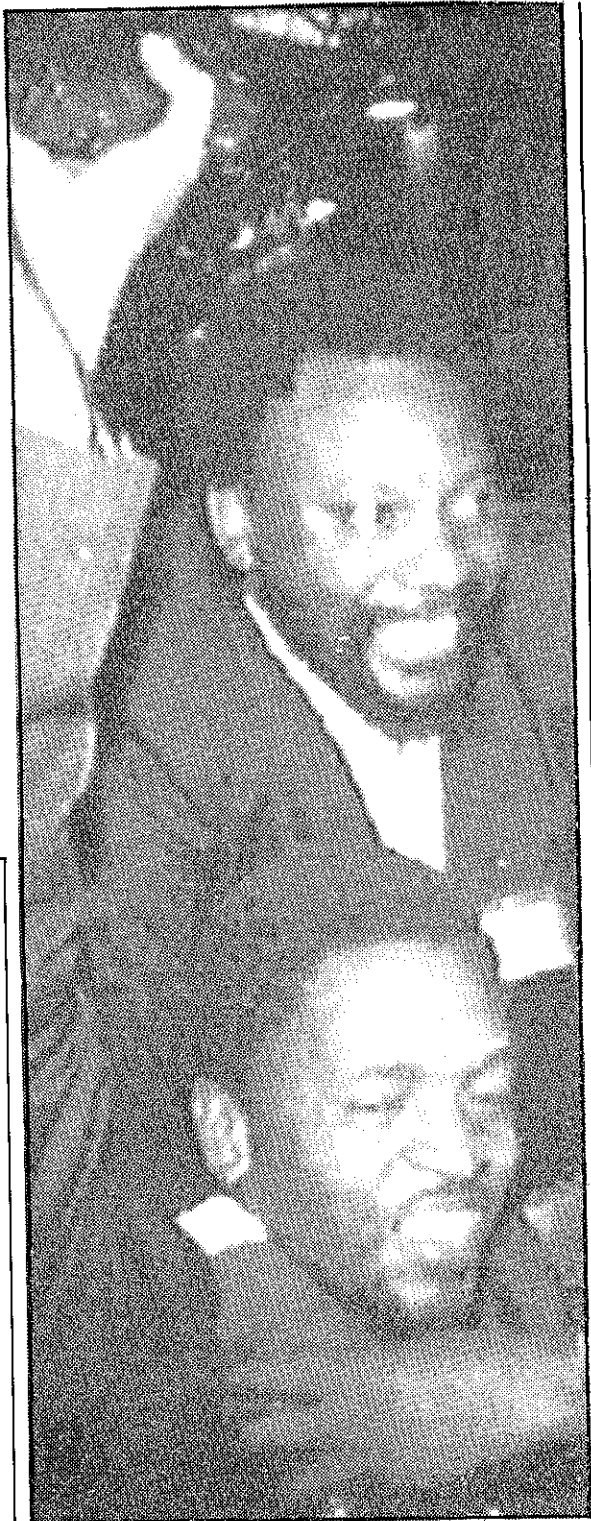
had failed, because more pressure would be brought to bear on parties to stick to agreements.

The conference placed strong emphasis on setting up self-defence units to defend communities, and especially the ANC, against attack.

Mr Kasrils claimed that the units would not become private political militias because they would be controlled by communities — through their civic associations — and not the ANC.

Returning MK cadres would be used to provide communities with the skills, including techniques such as roadblocks, needed to set up these units.

MK commander Joe Modise said these units would, if necessary, protect ANC members in white areas.



Riding high . . . Cyril Ramaphosa, newly elected secretary-general of the ANC, is carried shoulder high by an ecstatic supporter after he polled 1 156 votes — more than the combined total of his opponents, Alfred Nzo (371 votes) and Jacob Zuma (450).

Picture: John Woodroof
 areas e.g. financial accounting, computer auditing, statistical sampling and legal matters.

Breakdown of voting for NEC members

This is the breakdown of the voting for the 50 directly elected seats on the ANC's national executive committee announced yesterday. Number of votes and percentage recorded after each name.

1. Chris Hani (1 858 — 94,7)
2. Thabo Mbeki (1 824 — 93)
3. Joe Slovo (1 761 — 89,8)
4. Patrick "Terror" Lekota (1 724 — 87,9)
5. Pallo Jordan (1 702 — 86,8)
6. Ahmed Kathrada (1 697 — 86,5)
7. Ronnie Kasrils (1 666 — 85)
8. Harry Gwala (1 644 — 83,8)
9. Steve Tshwete (1 634 — 83,3)
10. Arnold Stofile (1 546 — 78,8)
11. Popo Molefe (1 523 — 77,7)
12. Joe Modise (1 510 — 77)
13. Raymond Mhlaba (1 489 — 75,9)
14. Mac Maharaj (1 462 — 74,6)
15. Alfred Nzo (1 420 — 72,4)
16. Ruth Mompati (1 357 — 69,2)
17. Albertina Sisulu (1 321 — 67,4)
18. Raymond Suttner (1 310 — 66,8)
19. Trevor Manuel (1 253 — 63,9)
20. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (1 249 — 63,7)
21. Aziz Pahad (1 198 — 61,1)
22. Cheryl Carolus (1 168 — 59,6)
23. Albie Sachs (1 161 — 59,2)
24. Joel Netshitenzhe (1 119 — 57,1)
25. Wilton Mkwayi (1 107 — 56,5)
26. Winnie Mandela (1 057 — 53,9)
27. Joe Nhlanhla (1 053 — 53,7)
28. John Nkadimeng (1 049 — 53,5)
29. Dullah Omar (1 031 — 52,6)
30. Mohammed Valli Moosa (1 014 — 51,7)
31. Gertrude Shope (958 — 48,9)
32. Andrew Mlangeni (956 — 48,8)
33. Sipiwe Nkanda (955 — 48,7)
34. Sidney Mafumadi (931 — 47,5)
35. Elias Motsoaledi (927 — 47,3)
36. Mendi Msimang (884 — 45,1)
37. Reginald September (854 — 43,5)
38. Barbara Masekela (844 — 43)
39. Billy Nair (837 — 42,7)
40. Mcwayizeni Zulu (814 — 41,5)
41. Sister Bernard Ncube (808 — 41,2)
42. Gill Marcus (800 — 40,8)
43. Jeremy Cronin (792 — 40,4)
44. Rocky Malebane-Metsing (772 — 39,4)
45. Kadar Asmal (771 — 39,3)
46. Saki Macozoma (758 — 38,7)
47. Peter Mokaba (731 — 37,3)
48. Zola Skweyiya (719 — 36,7)
49. Thozamile Botha (717 — 36,6)
50. Marion Sparg (717 — 36,6)

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Star
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● Communists riding high — Page 11

ANC to donate R320m in real estate to Tanzania

DURBAN — The ANC has decided to donate more than R320m of its R655m in assets as an "educational contribution" to Tanzania.

Treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi said in his report to the conference that two of the ANC's major development projects, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and the Dakawa Development Centre would be given to Tanzania once the last exiles had returned to SA.

Delegates at the conference voiced strong criticism at the amount of real estate owned by the organisation and wanted to know what the leadership intended doing with property in Europe, Sweden, Canada and Norway.

Assets

At the end of December last year the ANC owned property abroad worth R593m. Since then it has bought two houses in Soweto for R550 000, one worth R320 000 apparently for the secretary-general. It also owns a house worth R135 000 in Judith's Paarl, Johannesburg.

The vast majority (R575,8m) of the ANC's assets were in Tanzania, while its head office in Lusaka accounted for R9,3m.

Lillies Farm in Angola, where all agricultural activities had been stopped, would also be handed back

BILLY PADDOCK

to the Angolan government. There were no more ANC members in Angola, he said.

Nkobi told delegates that some of the property abroad would be sold and the money brought back to SA.

In the first 10 months since the ANC was unbanned, 86% of its R11m of its internal income came from grants, while 5% came from membership fees.

The ANC's largest expenditure, R1,7m, was on travel, while the second highest was on employment.

The organisation's consolidated account reflects that the ANC had received a total of R80m in the 10 months to end of December, nearly 90% in grants and donations.

Nkobi warned delegates that foreign funding was drying up. The ANC would have to raise funds internally in order to survive, he said.

The ANC should try to end its dependence on external forces and become self-sufficient. Unless this happened the ANC would be vulnerable to external forces, he said.

The ANC has R27,9m deposited with bankers and a further R13m, raised during Nelson Mandela's visit to the US, is still to be collected.

Total external expenditure for the ten-month period covered by Nkobi's report amounted to R69,9m and it retained a surplus of R9,8m.

Women form new alliance

CT 8/7/91

Staff Reporter

A WIDE range of organisations — including the ANC and the Black Sash — have joined forces to set up the Women's Alliance.

The formation of the alliance was yesterday announced at a press conference attended by church groups, trade unions, the ANC's Women's League, the Organisation of Lesbian and Gay Activists (Olga), the Muslim Youth Movement, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), Rape Crisis, Azapo and the Black Sash.

Ms Karin Chubb, of the Black Sash, said a campaign would be launched to educate women on their rights and a women's charter would be drawn up.

She said negotiations would soon be started for a new constitution and a bill of rights.

It was essential that women were organised as a political force to ensure that women's demands were not ignored. The future South African government would be forced to adopt the United Nations Charter on Women, she said.

The Black Sash, traditionally a human-rights organisation, would now concentrate on women's issues, she said.

ANC opts for young blood

From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — A younger generation of new leaders has emerged in the ANC — Mr Chris Hani, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Jacob Zuma.

Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki were the two most popular candidates in the election for the 50-person national executive committee, while the other two beat out old guard incumbents for the key posts of secretary-general and deputy secretary-general.

Although the leadership positions will not change for the next three years, when the ANC holds its next round of leadership elections the younger generation will be well placed to take over from the ageing Mr Nelson Mandela, 73, the new president, and Mr Walter Sisulu, 79, the deputy president.

Mr Hani, Mr Mbeki and Mr Zuma, all 49, are Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) veterans and have won respect for the way they have handled their portfolios in the ANC, while Mr Ramaphosa, 38, has not only built up the National Union of Mineworkers to the largest trade union in South Africa but is also known for his negotiating skills.

The result of the election comes as a major confidence-booster for Mr Mbeki who beforehand was perceived



ON THE NEC... Western Cape members on the national executive are, from left: Cheryl Carolus, Reg September, Trevor Manuel and Dullah Omar

to be shedding support in the organisation because of his apparent lack of contact with the grassroots.

The vast majority of the 2 224 delegates gave their support to both Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki, with Mr Mbeki trailing the Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff by a slender 34 votes.

They were followed in the voting order by the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, a former UDF leader and

now an official spokesman for the ANC Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekhota and the ANC's information chief, Dr Pallo Jordan.

The tough-talking mood of the congress was reflected by the election of a number of key figures in MK and some of the underground operatives in the Operation Vula conspiracy, as well as by the support given to hard-liners Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Harry Gwala, who were elected in sixth and seventh places. However, while a number of

younger generation leaders were elected to the executive, about a third of the old 38-member executive lost their places.

While the women lost their battle for a guaranteed 30% quota or 15 places in the executive, they still managed to get nine posts, a much higher percentage than at any stage in the ANC's history.

The woman who received the most votes was Ms Ruth Mompoti, 16th overall, followed by Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 17th overall and the SACP secretary in the Western Cape, Ms Cheryl Carolus, 22nd. Mrs Winnie Mandela, who came in at 26th, did surprisingly well.

The Western Cape is well represented with five members — Mr Trevor Manuel, Ms Carolus, Mr Dullah Omar, Mr Reg September and Professor Kader Asmal.

Five others with close Western Cape links were also elected — Dr Jordan, who regards Cape Town as his home; Mr Steve Tshwete, whose wife and family live in Guguletu; Mr Albie Sachs, who has a visiting professorship to the University of Cape Town; Mr Thozamile Botha, who has been conducting research into local government at the University of the Western Cape, and Mr Jeremy Cronin, a former Cape Town activist.

'Elections not fought as party'

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — The ANC would not fight elections for a constituent assembly as a political party but as a "national liberation movement", a newly elected member of the organisation's national executive, Mr Raymond Suttner, said at the weekend.

Although Mr Nelson Mandela said in both his opening and closing addresses that the ANC would have to start door-to-door canvassing — an activity usually associated with political parties — and prepare for elections, spokesmen stressed at conference briefings here that it would remain a liberation movement.

"We are a liberation movement. We cannot operate as a political party," the ANC's Border chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile, said.

"The ANC will put up candidates and the allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, will vote for their alliance partner.

"There will be no SACP candidates," Mr Stofile said.

The ANC's information secretary, Dr Pallo Jordan, said discussions were taking place concerning election pacts as alliances were necessary.

Many jobless at conference

Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — Unemployed people represented one of the largest blocs of delegates attending the ANC's 48th national conference, which closed here yesterday.

The six-day event brought together a diverse group of 2 354 delegates, representing 819 internal and external branches of the organisation. A total of 2 244 of those attending had voting rights.

According to the ANC, of the 1 102 delegates who listed their professions there were 232 unemployed, 208 teachers, 110 students and 13 scholars.

The cross-section of delegates included professionals, pensioners, workers and unionists, businesspeople, a magistrate and a traffic cop.

A total of 85% of delegates were from within the country.

The average age of delegates was 34,3 years, with seven being over 70 years and 185 below 25 years of age.

Of the 1 747 delegates who noted their sex on their registration forms, 17,2% were women.

A total of 747 delegates were active in organisations besides the ANC, with 323 belonging to civic organisations and 159 belonging to youth organisations.

The 50 members making up the ANC's national executive committee were elected at the weekend. Yesterday the full results of the voting were announced:

Pos. No.	% of Total	Total Votes	Candidate
1	94,7	1858	Chris Hani
2	93,0	1824	Thabo Mbeki
3	89,8	1761	Joe Slovo
4	87,9	1724	Patrick "Terror" Lekota
5	86,8	1702	Pallo Jordan
6	86,5	1697	Ahmed Kathrada
7	85,0	1666	Ronnie Kasrils / ANC Krumal
8	83,8	1644	Harry Gwala
9	83,3	1634	Steve Tshwete
10	78,8	1546	Arnold Stofile
11	77,7	1523	Popo Molefe
12	77,0	1510	Joe Modise
13	75,9	1489	Raymond Mhlaba
14	74,6	1462	Mac Maharaj
15	72,4	1420	Afred Nzo
16	69,2	1357	Ruth Mompoti
17	67,4	1321	Albertina Sisulu
18	66,8	1310	Raymond Suttner
19	63,9	1253	Trevor Manuel
20	63,7	1249	Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim
21	61,1	1198	Aziz Pahad
22	59,6	1168	Cheryl Carolus
23	59,2	1161	Albie Sachs
24	57,1	1119	Joel Metshitendze / Peter Mayibuye
25	56,5	1107	Wilton Mkwai
26	53,9	1057	Winnie Mandela
27	53,7	1053	Joe Nhlanihla
28	53,5	1049	John Nkadingeng
29	52,6	1031	Dullah Omar
30	51,7	1014	Mohamed Valli Moosa
31	48,9	958	Gertrude Shope
32	48,8	956	Andrew Mtangeni
33	48,7	955	Shiphwe Kyanda / Gebuza
34	47,5	931	Sidney Mafumadi
35	47,3	927	Elias Motsoaledi
36	45,1	884	Mendi Msimang
37	43,5	854	Reginald September
38	43,0	844	Barbara Masekela
39	42,7	837	Billy Nair
40	41,5	814	Mcwayizeni Zulu
41	41,2	808	Sister Bernard Ncube
42	40,8	800	Gill Marcus
43	40,4	792	Jeremy Cronin
44	39,4	772	Rocky Malebane-Mtasing
45	39,3	771	Kadar Asmal
46	38,7	758	Sakkie Macozoma
47	37,3	731	Peter Mokaba
48	36,7	719	Zola Skweyiya
49	36,6	717	Thozamile Botha
50	36,6	717	Marion Sparg

'Change outlook on sanctions'

From BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — The ANC would be left holding a worthless shell unless it changed its policy on sanctions, the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said early yesterday morning.

The ANC conference had been asked for phased perspectives on sanctions.

"We have not been disappointed by the delegates," he said in his closing speech.

"I don't want my remarks misunderstood. We are asking for flexibility and imagination.

"But our appeal is that sanctions must be adhered to and applied.

"The flexibility we have applied will enable that weapon to be kept in our hands," Mr Mandela said.

He did not elaborate on the ANC's new approach on sanctions, but he publicly praised the ANC's foreign spokesman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, whose call for a more pragmatic approach to sanctions was rejected at the organisation's consultative conference in December.

Flexible

Mr Mandela said Mr Mbeki had handled the issue very well and he endorsed without reservation the little he had heard of Mr Mbeki's speech to the conference because it was an attempt to get delegates not to rely on mere rhetoric but address the position as it was changing.

"Unless we are flexible and imaginative we will be left hold a shell and nothing else.

"We continue to call on the international community to support the ANC and continue using a phased perspective on sanctions.

He noted that sanctions had been a potent weapon and the ANC should be allowed to use them for maximum benefit.

A number of spokesmen said during press briefings at the congress that international pressure was one of the factors facilitating change in South Africa and called for it to be maintained.

However, Mr Mandela said the ANC had to recognise the economic problems facing many African countries and the suffering that had been caused by the support given to the liberation of South Africa.

The new softened approach on sanctions is clearly an attempt to retain some influence and initiative on the whole sanctions issue.

MK for SA's white suburbs?

(11R) CT 8/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The ANC will continue actively to recruit members for its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and cadres could in future be deployed in white suburbs to protect ANC members from attack.

The ANC's conference here also resolved that MK, now 30 years old, would establish structures throughout South Africa and defend its arms caches and other equipment until a democratic constitution is adopted.

The resolution adopted by conference emphasised that the ANC had merely suspended the armed action and not abandoned the armed struggle.

Both ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and MK commander Mr Joe Modise said at the weekend that there were still ANC members who believed that the armed struggle should continue.

However, Mr Modise said that this number was relatively small.

Mr Modise told a press briefing that the government was not being fair towards the ANC as it allowed groups like the AWB and Inkatha to be "fully armed" while it was denying the ANC the right to license the arms the ANC needed to protect its followers.

"It our God-given right to defend ourselves when attacked. There is no way we can fold our arms," he said.

Skills

He said the attacks on ANC supporters were currently largely taking place in black townships. However, if this focus shifted "we will have to pay attention to the need to protect brave white progressives".

Mr Modise did not want to provide details at the briefing on the progress the ANC military wing had made in transforming itself from a guerilla force to a

conventional high-tech defence force.

However, he disclosed that MK was training cadres to become pilots, naval officers and army officers with the requisite skills for a modern force.

Mr Modise said some of these cadres had already completed their training and were taking up duties in camps outside South Africa.

He did not say where MK cadres were receiving their high-tech training or where they would be stationed before being incorporated into an integrated new defence force.

● The ANC has decided to hold a special conference to look into difficulties facing MK members both in South Africa and beyond.

The conference would also be attended by all or most of the members of the ANC's new national executive, Mr Mandela told the conference in his closing address.

Nzo spotlighted the weaknesses

ET 8/7/91

From BARRY STREEK



DURBAN. — A brutally frank report on the ANC's organisational weaknesses was delivered by its secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, shortly before he was ousted from office.

"It is absolutely vital that we shed all illusions, wishful thinking and romantic notions and objectively and realistically prepare our forces for the sharp and complex battles confronting us," he said in a confidential report, a copy of which was obtained by the Cape Times.

He strongly criticised the relationship between the ANC and civic organisations, its organisational work on the rural areas, its regional and branch structures, its recruiting problems, poor attendance at rallies and mass-action marches and the failure of the million-signature campaign.

A number of factors were hampering growth, including factionalism and "cliqueism"; lack of local initiative and creativity; total dependence on logistical assistance from head office; a sense of complacency; a lack of apparent co-ordination of departments and a lack of political education to equip organisers and members adequately for their day-to-day work, he said.

Delay in all-party ^(11A) conference? _{CT 8/7/91}

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — The all-party conference to prepare the way for full-scale negotiations may be delayed until next year because of ANC dissatisfaction with the latest government reforms to security legislation.

Senior ANC legal spokesman Mr Mathew Phosa told a press briefing at the weekend that government amendments to the Internal Security Act during the past parliamentary session were insufficient and that existing security laws — particularly detention without trial — remained an obstacle to negotiations. Since the ANC regarded the all-party conference as part of the negotiation process, this obstacle would have to be removed before such a gathering could take place.

Asked whether this meant that the all-party talks would have to wait until Parliament had convened next year in order to remove detention without trial from the statute books, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma responded: "That is the implication."

Mr Macozoma said the government had not consulted with the ANC on the latest amendments to security legislation and that they had not gone far enough. He said that if the government could find "other constitutional mechanisms" to deal with the ANC's objections, then the all-party conference might take place earlier.

Asked if a promise by the government to abolish detention without trial once Parliament reconvenes in February next year would suffice, he said the ANC would be loath to accept the government's word on such an issue, given its past track record in breaking undertakings to the ANC.

Government spokesmen have expressed confidence that an all-party or multi-party conference could be convened as early as September, after the completion of the Patriotic Front conference between the ANC the PAC in Cape Town next month.

ANC faces

the future

11A
CT 8/7/91

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
and BARRY STREEK

DURBAN. — A younger, more unified and self-assertive ANC has emerged from its historic conference here — but it faces major questions about its policies, finances and administration.

Above all, a key debate about whether the ANC is to operate as a liberation movement or as a political party during the crucial transition period and in the upcoming elections for a constituent assembly remains unresolved.

The six-day conference, which ended at 5am yesterday after a marathon 21-hour session, has sent out mixed signals on key policy and strategic issues.

Sanctions

On the one hand the ANC resolved to take a tougher line in future on issues ranging from violence, the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its dealings with the government.

Yet the conference unequivocally committed the ANC to negotiations and softened its approach to the lifting of sanctions.

Although there was still confusion yesterday about its stance on the burning sanctions issue, the organisation has clearly recognised the need to adapt its approach to changing circumstances after emphatically rejecting any suggestions of this kind of flexibility at its consultative conference in December last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the new president, said in his closing address that the ANC had to become more imaginative and flexible on the

Mandela today, Carolus tomorrow

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday singled out a leading member of the SA Communist Party in the Western Cape, Ms Cheryl Carolus, as a possible future leader of the ANC.

Discussing the outcome of elections at the ANC's 48th conference during his closing address here, Mr Mandela told the 2 244 voting delegates: "It's me today."

But he then added: "It will be Comrade Cheryl Carolus tomorrow who will lead this organisation."

His remarks, soon after the 34-year-old Ms Carolus had been elected on to the ANC's new-look national executive committee, drew excited cheers and applause from the delegates.

Ms Carolus was the 22nd most popular choice (1 168 votes) of the conference for the 50 elected spots on the executive.

sanctions question "or else we will be left holding a shell and nothing else".

The new approach involves a three-phase plan in which the ANC would endorse the progressive lifting of sanctions once the government met specific conditions.

Sports, travel and cultural sanctions could be lifted once the government had removed obstacles to negotiations, as spelt out by the OAU and the UN, as well as taking effective steps to end violence.

Trade, foreign investment and financial sanctions could go once an interim government

had been installed via "agreed transitional arrangements and modalities", leading to a democratic order.

Finally, the oil sanctions and arms embargo could be lifted once South Africa had adopted a democratic constitution and the holding of elections.

In his closing address, Mr Mandela emphasised that the conference had given all members of the ANC "a very clear mandate in favour of negotiations", and he noted that delegates had resolved that the ANC should establish "a comprehensive and representative team" to ensure a peaceful transition to negotiations.

He also said at a rally here yesterday afternoon that everyone should understand that negotiations would be used by the ANC "for claiming what is ours" and added, to loud cheers from 50 000 supporters, "we do not go to the table as beggars."

Negotiation

"Compromise may be viable on some questions, but surrender to our basic rights ... never!"

Mr Mandela also acknowledged that the ANC leadership had been "severely and fairly criticised for not systematically and regularly reporting on the outcome of negotiations and that membership had remained in ignorance".

He gave an undertaking that the leadership would address the demands of the rank and file on this in the future.

Both the confidential reports of the outgoing secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, revealed serious administrative, organisational and finan-

To page 2

ANC future

cial problems in the ANC, and this could undermine Mr Mandela's commitment to build the organisation into "a strong and well-oiled task force".

Mr Mandela told yesterday's rally that the task facing the ANC before its next conference, in three years' time, was not merely to build a more powerful ANC "but to deliver before the next conference a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa".

There are also clear rumblings in the ranks of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and this was underlined by a call by Mr Mandela for a special conference between MK members and the new national executive to discuss a wide range of problems and complaints.

Both the MK commander, Mr Joe Modise, and Mr Mandela publicly admitted that some MK members were unhappy about the suspension of the armed struggle and about their future prospects.

There have also been complaints that cadres in camps have been forgotten and neglected, and in his opening address, Mr Mandela frankly acknowledged that they had not been given sufficient attention.

Although the ANC leadership, given a fresh mandate in secret and democratic elections, will be better placed to consolidate the organisation's power base, Mr Mandela told delegates that it was necessary to be "absolutely brutal about our weaknesses" in failing to attract minority groups into the organisation.

"There has been no effective communication between the ANC and minority groups and some of our structures have been so set up as to exclude minority groups and that has been our serious weakness."

"There are different ethnic groups and we have to redouble our efforts to make sure we have the confidence of all the different sections of the community, something which is not there at the moment," Mr Mandela said.

Well organised

Still, the well-organised conference, which, with 2 224 delegates, involved enormous logistical difficulties and elaborate security arrangements, was a model of democratic organisation, highlighted by the complex election processes, supervised by four independent electoral commissioners, to ensure fair and free elections.

At yesterday's rally, Mr Mandela boasted: "The ANC is the parliament of the people. Our parliament has now elevated its deliberations."

"Never since 1955 at Kliptown (where the Freedom Charter was adopted) has there been such a representative gathering in our country."

"As far as the majority is concerned, our conference is more representative and it had more legitimacy than the tricameral Parliament."

He also said: "Those who say we are not ready for democracy should have witnessed our proceedings."

Mr Mandela appeared not to recognise the irony of this statement because in fact the public and the press were prevented from witnessing the proceedings, which were held behind closed doors.

There can be no doubt, however, that the conference was an extraordinary democratic exercise and as such may hold out hope for the future.

Rejuvenated ANC resolves to get tough

ARGUS 8/7/91

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The ANC has emerged from its historic national conference with a rejuvenated leadership and a firm resolve to get tough with the government in negotiations.

Summing up the five-day conference, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told more than 2 200 delegates at a pre-dawn closing session yesterday that negotiations would be used to realise the ANC's objective of "transferring power to the people".

The ANC was determined that the government would not occupy the main stage and would not be allowed to be "the manager of transition" while treating the ANC as an unequal partner which should merely be consulted.

Deliberations with the government would be backed up by mass action.

And, although calling for the maintenance of sanctions, Mr Mandela endorsed the proposals of international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki for the phased lifting of punitive measures once the identified obstacles to negotiations had been met.

The resolutions on sanctions adopted at the conference were not made public last night. But ANC sources said the conference had adopted a three-phased plan for the lifting of sanctions recently endorsed by the Organisation for African Unity.

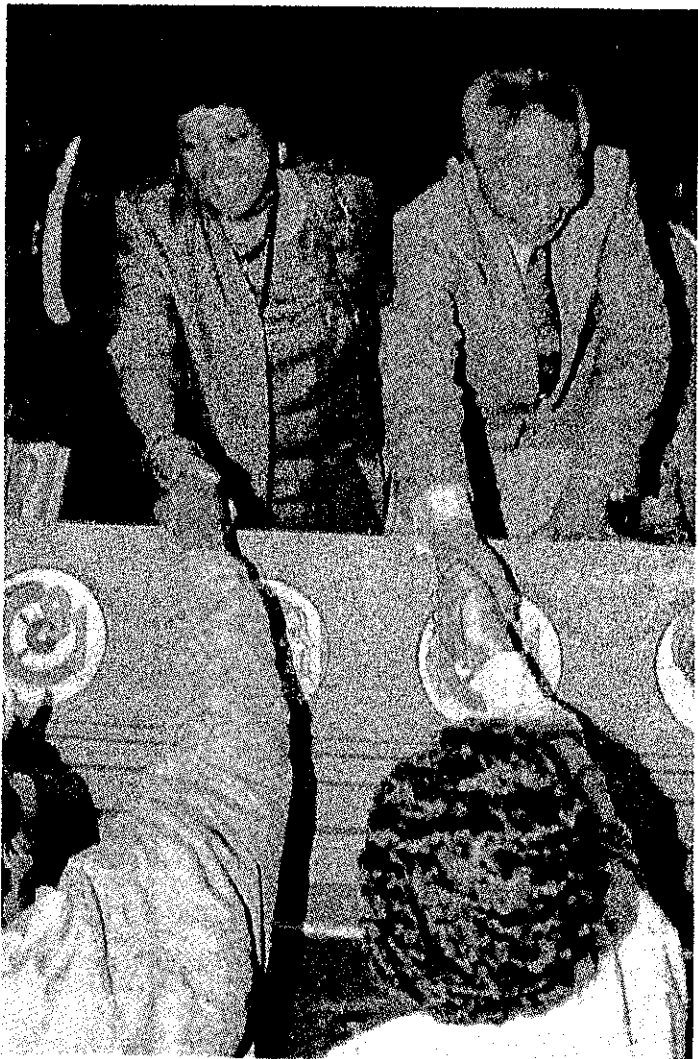
In terms of the ANC-proposed plan, punitive measures, including sport, cultural and academic sanctions as well as restrictions on tourism and air links, should be lifted once all political prisoners had been freed, exiles unconditionally indemnified, repressive security laws repealed, political trials stopped and effective government measures taken to stop the violence.

The ANC would support the lifting of trade sanctions and the restriction on foreign investment once an interim government had been set up, and the lifting of the oil and arms embargo once a democratic government had been elected.

Speaking at a well-attended and peaceful rally at King's Park yesterday afternoon, Mr Mandela said the conference — the "parliament of the people" — had clearly mapped out the road ahead.

"Everyone must understand that we are claiming what is ours. We do not go to the negotiation table as beggars. Compromise may be unavoidable on some questions, but surrender on our basic rights — never." The conference had given the new national executive committee a clear mandate to lead the organisation through the period of transformation, he said.

Mr Mandela introduced the directly elected NEC members to the conference after a marathon session which lasted throughout the night, and again presented the NEC at the rally.



CONGRATULATIONS: Newly elected ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie shake hands with well-wishers at the closing ceremony of the national convention.

Full NEC election results in detail

Arbus 8/7/91

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THE 50 members making up the ANC's national executive committee were elected at the weekend. They are:

Pos.	Candidate	Votes	%
1	Chris Hani	1 858	94,7
2	Thabo Mbeki	1 824	93,0
3	Joe Slovo	1 761	89,8
4	Patrick "Terror" Lekota	1 724	87,9
5	Pallo Jordan	1 702	86,8
6	Ahmed Kathrada	1 697	86,5
7	Ronnie Kasrils	1 666	85,0
8	Harry Gwala	1 644	83,8
9	Steve Tshwete	1 634	83,3
10	Arnold Stofile	1 546	78,8
11	Popo Molefe	1 523	77,7
12	Joe Modise	1 510	77,0
13	Raymond Mhlaba	1 489	75,9
14	Mac Maharaj	1 462	74,6
15	Alfred Nzo	1 420	72,4
16	Ruth Mompati	1 357	69,2
17	Albertina Sisulu	1 321	67,4
18	Raymond Suttner	1 310	66,8
19	Trevor Manuel	1 253	63,9
20	Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim	1 249	63,7
21	Aziz Pahad	1 198	61,1
22	Cheryl Carolus	1 168	59,6
23	Albie Sachs	1 161	59,2
24	Joel Netshitenzhe	1 119	57,1
25	Wilton Mkwayi	1 107	56,5
26	Winnie Mandela	1 057	53,9
27	Joe Nhlanhla	1 053	53,7
28	John Nkadimeng	1 049	53,5
29	Dullah Omar	1 031	52,6
30	Mohamed Valli Moosa	1 014	51,7
31	Gertrude Shope	958	48,9
32	Andrew Mlangeni	956	48,8
33	Shiphwe Nyanda	955	48,7
34	Sidney Mafumadi	931	47,5
35	Elias Motsoaledi	927	47,3
36	Mendi Msimang	884	45,1
37	Reginald September	854	43,5
38	Barbara Masekela	844	43,0
39	Billy Nair	837	42,7
40	Mcwayizeni Zulu	814	41,5
41	Sister Bernard Ncube	808	41,2
42	Gill Marcus	800	40,8
43	Jeremy Cronin	792	40,4
44	Rocky Malebane-Metsing	772	39,4
45	Kadar Asmal	771	39,3
46	Sakkie Macozoma	758	38,7
47	Peter Mokaba	731	37,3
48	Zola Skweyiya	719	36,7
49	Thozamile Botha	717	36,6
50	Marion Sparg	717	36,6

Cops guard ANC houses

Sowetan 8/7/91

IIA

Security
stepped
up after
killings
in the
Vaal

POLICE are guarding round-the-clock at least 12 homes of ANC officials in the Vaal Triangle following last week's slaying of three family members of an ANC official in Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark.

Security was stepped up hours after the wife, daughter and grandson of Mr Ernest Sotsu were gunned down on Wednesday night.

Mrs Constance Sotsu, her daughter Margaret, and grandson Sabata died under a hail of AK-47 bullets in their home, which was also petrol-bombed. Mr Sotsu was away at the ANC conference in Durban at the time.

Gangster

All Vaal leaders of the ANC returned home immediately after news of the attack was relayed to delegates in Durban. Their hurried return was also prompted by widespread rumours that the assailants were planning further attacks on ANC homes. A notorious gangster linked

By **THEMBA MOLEFE** and **SELLO MOTLHABAKWE**

to the Sebokeng vigil massacre in January is alleged to be behind the latest attacks. Residents claim to have seen him near the Sotsu home on the day before the attack, and also near the houses of other ANC officials.

Two of the children injured in the Sotsu attack, Vuyana and Vusi, were still in the Sebokeng Hospital yesterday.

It is not clear whether the ANC had asked for police protection for its members or whether it was the police who initiated the 24-hour surveillance.

A Vaal police spokesman, Captain Piet van Deventer, confirmed that police were guarding nine homes, although *Sowetan* reporters spotted 12. Van Deventer said police had been deployed to guard the Sotsu home, but were withdrawn at Sotsu's request.

Police have offered a R20 000 reward to anyone who provides information leading to the arrest of the killers.

Meanwhile, *Sapa* reports that the Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it was surprised at State President F W de Klerk's "exclusive" offer of sympathy to ANC members who suffered as a result of violence.

The IFP's national executive said De Klerk, in identifying intimidation as democracy's biggest enemy, had touched the core of the issue of violence.

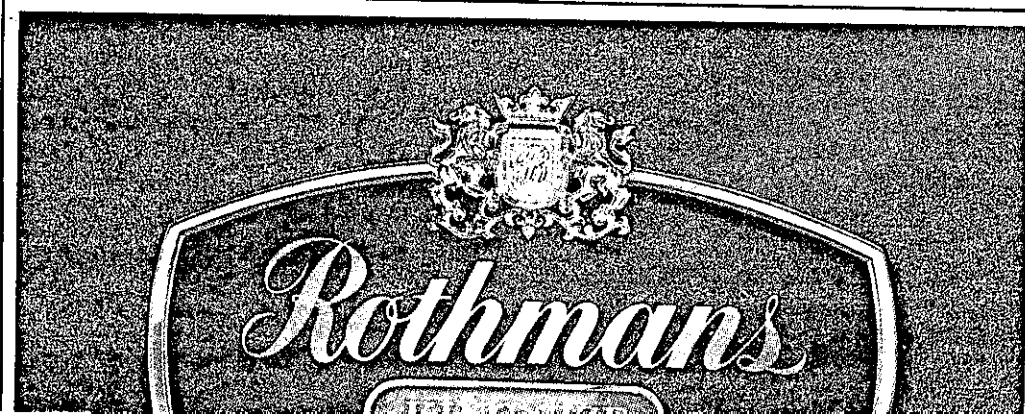
"We support his view that the future will be determined through negotiation, not violence, and that the perpetrators of unlawful acts should be apprehended.

"We find it surprising that Mr de Klerk has chosen to exclusively offer his deep sympathy to the ANC and those of its members and supporters who have lost loved ones and/or have

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FREE AGAIN: Snowy Moshoeshoe relaxing at her Orlando East, Soweto, home at the weekend. She was jailed for 10 years in the Zola Mahobe affair. Report on Page 2 today.



P.T.O



A policeman patrolling the house of Lucky Nkamlana in Zone 14 Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle. Nkamlana was a delegate at the ANC conference in Durban.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

Cops guard ANC in the Vaal

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sowetan 8/7/91
suffered serious damage."

The statement went on to list numerous incidents in which IFP members had been killed or their property damaged in al-

most eight years of ongoing violence.

"... it would be equally appropriate for the State President to deplore detestable attacks on IFP members and their homes and those experi-

enced by the PAC and Azapo as well as mayors and councillors.

"It would be proper for Mr de Klerk not to appear to be taking sides... clarification is required," the statement concluded.



Newly elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is carried on the shoulders of supporters at the first national congress of the organisation inside South Africa in 30 years.

ANC leaders mirror ideals

The ANC's 48th national conference at the weekend elected a leadership which reflects the movement's activities inside and outside the country over the past 30 years.

Among the 55 national executive committee members and five office-bearers are leaders who spent decades in exile, internal leaders, persons who had been on trial for deeds committed in the name of the movement, others who were imprisoned for the same reason, persons who formed and led the ANC's internal cover (the UDF and MDM), prominent trade union leaders, constitutional experts, communists, Christians, Jews and Muslims, moderates and hardliners.

There is also a Botha on the new NEC - the ANC's local government expert Mr Thozamile Botha.

The NEC is the body which executes decisions taken by the conference, and which will in the future represent the party in various areas of political life.

Fourteen people lost their positions on the NEC. They are: Mr Robert Conco, Mr Steve Dhlamini, Mr Simon Makana, Mr Henry Makgobhi, Mr Anthony Mongalo, Mr Mzwai Piliso, Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, Mr James Stuart, Mr Dan Tloome, Mr Sindiso Mfenyana, Mr Timothy Mokoena, Ms Jackie Molefe, Mr Jackie Selebi and Mr Stanley Mabizela.

Mrs Winnie Mandela was elected, as was Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Among the newcomers, the biggest surprise is the election of Mr Rocky Malebane Metsing, believed to have been behind the 1988 coup to overthrow Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Ms Marion Sparg, the first white woman to be con-

Most ANC funds still outside South Africa

Political Correspondent

THE ANC has more fixed assets outside the country than cash inside the country, the movement's treasurer-general's report reveals.

Leaders within the movement have indicated that the cash-flow crisis is the main reason why the ANC is unable to speed up the repatriation of almost 10 000 exiles.

The treasurer-general's report, obtained at the ANC's 48th national conference in Durban last week, reveals that the movement had a total income of R79.9 million last year and had spent R69.9 million. The bulk of this was spent on activities outside the country.

The confidential report also says that, within the first 10 months of its unbanning, the movement spent R10 million inside the country.

While money accruing inside the country amounted to R11.3 million, only R598 420 came from membership. The remainder came from donations and grants.

Of the money spent inside the country, almost 17 percent went to salaries. R1 900 000.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

victed for Umkhonto we Sizwe activities, was the final addition to the list of 50 people.

A further 28 people from the 14 regions will automatically be added to the NEC.

The complete list of the 50 newly elected NEC (figure in brackets denote percentage votes accrued) is:

Mr Chris Hani (94.7), Mr Thabo Mbeki (93), Mr Joe Slovo (89.8), Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (87.9), Mr Pallo Jordan (86.8), Mr Ahmed Kathrada (86.5), Mr Ronnie Kasrils (85), Mr Harry Gwala (83.8), Mr Steve Tshwete (83.3), Mr Arnold Stofile (78.8), Mr Popo Molefe (77.7), Mr Joe Modise, Mr Raymond Mhlaba (75.9), Mr Mac Maharaj (74.6), Mr Alfred Nzo (72.4), Ms Ruth Mompati (69.2), Ms Albertina Sisulu (67.4), Mr Raymond Sumner (66.8), Mr Trevor Manuel (63.9), Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (63.7), Mr Aziz Pahad (61.1), Ms Cheryl Carolus (59.6), Mr Albie Sachs (59.2), Mr Joel Netshitenzhe (57.1), Mr Wilton Mkwayi (56.5), Mrs Winnie Mandela (53.9), Mr Joe Nhlanihla (53.7), Mr John Nkandimeng (53.5), Mr Dullah Omar (52.6), Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa (51.7), Ms Gertrude Shope (48.9), Mr Andrew Mlangeni (48.8), Mr Siphiso Nyanda (48.7), Mr Sydney Mafumadi (47.5), Mr Elias Mokoaledi (47.3), Mr Mendi Msimang (45.1), Mr Reginald September (43.5), Ms Barbara Masekela (43), Mr Billy Nair (42.7), Mr Mwayezini Zulu (41.5), Sister Bernard Ncube (41.2), Ms Gill Marcus (40.8), Mr Jeremy Cronin (40.4), Mr Rocky Malebane Metsing (39.4), Mr Kadar Asmal (39.3), Mr Sakkie Macoza (38.7), Mr Peter Mokaba (37.3), Mr Zola Skweyiya (36.7), Mr Thozamile Botha (36.6) and Ms Marion Sparg (36.6).

On the other hand, however, the document reveals that the ANC has R657.9 million in fixed assets abroad, much of which is in Tanzania and which the ANC will hand back when it clears out completely from that country. The ANC also owns property in European capitals.

After he was re-elected to office, treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi said he expected foreign aid to stop but that any new funds would be directed to projects inside the country.

He said the organisation had recently received a donation from Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi but the millions promised by the American government "were still in the United States".

The American government had said it was withholding the money because of the ANC's relationship with the SACP.

Most of the ANC's funding over the past years has been from Scandinavian countries and from Italy, according to the report.



JOE SLOVO CHRIS HANI THABO MBEKI
TERROR LOKOTA RONNIE KASRILS AHMED KATHRADA
PALLO JORDAN STEVE TSHWETE HARRY GWALA

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ANC has mandate to negotiate future SA

11A

Sowetan 8/7/91

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE NEWLY elected ANC leadership emerged from the movement's 48th national conference yesterday with a mandate and a commitment to negotiate a future constitution for South Africa.

The massive conference, which drew delegates from every corner of southern Africa as well as ANC branches around the world, adopted a resolution on Saturday which gave its new president, Mr Nelson

Mandela, a mandate and discretionary powers to get an all-party conference under way sooner rather than later.

In terms of his mandate Mandela has the power to announce a specific date for such a conference.

But the newly elected ANC president

● To Page 2

ANC's mandate clear

11A

From Page 1

warned that, while an APC (or as Government calls it an MPC) was becoming a reality, the violence in the black townships was standing firmly in the way of this.

At the start of the five-day conference Mandela asked delegates to start thinking of a "timeframe" for the election of a parliament, representative of all the people of South Africa.

He cautioned delegates not to be hasty.

There was still the issue of the removal of obstacles by Government, he said.

"This must include ending the campaign of

terror against the people in this province (Natal), in the Transvaal and in the rest of the country," Mandela said. 8/7/91

Only then could the APC commence, said Mandela. Sowetan

The conference drew a line with regard to the bargaining process. There should be no compromise on the election of a constituent assembly and the appointment of an interim government.

"We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime's claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition.

"The ANC is an equal partner, and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted.

"Everything has to be done to build maximum

unity among the forces committed to the perspective of a non-sexist, non-racist democracy and to ensure that such forces act in unity throughout the process of negotiation," Mandela said.

Mandela acknowledged President FW de Klerk's condemnation of an attack on the home of an ANC delegate while he was at the Durban conference.

"If he (De Klerk) had done this (condemned the violence), this violence would not have intensified to the state it has," Mandela said.

Hurd faces tough task on reform

Sureform 8/7/91 ~~2000~~ 118

LONDON - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd faces a tough task in encouraging the process of constitutional reform in South Africa when he arrives for a four-day visit today.

Hurd will meet State President FW de Klerk and senior ministers as well as leaders of the black and white opposition parties.

The main purpose of Hurd's visit was to encourage both sides to begin constitutional talks aimed at giving blacks a say in Government following the dismantling of apartheid, the Foreign Office said.

But at the African National Congress's Durban conference, which closed



DOUGLAS HURD

early yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela appeared in uncompromising mood, stressing that "enormous differences" remained between blacks and the Government.

He repeated the ANC's demand for an interim government to oversee a transition to majority rule and for a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial constitution before elections - demands which the

Government has already spurned.

ANC officials said they would stay away from talks on a new constitution until the Government ended the township violence that has killed more than 2 000 in less than a year.

Hurd will see Mandela, Clarence Makwetu of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

Buthelezi was in London last month for talks with Hurd and Prime Minister John Major, at which he expressed his appreciation for Britain's policy of relaxing sanctions.

The British foreign secretary is also expected to have talks with Dr Andries Treurnicht.

- Sapa-Reuter

'Marshall Plan needed in SA'

Sowetan 8/7/91

11A

SOUTH AFRICA needs a "Marshall Plan" to rectify the inequality between the "haves and the have-nots", the Pan Africanist Congress says in a policy document titled "Towards a Democratic Economic Order".

In a statement released in Cape Town summarising the document, the PAC maintains that, because of "scarce resources and the existence of extreme wealth differentiation between the haves and the have-nots, the country is in a war-like situation".

The policy document deals with the PAC's economic thinking and outlines policy on: redistribution of wealth and resources; economic development and growth; policy on nationalisation; and policy on foreign investments.

On redistribution, the document suggests its contribution to future peace and the development of one nation with minimum scars inflicted by one section on another and the resulting repercussions with respect to the future economic well-being of the country need to be considered.

The statement says the country's wealth is vested in four companies; Anglo American, Rembrandt, SA Mutual and Sanlam.

Consumer movement

While 83 percent of whites earn more than R16 000 a year, only five percent of blacks are in the same position.

"The PAC is aware that the market needs organised countervailing forces against the dysfunctional effects of its operations, and such forces shall be the State, independent and strong workers' participa-

tion, a strong consumer movement and a strong liberation and development national movement," the statement says.

Foreign investment

The document also says the PAC is not obsessed with nationalising private-sector corporations. "The behaviour of economic institutions is more important than their mere ownership by the State.

"It is not the PAC's intention to redistribute wealth and associated resources by transferring it from a small, dominant, wealthy elite or class or national group to a small, dominant elite from the currently economically disadvantaged African population."

The PAC document says it will encourage foreign investment selectively and for strategic purposes. - Sapa

THE ANC has emerged from its national conference in Durban more confident in itself, more prepared for the challenges of the lengthy negotiating process ahead and therefore more committed to that process.

Once all perceived obstacles are removed, the ANC is less likely to use negotiations themselves as a hostage to its demands.

The new leadership — particularly the top four — represents a strong pro-negotiation force. The only challenger to that approach, Harry Gwala, was soundly beaten in his bid for the deputy presidency.

The revitalised ANC also promises to be a more sophisticated negotiator. New secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is one of a number of members who bring to the new leadership a vast experience in negotiating strategy and tactics.

A more considered approach has emerged in the area of sanctions. While a three-stage phasing out of sanctions will not satisfy opponents of sanctions, it does demonstrate a recognition, albeit a belated one, of international political realities. This more strategic approach to questions of power is likely to permeate generally through the ANC.

But none of this should be taken to mean that the "new" ANC has been transformed into a pliable, meek negotiating partner for government. On the contrary, political negotiations will become tougher as the ANC seeks to make itself, as ANC president Nelson Mandela put it in his closing address to the conference, an equal partner with the NP in managing SA's transition.

This means that once obstacles to negotiations have been removed, the ANC's top priority will be the formation of a broadly based interim government. Its second stage in phasing out sanctions is the establishment of an interim government. The ANC will try to use sanctions as a carrot and stick to achieve this goal.

The ANC can be expected to press government to relent further on security legislation, especially the remaining detention without trial provisions. With the political prisoner issue close

Confidence will help the ANC face future challenges

ALAN FINE

8/10/91
8/7/91

(11A)

to resolution and agreement on exiles between the SA government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in sight, this would leave violence as the only obstacle before the ANC will agree to an all-party congress.

The leadership has been mandated to continue with "talks about talks", including continued participation in all working groups. It has also been vested with "discretionary powers" within the limits of declared policy to further negotiations.

It will probably have to use this discretion to determine when the issue of violence has been satisfactorily resolved. There are a number of contradictory views expressed by different individuals on this issue.

Some argue the violence must end before talks can proceed. But this seems to be a minority headline view. A more accommodating view, expressed by ANC and SACP spokesman Essop Pahad among others, is that a multilateral agreement in the church- and business-sponsored peace process would be adequate proof of government's good faith.

For the ANC as a whole, this church/business initiative has become central to its hopes for resolving the violence. A number of the commissions, each debating a separate topic — violence itself, negotiations, strate-

gy and tactics — focused on the Louw Alberts-led efforts as an indispensable part of the solution.

Given this, and the recognition by Mandela and others in the top leadership of the urgency of resuming negotiations with as few delays as possible, Pahad's requirement for resolution of the violence obstacle does not seem over-optimistic.

Some ANC leaders, it must be said, are perturbed at the amount of hope being placed on these talks, not because they oppose the initiatives but because they doubt whether the rank and file membership is yet sufficiently convinced of their veracity.

One former UDF leader said many ordinary delegates — sceptical because of the failure of previous attempts — had little hope that these political initiatives would achieve their goal. This, he argued, did not bode well for any future deals becoming effective on the ground.

For the ANC as a whole, though, support for negotiations on the violence and political progress has gained ground. But even if the return to political negotiations occurs relatively smoothly, the ANC will be any-

thing but appeasing at these talks.

Government ministers who have slammed the ANC for its mass action tactics would probably be surprised at the intense criticism the ANC leadership faced for *failing* to back demands adequately by mass mobilisation.

The ANC will now have Ramaphosa's counsel on how Cosatu and Nactu successfully won amendments to the Labour Relations Act through a combination of negotiation and mass action techniques over a period of years. He and other internal leaders will also add muscle to Mandela's warning that mass mobilisation is a tactic to be used strategically rather than indiscriminately.

They will also seek to entrench in the ANC the principle of accountability to its membership, preventing behind-the-scenes compromise deals being reached and presented to followers as a fait accompli. "People have felt that they have been merely spectators to developments, not participants," incoming NEC member Raymond Suttner said at the weekend.

While the NEC has been granted a degree of discretion in negotiations, the new commitment to accountability will mean thorough and patient lobbying at decentralised levels when-

ever permission for compromise is sought. Next time the ANC attempts to take a step equivalent to the suspension of armed action it will not again happen overnight. And supporters will require that leaders win more in return than they did through the Pretoria Minute.

The stronger internal leadership presence on the new NEC, symbolised by Ramaphosa, will be a double-edged sword for government. Ramaphosa himself is a paradox — a committed SACP member (he was master of ceremonies at the party's launch last July) who is also held in high esteem by mining employers as a pragmatic and creative but extremely tough negotiator.

The conference served to identify a potential future leadership of the ANC and, possibly, SA. Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma will be there when the charismatic older generation leadership of Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo have bowed out. So will Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki who — with the support of 94,7% and 93% respectively of conference delegates — came out well on top of the NEC poll.

The present leadership, though, still has much to do. The conference decision that the ANC should build, train and develop its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and use it to "defend people and maintain peace and stability" is probably the most serious manifestation of the difficulties that lie ahead.

Despite the encouraging views of the new leadership on negotiation, despite the fact that those leaders were elected by the rank and file, a huge credibility gap exists between the ANC and government. The ANC does not yet fully accept government's bona fides and is determined to retain a military capability, however rudimentary, as a fallback.

The MK decision is more than a sop to the military cadres. It is a challenge to government to disarm other political groups (the AWB and Inkatha included) and a reminder that normalisation of the political process will not be considered possible until, at the very least, an interim government is established.

NEC elections bring back many old faces

ALAN FINE

DURBAN — More than half of the outgoing ANC national executive committee members have won re-election to an enlarged NEC, and they have been joined by almost a dozen younger generation internal leaders who became prominent through their work in the UDF.

Results of the poll for 50 NEC members were released early yesterday morning.

Among the talking points will be the strong showing of Winnie Mandela, who came in in 26th position, and Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, who overcame allegations that he was a police informer to scrape in in 47th position.

Nine women were among the successful candidates, six fewer than would have been the case had the proposed 30% quota been retained.

Four Rivonia trialists, released at the same time as deputy president Walter Sisulu, were elected to the NEC together with 18 exiled leaders who won seats on the NEC at the ANC's 1985 Kabwe conference. Five other exiles were elected, as were two recently released guerrillas.

Eight members of the previous NEC who were nominated were unsuccessful.

Ten former UDF leaders were among the victors, although only one union official — Cosatu's Sydney Mafumadi — made it in the poll.

Nine members of the SACP's internal leadership group were elected, including Chris Hani and Joe Slovo in first and third

□ To Page 2

NEC elections

positions respectively.

Members most likely to bring a "hard-line" perspective on negotiations to NEC deliberations include Winnie Mandela, Mokaba, Harry Gwala, Mac Maharaj, Raymond Suttner and Billy Nair.

ANC information department officials Saki Macozoma and Gill Marcus found their high public profiles had worked in their favour and both were elected.

The complete list in order of votes received, from 1858 to 717, is:

□ From Page 1

Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Pallo Jordan, Ahmed Kathrada, Ronnie Kasrils, Harry Gwala, Steve Tshwete, Arnold Stofile, Popo Molefe, Joe Modise, Raymond Mhlaba, Mac Maharaj, Alfred Nzo, Ruth Mompati, Albertina Sisulu, Raymond Suttner, Trevor Manuel, Ebrahim Ebrahim, Aziz Pahad, Cheryl Carolus, Albie Sachs, Joel Netshitenzha, Wilton Mkwayi, Winnie Mandela, Joe Nhlanhla, John Nkadimeng, Dullah Omar, Mohamed Valli Moosa, Gertrude Shope, Andrew Mlangeni, Siphwe Nyanda, Sidney Mafumadi, Elias Motsoaledi, Mendi Msimang, Reg September, Barbara Masakala, Billy Nair, Mcwayizeni Zulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, Gill Marcus, Jeremy Cronin, Rocky Malebane-Metsing, Kadar Asmal, Saki Macozoma, Peter Mokaba, Zola Skweyiya, Thozamile Botha and Marion Sparg.

Mass action to take centre stage in approach to talks

B/D 8/7/91

11A

DURBAN — The ANC plans to put particular emphasis on mass action in its new, aggressive approach to negotiations.

Political education head and newly elected NEC member Raymond Suttner said the ANC's national conference had identified the four pillars of the ANC's strategy as mass struggle, the underground, Umkhonto we Sizwe and international pressure.

Mass action had to "be unleashed in a far wider and more concerted way", he said. There had been strong criticism in the secretary-general's report of the ineffectiveness of mass action since the December consultative conference and Operation Vula commander Mac Maharaj also questioned the ANC commitment to this form of struggle. Maharaj said it had merely been regarded as a slogan.

In his opening address last Tuesday Nelson Mandela also referred to mass action as a central thrust to the organisation's strategy.

But at his closing address yesterday the ANC president said mass action had to be approached with care. He said trade unionists had warned that the organisation should not em-

BILLY PADDOCK

bark on mass action unnecessarily. It had to be used with discretion because of its effect on the economy and the high rate of unemployment.

Suttner said the strategy and tactics commission resolution, which had been endorsed by the conference, was that the ANC would not the "take unsolicited advice from government" to transform itself into a political party but would remain a liberation movement, Suttner said.

Initiative

TIM COHEN reports that a resolution on negotiations indicated the church- and business-initiated peace conference was the key to the start of talks.

It endorsed the initiative taken by church and business to convene a peace conference and noted violence as an obstacle to negotiations.

The resolution called on the ANC leadership urgently to press ahead with negotiations.

Regarding the removal of obstacles, the resolution said the following steps must be taken:

- The convening of the all-party congress;
- The installation of an interim government;
- The election of a democratic constituent assembly; and
- The adoption of a democratic constitution and elections.

These objectives should be achieved within a definite time frame.

Meanwhile, a briefing document on violence said the main focus of the ANC's strategy to end the violence was to intensify its international campaign to highlight government's refusal or inability to end the carnage.

It said one of government's main weaknesses was its desire to be seen negotiating and reaching agreements with the ANC in order "to portray itself as moving towards an acceptable solution".

Natal Midlands senior official Blade Nzimande said that at the local level the organisation was going to more rigorously pursue the formation and setting up of multiparty self-defence units. They would be accountable to civic associations.

Watch out NP, the ANC is on the way

THE ANC has elected a leadership with the experience and tenacity to take on the ruling National Party juggernaut at the negotiation table.

Apart from the 55-person national executive committee elected on Saturday, the 48th national conference of the movement which ended in Durban yesterday elected Mr Nelson Mandela as president, Mr Walter Sisulu deputy president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma assistant secretary-general and Mr Thomas Nkobi retained the position of treasurer-general. *Sowetan 8/7/91*

The five office-bearers were voted in by overwhelming majorities over their closest rivals. Mandela was unopposed as president.

A special position, that of national chairman, was created for the outgoing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

This was the first time since Chief Albert Luthuli led the ANC that the position has been resuscitated.

Sisulu beat closest rival, Mr Harry Gwala - the man who reportedly defends Stalinism and who is opposed to talks with the Government - by 1 567 votes to 412.

The third person nominated for the post of deputy president, Mr Thabo Mbeki, withdrew late on Thursday.

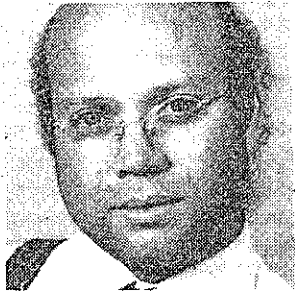
Sisulu (79) is a former Robben Islander, a close friend of Mandela and a member of the ANC's negotiating team.

A confidential source (a voting delegate from Gwala's Natal stronghold) told *Sowetan* that "Natal voted in the majority for Sisulu. He's got more experience".

For the position of secretary-general, Ramaphosa is said to have been "the most intelligent

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

choice" as one of the five office-bearers.

As the outgoing general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Ramaphosa has highly-developed negotiating skills after leading the powerful trade union to countless successes in the past nine years.

While he has never dealt with central Government directly, Ramaphosa has had extensive talks with local government over the rent boycotts.

Ramaphosa is nevertheless highly respected in Government circles for the influence he has had over major labour issues in recent years.

Asked to describe how he felt when he was carried shoulder-high from the back of the hall to the stage after he was voted in, Ramaphosa went quiet for a moment and then said: "I felt very humble to have been elected in the way that I had been."

And how did he think he could help the ANC against "the National Party juggernaut" in the negotiating process?

"Negotiations are negotiations are negotiations," Ramaphosa said confidently, provoking laughter from the more than 200 print and electronic media journal-

ists who had been waiting around in the Durban mid-winter heat for more than three hours for the election results.

Ramaphosa stood against and beat the outgoing secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the movement's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma.

Nzo received 371 votes, Zuma got 450 and Ramaphosa got a stunning 1 156 votes.

Zuma was later in the day elected deputy secretary-general. He was nominated with Nzo and former United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe.

Nzo trailed the troika with a mere 258 while, Molefe received 659 and Zuma 1 039.

Nkobi retained his position by beating his colleague, the ANC's London representative Mr Mendi Msimang, by what was described as a "surprising" 1 277 to 680 votes.

The announcement of the election results for the office-bearers was a highly emotional moment in the remaking of black South Africa's political history.

When Mr Charles Nupen, who headed the independent election monitoring committee, told a packed University of Durban Westville Sports Centre that Mandela was unopposed, the delegates, stalwarts, foreign dignitaries, journalists, service personnel and other observers rose in unison to applaud the new president.

Mandela rose slowly from his seat and, with tears in his eyes, turned to outgoing president Oliver Tambo and embraced him.

After spending 27 years in prison, Mandela had finally reached the helm of his movement and, if that were not enough, within minutes his old cellmate and fellow Rivonia trialist Sisulu received a similarly rumbustious applause when it was announced that he was deputy president.

While Mandela and Sisulu em-

braced, the delegates from Gwala's stronghold, the Natal Midlands, sat silently in defeat while everyone around them danced with joy.

By the end of the day's elections - through a remarkably democratic process - of the five office-bearers the signal went out to the ruling National Party: It's time to get your house in order, the ANC is coming.

In his opening speech, Mandela told the delegates to the conference to prepare themselves and their branches for negotiations - because the ANC was ready.

The mood of the conference throughout the five days was: Let's go for it.

Commenting after the elections of the five office-bearers, newly elected deputy president Sisulu said the ANC had been revitalised by the conference.

"We will be able to move forward with the confidence that has been shown to us at this conference," he said.

In his post-election comments Ramaphosa said his job would be complemented by the "wisdom and guidance of the people around him".

As the only person among the five office-bearers who had managed to hold on to his position as treasurer-general, Nkobi has been on the ANC's executive since 1973.

Nkobi (68) was born in the then Southern Rhodesia and came to South Africa as a little boy in 1933.

Ramaphosa spent most of his early days in politics in the Black Consciousness Movement. He is a qualified lawyer.

Nzo, Molefe and Msimang were elected to the enlarged NEC.

Fifty five people were elected at the conference and 28 (two from each of the 14 branches) are automatically included in the enlarged NEC.

THE debate on the sexual politics operating within the ANC produced the most fireworks at the organisation's conference in Durban last week — but the outcome proved somewhat messy and inconclusive.

A proposal was put to the conference that women should comprise at least 30% — or 15 or the 50 elected members — of the national executive committee as a way of correcting historical imbalances in the male-dominated organisation.

One of the chief motivators of the draft proposal, Professor Kader Asmal of the University of the Western Cape, had originally argued that the ANC's new constitution should guarantee an even larger quota of women so that the organisation could make a clean break from its sexist past.

But after a heated three-and-a-half-hour debate the quota system for women was rejected, sparking a rowdy "mass action" protest from the ANC Women's League which disrupted procedures to such an extent that the chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, was forced to adjourn proceedings and call an early supper break.

Affirmative action

But many of the men in the ANC, who comprised more than 80% of the 2 224 voting delegates at the conference, showed that they were not quite ready for this form of affirmative action.

Ironically, ANC spokesmen later confirmed that the principle of affirmative action remained a central pillar of ANC policy, both within the organisation in relation to women and within the broader society in relation to both women and blacks.

The logic is that because the long-standing power relations within society would render a *laissez-faire* approach to redressing imbalances ineffective, some form of positive or reverse discrimination was necessary to level the playing field.

But this leaves the rather awkward outcome that the ANC currently stands for affirmative action for women in principle but not in practice.

One way out of this paradox is to argue, as some of the ANC's male spokesmen did, that while

Fiery volleys left women's place in ANC unresolved

(1/1)



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

the ANC supports affirmative action, it does not think the quota system is the best way to handle it. Given the absence of any other practical measures being adopted the argument amounts to little more than a thinly disguised cop-out.

Another reason offered for resistance to the quota system for women was that it smacked of entrenching — horror of horrors — "group rights".

A further powerful argument marshalled by the anti-women's quota bloc was that women office-bearers would enjoy a diminished status if they did not win their positions in an open and equal contest.

Fuzzy arguments

This point, in turn, places an even bigger question mark over the ANC's staunch backing for affirmative action for women and blacks in the public service and private sector job market.

At a Press conference called by the Women's League the day

after they lost the quota issue, a number of its members had become surprisingly philosophical as they endeavoured to characterise their defeat as a victory.

Many pointed out that much re-education was needed within the organisation and society at large on this "very complex" issue, which was borne out by the conceptually fuzzy and often contradictory arguments forwarded by league members themselves.

Some noted that the league's managing to force such a lengthy debate on a long-neglected issue had to constitute a victory of sorts.

The ANC's new president, Mr Nelson Mandela, appeared to concur when he told a closing rally in Durban on Sunday: "Perhaps the debate on women's rights was one of the most important at the conference. We are all convinced that on this issue the ANC will never be the same again."

Flexibility the key — Mandela

ANC outlines phased lifting of sanctions

DURBAN — The ANC has decided on a three-phase plan for the lifting of sanctions

Announcing the decision to loud applause on the last day of the organisation's 48th national conference yesterday, president Nelson Mandela said: "We wanted to continue to hold the line on the question of sanctions (but) unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination, we will be left holding a shell and nothing else."

The draft resolution to the conference said because of the erosion of sanctions, it was essential to accept a phased lifting of sanctions, linked to objectives critical to transformation.

The three stages signalling the lifting of particular sanctions are:

- The removal of obstacles to negotiations as stipulated by the OAU and UN declarations, as well as government taking effective measures to end the violence;
- The installation of an interim government according to agreed arrangements for the transition to a democratic order (UN declaration); and
- The adoption of a democratic constitution, and the holding of elections for a non-racial parliament.

The national executive committee was mandated to determine the precise formulation of the process, in broad consultation internally and in co-ordination with anti-apartheid forces worldwide.

It is understood that sanctions likely to be lifted at the first stage would include those relating to sport, travel and culture. The second stage would probably affect trade, foreign investment and international finance. The oil and arms embargo would be lifted only at the third stage, once

BILLY PADDOCK

the new constitution was in place.

Mandela had charged the conference at its opening on Tuesday with finding effective ways of stopping the erosion of sanctions, and yesterday he praised international affairs director Thabo Mbeki for handling the matter so well.

"What I heard I endorse without reservation because it is an attempt to get the delegates and the organisation not to rely on mere rhetoric but to look at the problem as it is developing."

He said the ANC had asked countries to adopt a policy in support of the phasing out of sanctions. He said he had not been disappointed in the reception it had received.

"I do not want my remarks to be misunderstood. We want flexibility and imagination for an approach which is realistic. The flexibility which we want to exercise is intended to ensure that this weapon is kept in our hands," he said.

He said many of the ANC's friends had been pressed into lifting sanctions but they would not do so without consulting the ANC. A case in point was the position taken by the Danish parliament that the EC maintain sanctions until all the conditions in the Harare declaration were met. US President George Bush's administration had also stuck to the position of consulting the ANC before making any decision.

Mandela said the ANC had problems with some of the African countries but it had to be understood that their economies had come under strain as a result of their support for the ANC's cause.

With regard to negotiations, Mandela said government had to realise the ANC

To Page 2

Sanctions

was an equal partner and would not be dictated to about becoming a political party or about its relationship with the SACP and Cosatu.

He accepted the criticism that the ANC leadership had not consulted its grassroots membership sufficiently and had kept it in the dark about negotiations. This would be rectified.

He said it was proper that he be brutal in taking the ANC to task for its lack of communication with minority groups. The mere declaration of its policies would not see people running to join the organisation and what was called for was proper door-to-door campaigning.

Too many of the organisation's structures were set up in such a way that whites, coloureds and Indians were excluded. This had to be changed.

He welcomed President F W de Klerk's condemnation last week of the attack and killing of an ANC delegate's family. "When he (De Klerk) does something right, it is right that we should acknowledge it. If he had done this at the beginning of the violence, it would not have escalated to the extent that it has," Mandela said.

● See Pages 3 and 8
● Comment: Page 8

Star 9/7/91

Use funds to create jobs. 11A

ANC urged 13

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) hopes that the ANC will liquidate its foreign assets and use the funds — about R655 million — for job-creating investments in South Africa.

The call follows the ANC's announcement at its national conference in Durban that it has assets of R655 million abroad.

JCCI president Mike Cato said in a statement that his organisation "guardedly welcomed" the appointment of top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa to the post of ANC secretary-general.

Mr Cato said he hoped Mr Ramaphosa would bring to the ANC executive a better understanding of how business operated, and the need for job creation and economic growth.

But the chamber regretted that the ANC had decided to remain a liberation movement; maintain close links with the SACP; continue building up Umkhonto we Sizwe; and step up mass protest action.

Negotiations on hold, Mandela tells Hurd

By Thabo Leshilo and Sapa

“Real negotiations” continued to be the prime ideal for President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after separate meetings in Pretoria and Johannesburg, respectively, with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd yesterday.

But while Mr de Klerk said these negotiations would be the fundamental solution to the violence in South Africa, Mr Mandela, while hinting that negotiations were desired, said the ANC would not negotiate until barriers to dialogue had been removed.

Speaking to reporters after their meeting at the ANC's head office, Mr Hurd said he and Mr Mandela had had a “good, long exchange” and agreed that dialogue should continue.

In particular there was complete agreement that fully integrated South African sport should return to the international sporting arena, Mr Hurd said.

Mr Mandela told reporters he had made it clear to Mr Hurd that the ANC would not engage in negotiations with the Govern-

ment for a new constitution until certain obstacles had been removed — including the release of all political prisoners, the cessation of political trials, the unconditional return of political exiles and a concerted effort by the Government to end the country's violence.

Mr Mandela added that the obstacles to negotiations were the same as the obstacles holding up the lifting of sanctions.

However, Mr Mandela explained, the ANC was flexible on the question of sanctions, and “the specific nature of that flexibility will be seen when the moment arrives”.

Referring to negotiations and their relevance to the country's endemic violence, Mr de Klerk said: “If the supporters see their leaders talking to each other regularly on a round-table basis, then the basis for positioning and violent interaction between political factions falls away.”

Mr de Klerk said that from the point of view of the negotiation process, there was no doubt the ANC conference had been constructive, as the leadership had obtained a mandate for negotiations.

CP leader reacts to ANC threats (11A)

DURBAN — Threats from the ANC, especially its "armed intimidation", left whites no choice but to protect themselves through neighbourhood watches against attacks, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Commenting on the ANC's national conference held in Durban last week, Dr Treurnicht said in a statement it was "totally unacceptable and a sign of weakness that the Government continues to invite the

ANC to negotiations while it continues making threats of training terrorists".

It also condemned the ANC for allegedly collecting weapons aimed at the "armed overthrow" of South Africa.

The Government's scrapping of "protective laws" had plunged the struggle for whites to rule themselves in their own land into a new phase.

"The ANC is not an alternative government, especially not for whites," Dr Treurnicht said.

1977/10/15

Councillors admit firing shots

Court Reporter

TWO of four Lingeletu West town councillors who have denied charges of trying to murder Mr Michael Mapongwana and a 15-year-old schoolgirl at a civic meeting in Khayelitsha last March, yesterday admitted firing shots at the meeting.

Town councillors Mr David Zono and Mr Livingstone Booi admitted in Wynberg Regional Court yesterday that they fired shots from 9mm firearms.

Mr Zono said he fired four shots when he saw several youths

armed with bladed weapons coming at him and his co-councillors, and he heard Mr Booi fire two shots.

Mr Booi corroborated his evidence and admitted having fired four shots, saying that in Mr Mapongwana's address to the crowd, he was ordering them to attack him and his co-councillors, Mr Zono and Mr Morris Gxowa.

The fourth accused, Mr Vakhtshiwa Gocina, said during a previous hearing that he was not present at the meeting in Town Two on March 7 last year.

A 15-year-old schoolgirl, who may not be named, said at a previous hearing that she was wounded in the leg when the four accused town councillors disrupted the meeting by firing shots.

Mr Zono, Mr Booi and Mr Gxowa all said in their plea explanations that they fired off their handguns in self-defence, and were not guilty of attempted murder. #5 (11A) 2003

The trial continues this morning. CT 9/7/91

The prosecutor is Mr B Julius. Mr I Martin appears for the accused.

THE knee-jerk "rooi-gevaar" reaction in some circles to the large number of South African Communist Party members elected on to the African National Council's new executive was, perhaps, to be expected but this simplistic heads-under-the-bed approach to the changing profile of the ANC is not only misleading but fails to grasp what is really going on in the organisation.

The fact is that the SACP is not a homogeneous organisation but it has members ranging from unashamed Stalinists to liberal social democrats. As such, the unorthodox use of the emotive label 'communist' almost invariably leads to poor analysis of the ongoing dynamics between the ANC and SACP.

Keenly aware

To lump individuals such as Archbishop Harry Gwala, who fills Stalin and is extremely negative about the negotiation process, in the same ideological camp as Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's sophisticated and pragmatic foreign affairs director, will invariably lead to some analytical aberrations.

The reality is that senior SACP members are divided, often sharply, on such things as economic policy, international affairs, negotiations and mass action, among many issues. However, the one issue on which most South African communists are united is that they know they will have limited electoral prospects as a separate political party.

They are keenly aware, though, that by retaining their alliance with the ANC they stand a very good chance of being given key positions in the new government, despite limited on-the-ground support.

This should come as no surprise as the Tongaat minutes, which gave rise to the Operation Vuka controversy, said as much. The piggy-back mentality is particularly evident among the ANC's strategy and tactics experts: almost all of them are SACP members. This group is adamant that the ANC should continue to be a broad liberation movement comprising the ANC-SACP/Cosatu alliance and a variety of tendencies and interest groups in the broader community. They do not want it trans-

ANC still has hard lessons to learn after Durban talks

ET 9/7/91



From ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

formed into a political party with a clear-cut manifesto.

Further objection

A liberation movement not only has a different status and legitimacy to an ordinary political party, it also does not have to be too specific on policy issues. Indeed, this could give the movement the advantage of still benefiting from foreign funding; registered political parties are barred from receiving funds from abroad.

A further objection by SACP strategists have to the ANC becoming a political party is that, as new ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela pointed out in his opening address to the Durban conference, the ANC would need crisp and clearly identifiable policies. This would highlight differences within the movement and lead to potential conflict and the inevitable shedding of support for the ANC-led alliance.

Apart from putting clearly identifiable policies to the electorate, Mr Mandela emphasised that the ANC would have to engage in door-to-door canvassing, attend to problems such as electoral systems and constituency boundaries and set up grassroots political structures. In effect, he proposed the ANC increasingly operate in much the same way as a conventional party when it came to elections for the constituent assembly.

He told the conference: "For us to succeed in those elections, we must prepare for them, bearing in mind the fact that throughout the period of its existence, the ANC has never participated in general elections."

Other ideas

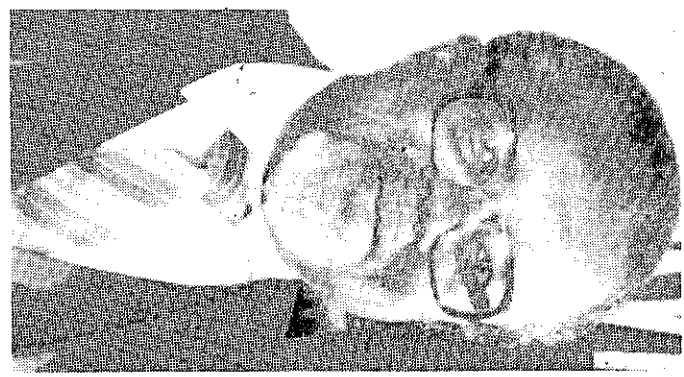
Motivating his plea for the ANC to work out clear policy positions on all major questions of public life, he noted: "All our people want to know how we would govern the country if they gave us this responsibility — they want us to speak with one consistent voice and put forward a clear vision."

However, top ANC strategist (and SACP member) Raymond Suttner clearly has other ideas. When questioned about whether the ANC was preparing to transfer itself from a liberation movement relying on mass action to build support for a more traditional political party, he stated flatly: "We will fight elections as a liberation movement. Why do you need to be a political party to fight an election?"

He also said the ANC was getting "a lot of unsolicited advice" to become a political party from the government and the commercial Press and submitted that "the government feels it would be easier with the ANC as a political party of a particular type and this we reject".



THABO MBEKI: The ANC's sophisticated and pragmatic foreign affairs director.



HARRY GWALA: Still backs Stalin and is extremely negative on negotiations.

In fact, Mr Suttner and his fellow strategists may learn to their cost that the National Party loves nothing more as an opponent in an election than a broad-based, United Party-type organisation which tries to be all things to all people.

Lengthy session

Despite the apparent desire by most SACP members to keep policy matters as broad as possible, the Durban conference did spend long hours grappling with a wide range of policy questions. It was clear by the end of the first day that it would not come close to completing its deliberations on a number of burning policy issues, including economic, education and land reform policies but the 2 224 registered delegates did have exhaustive and exhausting discussions on issues such as the ANC's constitution, demonstrating democracy work was a lot harder than merely talking about it.

One hard-worked delegate, emerging from the conference after a particularly lengthy session, commented wearily: "The

ANC has a new slogan — one delegate, one lawyer!"

His remark highlighted the intense and vigorous debate which characterised almost all discussion in committees and on the conference floor during plenary sessions. One delegate after another remarked on the frank and fearless manner in which the rank-and-file questioned and challenged the ANC leadership, largely without interruption from the chair.

Undertaking

So telling and vigorous was this criticism that at the end of the conference Mr Mandela admitted in an open session that the leadership had committed a number of glaring errors and had failed in its democratic responsibility to consult with the grass-roots about negotiations and key decisions such as the suspension of the armed struggle.

He also gave an undertaking that the leadership would respond to the criticism and promised to lead the consultations demanded by members. This will inevitably mean that future negotiations will be more drawn-out

and ANC leaders will be less willing to compromise in negotiations without making sure they have a mandate.

It was clear from every report about the conference proceedings and from the extremely fair voting under the supervision of four independent electoral commissioners that the ANC had achieved a level of internal democracy not seen in a political structure in South Africa for a long time. Many other political organisations could learn some valuable lessons from the ANC's commitment to democratic practice on this level.

It is was ironic, however, that most of the proceedings were closed to the Press, who had to rely on selected briefings and leaks from delegates to find out what was going on. This point appeared lost on Mr Mandela who, while addressing a closing rally in Durban, boasted: "Those who say we are not ready for democracy should have witnessed our proceedings."

Fact remains

It was perfectly understandable that the first ANC conference in South Africa for more than 30 years should be wary of public debate on a number of sensitive issues, such as the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe, before the Press. The ANC's first priority, clearly, was to build greater coherence and unity among the many disparate strands of the organisation, many of which met for the first time on the University of Durban-Westville campus last week.

However, the fact remains that the closed sessions were not, in essence, democratic because they were not open to the Press and consequent public scrutiny. Indeed, there would have been less scope for red-scare mischief-making by the Press and unsympathetic commentators had most of the proceedings taken place in an open session.

It is to be hoped that the ANC, given its conference-inspired self-confidence and unity will be less secretive in future. Indeed, if the ANC, as a liberation movement or political party, wants to become the next government it will enjoy greater public confidence and legitimacy if it does not operate behind closed doors.

9/7/91 Act.
ANC'S (TIA)

man in MOSCOW

MICHAEL MORRIS and
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Political Staff

THE ANC's *minder* behind the Iron Curtain for more than two decades — and one of the most senior Russians ever to visit South Africa — was among the phalanx of exotic foreign guests at the movement's five-day Durban conference.

Remarkably, unlike the others, the Soviet Central Committee member and head of the Communist Party's Africa group is on bear-hugging terms with the ranks of ANC exiles and their leaders whom he met during the Cold War years when the Soviet Union was among the few who succoured the liberation movement.

South Africans might be tempted to endow the ANC's Moscow man with a John le Carre persona, but the cheerily-tubby Dr Vladimir Shubin is not archetypal.

By turns reflective and jocular, modest, at times cautious, but always considered and thoughtful, Dr Shubin displays an acute knowledge of South African political history and a sensitivity for the nuances and vicissitudes of a country emerging from notoriety.

Yet, there are limits to his candour. A socialist loyalty underpins sometimes rather cryptic views on the South African Communist Party and its supremo Joe Slovo. His most telling comment seems a very pointed reflection of the Soviet attitude: "We say our friends have every right to make their own mistakes, but they have no right to repeat ours."

Was this pithy epithet his advice to Mr Slovo, perhaps? Dr Shubin says no. "It is not for us to give advice and Mr Slovo does not seek it. We never give advice to fraternal parties. That would be wrong."

Mr Slovo himself, Dr Shubin notes, has "always been a very sober observer, critical of formations and mistakes in the USSR and other countries, so to call him a Stalinist is the biggest joke".

Even so, Perestroika and upheaval in the East Bloc have changed Kremlin relations with Mr Slovo's party, but by "enhancing" them, he says.

Discussions are now "less formal and more frank", he says, acknowledging that in the past, "there was a tendency to portray everything in a good way when it was not so."



Relations with the ANC are different too ... not

Dr Shubin ... acute knowledge of South African political history

that they ever were what white South Africa assumed, he insists. "The total onslaught never existed," he scoffs. "That was bogus."

The Soviets helped the ANC because it was "our moral duty to help," and it wasn't just because of the SACP connection.

What now though? "We do not overlook the changes. The fact that we are here, and have opened an interests section in Pretoria, are indications of that. But while we believe the steps are in the right direction and are wise, the pace is rather slow, and slower than it should be."

It was up to South Africans to "determine" the reforms and the pace of change, but he was nevertheless surprised that after 18 months, formal talks were not underway. He feared the longer change was delayed, the greater and more unmanageable would expectations become.

Full diplomatic relations, according to Russia's formal position, depended on an "understanding that the process of change is irreversible".

"In practical terms, that is not yet defined ... it could be the adoption of a new constitution, or maybe the formation of an interim government. We will consider it step by step, but at the moment we are not ready to give diplomatic recognition."

Moscow, however, was "flexible" on this. "We feel that not to have a presence here would be wrong. One of the chief reasons is so that we can keep in touch with the different forces and to establish a good basis for relations in the future."

The ANC was "fully informed" of this and the Kremlin "has not heard of any objections from their side".

"We do not think it is wrong for businessmen and economists from both sides to meet and discuss things. So long as there is no violation of sanctions, this creates the basis for future relations in all fields."

"Wide contact between our two countries helps people to understand we are human beings with the same human values."

But he ruled out a visit to Moscow by Mr De Klerk. Such a prospect, he said quaintly, was "not serious".

On the other hand, there was every likelihood of a visit to Moscow by ANC president Nelson Mandela later this year, possibly within months. There hadn't been a visit yet because of clashing dates.

Relations with the ANC had altered "practically", rather than in "principle". It boiled down to less frequent contacts in Moscow.

The bond actually goes back to 1927. It was formalised in the 1960s, but Dr Shubin came into the picture in 1969 as a member of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, a non-governmental organisation that helped channel assistance to the ANC.

He was their key contact and got to know many exiles very well. Curiously he would not reveal anything of the human side of the intriguing bond between mammoth superpower and liberation movement. The emphasis is on the fraternity, not the brothers in it.

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Govt,
ANC
urged
to talk

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday said they expected the Government and the ANC to go ahead with negotiations to pave way for a new constitution by next year.

Most of the callers supported the mandate given to the ANC leadership at its conference at the weekend, that the organisation should go ahead with negotiations.

But Bernard of Soshanguve sounded a warning to the ANC, saying the organisation should first stick to its demands made to the Government concerning the return of all exiles, the political prisoners and an end to violence.

Bernard's view was echoed by another caller, Thabang, who said negotiations should go ahead as soon as possible. But, he said, the Government must remove all major obstacles first.

However Kenny from Johannesburg said the problem was the ANC, because the Government had removed three-quarters of the obstacles but nothing had come out of the talks so far.

"If the ANC did not withdraw (from the talks) things would have come to an end now," he said.

Smilo of Zondi said he supported negotiations but unity among black political organisations was crucial.

Dita Rabothata of Naledi, Soweto said negotiations should be through by October 10 this year, and voting for representatives of all parties to the constituent assembly on February 2.

"On April 6, our elected CA should be drawing up our new constitution," he said.

State, ANC closer on interim govt

Sowetan
9/7/91

~~2/11/91~~
11A

THE African National Congress and the Government have come closer on the question of an interim government, according to ANC publicity director Dr Pallo Jordan.

He was speaking on the *Agenda* TV programme, which was staged live in the Durban Exhibition Centre with participation by an audience which included Nationalist and Democratic Party MPs, Durban civic figures, Inkatha representatives, members of the House of Delegates and leaders of the business community.

With Jordan on an ANC panel were secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy, Mr Jacob Zuma, and national executive com-

Sowetan Correspondent

mittee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Replying to a question by Professor Mervyn Frost of the Political Science Department of the University of Natal, whether a government of national unity was likely or imminent, Jordan said there had been *toenadering* (overtures) on this issue.

Election

However, he also made it clear that what the ANC had in mind was still very different from the co-option process suggested by Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Replying to a question by Dr

Zach de Beer, leader of the DP, whether the ANC would be prepared to share government with other parties - the Nationalists specifically - he said the idea had merit but would depend on the outcome of a democratic election.

If the ANC won a clear majority in such an election, it would probably prefer to form its own government.

Sections of the largely good-humoured audience laughed derisively when Kasrils, a senior functionary in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed wing, described the organisation as a force for peace.

He was replying to Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

ANC plan on sanctions opposed

Hurd calls for massive new investment

11A ~~11A~~
Blom 9/7/91

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said in Johannesburg yesterday that there was an "incredibly important need" for "huge" foreign investment in a new SA.

Hurd, who arrived yesterday for a three-day visit to the country, said he did not agree with the ANC's newly announced plan for a phased lifting of sanctions.

After meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela, Hurd told newsmen he had disagreed with Mandela on the timing of ending sanctions and the pace at which foreign investment should flow into the country, but said the two had found "much common ground".

The ANC's national conference this week adopted a three-phase plan for lifting sanctions linked to the removal of obstacles to negotiations, the installation of an interim government and the adoption of a democratic constitution.

Sapa reports Hurd said Mandela had agreed that fully integrated sport should be admitted to international competition.

Mandela said after the meeting he was confident an amicable agreement on sanctions could be reached "in due course".

He said the ANC was not inflexible on sanctions, which had been implemented for a specific objective which had not yet been attained.

Hurd told Mandela and President F W de Klerk, whom he met earlier yesterday, that the British government had earmarked R4,6m to aid the return of exiles.

JONATHON REES

Some R2,3m would be given to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees once it asked governments for contributions to the cost of repatriation, with the rest going to projects to support the reception and resettlement of returning exiles.

After meeting De Klerk in Pretoria, Hurd said the reform process in SA was of great interest to the UK because SA was equipping itself for a new role in the international community and in Africa.

He said although there was a strong historic bond between SA and Britain, South Africans must find the solutions to their own problems.

Hurd said there was no alternative to negotiations, adding that he hoped the push towards successful negotiations could be resumed following the ANC's conference.

De Klerk welcomed the British government's "encouraging attitude" and its "constructive role" in the process of change.

He said he was confident negotiations could proceed "sooner rather than later" since ANC leaders had been given a mandate to negotiate by their national conference.

Government was "in a hurry" to get a multiparty conference off the ground.

However, Mandela said it was not possible for the ANC to negotiate before obstacles to talks were lifted, including the re-

□ To Page 2

Hurd

Blom 9/7/91

turn of exiles, the release of political prisoners and an end to violence in SA.

Asked about government's view on the number of SACP members elected to the ANC executive at the weekend, De Klerk said he was "not worried" about it, in the sense that it might pose a specific threat.

"What worries me, is the fact that it gives rise to uncertainty as to who stands exactly where," De Klerk said.

Hurd also met PAC president Clarence Makwetu and top PAC officials in Pretoria yesterday morning.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said the sanctions issue was not raised. Both sides put forward their views on a

11A ~~11A~~ □ From Page 1
multiparty conference, formation of a patriotic front and violence and discussed PAC preconditions to negotiations.

Hurd will hold a series of meetings in Durban today, including one with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

□ Sapa reports that Britain's new Ambassador to SA Antony Reeve presented his credentials to De Klerk at the Presidency in Pretoria yesterday.

Reeve greeted De Klerk in Afrikaans, saying it was a "great honour, privilege and pleasure" for him to represent his Queen and government in SA.

● Picture: Page 3

Give exiles clean sheet, says PAC

Staff Reporter ^{Star} 10/7/91

If the Government believed that some of the laws it put on the statute books were unjust, then it must also understand that people left the country to go into exile precisely because of those laws, Dr Lerole Mabe, head of the repatriation division of the Pan Africanist Congress, said this week.

Confession

He was reacting to Government claims that the number of exiles had been inflated and that few exiles were returning despite more having been granted indemnity.

"Few have returned, because only a few have been granted indemnity. The indemnity form is a confession of crimes.

"The PAC demands a comprehensive general amnesty because our people left the country because of the Government's draconian laws," Dr Mabe said.

11A 200
He accused the Government of obstructing the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) from taking part in the repatriation process, which seeks the return of all exiles "with safety and dignity".

"As long as there is no general amnesty, we will have cases like that of Rocky Malebane-Metsing. Who will now trust the Government and return?"

"There is basically no protection for the exiles if there is no comprehensive amnesty and no physical presence of the UNHCR, and that is why the exiles are unwilling to return.

"The position of the PAC, the UNHCR and the international community is the same. The Government caused the exodus of our people, and now that it has finally realised the error of its actions it should not obstruct the return of exiles."

BVB won't act on ANC school yet

Sowetan correspondent

THE BOERE-Vryheidsbeweging will request a meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok before deciding on any action to stop children of ANC cadres from being accommodated at Pretoria's old Hillview School.

Police have, however, warned that action will be taken against the BVB should they carry out threats of violence.

Mr Jan Groenewald, the BVB's chief secretary, said yesterday the organisation would be sending a fax to Vlok to seek a meeting. The issue would be discussed before the organisation decided on any action.

He said the decision by the Government to make the school available to the ANC was an "act of deliberate encroachment and occupation of historical Boer territory".

Sowetan
1d7/91 Decision (11A)

"The ANC school is an object of revulsion for the Boer nation and will be a target of Boer resistance from its inception."

Groenewald called on the Government to revoke the decision "in the interests of stability, order and peace".

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the police would not allow anybody to take the law into their own hands.

"The time for violence is over in South Africa. Threats of violence will solve nothing.

"The police will respond appropriately to any breach of law.

"Police will do everything necessary to protect the rights of individuals which might be threatened in this situation," he said.

Azapo supports church's role

11A

AN Azapo delegation led by its president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, met yesterday with a Rustenburg Steering Committee delegation led by the Rev Frank Chikane and Dr Louw Alberts, to discuss the Rustenburg Declaration.

Sowetan 10/7/91
The meeting took place in a relaxed atmosphere and the Azapo members expressed general consensus with the document, Azapo said.

"We welcome what has taken place today. We need these consultations. We need to rationalise together and work out a process of agreement," Nefolovhodwe said.

Encouraged

Azapo was encouraged by the role of the church as "watchdog".

"The church must be a servant of all people - to any government of the day."

The organisation put forward the recommendations that: Clear definition be given to the term "multi-party process", everyone in South Africa should understand the value of human life, the Government must be urged to build more schools within communities and economic power should be transferred to all the people. - *Sapa*

Fate finally fails Mapongwana

Sowetan 10/7/91

11A

MICHAEL Mapongwana, born 43 years ago in Salt River, was the firstborn of a four-member family.

Mapongwana's involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle started when he joined the Transport and General Workers' Union while he worked as a security guard for Anglo American Properties.

He resigned this post because he wanted to devote more time to the struggle. He had worked a 12-hour shift four days a week.

Khayelitsha, Cape Town, community leader Michael Mapongwana was assassinated by gunmen wearing balaclavas this week. *Sowetan* correspondent, VUYO BAVUMA, provides the anatomy of an atrocity.

Previously he worked for the then Administration Board offices, known as Ikapa Town Council, an institution he sought to dismantle.

Mapongwana, who

later became known for his fiery anti-government rhetoric, came to prominence after leading a campaign against "anti-democratic and puppet" Lingeletu West Town Council in Khayelitsha last October.

But his first brush with death had come seven months earlier - in March last year - when he escaped unhurt after gunmen fired at him while he was addressing a meeting at a creche.

Earlier the short, stocky man was elected

chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association.

Unlike other townships at the time, Khayelitsha boasted a functioning Lingeletu West Town council, elected when the political organisations were gagged.

In October there were sharp exchanges between Mapongwana and Mr Graham Lawrence, the council's town clerk, after residents had protested against increased service

charges.

Four days later Mapongwana's wife Nomsa was killed in a petrol bomb attack at their home. Michael was slightly injured in the attack.

Typically, he told cheering followers that "killings can't stop me in the struggle for human rights".

This year Mapongwana became a member of the Taxi Crisis Coordinating Committee, which attempted to solve the taxi conflict in the Western Cape.

Boraine spells out ANC problems

Political Correspondent

THE two major problems facing the ANC were its close links with South African Communist Party and its lack of clarity on the immediate role of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

Both these problems would make it difficult for the ANC to achieve its stated goals of broadening the organisation's base and pushing ahead with a programme of negotiations and non-racialism, he predicted.

Speaking at the launch of an Idasa video entitled "Democracy", Dr Boraine said that voters had a right to know whom they were voting for and that this would not be

possible if the close alliance between the ANC and the SACP continued to blur their images into one.

"It is in the interests of both the ANC and perhaps the SACP to have a very clear distinction between them because the current alliance will inevitably come back to haunt them."

Dr Boraine said there was no doubt that the ANC's military wing, MK, would play a significant role in a future defence force and police force.

The government should ban the public display of all weapons, including cultural weapons, and neither Inkatha, the AWB, the ANC nor rogue elements within the

state should be allowed to run private armies, he said.

Dr Boraine said there were a number of points about the ANC's conference last week, particularly Mr Nelson Mandela's opening address, which served as hopeful signs for the transition period and negotiation politics.

Turning to the performance of President F W de Klerk during the past year, Dr Boraine said Mr De Klerk, like Mr Mandela, had shown himself to be a courageous leader.

"But in the past few months the government has made a number of mistakes which has hindered the transition process and discouraged negotiations."

11A CT 10/7/91

PAC is willing to listen

11A

Sowetan 10/7/91

THE PAC said it would accept the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association's offer of advice on how to proceed with the democratisation of South Africa.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said seven CPA members visiting the country had

expressed their organisation's desire to assist with expertise on matters concerning the creation of a democracy.

"The PAC may well need such assistance and will be in touch with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association if the need arises," Alexander said.

der said.

The CPA delegation held talks with senior PAC members yesterday morning.

The delegation leader, Australian politician and CPA executive committee chairman Mr Clive Griffiths, confirmed Alexander's statement.

"We came not to force our views, but, as representatives of 124 parliaments, we feel we may have the expertise should South Africans wish to take advantage of the offer.

The delegation's representative for the Canadian region, Mr John

Reynolds, stressed the CPA was not party political and not concerned with seeing any particular party in power.

Alexander said the PAC had also discussed the creation of a patriotic front as well as the pros and cons of a constituent assembly. - Sapa



BENNY ALEXANDER

Invest here for jobs, ANC urged

THE ANC will hopefully liquidate its foreign assets and deploy the funds - potentially R655-million - for job-creating investments in South Africa, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said yesterday.

The call follows the ANC's announcement at its national conference in Durban last week that it has assets amounting to R655-million abroad, comprising property in Europe, vehicles, farms and two huge estates in Tanzania.

JCCI president Mr Mike Cato also said his organisation "guardedly welcomed" the appointment of top trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa to the post of ANC secretary-general.

He hoped Ramaphosa would bring to the ANC a better understanding of how business operated and the need for job creation and economic growth.

The chamber, however, regretted that the ANC had decided to remain a liberation movement. - *Sapa*

Hints of NP alliance with other groups

Star 11/7/91

The National Party will try to form an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, Labour Party, Solidarity, Zion Christian Church and various homeland leaders, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

It said in its latest publication that its information came from sources close to the NP hierarchy, and added that the Zion Christian Church was already thinking of converting to a political party.

It said the NP believed this alliance could attract a majority of voters.

Author Shaun Mackay, a research officer at the institute, said that in anticipation of the proposed multiparty conference, most major political organisations were expanding their power bases through alliances.

"Recent surveys have indicated that the NP has substantial support from coloured people and Indians, and for this reason it has opened its membership to blacks in the hope of attracting that support.

"The IFP has (also) opened its doors to all races and claims to have gained a sub-

stantial number of white members."

The ANC, PAC and Azapo, on the other hand, were looking at a united front of liberation organisations, while the Conservative Party rejected the multiparty conference outright, claiming it was aimed at negotiating away the right of the Afrikaner to self-determination.

According to the publication, the PAC and Azapo saw the proposed multiparty conference as an opportunity for the Government to diminish the legitimate claims of the "oppressed" through compromise in a body which the NP would fill with black parties it had been working with.

In the author's opinion, there was the danger that organisations such as the PAC and Azapo, which refuse to take part in the multiparty conference, could lose their chance of helping to shape the foundation upon which a new constitution was to be built.

"The ANC is also in favour of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. To allow for an interim government, the present Government would need to change the constitution.

"This is, however, unlikely to happen." — Sapa.

SACP is ANC's major problem

11/19
11/7/91

ONE of the ANC's major problems is its close links with the South African Communist Party, according to Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa.

The other was the lack of clarity about the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Dr Boraine said at the launch of an Idasa video entitled *Democracy*.

These problems would make it difficult for the ANC to achieve its goals of broadening its base and push ahead with a programme of negotiations and non-racialism.

It was in the interests of both the ANC and perhaps the SACP to have a very clear distinction between them, because the current alliance would inevitably come back to haunt them.

Voters

The voters had a right to know who they were voting for and this would not be possible if the close alliance between the ANC and the SACP continued to blur their images into one.

It was difficult to say what a communist looked like these days but this sophisticated argument was difficult to sell to people who had seen the suppression that had taken place under communist regimes and how communism had collapsed.

Boraine added that President de Klerk had done the right thing by unbanning the ANC and the SACP.

There was no doubt that Umkhonto we Sizwe would play a significant role in a future defence and police force.

He was, however, concerned about MK's present role.

Gag on names of ANC communists

(Cont from page 11A)

"They were elected, not because they were communists, but because the branches and regions who had nominated them had confidence in them. They were chosen because of their participation in the ANC.

"We do not engage in the numbers game. **ARGUS 11/1/91**
"Some have openly declared that they are party members. At the time of our congress in December all members and leaders of the party will become known publicly."

Mr Pahad said there was no special reason why names of members were not being announced now.

Further decisions on whether the SACP and the ANC would take part separately in an election would be taken nearer the time.

A declaration issued after last week's conference expressed a commitment to the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu.

Mr Ramaphosa said that speculation about some leading members of the ANC was unfounded and based on the "threadbare" evidence provided by the International Freedom Foundation "a pathologically anti-communist group, accountable to no one in the worst tradition of the Cold War era."

He stressed that the members of the NEC were elected in free and fair elections conducted by an independent electoral commission with an unimpeachable record.

"These are women and men who enjoy the demonstrable confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of members of the ANC."

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC would not permit itself to be drawn into an inquisition and "McCarthyite witch-hunt".

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Peter Soal said today that, if there was nothing strange in the relationship between the ANC and the SACP the question could be asked why the two did not merge to become one movement.

Mr Soal said that there were differences. The SACP knew it would get minimal support if it tried to go it alone, so it clung to the ANC as a vehicle for electoral support.

Mr Renier Schoeman MP, information officer of the National Party, said the gagging orders would only serve to make people even more suspicious about the relationship between the ANC and the SACP.

The sooner the issue was cleared up, the better, he said.

ANC members gagged on communist connections

11A
ARGUS 12/7/91

TOS WENTZEL
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE identities of communists in the ANC's national executive are being kept secret. Some have already declared their affiliations but others have now been gagged.

Those who have not yet declared their membership of the SACP have been told not to do so until the party has its congress at the end of the year.

The leadership of the SACP has taken this decision.

The ANC leadership in turn has instructed all members of its NEC not to answer any queries from the media about their political affiliations beyond the ANC.

The SACP decision was confirmed by Mr Essop Pahad, media spokesman of the party.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC referred to "red baiting" in the media. He has said for the first time that he was not and never had been a member of the SACP.

The government has criticised the ANC's communist connections. There have also been misgivings in some ANC circles.



In other ANC circles the question is being dismissed as "irrelevant" at this stage.

They maintain that the diversity of ideological views is so great within the communist camp, that it cannot be said to operate as a bloc with a common political purpose, other than, perhaps, to use the relationship with the ANC to secure a position of influence in a constituent assembly, an interim government or a future government where its chief function would be to represent workers' interests.

There are at least 14 communists in the ANC's 50-member NEC, five of them in the top 10 positions. According to some reports at least half of the members of the NEC are communists and the proportion might be greater.

The known communists are Mr Joe Slovo, general-secretary of the SACP, Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of ANC's guerrilla army Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Raymond Suttner, Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Mr Aziz Pahad, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Reginald September and Mr Jeremy Cronin.

Among the NEC members who were approached this week some were prepared to say they were not members but others declined to answer the question, saying they would at a later stage.

One of those who declined to say was Miss Gill Marcus who is also one of the movement's media spokesmen. She said the question would be answered "at some point in time".

Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Trevor Manuel of the Western Cape region said they were not members as did Mr Arnold Stofile of the Border region.

They were speaking before the leadership's ban on such comments.

Mr Pahad said the approach of the SACP was that the people elected to the NEC last week were chosen in "the most democratic election any political party had ever had".

(Turn to page 2, col 8)

ANC faces accommodation problem

By CHRIS BATEMAN

YOUNG ANC supporters are leaving South Africa in "droves" for military training and a chance at a better education — so much so that the organisation is having difficulty accommodating them all.

This was said yesterday by Mr Trevor Manuel, newly-elected member of the ANC's national executive and Western Cape media spokesman.

He claimed that more youths were in transit camps (such as Botswana) now than during the political turbulence of 1988 and 1989.

The situation was being exacerbated by the large number of key ANC members returning to the country, he added.

While the ANC had agreed with the government (in terms of the DF Malan Accord of February 12 this year) that there would be no internal military training of ANC cadres, no such agreement applied to external training.

"I suppose in any society people want to be soldiers — in the past it may have been the thing to do — now you have people beginning to exercise a choice for themselves in a future South Africa," he said.

The changed motivation was to "get in now" for a future South African defence force while improved external education such as that available at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania remained a strong motivator.

Mr Manuel said he could not quantify how many more youths were leaving the country for military training but "one has a general sense of it".

● At its national conference recently the ANC resolved to maintain and develop MK until the adoption of a democratic constitution.

11A 27/11/91

ANC wants international mass action

CT 11/7/91 (11A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has decided to extend its "mass action" campaign into the international arena in a bid to put pressure on the government to halt "apartheid-sponsored violence".

The decision to broaden the scope of its "mass activities" comes despite the confidential report by outgoing ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo which criticised the movement for its "poor quality of mass work".

Referring to mass action activities within the country, Mr Nzo noted in his report to the ANC's conference last week: "Clearly we have not utilised our full potential to mobilise millions of our people into effective action."

The ANC conference's formal resolution on violence released yesterday commits the organisation to a programme of "national and international mass action" to highlight its demands.

The resolution says that "many thousands of our people have been attacked and killed and continue to be killed especially in the recent period by apartheid-sponsored violence carried out by Inkatha, askaris ("turned" ANC members), bantustan death forces and others whose aim is to

weaken and destroy the ANC and other democratic forces.

"The violence is taking place in a counter-revolutionary context directed by agencies of the state, and its surrogate forces in the form of councillors, warlords, vigilantes, death squads and certain right-wing elements," it says.

● Sapa reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani yesterday held talks with Maritzburg ANC officials and Mpophomeni officials in an attempt to resolve intra-ANC fighting there.

Describing the talks as "successful but not conclusive", Mr Hani said a number of steps had been taken to defuse the situation, including the suspension of ANC branch treasurer Mr Boy Ndlela.

Mr Hani claimed there was a sad lack of mature leadership in many townships and he intended to look into increasing the number of training workshops with a view to producing better leaders.

Hundreds of toyi-toyi Mpophomeni residents attended an impromptu rally following the meeting and Mr Hani appealed for calm in the township.

His visit followed fighting between ANC-aligned youths known as the "umgoqo" and the "umgovu", which has resulted in disruption of schools and transport in the area.

PAC to hold talks in Egypt

Political Correspondent

A THREE-PERSON PAC delegation will leave for Cairo tomorrow to hold wide-ranging talks with the Egyptian government.

The group will comprise PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, information secretary Mr Barney Desai and legal affairs secretary Mr William Seriti.

TALKING IT THROUGH

The Inkatha Freedom Party believes a multi-party conference should be called as soon as possible, even while the issue of political violence is being dealt with by Inkatha, the NP and the ANC. (S) (IA)

This came out of a meeting on Tuesday between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Buthelezi, who saw Hurd after he had visited areas worst-hit by violence, told him Inkatha was ready to start negotiating and — in a clear reference to the ANC — said his party was not “in the business of playing for time.”

Questioned about the recent ANC conference in Durban, Buthelezi said he was concerned about continuing demands for a constituent assembly and interim government, feeling the ANC wanted to approach negotiations with a ready-made agenda. “This is the sort of thing which should be discussed at a multiparty conference; if insisted on beforehand it could become a recipe for violence.”

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Buthelezi also said he was concerned at a resolution at the ANC conference for the organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to continue recruiting and not reveal secret arms caches.

In turn Buthelezi was closely questioned about recent press reports of automatic weapons being supplied to Inkatha members and of a machine-gun attack on ANC members returning from the conference last Sunday.

He denied knowledge of both incidents, saying if either were true he would condemn them. “We are totally committed to peace and against the supplying of arms to anybody,” he added.

Hurd earlier met Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and canvassed his opinions on the progress of talks towards a negotiated settlement; the causes and dimensions of violence; the strategies and contributions of the main political players; and what the British government could do to contribute to the process.

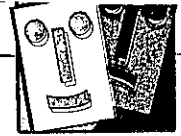
“I told him I was still optimistic we could resolve our problems through political negotiations, that we had no other option. The government tried apartheid and that didn't work, the ANC tried the armed struggle and that didn't work, so I said we therefore had a common bond to see that negotiations worked.”

Dhlomo said he told Hurd that Britain should assist and reward progress; censure a lack of progress; and always appear to be even-handed and hear all sides. ■

STALIN WHO?

FM 12/7/91

IIA



Harry Gwala, the man who says apartheid was worse than anything Stalin did, has been elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee. Not only that: in order of votes received, only seven candidates were more popular.

Gwala is known as a Stalinist; if this is inaccurate, he appears to have done little to contradict it. Of course he could have been misquoted when he spoke of the relative benefits of "Uncle Joe" Stalin, but this hardly matters: politics is about perception, not reality and we must assume that the ANC delegates who voted for him either approved of his statement, or thought it unimportant, or were ignorant of it.

Mainly ignorant, one suspects. Most ANC members are probably unaware that, by the early Thirties, the richest agricultural areas of the Soviet Union were in the grip of a massive famine which killed 5.5m people.

The main cause was Stalin's collectivisation drive, which almost destroyed agriculture. Whole villages were left literally to starve after being sacked by the State to fuel Stalin's great industrialisation drive. Malcolm Muggeridge, writing in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1933, noted: "The famine is an organised one. Some of the food that has been taken away from them — and the peasants know this quite well — is being exported to foreign countries."

Not only did the State forbid relief for the starving, but it refused to acknowledge that there was a shortage of food.

Stalin's brutality was not confined to agriculture. The Church had been under siege ever since the Bolsheviks took over in 1917. But the persecution reached new heights during Stalin's "Great Purge" of 1937, when hundreds of priests and bishops were arrested and shot.

By 1938, there were 8m people in Stalin's

slave camps and the death rate was estimated at 20% per year. The rural population provided many of the victims. Muggeridge remembered a village scene: "I saw myself a group of 20 peasants being marched off under escort. This is so common a sight that it no longer even arouses curiosity." Starving orphans were ignored by the State.

In the camps, says one historian, "it sometimes happened that a prisoner might meet his former accuser or interrogator who had since fallen into the net himself."

Stalin was desperately insecure about his position. The Communist Party itself was regularly purged of potential opponents (they were simply murdered) and even the Red Army did not escape. By 1938 only two of the five Soviet marshals and two of the 16 generals had not been arrested; of the unlucky 14 generals, many were charged with spying for Japan or Germany and executed. It became Stalin's practice to rotate senior officers frequently, to prevent them from getting to know any troop formation well enough to consider building up a power base. Even so, about a third of the entire officer corps was eliminated.

Who was left? Only the purging mechanism itself, the dreaded NKVD or Commissariat of Internal Affairs (in short, the security police) and that could not be allowed to get too powerful. So Stalin turned on the NKVD: its commander, Yezhov, also died.

"Class enemy" and "enemy of the people" were the terms most frequently used to justify arrests and executions — used, as Stalin's successor Khrushchev later remarked, against "everyone who in any way disagreed with Stalin, against those who were only suspected of hostile intent."

Like the French Revolution before it, the Russian Revolution had begun to feed on itself. Two of the men shot after a rigged

trial in 1936 were Zinovyev and Kamenev, who had been Bolshevik leaders in 1917. Even Stalinists were themselves consumed by Stalinism — like Postyshev, who was shot for daring to question the need for so many executions. Honest intellectuals inside and outside the Party were wiped out.

After all this, it was not surprising that the Communist Party achieved unity. And there is no doubt that Stalin's forced industrialisation worked; if it had not, he would not have been able to absorb and halt the attack by Hitler's massed divisions in 1941. But then Stalin had been waging war on his own people for 15 years to achieve that strength and probably killed almost half as many Russians as Hitler did — many millions, at any rate.

I wonder if Harry Gwala knows these things. To deny them would be the equivalent of pretending that Hitler didn't actually kill any Jews. But I have never suffered a forced removal on a winter's night or been dispossessed of land that is legally mine, nor have I had my fingernails examined to see if I am "coloured." So I am in a weak position to argue with the proposition that apartheid was worse than anything Stalin dreamed up.

Apartheid has always been indefensible. It is such a gross and perverted ideology that it has been compared (with justification) to Nazism and it apparently makes even Stalin look good. Those who suffered most under it clearly believe that anything else would be an improvement.

I suppose there's nothing we can do about that belief, except to recommend that the builders of our new society should strive to emulate the success stories of history rather than the brutal failures. Whether this can be communicated to people who know no history (or, if they do, find it inconvenient) is another matter.

David Williams

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

(11A) (K) FM 12/17/91

CLOSE TO THE ACTION

When Nelson Mandela gave his first speech after leaving prison last year, it was black mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa (38) who was at his side, holding the microphone. So it shouldn't come as much of a surprise to see Ramaphosa so close to the action once again — though he kept his head down for some months after Mandela's release, to the extent that some people thought that he had fallen from favour, or that his political ambitions had faded.

His election as secretary general of the ANC is undoubtedly a boost for the trade unionists who did so much to crush apartheid by their demands for better pay, benefits and working conditions for blacks in the Eighties. As a veteran of the student protest movement, in detention for a total of 17 months in the mid-Seventies, Ramaphosa's election is also a boost for the young internal leaders



Ramaphosa ... pushing for redistribution of wealth

who saw themselves being marginalised by the Old Guard of exiles and Robben Islanders.

But anyone who expected the burly, bearded Ramaphosa — an attorney and NUM head since its inception in 1982 — to strike off in a new direction must have been disappointed by his TV appearance on Sunday night. He toed the old party line with vigour, speaking in favour of a mixed economy, sanctions, redistribution of wealth, the liberation struggle, affirmative action.

Though he refuses to say if he's a communist, few doubt his Marxist allegiance.

The son of a policeman, Ramaphosa grew up in Soweto and matriculated at a boarding school in the northern Transvaal. It was at the University of the North in the early Seventies that he met Steve Biko, who helped

to influence his early activism in the Black People's Convention.

After completing his articles and obtaining his BProc from Unisa in 1981, Ramaphosa worked as a legal adviser to the Council of Unions of SA.

When the NUM was formed he was made secretary general. It was here that he honed his much-respected skills as a negotiator by winning important battles with formidable mine bosses.

Though the union grew dramatically over the years, membership has fallen recently to about 250 000 — from a high of 340 000 in 1986 — due to recent lay-offs and those that followed the disastrous 1987 strike that saw nine miners die.

Before his emergence at the top of the ANC pile, Ramaphosa had been working with the Soweto People's Delegation and been instrumental in the ground-breaking Greater Soweto Accord in September. He's proved over and over that he's willing to bargain long and hard.

Ramaphosa, who stood for re-election unopposed in April, says the NUM leadership will meet to discuss his position. Because of the amount of work demanded by the ANC, he may get an honorary position at NUM or act as a consultant.

It's difficult, however, to imagine him giving up his union base altogether. ■

SANCTIONS FM 12/7/91

~~248~~ 11A

THE HORSE HAS BOLTED

Expectations of all sanctions being lifted in the near future are probably unrealistic.

There is little doubt that the sports boycott is in its final throes, with agreement on the issue between British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and ANC president Nelson Mandela on Monday. The cultural boycott is going the same way. Trade and financial sanctions look set to take a little longer.

While Cosatu is moving towards a position that favours the removal of sanctions being tied to developmental policies and the protection of worker

rights the ANC still says it wants sanctions until a new government is in power.

The emergent Cosatu position is likely to find wide acceptability in international circles and would help the ailing SA economy. The ANC will have to do some hard lobbying to convince international allies to maintain sanctions — though Cosatu is unlikely to adopt a sanctions policy that undercuts the ANC line.

Tripartite meet

The ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party will meet, probably later this month, to adopt a unified approach on sanctions.

The meeting will probably take place after Cosatu has decided on its position

at its July 24 national conference.

Indicators from Cosatu's three largest unions — the National Union of Mine-workers, whose general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, is now ANC secretary general, the National Union of Metalworkers and the Clothing and Textile Workers' Union — are that sanctions need to be phased out, tied to social responsibility clauses for new investors (*FM* June 21).

The ANC clauses for the lifting of sanctions are tougher. The ANC's three-point plan, released after a gruelling session at its conference in Durban last week, calls for obstacles to negotiations to be lifted in terms of the Harare Declaration, as supported by the UN and the Organisation of African

Unity. The US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act contains similar provisions to those of the Harare Declaration.

"The installation of an interim government, according to agreed arrangements for the transition to a democratic order" is the second ANC clause. The "agreed arrangements" proviso is aimed at preventing government from unilaterally setting up a super-Cabinet and calling that an interim government.

The ANC sees an interim government flowing from an all-party conference — possibly elected by that conference and with no single party dominant — as the neutral governors of the country while a new constitution is decided on by a constituent assembly. The government, not surprisingly, is opposed to such a route and believes the multi-party conference (as the Nats prefer to call it) should transform itself into the constitution-making body, with a super-Cabinet appointed to govern in the meantime.

However, it seems likely that the all-party conference could become the constitution-making body without too much haggling from the ANC. The main issue of contention is the form an interim government could take and resolving this issue could take months.

The third proviso the ANC wants fulfilled before sanctions can be withdrawn is the adoption of a "democratic constitution and the holding of elections for a nonracial parliament." Ironically, this is something that could be done with or without ANC involvement.

The transformation of political parties in SA over the past year now means that even if elections were held tomorrow, all parties (with the exception of possibly the Pan Africanist Congress and probably the Conservative Party) would advocate non-racial democratic government elected by universal adult franchise.

Hurd indicated that the British government is still not happy with the ANC's three-point approach. He said the ANC and Britain agreed on the huge need for investment in a post-apartheid SA — but differences remain about the pace at which foreign investment should flow into the country.

Mandela says the ANC is flexible about sanctions, noting that otherwise "we will be left holding a shell and nothing else." ■



Affirmative action is not a dilemma only for businessmen. At the ANC's National Consultative Conference in Durban last week it

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was the most hotly debated issue and the most inconclusive.

The ANC has demanded that business must use affirmative action to reverse racial and gender inequalities at work. However, it became clear last week that the ANC has little idea of how such a programme should be implemented. The mechanism of quota systems received a firm thumbs down though the principle of affirmative action is maintained. (11A)

At last year's launch of the ANC Women's League, women demanded a 30% quota in ANC leadership ranks, from branch to national level. But after three-and-a-half hours of heated debate, affirmative action was on the ropes. The Women's League, not wanting to risk defeat to the principle or further division, finally withdrew the demand.

Barbara Masekela, a member of the new ANC National Executive Committee and a Women's League member, said: "What was being tested was to what extent we (the ANC) accept and support affirmative action. If we threw out affirmative action it would have implications not only for women, but for blacks in this country."

Ruth Mompati, a long-standing ANC NEC member, pointed out that the ANC first elected Lilian Ngoyi to its NEC in 1947, ahead of world political trends. Mompati said the onus was on women to liberate themselves first. "What concerns us is that here and elsewhere, it is the women who are doing the hard work and the men who are pushed forward."

Women delegates who opposed the quota system said they believed such a system would ultimately marginalise women. It would ensure that they lost respect because it would be assumed that women were elected not because of ability but to fulfil a quota. The effect would be to push back the time when women might be elected to some of the top five positions in the ANC.

This thinking is in line with a trend in the trade union movement, where a strong school of thought believes that separate women's structures trivialise women's issues. A female delegate noted: "Women's issues are men's issues, too; separation of the issues entrenches discrimination."

A major topic that came up again and again in workshops at the ANC conference was the ANC's failure to attract coloured, white and Indian members. These three race groups provide a small proportion of the ANC's 700 000 members — but the ANC rightly regards them as critical to an election victory as well as political and economic stability.

Alfred Nzo, the ANC's outgoing secretary

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general, blamed the lack of success in recruiting these constituencies to a number of factors: "The ANC is still perceived as an African organisation. It is sometimes alienated from those communities. There has been a failure to use churches, sports organisations and professional associations in organisation building."

Nzo said there was also a misperception in the ANC that nonracialism was "a given and not an ideal to be striven for." He said the ANC also tended to rely on campaigns that drew only activists; and violence had also interfered with recruitment.

Nzo noted that "some people see the alliance with the SA Communist Party as a problem." However, Pallo Jordan, the ANC's director of information, said there was "no suggestion that the ANC should review, re-examine or in any way reassess its relationship with the SACP. This has to be contextualised in terms of the pathological anti-communism and Cold War mentality still prevalent in SA."

Jordan's view was borne out by conference voting, which ensured that Cyril Ramaphosa, with strong communist backing, was elected ANC secretary-general — while noncommunist Jacob Zuma scraped in as deputy secretary-general.

The SACP's Operation Vula cadres also featured strongly in voting with Siphwe Nyanda, Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils being voted on to the NEC.

Indeed, the NEC is interesting for the high component of ANC activists whom the State has either attacked in the past year, or who are highly antagonistic to the State. They include recently released Umkhonto we Sizwe bomber Marion Sparg; Ismael Ebrahim Ismael, a top MK cadre also recently released from prison; and Jeremy Cronin, a prominent communist and a prolific writer of anti-State and anti-capitalist tracts.

Gill Marcus and Saki Macozoma, spokesmen for the ANC, were elected, it appears, only because many delegates from outlying rural areas knew their names better than those of many ANC leaders — an indication of the failure of most of the ANC leadership to travel to see their members.

There is little doubt that the ANC will not distance itself from its SACP allies in the foreseeable future. How can it, with such a large number of its elected either signed up communists or with strong socialist leanings?

What is more likely is that both the ANC and SACP, in line with events abroad, will have to re-examine their commitment to socialism. Last week's conference indicated that the ANC is becoming more pragmatic, with an eye on future elections.

Where the ANC could make inroads into attracting nonAfricans is in its approach to what new NEC member Albie Sachs describes as "the battleground of the future" — local government, schools, health and amenities. Ramaphosa already has valuable experience in this field, with his involvement

in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber.

While talking peace, the ANC will nonetheless be keeping itself militarily strong. Its township defence units will be given greater attention to help form part of the basis of future security services. A major Umkhonto we Sizwe conference — the first above ground in this country — will take place this month or early August, possibly in Venda.

Items to be discussed will include the high priority MK is giving to the training of its members as pilots and military technicians; the restructuring of Armscor; and the integration of the SADF and SAP with MK.

In late August the ANC meets the Pan Africanist Congress in Cape Town to discuss the formation of a Patriotic Front; after that the way could be clear for an all-party conference to discuss constitutional change either late this year or early next year.

Charlene Smith

THE NEW-LOOK ANC

Not quite born again

Now the ANC must clarify its economic policies

The ANC comes away galvanised from its milestone conference in Durban last week. It seems to have gained a new sense of maturity, confidence and purpose. This much was apparent from the upbeat closing address of its new president, Nelson Mandela.

This speech, in both delivery (at dawn last Sunday) and substance, ranks among the most statesmanlike and forthright he has made since his release 17 months ago. Mandela is firmly in the saddle.

The organisation now has in place a tough, mostly astute and duly elected national executive committee (NEC), perhaps best symbolised by union leader Cyril Ramaphosa (see *People*) in the secretary-general's seat. It welds together the movement's different strands, including, as it always has, a large number of communists — though some may be "non-practising."

Perhaps the most important conference outcome is that the leadership is now in clear possession of that all-important "mandate" from its formerly restive rank and file, to press on with negotiations. It is this feature that President F W de Klerk and his chief negotiator, Gerrit Viljoen, have emphasised and welcomed.

Negotiation, the ANC leadership knows, is the key issue. Never mind (for the moment) the details, or the revolutionary language clouding it and various secondary issues such as sanctions, prisoner releases, violence, mass action or the "demand" that an elected constituent assembly draw up the post-apartheid constitution.

Thus, the 26-point resolution on negotiation, for example, states that it is another "terrain of struggle" aimed at achieving the strategic objective of transferring "power to the people" and that it should be linked to continuing mass action and international pressure "because gains made in the mass struggle will be reflected at the negotiating

table." However, the subtext says that the possibility of transition by peaceful means exists; that the NEC is "invested with discretionary powers to continue talks about talks" within the policies of the ANC; and that this should happen quickly.

In his closing remarks, Mandela conceded some of the criticisms levelled against the leadership over its handling of negotiations with government so far. "The leadership must listen to the membership, because we are here to serve the membership and our people. But you must also listen to us. You have given us a mandate to lead this organisation and we are going to do just that," he said, implying that the leadership could not be expected to submit to a referendum at every turn.

"It is in that spirit that we will listen to your criticisms and your suggestions and if



Mandela



Ramaphosa

you do that there is no doubt that the road to Union Buildings and Tuynhuys will become all the shorter," he said.

The conference revealed the amount of work still to be done to consolidate the ANC's policies. To that end, Mandela spoke of the resolve to "build the organisation into a strong and well-oiled task force." The NEC is mandated to take an "inclusive approach" in its programme of action to strengthen the organisation.

"Door-to-door campaigns to bring the policies of the ANC alive to the people, strengthening the tripartite alliance (with Cosatu and the SA Communist Party) and sensitivity to the fears expressed by minority groups," are among the matters to be addressed, said Mandela.

Also reflected were organisational shifts and the ANC's "transformation from a banned illegal formation to a mass-based and democratic organisation." But transforming itself into a political party is evidently not deemed to be important or strategically wise at this stage.

Instead, it will pursue the establishment of "a front of patriotic forces as soon as possible" to forge maximum unity during the negotiation process of those committed to a nonracial, nonsexist democracy. "All participants in this Patriotic Front shall retain their independence and sovereignty," says the res-

olution. That remains to be seen.

Even though the report of outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo identified the ANC's link with the SACP as one of the perceived problem areas in the organisation's recruitment drive, a parting of the ways is not on the cards. On the contrary, the popularity of communists at the conference was all too clear, with visiting Cuban and Soviet observers receiving overwhelming applause from the floor — even though Moscow has twice called off a proposed tour of the USSR by Mandela.

Indeed, in assessing the organisation, which is big on consultation and report-backs, the views and attitudes of its militant youth and unreconstructed Marxists must be borne in mind. As a Nigerian observer pointed out to the *FM*, the ANC's extraterritorial friends had no idea of this factor in relation to the sanctions question, for instance. They had hoped the congress would "move along with the international tide" in favour of ending sanctions, instead of equivocating.

Clearly, however, the message hit home, but too late (see *Current Affairs*). Thus, Mandela came out in support of the line Thabo Mbeki tried to argue when he was shot down at last December's ANC consultative conference. "Unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination," the new president explained, "we will be left holding an empty shell." But he missed an opportunity to gather some kudos over what looks like a fait accompli by stating that the sports embargo, as a pertinent example, could be lifted in view of the formal ending of apartheid laws.

Mandela denied the allegation that the leadership was paying more attention to negotiation and neglecting mass action. At no time in its history has the ANC engaged in so many forms of mass action as in the past two years, he reminded delegates. "So much so that our labour organisations have had to warn us that we must not just resort to mass action every time we get angry, that the question must be carefully examined because of the downturn in the economy and the high level of unemployment."

Surveying the record since its unbanning, Mandela was remarkably frank on the issue of minorities. "I think it is proper here to be absolutely brutal about our weaknesses in this regard," he said, no doubt aware of the perception that the deracialised National Party could attract many coloureds, Indians and liberal whites — if not anti-communist blacks as well.

"There has been no effective communication between the ANC and the minority groups of this country. Many of us have made the mistake of thinking that the mere

OLD MUTUAL'S GLOW

Only a few years ago, the idea of a mutual society surviving the onslaught of the life companies seemed remote. Silencing the critics, two substantial mutuals *have* survived.

Our corporate report this week spotlights Old Mutual — examining the how and why of its success. The organisation has proved its staying power with dignity and confidence, pursued innovation and increased market share in the face of the new competitors. It has been acclaimed as a phenomenon in the assurance industry.

declaration of our policy in the Freedom Charter, because it is the most progressive policy ever published by any political organisation in this country, meant that the masses would come rushing to join the ANC. This is not the position.

"Some of our structures have been so set up as to exclude the minority groups. This has been a serious weakness, because it indicates that the overwhelming majority of Africans in this country are not taking into account the minority groups in this country.

"It is true that our policies are nonracial, but let us be realistic about it. There are different ethnic groups in this country and ethnicity, especially because of the policies of the government, is still a dangerous threat to us. We have to redouble our efforts to make sure we have the confidence of all the different sections of the people."

What was not acknowledged, however, is that many, not only among minorities, may have deeper reservations about aspects of ANC policy — in particular, its economic policy, which the conference notably failed to spell out. Some invited international guests seemed rather impatient with being told that the matter was still being debated and still had to be finalised. Yet the general impression of greater pragmatism flowing out of the conference remains a sign of hope on this front.

On the central issue of negotiations, differences of perception obviously still exist between government and the ANC. "Delegates have determined that we are not yet in a state of transition," said Mandela. "There still remains an enormous difference in the perceptions of the oppressed about the nature of the necessary changes that have to occur and the character of future society and the NP government. We have determined here that we cannot accept the regime's claim to recognition as the main agency of change and the manager of the current period of transition."

He added: "The ANC is an equal partner and not simply an organisation that is to be informed or consulted by the regime." It would be incorrect for the NP to continue to govern the country on its own. "An interim government would have to be formed in such a manner that it is broadly acceptable," Mandela stated.

Other things being equal, there seems little reason why constitutional negotiations should not begin in earnest in a matter of months. Not much now separates government and the ANC on constitutional issues and their differences over mechanisms to effect the transition appear more concerned with detail and nuance than principle or substance.

For example, the ANC resolution on negotiations speaks of the importance of certain steps, in terms of the Harare Declaration, which must be taken after all obstacles to talks are removed.

It envisages the convening of an all-party congress; installation of an interim government; election of a democratic constituent

assembly; and the adoption of a democratic constitution and the election of a representative parliament. This, it adds, should be achieved within a definite timeframe, to ensure that the negotiation process is not drawn out.

Indications, however, are that De Klerk has drawn the line here and will not agree to such an assembly. More likely, a new constitution will emerge organically out of the multiparty negotiation process. If that is indeed the more likely route, it implies the ANC will, in time, have to drop its insistence on an elected constituent assembly. Some foreign observers suggest, therefore, that the ANC might be painting itself into a corner by making this a hard and fast issue — as De Klerk, similarly, may be doing by his commitment to having a white referendum on the final product.

And, as one conference guest from another multi-ethnic country suggests, the ANC should not allow itself to get bogged down over the question of violence, but should rather go "full-steam ahead" with negotiations towards the big prize. There is something to be said for De Klerk's observation this week, that once the supporters see their leaders engaged in round-table discussions, violence will abate. The ANC still has some way to go in formulating clear policies in line with being a full-fledged political party that can go to the electorate and contest free and fair elections. Last week it took a significant step toward this and away from being an exiled liberation movement — though it is time it abandoned the rhetorical positions of the Sixties.

Though surveys suggest that the ANC certainly commands a majority of support among urban blacks, it needs to do two things to act as a genuinely mass-based party with support across the spectrum: It must: Refine its economic theorising into concrete policies that will not scare off foreign investment and leave the remaining wealth to be carved up in some kind of ill-fated exercise in redistribution. It must, therefore, move towards a commitment to the principle of the right to ownership of private property and accept that government has its reasons

TOP 55 ELECTED

Results of the elections by the 2 244 voting delegates for the top five posts of the ANC last Friday were as follows: Nelson Mandela was the only candidate for president, consequently no ballot was necessary said the independent electoral commission.

Walter Sisulu was elected deputy president with 1 567 votes against Harry Gwala (412).

Cyril Ramaphosa became secretary-general with 1 156 votes against ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma (450) and former incumbent Alfred Nzo (371).

Zuma won the post for deputy secretary-general by polling 1 039 votes against UDF leader Popo Molefe (659) and Nzo (258).

Incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi retained his job, polling 1 277 votes against ANC London representative Mendi Msimang's 680.

The electoral commission — comprising Independent Mediation Services of SA director Charles Nupen, Arthur Chaskalson SC and former KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza — pronounced its satisfaction that the balloting was secret, free and fair.

Last Sunday morning Nupen also read out the following vote tallies in the elections to the National Executive Committee, for which there were 126 nominations.

1 858 Chris Hani	1 057 Winnie Mandela
1 824 Thabo Mbeki	1 053 Joe Nhanhla
1 760 Joe Slovo	1 049 John Nkadimeng
1 724 Patrick Terror Lekota	1 031 Dullah Omar
1 702 Pallo Jordan	1 014 Mohamed Valli Moosa
1 597 Ahmed Kathrada	958 Gertrude Shope
1 660 Ronnie Kasrils	956 Andrew Mlangeni
1 644 Harry Gwala	955 Siphwe Nyanda Gebuza
1 634 Steve Tshwete	931 Sidney Mafumadi
1 546 Arnold Stofile	927 Elias Motsoaledi
1 523 Popo Molefe	884 Mendi Msimang
1 510 Joe Modise	854 Reg September
1 489 Raymond Mhlaba	844 Barbara Masekela
1 462 Mac Maharaj	837 Billy Nair
1 424 Alfred Nzo	814 Mcwayizeni Zulu
1 357 Ruth Mompoti	808 Sister Bernard Ncube
1 321 Albertina Sisulu	800 Gill Marcus
1 310 Raymond Suttner	792 Jeremy Cronin
1 253 Trevor Manuel	772 Rocky Malebane Metsing
1 249 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim	771 Kadar Asmal
1 198 Aziz Pahad	758 Sakkie Macozoma
1 168 Cheryl Carolus	731 Peter Mokaba
1 161 Albie Sachs	719 Zola Skweyiya
1 119 Peter Mayibuye	717 Thozamile Botha
1 107 Wilton Mkwayi	717 Marion Sparg

for pressing for the inclusion of this principle in a new constitution; and

Consider carefully whether it and the SACP, whose policies are far clearer than the ANC's and have demonstrably failed elsewhere in the world, can continue to have overlapping memberships without raising the question of whether it harbours a hidden agenda.

The ANC has reached the stage where further stalling on negotiation will work against its interests in terms of international credibility and funding; and where its continuing cuddly relationship with the likes of Ronnie Kasrils will compound that embarrassment. And Mandela has a personal albatross that will require all his leadership abilities to shed — the separation of the identity of the ANC from the judicial fate of his wife, Winnie.

Perhaps for the first time since his release, Mandela can begin to play the role fate gave to him over the years — that of a wise statesman. If he again fails to live up to expectations, events will overtake him. It is, therefore, fortunate that younger, and certainly as able, men have been voted into position to ensure the succession that will one day be necessary. ■

HE WHO HESITATES . . .

FM 12/7/91

The ANC has had a successful national conference (see page 22), essentially clearing the way for a resumption of "talks about talks" in a forum which could lead to the "transitional arrangements" Pretoria speaks of, though the ANC's wish is for an "interim government."

It should be recalled that the ANC broke off negotiations on the grounds that Pretoria was not doing enough to bring violence to an end. However, co-operation in various committees has continued and the ANC — or at least Nelson Mandela — appears to be aware that the next phase must begin or it will lose international credibility, along with funding. Sanctions are ending and the pretence that the ANC can somehow dictate how and when they should be eliminated is a face-saving pretence.

On the face of it, government is in a strong position to simply wait for the ANC to return to the table — and perhaps even calculate that if it waits too long, the congress will lose electoral support in the democratic poll which will dramatically crown the efforts to destroy apartheid. But this would be to assume too much; though the central apartheid laws (barring the Constitution itself) have been repealed, reform needs to be a continuous process.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in education. The paradox of empty "white" schools and overflowing "black" ones is explicable only in terms of conservative whites in the provincial bureaucracies making hay before the sun goes down.

They have the latitude to do so because of the division of education into a multitude of own affairs and ethnic departments; and so long as they are allowed to get away with it, educational policy smacks of a discriminatory clinging to privilege compounded by spite.

Social services — the matter of different pensions for different races is the most glaring example — also need attention. The question of compulsory military service for whites only will have to be resolved one way or another.

Nor would it be wise for government to leave land claims — where there are pertinent arguments for restoration — in limbo. To do so would be to place an emotional time bomb under the validity of a new constitution and it would be better to create a special court or equivalent structure to assess such claims on their merits now.

A large number of similar items need reformist attention. F W de Klerk's administration need only proceed to give them that attention to hold the moral high ground it has attained. If the issues are neglected, the ANC can be counted on to point this out and exploit it.

It may be questioned whether threats of mass action will have much real effect — and no one would look more foolish than the ANC if it calls for such actions and they fail to materialise. But government's interests will best be served if in the coming weeks it moves unequivocally towards ensuring that reform really does take place within the bureaucratic labyrinth. ■

Mayor flouts law to raise cash for ANC

Star 12/7/91
By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Mayor David Dinkins's office is raising money for the ANC — described as his "favourite political organisation" — in violation of New York State and City laws, a newspaper reported yesterday.

The New York City Commission for the United Nations, which is part of the office of the mayor, sent out letters imploring people to "please join us at an emergency breakfast meeting to plan for New York City's long-term assistance to the ANC and its presence in New York City".

The letter, published in the New York Post, said deputy mayor William Lynch would be a special guest at the breakfast on Tuesday, aimed at helping the cash-strapped ANC pay its bills.

The letter recalled Nelson Mandela's visit to New York

and said the organisers of the breakfast hoped to raise \$15 000 (about R43 000) to prevent the ANC's telephones from being cut off later this month.

It also said the organisers wanted to map out a strategy to raise an additional R300 000 (about R870 000) a year, and pleaded for donations to be sent directly to the ANC.

Prosecutors said the city is barred from using its resources for anything other than municipal business, and that the practice outlined by the ANC fundraisers is against municipal and state law.

The mayor's UN office is mandated solely to act as a liaison for the mayor in his dealings with UN members and diplomats living in the city.

The deputy mayor denied the event was in violation of city rules, but if that were so he said he would "frown on it".

But, he explained, the ANC had made an appeal for funds and several people had stepped forward to help.

No comment was available from the ANC.



Criticised . . . Senator Gareth Evans.

Editorials decry Australian stance

Star Foreign Service

MELBOURNE — Australia's two leading newspapers today strongly criticised the policy of the Government and the attitude of Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, to South Africa.

The Australian newspaper accused Senator Evans of "holding up moves to return South Africa to the world economy and, finally, to the community of nations".

It claimed he appeared determined that the timetable Australia would follow would be set by the ANC.

"The Government should re-examine its devotion to the ANC line," the newspaper said. "The ANC has strong links with the South African Communist Party and has yet to be proved the representative of that country's black people."

It said Australia's "dithering on sanctions is denying our economy the benefits of renewed trade".

The Sydney Morning Herald demanded that Australia and the Commonwealth "should not plod on with a plan of phased reductions" which "would contribute little or nothing to the bargaining strength of the black South Africans".

Such policy would merely "polarise opinion in Australia".

Anger without hatred

If you are talking to Don Mattera and you are white, you had better know it: he fires from the hip.

There's not even the glimmer of a chance he will use platitudes or euphemisms for the sake of your feelings.

In fact, to borrow from the title of a book by Trevor Huddleston, one of his early heroes, there is naught for your comfort.

Very little anyway.

We are meeting to discuss his new collection of short stories just out this month and published by Justified Press under the title, "The Storyteller".

Chased

And none of the foregoing is really very surprising. It was, after all, tough out there in post-war South Africa with the machinery of apartheid grinding into gear, dehumanising people on the grounds of the colour of their skin.

He comes straight out with it.

"Don't think all of it ... apartheid, discrimination and all that goes with it, will just disappear overnight. That's simply impossible," says the man who as a boy remembers being chased from the Durban surf by a pukka British member of the BSA Police.

"But I have no hatred," says this writer and poet, now employed as chief training officer by the Weekly Mail. "Bitter still, and angry, yes. How can it be otherwise?"

It is all part of what makes him a writer.

"If a land is blighted with pestilence and you expunge the word from the medical books, that doesn't mean it has disappeared. It is a legacy that will take a long time to remove.

"On the other hand," he admits, "hope is not just a word. I believe in it, it's the very essence of my existence".

Mattera (56) grew up in turbulent, chaotic

Stoep
Talk

MICHAEL
SHAFTO



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Stew
12/7/91



Straight talk . . . Don Mattera's latest collection of short stories has just been published.

times. The world of the '40s and '50s took care of his formative years.

They were the years which saw Sophiatown become a melting pot of people of all colours — a place that had to be obliterated at all costs, according to the National Party credo of the time. He watched as it was finally bulldozed.

It was a time of oppression. Treason trials, bannings, the dompas.

Don is descended from an Italian grandfather and Xhosa grandmother on his father's side.

His 72-year-old Tswana mother, Dinkie, whom he visits regularly, still lives in Soweto.

The supreme irony of Mattera's early life was the way two personas, like Jekyll and Hyde, existed side by side. A streetwise tough who drew heavily on the movies for role models of the likes of Bogart, Cagney and Raft, he at the same time was devouring books — works as disparate as those of Schreiner, Lessing, Gallico, Philip Gibbs, Richard Llewellyn — as fast as he could find them.

He was stabbed, he was shot. The gangs turned the focus of their violence on the police because they represented authority. The time hadn't yet come but was

just around the corner, when Mattera and others like him would find a new channel for the violence. It became a way of expressing political feelings and frustrations.

The police now were perceived not just as custodians of authority but the bulwarks, the proppers-up of an unyieldingly racist regime.

It was, says Mattera, the turning point in his life.

When he heard Father Huddleston talk, heroically stepping into the breach between Sophiatown youths spoiling for a fight and the police, "it was like an excitement gnawing in my belly".

Years of privation lay ahead. A time in which he would suffer nine years of bannings. The Star, while keeping him on its payroll, fought his case.

He is not a communist, he says, but a socialist in the best sense of the word, believing among other things in an omnipotent — not Christian — God.

He is not a member of the ANC but of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Biko

The latest collection of stories, reflecting some of the turbulence of the life Mattera has experienced, was partly written in Sweden where, in 1986, he went to accept the Steve Biko prize and the Kurt Tucholsky World PEN Association prize.

Poetry, including his own volume, "Azanian Love Song", several plays and "Memory is the Weapon", a book of memoirs and vignettes, form the kernel of a solid body of work that he is constantly adding to.

There will be a new collection of short stories, a book for young readers in the folk tale tradition to be titled "The Five Magic Pebbles" — and more poetry, certainly another play . . . "Writing is so important," he says.

Minorities need assurance that they won't suffer

Star 12/1/91.

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VIRTUALLY all that remains of Mahatma Gandhi's multiracial community on the lush Natal coast is his bust. This monument to the champion of peaceful resistance to racism sits in a clinic on the site of the Phoenix settlement.

His house, his printing works and the iron press that dispatched Gandhi's philosophy in "The Indian Opinion" after 1903 stand shattered. The 100 acres of pasture has become a slum.

The destruction of the settlement came not with Gandhi's return to India nor the imposition of apartheid, but just six years ago. It fell victim to a battle for land between black ANC supporters and Zulus backing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The Indian residents were driven off and the shrine to Gandhi wrecked in the ensuing conflict. ANC supporters won, and turned it into a squatter camp.

The fate of the settlement epitomises the differences between South Africans of black and Indian origin, and the ANC's difficulties in winning support from minority races.

The fate of the Phoenix community is seen among a number of Indians as a foretaste of life under majority rule. Among them is a former member of the Indian chamber of Parliament, Pat Poovalingam.

"Comparisons have been drawn here between the Indians and the Jews of Europe in the 1930s. Indians are poor enough to be despised and rich enough to stick out like a sore thumb," he said.

There are more than a million Indians in South Africa, descended from labourers shipped in to work on the British sugar plantations. Some 80 percent live around Durban. Their vote, along with coloureds', will be crucial in multiracial elections.

They, too, have suffered the indignity of forced removals, segregated living areas and job reservation for whites. Yet invariably they have fared better than blacks.

According to recent opinion polls, when multiracial elections are held, a majority in both communities plan to vote for the National Party.

Nelson Mandela acknowledged the problem in his opening speech to the ANC conference a week ago.

The ANC's problem is trying to convince minorities they will not suffer under black rule. From CHRIS MCGREAL in Durban.

"The ANC should not be afraid to confront the very real issue that the national minorities — Indians, coloureds and whites — might have fears about the future," he said.

Fatima Meer, a prominent member of Durban's Indian community, sees those fears as two-fold: racial and economic.

"The ANC is seen as an African party representing African interests.

"The National Party now says it is no longer a racist party, and you're looking at a situation where minorities may feel their best chances lie in hanging out together against the majority.

"When you start speaking about redistribution of resources, material fears, people may say the ANC makes a lot of sense but it needs to be moderated before they will vote for it," Ms Meer said.

The outgoing ANC general-secretary, Alfred Nzo, in a secret speech to the conference, warned that it was among a number of obstacles to winning support from Indians and coloureds. Others included the factional violence, which has claimed 10 000 lives, and ties to the Communist Party.

From the black perspective, Indians are often among the exploiters, although they, too, are among the exploited. Only 20 percent of Indians are directly involved in business, but it is that portion which is frequently the primary point of contact with blacks.

They are among the more privileged elements of the Indian community. It is that position, squeezed between blacks and whites, that most often leads to resentment.

In 1949 it contributed to anti-Indian riots in Durban that left several hundred people dead. Passions have cooled, but the ANC has yet to come up with firm ideas on how to persuade Indians and coloureds that they are not going to suffer under black rule. — The Independent News Service. □

High-level talks on fate of ANC funds

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are holding top-level discussions to thrash out whether the ANC will bring its foreign funds into SA via the financial or commercial rands, Reserve Bank foreign exchange control GM John Postmus said yesterday.

Postmus said: "We are aware of the ANC's foreign assets and discussions are proceeding at a high level. I cannot comment on the nature of these discussions as some of the issues range beyond the ambit of the Reserve Bank.

"From an exchange control point of view, the ANC is free to bring its foreign funds into the country. Whether it will be through the commercial or financial rands will crystallise out of these discussions."

The ANC has about R27m in cash overseas and R594m in property, of which it will donate R320m worth to the Tanzanian government. If the green light is given for the finrand option, the cash sum will probably increase to more than R29m.

The organisation could opt to liquidate some of its property holdings to help alleviate its present cash flow problems. The ANC said last week it had slipped into overdraft because of increased activity.

A monetary official said the issues under discussion included whether the ANC's

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GRETA STEYN

overseas wing should be regarded as a foreign or SA entity. If the foreign wing is deemed to be an extension of the SA entity, it would be prohibited from bringing money into the country via the finrand.

Government would also have to decide whether legislation regulating foreign financing for political organisations applies.

There has been speculation that the ANC is under pressure to bring its foreign funds to SA as soon as possible, as residents are prevented by law from keeping "unproductive" foreign assets. If this law applied, it would have to liquidate its property holdings whether it wanted to or not.

The monetary official said these issues would be clarified in the discussions.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the ANC also has houses in London, Brussels, Bonn, Oslo, Toronto, Lusaka, Harare and Bulawayo.

Of its Tanzanian properties, the ANC intends keeping its Dar es Salaam buildings, which it values at R255m.

In Lusaka, site of its former headquarters, the ANC owns a R526 800 two-storied industrial and residential structure, a R6,14m mechanical workshop and other properties valued at R2,7m.

ANC members told ^(11A) Star 12/7/77 to stay mum on SACP

The ANC has instructed all members of its committees to refuse to answer questions on their political affiliations outside the ANC.

Reacting to recent speculation on the SA Communist Party's representation on the National Executive Committee, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said he had noted with concern the chorus of "Red-baiting" comments since the conclu-

sion of the national conference.

But while Mr Ramaphosa condemned queries regarding political affiliations, he said he was not, nor had been, a member of the SACP.

Speculation about some leading members of the ANC was unfounded and based on the "threadbare" evidence provided by the International Freedom Foundation, he said. — Sapa.

Anger over 'ANC failure to condemn camp atrocities'

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Star 12/17/91

African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation to formally denounce during its conference in Durban alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee said: "The ANC 48th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like Quatro and other places, was treated as if it never happened.

"The way the conference behaved through its delegates left us — victims of such actions by the ANC — with a deep sense of anger and despair," the committee added.

"The only conclusion that we now have reached is that this organisation, together with its followers right through the country, have less regard for life, justice and fundamental human rights in general.

"We did not expect the conference to sentence those whom we accuse of brutalities to capital punishment. What we expected was that the general membership should denounce and dissociate itself from these crimes. Those responsible should not have been allowed to

hold any position in the NEC."

It said that as a result of this, it was doubtless that all the evils done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers. It added that its previous position — the belief that the crimes were the deeds of only some of the leadership — no longer applied.

"The policy of the ANC should, from now on, be well understood that as long as one is killed by that organisation because one happened to have been in disagreement with it, then there are no qualms about it at all."

The committee further said it never believed that the ANC, like a leopard, would never change its spots, but the Durban conference had demonstrated that the contrary was the truth — that the ANC would never change from what it was.

"This is a sad episode that is to be characterised by more violence if such an organisation can ascend to power in this country."

The committee called for support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps "so that the truth can be known to our people and the international community". — Sapa.

End of era when weaknesses were strengths

w/m aul 12/7-18/7/91

The ANC successfully merged the diverse strands of the organisation at its Durban conference. Now for negotiations with the government.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



DIVERSE LEADERSHIP ... Nelson Mandela, Albie Sachs and Cyril Ramaphosa

WHEN Albie Sachs made his way to the front of the hall after being declared number 23 in the African National Congress' national executive committee elections, he waved the stump of his right arm — the rest of it was blown off by a car bomb in Maputo in 1987 — in an *amandla* salute that brought the house down.

It was not just theatrical proof that whites too had sacrificed in the struggle against apartheid.

It stood for more. Sachs himself — he once compared his amputation to the forced removal of District Six — would be alive to the symbolism. He seemed to represent the entire journey of the ANC up to the happy exuberance of last Saturday night's elections of a movement on the verge of power.

Like Sachs, the ANC had overcome being banned, bombed and vilified, its members jailed, murdered, silenced, taking the worst the government could throw at it — yet still managing to pick itself up, dust itself off and start all over again.

Critics who have slagged off the ANC have pointed to its lack of successes, for instance as a guerrilla army, or remembered cynically that it is the oldest liberation movement in the world. Yet in a curious way the ANC's weaknesses have always been its strengths.

Look at the names on the NEC: most of them are people who were found out, who were tortured, who were jailed, whose significant contributions were the length of time the government victimised them.

They are symbols of the moral identity that binds the ANC together.

Forget the torture at Quatro camp, Stalinism, incompetence, corruption, the switchboard at head office. Remember for a second who brought this dying system into life. And when ANC members violated their own moral universe, remember who the dirty corrupter was.

Few jobs for the unionists in ANC leadership

By DREW FORREST 12/7-18/7/91
THE choice of mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa as African National Congress secretary-general has obscured the surprisingly poor trade union showing in ANC leadership elections.

Despite confident predictions of a big influx of union blood into the national executive committee, there were only six unionists among 126 nominations: Ramaphosa, Congress of South African Trade Unions president Elijah Barayi, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, National Union of Metalworkers' general secretary Moses Mayekiso, and two other Numsa officials, Alec Erwin and Willis Mchunu.

Of these, only Ramaphosa and Mufamadi were elected.

At times the government outmanoeuvres the ANC but somehow it doesn't matter how much the ANC botches up, it retains the moral high ground and the popular support.

Outsiders look for splits but no matter how fractious the debates are, the movement remains a broad church. That was ensured by the electoral system for the NEC posts. Each delegate was allowed to select 50 names, hardly forcing a decisive choice.

At least 1 168 of the people who voted for Harry Gwala also voted for Thabo Mbeki. For all the ANC's disgust with the media, those with a high profile in print and on television won support. Thabo Mbeki, who comes across well on television, was only 34 votes behind Chris Hani, who had addressed rallies around the country, building up a popular base among the masses.

It was a populist rather than constituency-based election. Yet it was a singular achievement that the movement was able to elect such an extraordinary diverse leadership and retain its unity.

"We have achieved an important milestone in our history and that is merging the different strands of our organisation," said ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Indeed, it has been crucial for the ANC to root itself in this identity before it can expand into the big task that lies ahead — negotiating a democratic constitution with the government.

Mandela secured the mandate that he had been seeking these past 18 months since his release while the ANC floundered and struggled to re-establish itself. At the conference he spoke of the negotiations with urgency: "The sooner power transfers into the hands of the people, the better."

To accomplish his task, Mandela's team has been beefed up with the inclusion of Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general, adding a real touch of sophisti-

made were elected. 11A
Mayekiso's failure to poll sufficient votes is especially surprising: a high-profile treason trialist active in Alexandra civic politics, he was the only South African Communist Party leader nominated who did not make the NEC. There is some speculation that he may have withdrawn his candidature at a late stage.

But union disappointment also focuses on Erwin and Mchunu; the first, a highly respected economist and the second, Numsa's well-regarded education officer for Northern Natal.

Union sources comment that the poor showing reflects the diverse and dispersed nature of union leadership — at various levels of Cosatu and its affiliates — and their low media profile.

"It was a celebrity sweepstake," one commented. "How many people outside Numsa know Erwin? Even Ramaphosa may be better known for his role in the National Reception Committee and Soweto civic affairs.

"Few good unionists make good politicians; union skills are administrative and organisational."

Sources point out many successful internal leaders, such as Patrick Lekota, made their name in the early years of the United Democratic Front. The Mass Democratic Movement, operating under the Emergency, was less successful in developing a visible national leadership.

They add that unlike the SACP, which campaigned intensively for its candidates, there was no union lobby.

ation to the proceedings.

The thing about Ramaphosa, the Chamber of Mines can tell FW de Klerk, is that you can never see him coming. When the National Union of Mineworkers was formed they welcomed Ramaphosa as a glorified *induna*, a black man in a suit who highlighted the mining industry's new-found attachment to trade unionism and freedom of association.

One day they woke up and found that he had real muscle and was prepared to use it against them. Now they still say nice things about him, but with greater tones of respect.

From now on, things might move towards democracy quicker than people suspect, though Mandela has tough people around him who will ensure that he keeps to the commitment to consult with his constituency.

Yet the ANC is already preparing its members for what lies ahead. "Compromise at the bargaining table will be

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unavoidable," Mandela warned thousands of supporters at the rally in Durban after the conference.

Presumably the level of compromise will depend on the other side of the negotiations coin — the ability of the ANC to stage mass action and wring concessions from De Klerk.

A new generation of activists, who have found their way into the NEC at the expense of nearly half the outgoing executive, met their baptism of fire during the mass anti-apartheid struggles of the 1980s and they should greatly strengthen the ANC's ability to mobilise on the streets. However, it remains to be seen whether a population burnt-out by more than a decade of struggle can be brought out for the final assault on the Bastille.

The reluctance of the ANC to commit itself as a political party leaves many grey areas, not least in its still anomalous relationship with the South African Communist Party.

The SACP ensured that as the only really coherent force in the ANC it could elect its candidates through skillful lobbying and apparent block voting. This reflects both the rank and file popularity of the party and the fact that the SACP has succeeded in recruiting many of the most talented young leaders.

The ANC has much to thank them for: the non-racial character of the ANC and the coherence and rigour of many of its positions have, one suspects, much to do with the input of the SACP. The alliance with the SACP strengthens the movement.

But, already judging from reports in the *Citizen*, which estimated that 37 out of 55 bodies elected to the NEC were communists, and the government's swift reaction on this issue, the National Party sees the SACP as the electoral Achilles heel of the ANC.

None less than Allan Boesak has pointed out that there is a large conservative Christian population in South Africa which has been fed four decades of anti-communism.

By remaining a movement as almost a statement of principle the ANC perhaps hopes to retain its unity and sweep into power on a tide of populist sentiment.

But a new era is breaking in South Africa. Perhaps the time when one's weaknesses are strengths will be followed by a time when one's strengths become one's weaknesses.

Cyril tells communists to keep quiet about it

Own Correspondent

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Newly elected ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has ordered the organisation's office-bearers not to disclose whether they are SA Communist Party members.

Mr Ramaphosa said in a statement last night that he had never been an SACP member.

He stressed that the members of the NEC were elected in free and fair elections. "These are women and men who enjoy the demonstrable confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of members of the ANC."

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC would not permit itself to be drawn into an inquisition and McCarthyite witch-hunt. — Sapa

CT 12/7/91

ANC slated over atrocities

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress dissidents have voiced their anger at the apparent failure of the organisation formally to denounce, during its conference in Durban, alleged atrocities committed in its training camps.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, the Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee said: "The ANC's 48th conference has come and gone, while the question of the killings and brutalities committed in its jails, like the Quatro

and other places, were treated as if it never happened."

It said that as a result of this, it was doubtless all the evils that were done to the victims had allegedly been endorsed by the ANC followers.

The committee called for more support for the setting up of a public inquiry into the camps, "so that the truth can be known to our people together with the international community". — Sapa

ET 12/191 (118)

POLITICS

Ameen Akhalwaya



The more things change ...

w/mat 12/7-18/7/91

DURING the past five weeks, I had a wonderful stay in Saudi Arabia, only occasionally watching television or reading newspapers. Having been virtually isolated from world events, I returned home to find confirmation of that old cliché — the more things change, the more they stay the same.

Shortly before my arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, there had been "an incident" like in the good old Verwoerd-Vorster-Botha days. The forces of law and order had arrested Bophuthatswana attempted-coup leader Rocky Malebane-Metsing.

Stark reality soon strikes home — the reality of the brutal society we have become, the society in which law and order have broken down. One hears of how friends have been beaten up and robbed. Apartheid has brutalised people and poverty has turned many into criminals, but under no circumstances can anyone excuse the violence used on innocent people.

The minister of broken-down law and order is still in his post. Our political parties have no programme, apart from threats or apologist rhetoric, on how to tackle the serious crime problem that is going to haunt any future democratically elected government.

The more things change ... establishment journalists whose newspapers had promoted the Progressive Party, the United Party and their successors since the Fifties have resuscitated a debate black journalists thought they'd buried in the Eighties — that of journalists being members of political organisations.

The renewed debate merely emphasised what progressive journalists always said about establishment double standards: it's fine for white editors to proclaim their neutrality, then blandly support a particular political party without ever consulting their staffers; black — and in recent years progressive white — journalists must be seen to be strictly neutral.

Glancing at white-run newspapers and SABC-TV, one faces a bigger reality: we in the media have merely adapted the level of our mediocrity to changing circumstances.

The focus was on the historic conference of the African National Congress in Durban. Pardon the pun, but the establishment media were still introducing red herrings. There was Clarence Keyter of the SABC, trying to pin the ANC's Pallo Jordan on the boring "militants-moderates" issue within the ANC. Are we in the media really so intellectually bankrupt? Are there no more pressing issues that cry out for debate and solutions? Really, every organisation has its hawks and doves. As Jordan pointed out, a dynamic organisation whose members do not have differences won't progress.

Looking for commies in every ANC chair is rather like looking for verligtes and verkrampte white ants in the National Party. The voteless will by and large look at the track records of candidates they know, as was proved by the election of Cyril Ramaphosa and other young internal activists to the ANC's national executive last week.

While the media are right to question the Stalinist views of ANC veteran Harry Gwala, Keyter and his SABC colleagues might as well tell us for which pale of white supremacist ideology they voted in previous apartheid elections.

When they next interview FW de Klerk, will they ask him to spell out whom the National Party supported or opposed in World War II?

Will they ask American and other Western leaders to explain how that brutal commie Stalin came to be their ally against Hitler in the same war, how Churchill, Roosevelt and company sliced up Germany and gave a large chunk to the same Stalin?

Reality is that the ANC, as much as the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, Azapo, National Party and others, have had to adapt their policies and approaches to changing circumstances, and that is a very healthy sign.

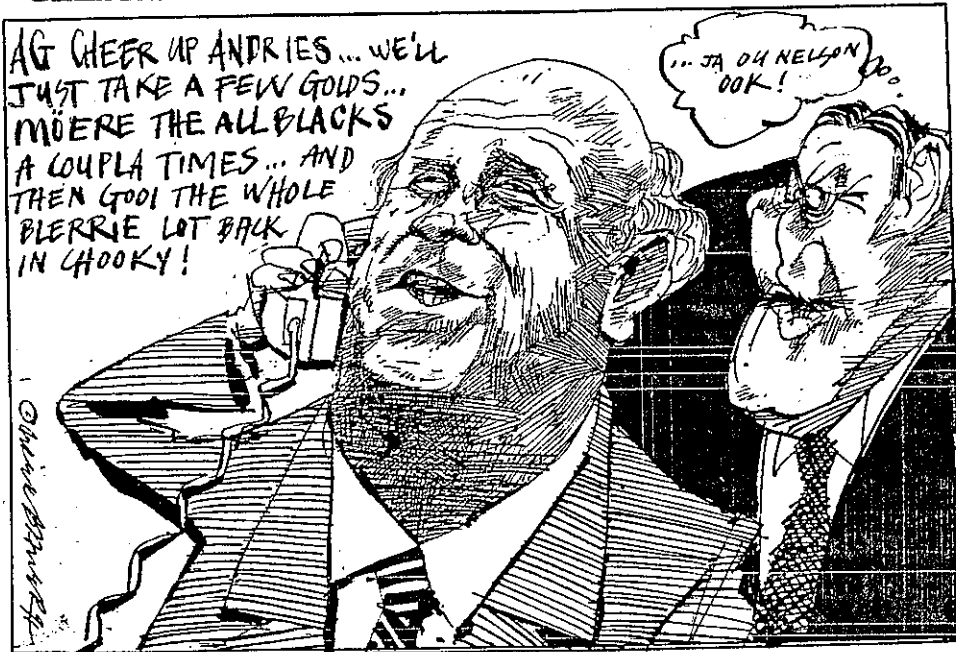
That is why, to me, it is of no great significance at this stage whether communists, or even hardline capitalists, are elected to the ANC national executive. What is important is whether they will carry out the mandate of the grassroots.

The encouraging aspect of the ANC conference was its self-criticism, and the movement's admission that its policies were pushed from top to bottom — if they ever reached bottom. Self-criticism, in fact, has been a hallmark of congresses of all our resistance movements since the Seventies.

If the ANC can act consistently on such criticism, instead of looking for scapegoats for its shortcomings, it will be ready to take up its biggest challenge, that of being a democratic government.

Then things will have really changed.

■ NEXT WEEK: Steven Friedman's Worm's Eye



The Seven Samurai come to the townships

W/M cut 12/7-18/7/91.

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AT last week's African National Congress conference, Umkhonto we-Sizwe scored a minor Cuito Carnivale over the catering corps: after yet another appalling meal, MK delegates marched in to the conference hall and, slamming their plates down in front of their leaders, asked, "Do you expect us to eat this?" There had been grumbles since the first meal on Tuesday, but when MK took a stand, the caterers were fired — and the inedible gruel was replaced with Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Proof, perhaps, of MK militancy and bolshiness — and symbolic, definitely, of more significant victories won by MK last week. MK's greatest complaint is it was left out in the cold while the ANC negotiated it into impotence — and its greatest victory is the conference effectively nullified many of the "concessions" the ANC made in the negotiations process over the past year.

While previous agreements strongly curtailed the workings of MK, the ANC resolved last week to "recruit, maintain and develop MK until the advent of a democratic constitution" — and gave its army a job to do inside the country: it committed MK to "act in the defence of the people" by operating and training self-defence units answerable to local civic structures.

To explain this decision, senior MK strategist Ronnie Kasrils invoked the Japanese classic, *The Seven Samurai*: "MK will work just like those Japanese warriors. We will empower communities to protect themselves by showing them how to organise, and then bow out." He paused. "Except, the difference is, we won't bow out."

In Kasrils' pause lurk serious questions about MK's newly-defined role as "defender of the people". What precise role will MK play in organising these self-defence units? To whom will the units be answerable? Can an army that is by definition political operate as a non-partisan peacekeeping force? And even if they can, how will a defence-unit organised by the ANC be able to avoid the stigma of political allegiance?

In a panel discussion reported in the latest *New Era*, ANC PWV organising committee co-ordinator Andrew Mapheto said he understood the frustration that had led to the call for self-defence units, but com-

The ANC has resolved to move its army into the townships as a 'non-partisan' peacekeeping force. Can MK provide a solution to the increasing spiral of violence, or will it function as a political militia that further fuels political fires?

MARK GEVISSER
looks at the issue

mented: "If you don't deliver, our people will judge us on that."

And the initiative might, perhaps unintentionally, provoke more violence: by further militarising conflict in the townships, by giving the security forces even more excuse to take action against ANC officials involved in the units — and by further incurring the wrath of political organisations like Inkatha. Security forces also might use the existence of the self-defence units as an excuse to be even more laggardly in stemming the violence.

While Kasrils quoted Nicaragua and El Salvador as successful self-defence units, Mapheto made the critical point that "the concept of defence committees was also employed by Frelimo, which armed people with machetes and such. But the violence itself escalated."

The conference's MK Commission was adamant that MK would not be rolling into townships with "truckloads of AK-47s". MK, it said, would isolate the weapons already in the townships and train people to use them in a disciplined, responsible manner. It wouldn't necessarily train people to fight — rather, it would help with defence and information-gathering strategies.

The ANC initiative is a direct response to a request by the civic associations, who are growing more and more desperate as vigilante groups and "third forces" wreak havoc and the security forces prove themselves incapable — or unwilling — to do anything about it.

"If there are people skilled in defence," commented National Civics co-ordinator Zohra Ebrahim, "then we must rely on them to organise us in an effective and constructive way, rather than having panic set in." She did emphasise, however, that the civic associations and the ANC had not yet discussed the units at a national level.

Both the ANC and the civics believe that

the non-partisan self-defence units should have representatives from all political groupings. But the Pan Africanist Congress does not have an army, and the notion that Inkatha might become involved in training its perceived enemy, the progressive civics, is preposterous. MK, then, will provide the only trained soldiers organising the self-defence units.

MK cadres are not mercenaries, neither are they paid security guards: they cannot be seconded to the civics as a non-partisan "Sandton Sentry" style security force. Will the cadres comply, for example, if a civic association asks them to assist it in bringing to order ANC-affiliated "com-tsosis" who are out of line? What if they are asked to act in a way that is against their own ideology? It is clear that the higher god they will obey is the ANC: even if the MK Commission emphasised that the units would "fall under the authority of the township's civic associations", the conference resolved that "the ANC is to assume full responsibility for cadres".

It does make sense that MK — which has nothing else to do in this hiatus between armed struggle and a future democratic army — gets involved in self-defence training and puts its skills to use. But does the initiative have real potential to resolve conflict, or is it just an unemployment bureau, placing malcontent cadres in new jobs and making them feel useful? And is there any way that the self-defence units can avoid operating as political militias?

Of course, the ANC could argue that there is already a successful counter-revolutionary militia in operation in the townships. In the face of all other failed options and an utter breakdown in law-enforcement, self-defence units are the last remaining option of desperate communities already under siege: both the ANC and the civics have no choice but to organise their own self-defence.

But both would be wise to remember the lesson of the people's courts: there too, a breakdown of law forced communities to take justice into their own hands; there too, an understandable attempt at crisis-management degenerated into the sanctioning of atrocities as violent as anything committed by the apartheid regime. When a state's abdication of its duties forces civil society to dispense justice and uphold the law, things can go horribly wrong.

It's easy to become a racist — especially if you're black

w/Man 12/7-18/7/91.

11A

THE mind of white South Africa is sick.

The increasing number of random attacks by whites on blacks are just an indication of this. Every week in the press are reports of innocent blacks who have fallen victim to this psychosis which apartheid and the total onslaught gospel have left as a legacy.

Like the man who was beaten to near death for urinating in public two weeks ago, the shack-dwellers of Goedgevonden, the Evaton man who is a paraplegic as result of being beaten by the police and the man who was last month mauled by a white man's dogs, I too have on several occasions been a victim of white violence.

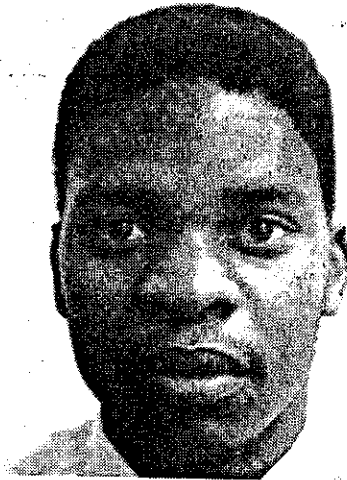
A month ago a friend and I came close to death in Hillbrow when three white nightclubbers pounced on us for reasons known only to them. These thugs punched me to the ground and even as I was wriggling on the pavement, whining for mercy, they delivered blows to my head and face with their dancing shoes.

This was the third such calamity to befall this poor black soul. Last year I was savaged by about seven Afrikaans-speaking white youths in Hillbrow. While meting out their punishment they repeatedly proclaimed their allegiance to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and bestowed me the honour of being "Mandela se kind". I only managed to escape these beasts when they tried to drag me into a pitch-dark alley and my adrenalin realised they were going to cut my life short.

Two months ago I was shot in the neck by a gunman I did not even see. Although this is a bit of conjecture, I know the gunman was white because the only place from where the bullet could have come is an exclusively white block of flats.

Now this misfortune is not a personal tragedy confined only to me. I have heard similar stories from other black residents

MONDLI MAKHANYA has three times been the victim of random attacks by white thugs. The disturbing result has been to turn a peace-loving man into a racist himself .. as this angry personal account so graphically reveals



Mondli Makhanya ... A racist in the making?

of Johannesburg's inner city flatlands.

So angry was I after the last attack that I have almost turned racist. Racing through my mind are thoughts of how many times I have heard whites refer to blacks as savages. They arrogantly perceive us as a violent breed who indulge in orgies of factional fighting. We are seen as uncivilised "natives" to whom violence is a way of life.

"Why are you killing each other?" they ask as if requesting that we rather turn our pangas on them.

And yet have you ever heard of blacks simply beating up whites because they don't like the fact that they are pale-skinned? Although it may not be excusa-

ble it is true that whenever blacks assault whites there is always a robbery motive behind it. Other violence unleashed by blacks on whites, though somewhat misguided, may also be the result of genuine political frustrations caused by apartheid.

True enough we do fight among ourselves ... but behind the current wave of violence lies an evil white hand others prefer to call a "third force".

The actions of African National Congress bombers Robert McBride and Andrew Zondo — though not to be condoned — are excusable given their being black in a country that resents their blackness. But what political frustration led Barend Strydom to mow down seven black civilians, or propelled Eugene Marais and his Orde Boerevolk comrades to open fire on a bus in Durban, killing seven black passengers. Their race is in power but they still found it necessary to inflict harm on those their tribe oppresses. Now that is what I call lunatic savagery.

I can never bring myself to simply beat up a person I do not even know. What further infuriates me is the fact that after all the oppression we have suffered at the hands of a white government, we have complied when they requested reconciliation.

The very people to whom we have given our wholehearted forgiveness do not seem to have any intention of giving up their barbaric behaviour. Instinct tells me we should forget about reconciliation with the white tribe and make them pay. Sometimes, I find myself wondering why we should not beat up whites too.

A friend who, like me, subscribes to the philosophy of non-racialism has jokingly advised me to adopt the black consciousness or Pan Africanism ideologies. I am seriously considering his advice because it is clear these whites don't like us at all — no matter how conciliatory we are. So why should we like them?

ANC, SAP probe Welverdiend police

THE police investigation into the activities of the unrest unit at Welverdiend police station swung into action in Carletonville's Khutsong township this week. *Star 13/7/91 11A*

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) and the local ANC branch helped to locate witnesses. While representatives of the IBIIR were generally positive about progress, they said there were signs of interference by policemen outside the investigation team.

"We are happy with the way the police investigating team is going about its work. But there are indications that the investigation may be being undermined by other sections of the South African Police," an IBIIR spokesman said.

A member of IBIIR's board of management said their field

JO-ANNE COLLINGE

workers were apparently under surveillance in the first week.

Major D J C Stear, who heads the investigation team, acknowledged: "There was a small disturbance. But it has been sorted out to the satisfaction of all parties." He confirmed a co-operative working relationship had been established.

The investigation of Welverdiend police station is a result of persistent allegations linking them to deaths in Khutsong and in custody. Witnesses have implicated police in as many as 17 deaths since early 1990. In five cases potential witnesses to alleged police atrocities have met violent deaths.

The IBIIR spokesman said that the board and the ANC also regarded it "as our responsibility to safeguard witnesses".

Trust plans to honour Biko, Hector Pietersen

A FOUNTAIN to commemorate the death in 1976 of Hector Pietersen ... busts of Alan Paton, Gerald Sekoto, Sol Plaatje and Steve Biko ... the embellishment of Shaka's grave ... the upgrading of the Boer War monument ...

These are among the ideas being considered by the Felix Trust, probably the first of its kind in the country, which seeks to give concrete form to the spirit of reconciliation and nation-building in South Africa.

According to Glenn Babb, South Africa's new ambassador to Italy and the initiator of the Felix Trust, the trust's objectives include promoting innovative ways of building traditional homes and honouring cultural

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JOVIAL RANTAO (11A)

leaders with whom all South Africans can identify.

"The trust aims to give respect to those national sites which, and people who, represent a unifying force in South Africa. We also intend to arrange for, manage and maintain the embellishment, improvement and refurbishing of national sites with a view to bringing together the various peoples in the South Africa in common respect for historic and recognised symbols," Mr Babb said.

The Felix Trust, he said, appealed to South Africans to come up with imaginative ways of achieving their goal of help-

ing nation-building.

"The trust relies on its members to initiate such projects and all citizens of South Africa are invited to join in this venture," he said.

The trust was named after Felix Houphouet-Boigny, president of the Ivory Coast, who has accepted in principle and become first patron, because of his sterling work in promoting reconciliation in Africa.

Members of the trust include Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan newspaper and conceiver of the nation-building concept; Wendy Ackerman, wife of supermarket magnate, Raymond Ackerman; film and television producer Bill Faure, Peter Redbrough and Thijs Nel.



CONCRETE FORM: A bust of Steve Biko could be made if a new trust has its way.

Jannie likes cricket, rugby and the ANC

star 13/7/91

MEET Jannie Momberg Jun — a chip off the old block when it comes to enthusiasm for sport and politics, but perhaps a few steps ahead in his thinking on our role in a new South Africa. Jannie Jun, in fact, belongs to a new breed of young Afrikaners who have found a political home in the African National Congress, reports **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**.

ONE realises things have changed beyond recognition when a man born, bred and seasoned in the mould of the old-style apartheid-dominated National Party can say openly he is proud of his son, an ANC activist.

So it is with Jannie Momberg, Democratic Party MP for Simon's Town and former staunch Nationalist, and his son, Jannie Momberg junior, a Western Cape delegate to last week's landmark ANC conference in Durban.

Jannie junior, a third-year political science student at the University of Stellenbosch, was one of three delegates from the Stellenbosch branch of the ANC. Jannie sen, attended as one of five Democratic Party observers.

For father and son it was more than a political event. The conference also became the occasion to celebrate Jannie junior's 21st birthday (on July 4) — and they did it in style at a small party with friends and political colleagues of both generations present.

Broke away after 30 years

Such a get-together at an ANC conference was certainly a far cry from the days when Mr Momberg senior was deeply embroiled in National Party politics. At that time the ANC was banned and its members were branded as "terrorists".

Mr Momberg, who also made his mark as a sports administrator and wine farmer, broke away from the NP in February 1987 after 30 years in the party — a move which he subsequently described as the most traumatic decision of his life. He took the decision when he came to realise the Botha Government's reform programme was grinding to a halt.

Last week was also far removed from the days when Mr Momberg senior attended all-white NP congresses. For the young Mr Momberg, the only white delegate from Stellenbosch, the Durban conference was hectic — with discussions continuing until after midnight at times and, on the final day, until 5 am.

In an interview in Stellenbosch this week, Jannie Momberg junior told of his work for the ANC and of his decision to join the movement. But, like his father, he has another major interest — sport — which provides a healthy balance to political involvement.

During his high school days at Grey College, Bloemfontein, Jannie junior played both Free State Craven Week rugby and OFS Nuffield cricket. He was vice-captain of the Free State rugby and cricket sides.



Last year he played for Western Province in under-20 rugby.

Born in Stellenbosch, he began his early school career at Eikestad Primary School and subsequently attended the Paul Roos Gimnasium. He matriculated at Grey College, Bloemfontein, in 1988.

Jannie is one of four brothers who grew up in a home where politics is discussed freely — in fact, it is a home with a remarkable democratic culture. Despite differences of opinion, the family members have long discussions, especially on Sundays when three of the sons, all studying at Stellenbosch University, get together with their parents.

The eldest son, Niels, is a member of the Democratic Party and another son, Steyn, is also a member of the ANC. The youngest, Altus, is still at school at Grey College, Bloemfontein.

Jannie says that before he joined the ANC in September he did not belong to any political party, but took an interest in politics.

Interview with Tambo

He chose the ANC as the political home for him. He liked its ideas and policies, especially its stand for a non-racial, non-sexist democracy, and its policy for a "mixed" economy. He believes South Africa's huge gap between "haves" and "have-nots" can never be bridged by pure capitalism.

He first became aware of the ANC when, in the mid-1980s, he read Cape Times editor Tony Heard's report on an interview with ANC president Oliver Tambo. Jannie, 15-years-old at the time, pasted a cutting of the interview on his wall.

He became a member of the Stellenbosch branch of the ANC when it was formed last year.

"I have found an incredible amount of goodwill in the ANC. There are people who are the salt of the earth. They are people who practise their principles of non-racialism in real life," Jannie says.

Mr Momberg senior clearly takes pride in the fact that his sons are independently-minded.

He said: "If my children have been prepared for the new South Africa, then I think I have done my job."



Jannie Momberg ... chip off old block.

The prince can't breach this rift

star 13/7/91

What is the significance of the fact that the senior prince of the Zulu Royal family, Prince Israel Mcwayizeni ka Solomon, has now been elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC?

Could it be that the ANC will now be reconciled with the Zulu Royal family and the Zulu King? These are questions I have been asked by numerous local and foreign journalists since the announcement of the results of the ANC NEC elections early on Sunday morning.

There is no doubt that it was a political scoop for the ANC to elect such a senior member of the Zulu Royal family into its NEC.

Those who know Prince Israel's family background will remember that not only is he the son of King Solomon (the grandfather of the reigning monarch) but he actually acted as regent on the death of King Cyprian (the father of the reigning monarch) until such time that the present king, who was still a minor and was at school, was ready to succeed his father.

Incidentally, some newspapers have commented that the senior prince was a member of Inkatha until 1989 when he resigned. This is not correct.

As far as I can recall, the senior prince never joined Inkatha and was certainly never active in Inkatha affairs although he did occasionally attend Inkatha conferences.

There is a peculiar relationship between Inkatha and most members of the Zulu Royal family. Most of them tend to shy away from actively supporting Inkatha although there are a few notable exceptions like Prince Gideon, who is KwaZulu's Deputy Minister of Welfare and Pensions, and a few others.

Prince Israel was a member of the KwaZulu Legislative As-

Through
My Eyes



sembly representing the king and therefore appointed by him. He resigned from this position and claimed there was a misunderstanding between himself and the king.

This background is important if I have to answer the second question whether the senior prince will facilitate reconciliation between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family, and the king. The answer is an unequivocal "no".

If anything, the prince's membership of the ANC will widen the rift between the ANC and the Zulu Royal family. At worst, it could even engender a serious split within the Royal family.

Firstly, because of a misunderstanding between the king and the senior prince, the latter is persona non grata in the king's household.

Secondly, the senior prince's relations with Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government have also been soured by the prince's constant political sniping at Chief Buthelezi and the Government.

The king is presently very close to Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government. In terms of the KwaZulu constitution, the king is a constitutional monarch and any political contact with him must be through the KwaZulu Cabinet headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Besides, KwaZulu Government protocol decrees that Chief Buthelezi, and not the senior prince, is the senior traditional adviser to the king. Therefore, as things stand, the senior prince has no access to the king, Chief Buthelezi or the Government.

ANC to 'look after its aged'

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PAT DEVEREAUX

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AGED members of the ANC, including 14 former national executive members are to be "taken care of", according to ANC liaison officer, Carl Niehaus.

After dedicating his life to the organisation, ANC stalwart Govan Mbeki (81) pulled out as a nominee to the ANC's new executive, citing his age as a reason. This raised the question of what is to happen to retired ANC members.

Thirteen other NEC members — including the SACP chairman Dan Floome (74), Sactu's Steve Dlamini, also in his seventies, former head of political mobilisation and manpower-development Mzwai Piliso (68), and deputy director ANC, international affairs, Stanley Mabisela (57) — were axed at last week's congress.

Nelson Mandela had mentioned the plight of certain ANC members at the congress "and our intention is to take care of these people," said Mr Niehaus yesterday. The ANC was currently setting up a Veterans' Association, he added.

Big sweat over ANC foreign funds

Star 13/7/91

PAT DEVEREAUX

11A

THE ANC's foreign asset situation is developing into a "political nightmare" as the Government and the ANC hold talks on how it will bring foreign funds back into the country.

According to the Reserve Bank's foreign exchange control, Assistant General Manager Mr P J Gloucester, the ANC and the Government are currently in discussions on whether the ANC will bring its foreign funds into South Africa in commercial or financial rands.

"Either way, it is a 'lose situation' and the Government is dealing with a political nightmare," said one senior Reserve Bank source, who did not want to be named.

Because of current talks, it is still too premature to think of using funds to help alleviate unemployment or start projects to relieve some of the poverty in this country, said ANC department of information spokesman, Carl Niehaus.

"The ANC plans to inject some cash from its foreign assets back into South Africa, but it has no plans to scale down those assets which are still beneficial to the liberation struggle," said Mr Niehaus.

"We still have thousands of people in exile," he added.

Meanwhile, the ANC is being pressured to bring its foreign funds back to this country as soon as pos-

sible, because according to exchange control regulations of 1961, South African residents are not allowed to keep "unproductive" foreign assets.

If this law was applied, it would mean the ANC would have to liquidate its foreign property holdings whether it wanted to or not.

The ANC is reported to have about R41 million in cash overseas and R600 million in property. This was revealed by the organisation's treasurer general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, at the ANC's recent congress.

Drastic

"To escape some political flak, the Government could regard the ANC theoretically as an immigrant organisation so that it could return its assets in financial rands, which would be more profitable for the organisation," said the Reserve Bank informant.

But South African legislation regulating foreign financing for political organisations could also drastically affect the organisation's assets.

The ANC currently expects a minimum of R320 million at current exchange rates in donor allocations

for the next two years from the Scandanavian countries. Australia has committed just under R7 million for the next three years and there is an application for an additional sum of less than R6 million.

At present the ANC may have sizeable foreign assets, but not much can be converted into hard cash, said ANC economic sources.

In Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, where the ANC has its largest holdings, foreign exchange restrictions and economic problems make it almost impossible for the ANC to transfer proceeds from sales of property unless it negotiates this with donors and host governments.

But the organisation plans to phase out external spending within five years.

The ANC's Tanzanian projects are being wound down and its farms and assets in that country, valued at R575 million, are to be donated to the Tanzanians. But it intends keeping its Dar es Salaam buildings, valued at R255 million.

In Lusaka, site of the organisation's former headquarters, the ANC owns a R526 800 two-storied industrial and residential structure, a R6,14 million mechanical workshop and other properties valued at R2,7 million.

Who steers the ANC

TWICE, secretary-general of the African National Congress Cyril Ramaphosa refused to deny or confirm that he is a communist.

On Thursday he unexpectedly denied he was a member of the South African Communist Party. And added: no member of the ANC will in future be allowed to say whether he or she is a member of the SACP.

Because, says Ramaphosa, he wishes to avoid a witch-hunt as had happened in the USA after the World War 2 when people were hounded by Senator Joseph McCarthy simply because they were thought to be communists or were actually communists.

That the newly elected secretary-general should respond in this manner does, of course, re-open the whole question of the relationship between the ANC and the SACP.

Nelson Mandela, newly elected president of the African National Congress, has no doubt that that relationship is: it is a firm alliance committed to the ending of apartheid. Which, historically speaking, is true.

But times have changed and the ANC, despite its present attitude, will have to rethink the alliance as there is no doubt that it is the presence of such a strong SACP contingent in the ANC leadership which is one of the reasons why the ANC is unable to find any substantial support among whites, coloureds, Indians and to a lesser extent, rural blacks.

AND also, the National Party is committed to the ending of apartheid as is every other political party in the country — that is, except the Conservatives.

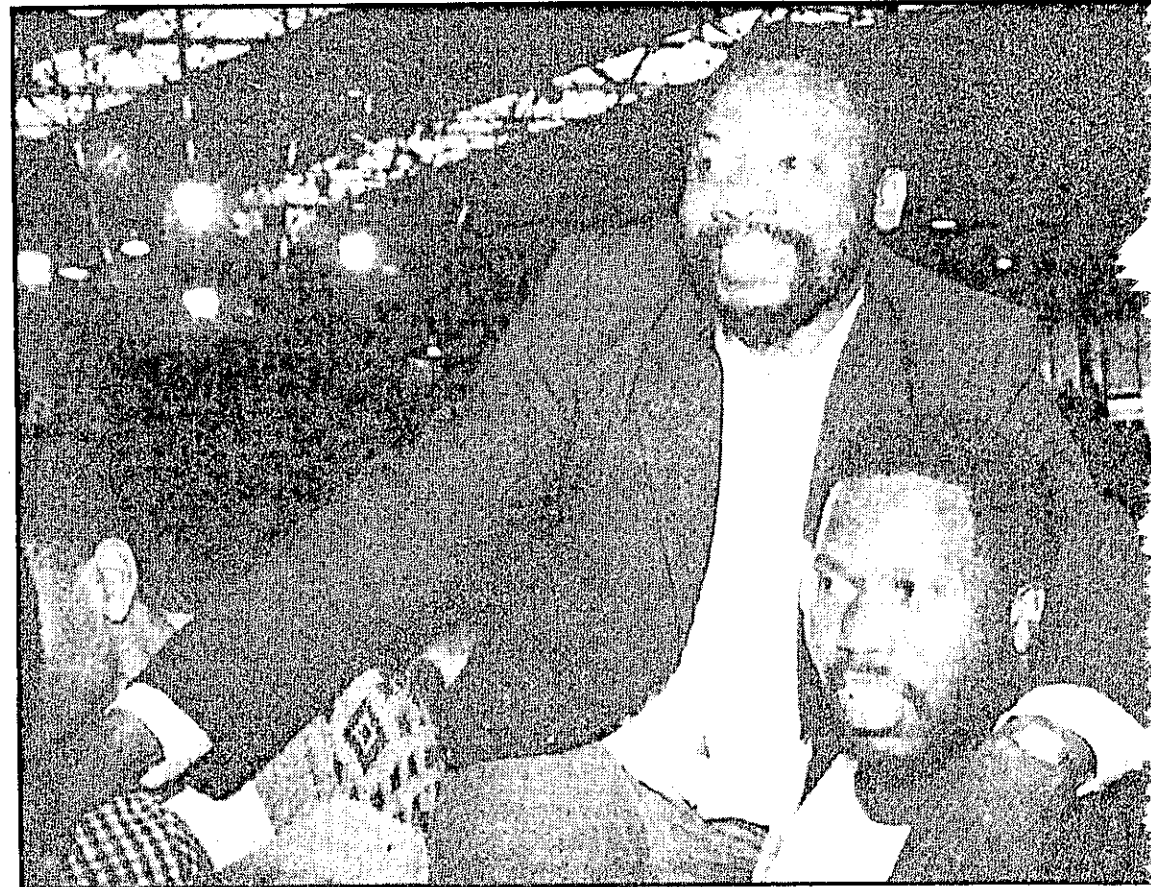
But, yes, in the dark days when first the Communist Party was banned and almost a decade later the ANC, they did form an alliance fighting to end apartheid.

And it was always clearly understood, and publicly pronounced, that the first wave of the revolution would be a national one and would be led by the ANC.

Once power had been taken, the second wave would begin, led by the communists and take us to a communist SA.

Yet the response to questions about the SACP presence is so heated that one is left with the impression that it is a growing problem within the ranks of the ANC.

Mr Mandela had told critics of the alliance to "outgrow the pathological anti-communism of the period of the cold



Cyril Ramaphosa (above), the new ANC secretary general has urged NEC members not to disclose any communist connections they may have. But does the huge banner behind Nelson Mandela or Joe Slovo (right) have some significance — or do Mandela's connections with Big Business in the shape of former Anglo chief Gavin Rilly (below) point to the route the ANC would rather follow?

Key question of the SACP role won't go away

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war, stop the red-baiting and live up to the commitment that all express in favour of a multi-party democracy".

But the questions will not just go away because they generate heat.

The alliance is indeed a strange one.

In the old National Executive Committee of the ANC the communists clearly dominated. They were strongly in the majority, some say that all but three of the 34 members were also SACP members.

And in the present NEC of 50, it is said that again the SACP has a majority. But is that really so?

Therein lies the rub: nobody really knows.

The ANC says that it has an alliance with the

SACP but they are two separate organisations.

Yet communists sit on the ANC leadership but non-communists cannot sit on the SACP leadership.

The ANC says it takes its own decisions. But how can it if the majority of its leaders are also communists who will not vote differently when they have an ANC hat on than when they have an SACP hat on.

Which must mean — and it would be hugely surprising if it is not so — that the SACP, through its members on the ANC's NEC can swing decisions the way it wants.

When the question is asked: who are members of the SACP, it is not because one wants to begin a witch-hunt, or denies the SACP the right to exist, or is against multi-party democracy. It is a logical question: who decides for the ANC?

If you were to support the ANC, is it, in fact, the ANC you are supporting. You cannot know.

To stop ANC members from stating where their allegiances lie, as Ramaphosa has just done, will be the exact effect he is trying to avoid: it might very well lead to a witch-hunt because South Africans want to know, and have a right to know, who is in control of the biggest political group.

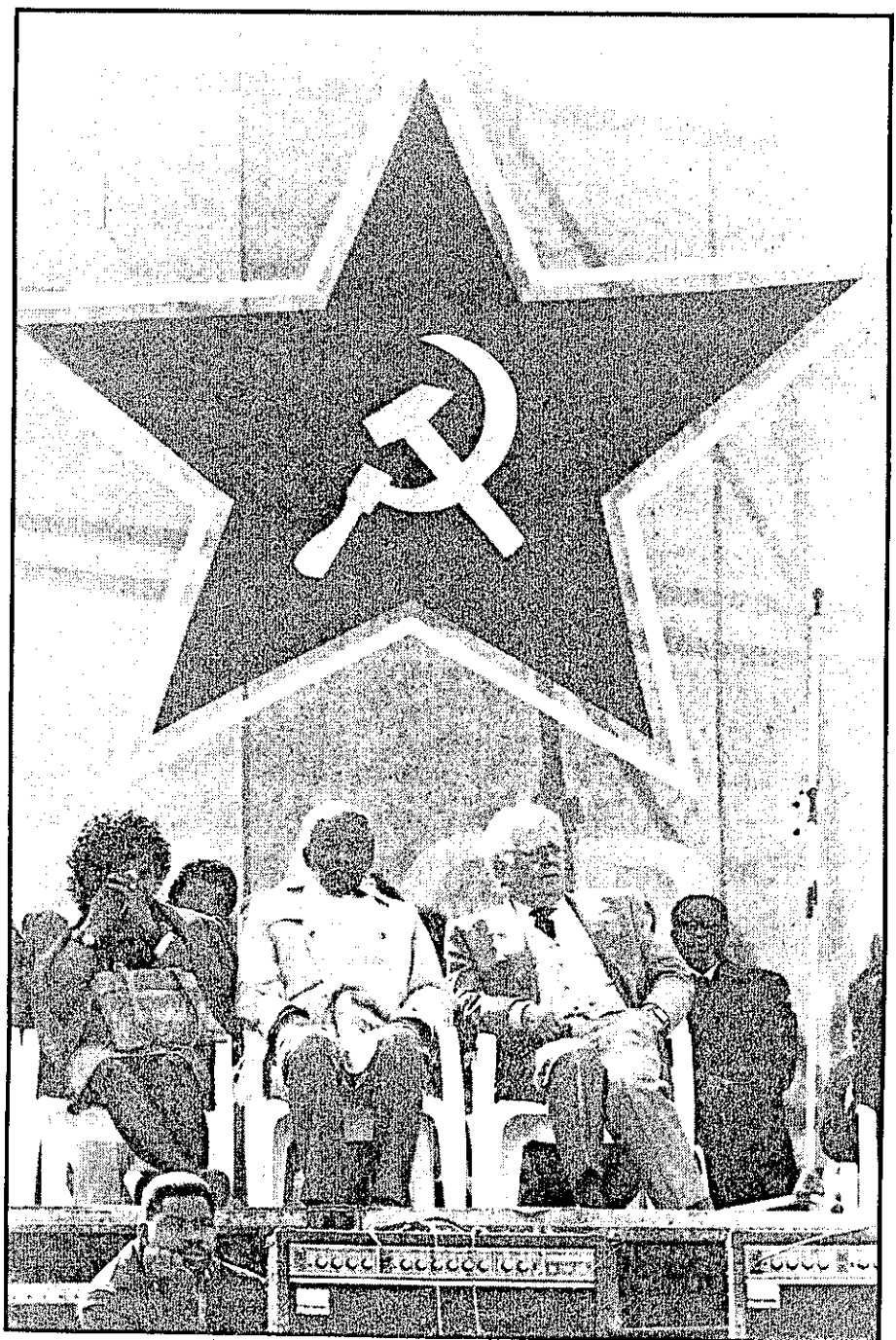
There is a clear dichotomy: Mandela is on rec-



HARALD PAKENDORF: Author of this article.

ord as saying the ANC is not socialist. But the SACP is, because however much you twist and turn away from what happened in eastern Europe and the USSR, it is impossible to be communist and not a socialist. The ANC is still reeling from its economic problems and it clearly is not

the ANC machine?



Cyril Ramaphosa (above), the new ANC secretary general has urged NEC members not to disclose any communist connections they may have. But does the huge banner behind Nelson Mandela and Joe Slovo (right) have some significance — or do Mr Mandela's connections with Big Business in the shape of former Anglo chief Gavin Relly (below) point to the route the ANC would rather follow?

Key question of
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ord as saying the ANC is not socialist. But the SACP is, because however much you twist and turn away from what happened in eastern Europe and the USSR, it is impossible to be communist and not a socialist. The ANC is still refining its economic policy and it clearly is not so-

cialist. Do the communists in the ANC go along with this while they wear their ANC hat and change their views when they are among fellow-communists?

Nobody knows. Or are the communists just going along with the ANC views for the time being, until such time as the ANC takes political power — and will they only then begin to assert their majority view in the ANC leadership to steer the country towards their views?

Who knows. And South Africans have a right to know and will undoubtedly insist on knowing.

Communism is this century's failure. Fascism has to be beaten in war. Communism is

dying because of its own inner failures.

Economically, communist countries are disasters.

AND, communism is strongly opposed to religion, despite recent attempts to say that this is not so anymore.

So, come the first real general election in South Africa, will those voting for the ANC be voting for the repressive, anti-religion, economic failures the SACP stands for — or will they in fact be voting for the ANC?

Mr Ramaphosa says we are not entitled to know and Mr Mandela says we must outgrow our pathological anti-

communism.

That is not good enough. Red-baiting could have been seen as a smokescreen behind which people hide who really wanted to maintain apartheid.

But times have changed. The pillars of apartheid have already gone and the political overlay of apartheid is about to be negotiated away by the ANC — or is it the SACP?

Who knows. The question will not go away until it as been answered. And the ANC will give attention to the question because it is a negative for it when it comes to its membership drives. It is a painful dilemma: if you stick as closely to the SACP as you do now, it might very

well cost you enough votes to keep you from power.

Or worse, might allow a National Party-led alliance slip past you.

On the other hand, how many workers are communists? Certainly, many union leaders are SACP-members. Would that cost you votes if you drop the SACP or do workers not support the SACP despite the position of their leaders?

Who knows. Does the ANC know which of its members are also members of the SACP? It is a question it, too, needs to find an answer to. How else can it know who runs its own organisation? And if it does know, it ought to tell South Africa who does.

Time for reds to pop up from under beds

'ARE you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?"

All these years on, those 14 words have lost none of their capacity to chill: you can hear them booming through a microphone, stentorian and accusing. You can picture the fanatically transported face of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the fearful, baffled expression of his victim as he tries to explain that his answer doesn't mean what his accuser says it means.

Lives, countless lives, were ruined by McCarthyism, and a nation's psyche was warped. Charlie Chaplin was an "enemy of the state", as were dozens of talented authors, actors and musicians until their spirits were broken.

It was a national madness harking back to the days of Salem, and the United States is still recovering from the trauma. Are we in danger of repeating the same, terrible process in South Africa?

I think not.

But first let us deal with the conviction among ANC and SACP leaders that we are indeed sliding into McCarthyism. "Red Spotting" has run riot in the past year, they charge, and it is not only the far right wing that has taken to the sport — red baiters include the Government, liberals, businesspeople, and even some clerics.

The Tongaat "Red Plot" fiasco was only the most prominent among innumerable instances of

Undercurrent
Affairs

SHAUN
JOHNSON



commie-bashing. New ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa let loose on the subject this week: allegations were based on "threadbare evidence", he said, sourced to "a pathologically anti-communist group ... in the worst tradition of the Cold War era". The ANC would not be drawn into a "McCarthyite witchhunt" and, moreover, "the speculations were inspired by an anti-democratic spirit".

Mr Ramaphosa has a point of course, and only the most naive of observers would fail to recognise that it serves the purpose of the Government to keep stoking the fires of division among the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu. But is he right in instructing, as he did this week, all members of the ANC to refuse to answer questions about their political affiliations outside the organisation?

My answer is no. There are many good reasons for seeking to bring an end to the destructive red-

hunting, but this is not the way to go about it. There is a critical difference between the McCarthyite period and South Africa's transition to democracy.

When the dread question was put in the House unAmerican Activities Committee hearings, the answer could criminalise the respondent. Since 1990, the South African Communist Party has taken its rightful place among legal political groups in this country, and to answer "Yes, I am a member" is in this sense no different from confirming one's allegiance to the DP.

By clinging to secrecy — or equivocating unconvincingly as Ramaphosa himself did when asked the question himself initially — one plays into the hands of one's opponents, and extends the life of the reds-under-beds campaign.

Public political figures (not ordinary, private individuals) owe it to the voters of the future to tell them where their organisational allegiances lie. This is the stuff of democratic politicking.

Mr Ramaphosa is quite right when he suggests that the "Are-you-or-aren't-you" question is rarely put in the spirit of neutral inquiry — it is usually as loaded as questions come, and the answer

can be exploited — but that does not alter the principle at all.

All parties must take the rough with the smooth, and the decades during which the SACP and others were special cases due to National Party tyranny are on this level over. I hope that he will review his edict and get on to more important things. And I would express the same hope about other cloak-and-dagger-groupings, like the Broederbond.

The latest brouhaha raises another important political issue: just how useful is it to cling to the "SACP/non-SACP" distinction as a categorical analytical tool for understanding the nuanced balances of political power as we go into negotiations?

Within the SACP there are committed, old-style communists; there are those who call themselves "democratic socialists"; there are those who maintain party membership out of loyalty to the 1950s but are to all intents and purposes "non-practising" communists.

The SACP should come out in the open without embarrassment, and the red-baiters should realise that there are more helpful lines of investigation and inquiry to pursue. Perhaps then we will be able to get down to the real business at hand. And by the way, I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of the Communist Party. Or any other party for that matter.

Township activists hunt for assassins

By CHRIS BATEMAN

WESTERN CAPE township activists yesterday conducted house-to-house searches for the killers of community leader Mr Michael Mapongwana — prompting fears of weekend conflict in Khayelitsha and New Crossroads.

The searches, by supporters of Mr Mapongwana's Western Cape Civic Association, have lent new urgency to the police investigation into the killing.

Detectives fear that they could find their suspects in Salt River Mortuary by Monday morning.

Yesterday, reliable township sources said the focus of civic anger appeared to be the Western Cape Black Taxi Drivers' Association (Webta), which was perceived as being responsible for the assassination in Philippi on Monday.

The wife of a Webta driver, who declined to be named, said she was moving herself and her children out of their New Crossroads home into a "safe house" after a local civic meeting earlier in the week resolved to "purge" the suburb of Webta elements.

Her husband had been in hiding with other

drivers since the assassination.

"It doesn't matter that they had nothing to do with it, they are Webta," she added.

Reliable Khayelitsha sources reported door-to-door searches for assassination suspects by civic supporters there yesterday.

Mr Mapongwana, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, claimed before his death that Webta drivers had made at least one unsuccessful attempt on his life.

He was shot at point-blank range by three laughing balaclava-clad gunmen in Philippi. The killers, who forced his car off the road,

sped off in a grey Chevrolet Constantia, also murdered Mr Mapongwana's driver, a Mr Roro.

Police are offering a R5 000 reward for any information which leads to arrests. They emphasised that information would be treated in total confidence.

No arrests had been made by late yesterday.

Mr Mapongwana was a leading member of the Taxi Crisis Co-ordinating Committee, which instituted a boycott of Webta which had pulled out of a peace agreement with the rival Lagunya Taxi Association.

Will this man be sports minister?

#11A 252

Argus 13/7/91.

WERE the African National Congress to come to power today, Steve Tshwete, 51, would doubtlessly be a front-runner for the position of Minister of Sport.

It is a measure of the crucial role the man has played in guiding South African sport out of the despair of international isolation that he was the only politician present when South Africa's return to Test cricket was announced here this week.

Mr Tshwete's involvement in sport goes back as long as his political career, starting when he joined the ANC as a schoolboy in 1958. By 1962 he had become the secretary of the ANC's underground command for the Border region.

His activities in the ANC culminated in his arrest in 1963 and imprisonment with his colleagues on Robben Island the following year at the age of 24.

But even during the 15 years he spent in prison, his interest in sport, especially rugby, did not wane.

When it comes to talking publicly about their personal ambitions, South African political leaders, especially those in the anti-apartheid movement, tend to be reticent. Steve Tshwete is no exception. Weekend Argus correspondent **MIKE SILUMA** interviewed him in London.

"By putting us on Robben Island the government wanted to totally break our spirits. We were subjected to a regime of hard work, denied proper clothing to protect us from the elements and generally physically abused by the warders.

"Our meals consisted of porridge for breakfast and boiled mielies for lunch and dinner. It was 10 years before fruit was included in our diet.

"We soon realised that we had to fight back to stay sane, protesting through hunger strikes and letters smuggled out of prison. Because of my interest in sport, the other prisoners elected me the president of what we called the Robben Island Rugby Board.

"I also helped organise the prisoners' Amateur Athletics Association. This made me unpopular with the warders, who called me a 'voorbok'. The result was that I was frequently put in solitary confinement as a form of punishment," says Mr Tshwete.

In spite of the hardships of prison, Mr Tshwete continued his studies for a BA degree with Unisa.

On completing his sentence in 1979 he was issued with a two-year banning order confining him to the King William's Town area. By 1984 he had fully resumed his anti-apartheid and sporting activities, becoming president of the United Democratic Front in East London. He was also elected secretary of the Border Rugby Union.

His tenure in both positions was, however, short-lived because he left South Africa the following year in fear of his life. In exile in Zambia he became a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Does he think it unusual for someone so deeply involved in politics to be equally committed to sporting matters?

"No. I believe that it is important

for the ANC to be involved in efforts to unite South African sport along anti-racist lines because this will encourage movement away from racist sport.

"The fact that sports people play together as individuals rather than members of racial groups is bound to have the impact of ending apartheid in society, which is what the ANC wants.

"The continuing successes in uniting sport is proving wrong those who oppose the return of non-racial sport to international competition, arguing that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal country. Those who are arguing like this are notable by their failure to do anything practical to end apartheid both in the sporting and political fields," explains Mr Tshwete.

In spite of the hardships he suffered as a result of his opposition to apartheid, he says he is not bitter. "I harbour no bitterness towards anyone because I always knew that as an opponent of apartheid, I was representing a higher morality. I understood why the authorities did the things they did to us, and I always knew that my case would be vindicated."

The possibility that he might one day become Minister of Sport in a country he was once declared a persona non grata is not something he likes to discuss. With one sentence, the pipe-smoking Mr Tshwete short-circuits discussion on the subject. "I have no such aspirations," he declares.

When not attending one of his string of meetings, the father of two spends his spare time listening to Handel or Beethoven, or reading T S Eliot or Tolstoy.

His biggest regret is that, with his schedule of endless travels inside and outside South Africa, he is finding less and less time to pursue his other favourite activity, jogging.

Boesak could join ANC on Monday

(11A) ARCTUS 1317/91

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

DR ALLAN Boesak is set to join the ANC within the next few days, possibly on Monday, according to sources.

This will formally mark his return to mainstream politics.

He is widely believed to be in line for a top job within the ANC, possibly one of a few posts for co-

opted members.

Dr Boesak, acknowledged within and outside the ANC as a significant leader with wide appeal at home and abroad, was nominated to the movement's NEC at last week's annual conference in Durban.

He was attending the conference as a guest and observer. Although he could technically have sought ANC membership there and stood for one of the 50 elect-

ed NEC posts, he declined.

He told journalists at the conference that he was anxious to avoid causing the ANC embarrassment over an issue on which the movement's constitution did not give clear guidelines.

He indicated, however, that he would join the movement on his return to Cape Town and that he would be prepared to serve in any position.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Advanced

INVEST

ANC manages to stave off OAU meeting on lifting of sanctions

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN and PATRICIA CHENEY

THE ANC has succeeded in delaying an Organisation of African Unity meeting to review sanctions against South Africa.

The meeting was scheduled to take place in Abuja, Nigeria, tomorrow under the chairmanship of Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida. It has been postponed to next month.

President Babangida, the current OAU chairman, is keen to reward the South African government for the changes it has introduced by lifting some sanctions.

ANC International Affairs spokesman Yusuf Saloojee said the ANC would argue next month that sanctions should be maintained until all politi-

cal prisoners, including the 160 in Bophuthatswana, are released and mechanisms to end violence are in place. *S Times 14/7/91*

It would take the same message to leaders in Denmark, Germany and Holland early next month, he added.

The conservative Danish government supports the lifting of sanctions. It is being prevented from doing so by social democrats and liberals who have a parliamentary majority on the issue. This, in turn, is preventing the lifting of the remaining European Community sanctions, as all EC decisions have to be unanimous.

However, South African officials believe Japanese sanctions will go within a month.

Two Japanese trade delegations, the Keidanren and the Society of Modernisation, have visited South Africa recently. Officials said they were confident Japanese businessmen would be more willing to invest in South Africa than their American counterparts.

The OAU initially turned down the ANC's request to delay the meeting, saying it had come too late. It later acquiesced.

Premature

ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said a meeting now would be premature.

Mr Saloojee said once the issues of prisoners and violence had been resolved, the ANC would call for the "phased maintenance" of sanctions.

This provides for the lifting of:

- Cultural and tourism sanctions once obstacles to negotiations are removed. These include the indemnification of all exiles, an end to political trials and the repeal of security legislation;

- Iron and steel sanctions when an interim government is installed;

- The oil and arms embargo once a democratic constitution is in place.

Meanwhile, an American union official has said that despite the lifting of US sanctions, the passage of goods from South Africa to American consumers will not necessarily be a smooth one.

Mr Kenneth Zinn of the United Mine Workers Union said: "Unionists will continue to show solidarity with black workers in South Africa."

He said American longshoremen could hold up SA goods at the docks.

In 1986, longshoremen in Mobile, Alabama, refused to unload SA coal and unionists in Oakland, California, and New Orleans, Louisiana, kept SA goods on ships for days.

How Mbeki swayed

S(Times 14/7/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

DETAILS of the ANC's efforts to lobby hostile foreign governments to ensure South Africa's return to world cricket emerged yesterday.

The key to SA's readmission this week was a letter sent by ANC international head Thabo Mbeki to the foreign ministers of all International Cricket Council member countries.

The ANC was also urged by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to follow up the letters by actively lobbying governments which exerted influence over their sporting bodies.

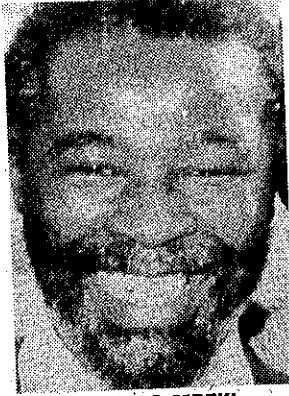
Mr Hurd is understood to have been referring to the West Indies, India and Pakistan.

Copies of the correspondence between the ANC and governments of ICC full-member countries were obtained by the Sunday Times yesterday.

Mr Mbeki urged the foreign ministers to use their influence to encourage the admission of the United Cricket Board of SA (UCBSA) into the ICC.

He said in the letter that the ANC was lending full support to the UCBSA's application for ICC membership.

The ANC was satisfied that the necessary progress had been made towards the establishment of a non-racial controlling



THABO MBEKI

ANC went in to bat for SA cricketers by lobbying hostile states

IT IS IN THE LIGHT OF ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS THAT WE REQUEST YOUR EXCELLENCY TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES TO ENCOURAGE THE ADMISSION OF THE PROJECTED UNITED CRICKET BOARD OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO THE ICC,

PERSUASIVE ... an excerpt from Mbeki's letter to the Jamaican government

body for South African cricket.

The UCBSA had also satisfied conditions aimed at ensuring that disadvantaged South Africans gained access to adequate sport facilities, the letter said.

Readmittance to world cricket would play a crucial role in encouraging the complete desegregation of sport in general, Mr Mbeki said in the letter.

"This in turn would have

an important impact on the processes in which we are engaged directed at moving the millions of South African people, including the youth, towards a non-racial and democratic order and a peaceful and stable society," Mr Mbeki wrote.

Mr Hurd said in his reply that he was impressed by the efforts of ANC sports head Steve Tshwete to foster racial integration in sport and to facilitate the

unification of sports bodies in South Africa.

"I warmly welcome the creation of the United Cricket Board of SA and endorse your wish to see UCBSA admitted to the ICC in July. We will do all in our power to ensure that UCBSA's application is successful," Mr Hurd wrote.

He cautioned that the British government did not, however, direct sport in Britain.

"It is the advocacy of the UCBSA themselves and the support which the ANC has given them which is likely to weigh most with British cricketers and, indeed, with other ICC members," Mr Hurd said.

Other ICC member governments, however, tended to exercise a more direct influence over their sports organisations than the British government, Mr Hurd said.

ICC

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Backing

"I hope you will follow up your letters with other contacts to ensure that these governments are in no doubt as to the ANC's support for UCBSA's application," he wrote.

Approached for comment yesterday, Mr Tshwete said the first question he was asked by every representative of the ICC in his visits to London was whether the ANC supported the UCBSA's application.

"The bottom line from the ICC members was that without ANC backing the application by the UCBSA could not be approved," Mr Tshwete said.

MEN OF PROPERTY: THE ANC'S PORTFOLIO

FURTHER details emerged this week of the ANC's sprawling overseas property empire, which has an estimated book value of R655-million.

In London the organisation's property portfolio, built up over the past 15 years, consists of five buildings and a vacant lot. ANC business in London is conducted out of a four-storey, seven-room converted period house in Islington.

The building and the land on which it stands were bought about 10 years ago and they are currently valued by the ANC's financial department at about R512 600.

But London estate agents believe the building could be worth as much as £180 000 (R846 000).

ANC London spokesman Lawson Naidoo said: "The

Buy, not rent, was the rule

By **CHARMAIN NAIDOO**
London

The mail order section — which sells T-shirts, pamphlets and other ANC goods — operates from the building, which is valued by the ANC at R956 800, although estate agents say it could be worth more.

The ANC also owns the home of ANC chief representative Mendi Msimang, which it values at R836 400. The house is situated in north-west London and is currently mortgaged for R190 900.

Mortgage

The ANC has another Islington property — in McKenzie Road — which houses the organisation's merchandising empire.

A house in Archway, London, which the ANC rents out, is valued by the organisation's financial department at R403 000.

The ANC also owns a flat in Pollok Street, London, which it values at R143 600.

Valuable

It says its vacant plot is worth R23 900. The ANC puts the value of its London properties at R2,875-million, but its property holdings on the Continent are worth R4,015-million.

ANC-owned buildings in Brussels, Belgium, are valued at R258 000 while property in Bonn, Germany, is worth R881 000.

An ANC spokesman in Germany said the chief representative's house in Bonn was "indeed worth a lot of money in rand terms".

But, the spokesman said, property prices in Germany, where space is at a

premium, were "prohibitively expensive".

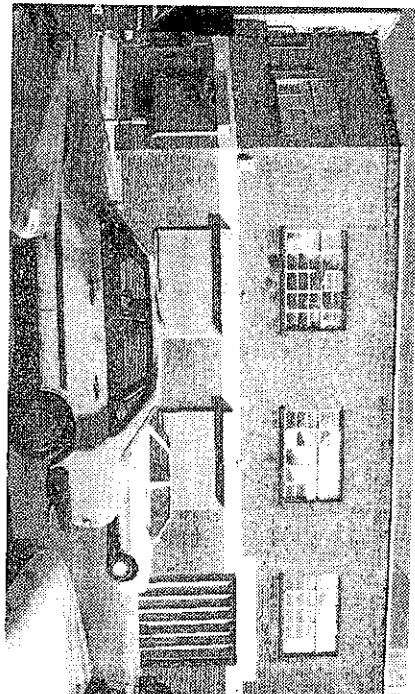
The ANC also owns property in Oslo, Stockholm, Toronto, Harare and Lusaka. But the most valuable of all are two Tanzanian projects, which have a book value of R575-million.

The recent British property slump saw the value of the ANC's London portfolio plummet.

"The primary aim of these buildings was never intended to be an investment," said Mr Naidoo. "It was just economically prudent to buy rather than rent, which is what the organisation did."

He added: "It is perhaps unrealistic to give costs in South African rands. Property in London is expensive and the exchange rate is not an accurate indication of how much is being spent on buildings."

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HUB: the London home of the ANC's mail order empire, which it values at R955 000



Celebrity mansions in Soweto are snapped up

By **SIPHO NGCOBO**

TWO ANC-owned houses in Soweto worth R550 000 have been bought from township celebrities who moved to Johannesburg's posh northern suburbs.

The luxury houses are part of the organisation's R655-million property portfolio inside and outside the country.

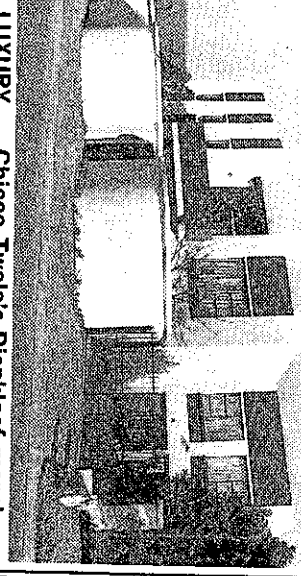
They were previously owned by popular singer Sello "Chico" Twala and Kaizer Chiefs soccer boss Kaizer Maitama.

Both homes are listed in the ANC's financial report tabled by treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi at the organisation's national congress in Durban last week.

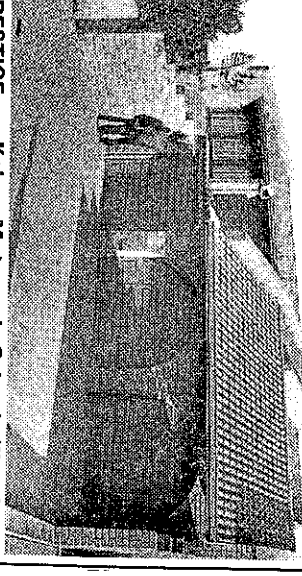
Chico's former house, valued at R230 000, is in prestigious Diepkloof Extension. It is a double-storey mansion complete with steel security gates, an intercom and a double-garage.

Mr Motaung's former home in Orlando West Extension is valued at R320 000.

The Diepkloof house is guarded by returned exiles Mandla Ntuli and Jabhlani Khoza.



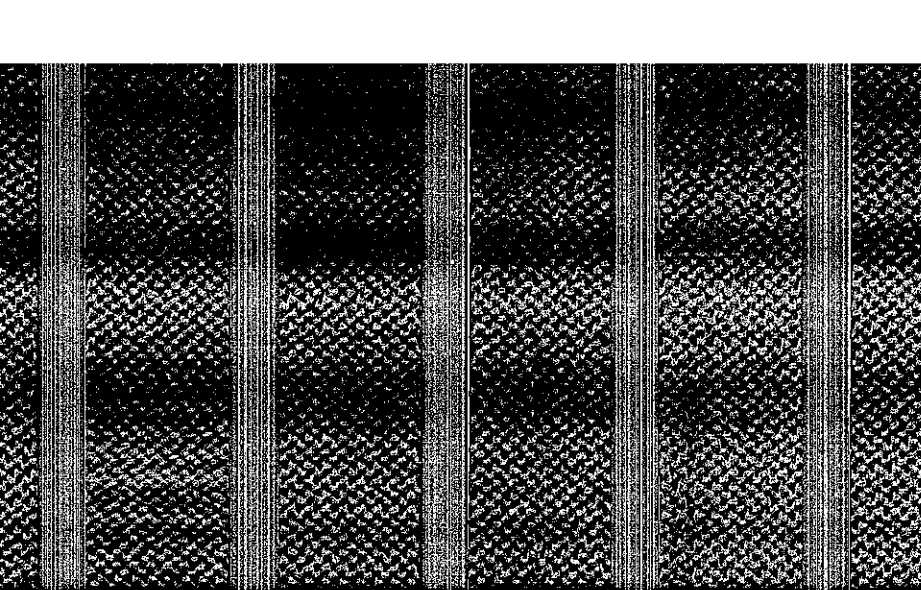
LUXURY . . . Chico Twala's Diepkloof mansion



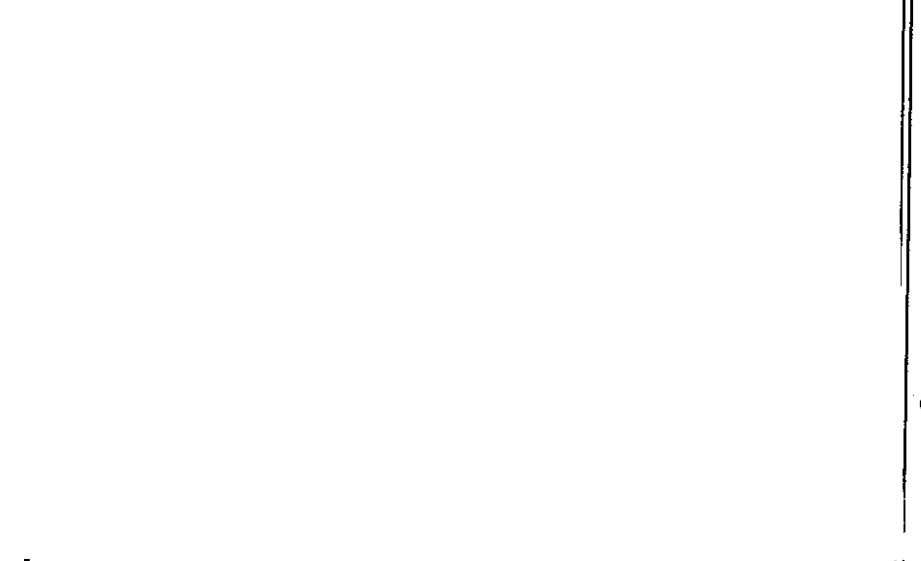
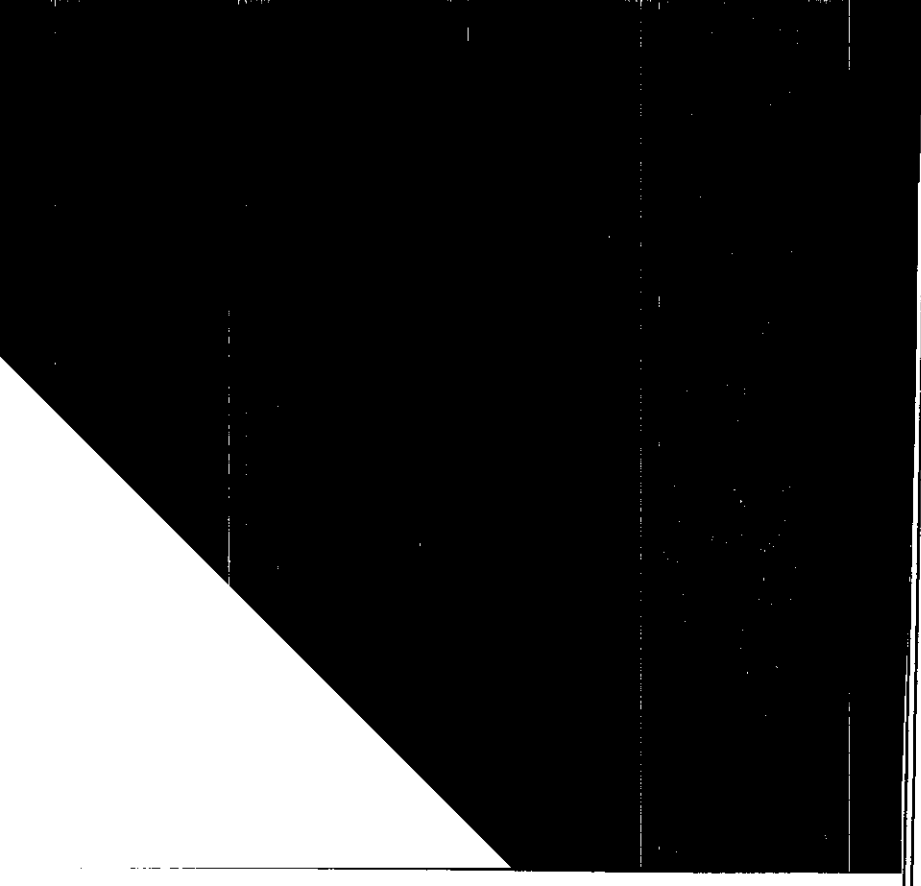
PRESTIGE . . . Kaizer Motaung's Orlando West home

Mr Ntuli said he is an Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter who returned last month from Angola.

Mr Khoza returned last month from a refugee camp in Tanzania. The men refused to show people have forgotten about us soldiers."



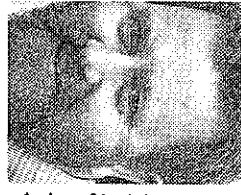
TOP SPOT . . . the ANC's head offices in London



Dance, ANC ballerina, dance!

STW 14/7/91

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BARRY RONGE examines the ANC Bill of Rights for South African Artists and finds its author, Albie Sachs, out of step with reality

AT the Grahamstown Festival this month, Professor Albie Sachs presented his Bill of Rights for South African Artists, which is full of bold and encouraging rhetoric entirely at odds with the reality in which it was presented.

In art, as in politics, context is as important as content, so it is worth noting the circumstances in which the Bill of Rights, a name resonant with emotional loading, was read.

The events of recent weeks have revealed the cultural boycott as a conspicuous exception to the general rule.

Diplomatic and trade links are being re-established, sanctions are slipping away and sporting ties are euphorically being re-knotted.

Yet in Las Vegas last month, the United Nations voted to maintain the cultural boycott against South Africa and in London this week the Equity ban was also upheld.

Power

These decisions are the only significant international victories which the ANC has been able to chalk up in the face of the recognition for President FW de Klerk's bold initiatives.

As long as the boycott stands, it will be proof that the creative artists of the world do not believe that apartheid has died to make way for a new order in South Africa.

plangent and stirring than the actual compromised environments, facts and figures with which politicians and reformers must deal.

Moreover, artists are seen as servants of a higher truth, the possessors of the longer view and the wider perspective.

As long as the artists hold out against acknowledging change in South Africa, they will always command a high-profile media audience (as well as better photo opportunities) which will cast doubt on the bona fides of the new South Africa.

So when Professor Sachs offers us his thoughts on the role of the artist in this country, they are interesting in themselves and also for the way they underwrite the perceived strategic value of a continuing cultural boycott.

There are many artists and audiences who wonder why they are still being detained in the dungeons of the anti-apartheid movement. If sportsmen and businessmen can move freely, why should artists not be able to?

That was why the title of Professor Sachs's paper — A Bill of Rights for South African Artists — seemed so hopeful and promising and why its failure to present any solid ideas is so disheartening.

Professor Sachs address the issue?

"We are told about the importance of keeping standards up, when as everyone knows, what is meant is keeping blacks out," he says artily, and concludes with one of his shiftest verbal tricks.

"The insult is a double one. Not only are the majority excluded from sharing in the good things ... they are treated as if they are too dumb or too uncultivated to care about living in decent conditions themselves."

How does adequate training for a prospective artist equate with achieving decent living conditions?

Professor Sachs opposes artistic enrichment with physical impoverishment as if they are not only wrong, but a dishonestly emotive manipulation of the issue.

Protests

But as the paper progresses, Professor Sachs grows ever more creative with such images. Notice how he addresses anxieties about Eurocentric culture being devalued and swamped.

"Will Sleeping Beauty have to go back to sleep and Rigoletto return to Italy?" he inquires rhetorically as he initiates this part of the discussion.

He then talks about the millions of rands that are spent "on fantasy palaces to delight wealthy audiences with large homes made to give workshops or master-classes to promote and teach their art form.

Earlier in the festival week, we heard the American ambassador promising to double the \$8-million (R22-million) being spent on bursaries for writers and artists in this country. Yet how does



Muddled... Albie Sachs, who offers little more than rhetoric

lects, their dances condemned as heathen or just noisy?"

He concludes, however, that there will be no vengeance. The Bill of Rights will "be universal in character. It helps us to South Africanise ourselves. It recognises the drummer in the rural homestead as it does the tympanist in the symphony orchestra, the dancer at the wedding ceremony and the ballerina on the stage."

There is scant comfort to be derived from that. He simply evades the question of subsidy

cert by rural drummers.

Can you imagine the nightmarish bureaucracy that will leap, hydra-headed, from such a system? But how else are you going to do it?

Professor Sachs offers no clues. Within his ramification on this Bill of Artistic Rights such things as salaries and decent living conditions for artists and teachers, allusions which spring so readily to hand at other junctures, have fallen out of his schemes.

He quotes Article 4 and 5 of the ANC's Draft Constitution which guarantee freedom of speech, assembly, information, association, religion and culture.

He also notes graciously that there are people who grow a little uneasy when they read about possible legislation to prohibit the circulation of materials containing, among other things, insulting, who decides what is insulting?

Depending on your perspective, you can be insulted by anything from a racial slur to bad grammar, from exposed nudity to the censorious placement of little stars to conceal that nudity.

Is this not a loophole through which old-fashioned Verwoerdian censorship can easily slip?

Well maybe, concedes Professor Sachs, saying "a Bill of Rights is not a set of self-evident verities proclaimed by self-appointed experts" and he follows that statement with a surprising exhortation to the artists.

so in this paragraph.

Cut through the burble about beauty and you gain the distinct impression that what he is saying is, "Those are our principles at present but if you don't like them let's talk awhile. I am sure we can find others."

One is left, at the end of it all, with some confusion. Has Professor Sachs or anyone in the ANC actually prepared a bill of rights for South African artists or was the whole exercise merely an invitation to the artists to write their own freedom charter?

If that is the case, surely it is a futile exercise, for it implies that the artists are doing pretty well on their own, so why bother to legislate freedom where freedom is already working?

Evasions

For that, too, Professor Sachs, albeit inadvertently, has an answer. He cites his disappointment at discovering "how little true cultural rights mean to the majority of whites in this country, and how much their whiteness signifies."

"They are far more worried about their swimming pools and pensions than they are about Van Wyk Louw or Ruber or Carnoes or even the Beatles," he claims dismissively.

His Bill of Rights with its omissions, evasions and ultimate admission that he has not yet really thought it through completely, suggests that like the whites who so disappoint him, the ANC has a similarly vague perception of cultural rights.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC prince sparks fears of royal rift

THE election of a senior Zulu royal prince to the ANC's national executive committee this week could tear the royal family apart.

This warning came from former Inkatha Freedom Party second-in-command Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who said Prince Mwayizeni Zulu was persona non grata with the king's household and, as such, would not be able to mediate to normalise relations between the ANC and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Prince Zulu's election announcement at last weekend's conference drew loud applause.

Dr Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for A Multi-party Democracy, said the rift between those in the royal family who supported the king and those who backed Prince Zulu could widen as a result of the prince's election.

following. The lifting of the oil embargo, which would free strategic stockpiles, and the restoration of IMF funding remain to be achieved, but sanctions are a dead duck.

The fact that money continues to leak out of the country at an alarming rate is due not to sanctions but to fear of the ANC's funny economic ideas, which will prevail among black people until a class of relatively wealthy, confident blacks steps on to the national stage to assuage the hurt.

To include black people in a sports team is easy; to include them in the economic life of the country is another matter. There is, after all, a limit to how many token directorships can be handed out, while progress against unemployment awaits the start, some time next year, of a new business cycle and, even then, progress will be slow and partial.

Fortunately, this is a situation where partial answers do work. An economic revival is bound to hasten, for example, the "greying" of the suburbs, and that will soon destroy the perception that Johannesburg is "white" and Soweto "black". Many housing problems will evaporate when the concept of "black housing" is replaced simply by "housing".

To put it succinctly, the demand for

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bureaucratic reallocation of housing will begin to subside when a sufficient number of black home-owners has joined Mr Slovo among the fat cats.

Similarly, hostility to the police will subside when enough black matriculants find in the police force the sort of career opportunity which unemployed whites found in the 30s. Hostility to capitalism will subside when a company perceived to be "black", as General Mining was perceived to be "Afrikaans", acquires a gold mine.

The trade unions, with Mr Ramaphosa at the head, have already shown that, when it comes to a choice between ideology and privilege, the union members take the privilege, and protect the mine.

THE markets will work; the need now is speed. Barend du Plessis can, like Ludwig Erhardt after the Second World War, create an industrial miracle — a *wirtschaftswunder* — by throwing off restraints and letting the markets rip. They have the virtue of being colour-blind and they make short shrift of irrational restraints, whether of apartheid, socialism or feudalism.

Of course, if all else fails, we can simply hand over to the ANC. The fastest way of destroying socialism, in the end, is to vote it into office.

AFTER a week of glad tidings, there is much to celebrate. The tide of change is flooding now, and South Africa rides a wave of international goodwill. The world, especially the Western democratic world, wants us to succeed.

For the ANC, the question is not whether President De Klerk's policies are reversible but whether the ANC itself can adapt to the consequences of those policies. Steve Tshwete, showing both generosity and good sense, has emerged as the midwife of South Africa's return to world sport; Nelson Mandela, carping ineffectually about sanctions, has landed in the backwash.

Not that the ANC is immune to change. All the evidence from last weekend's conference in Durban suggests that it has shifted from the policies that destroyed Eastern Europe to the policies that destroyed Peru. That's progress for a party whose leadership is predominantly communist.

The fact that the ANC is essentially a communist liberation front has, of course, been staring us in the face for years, though nobody has liked to mention it for fear of being called McCarthyite; but now even Alex Boraine has been forced to acknowledge the fact.

Cyril Ramaphosa, who denies that

he himself is a member of the Communist Party, has now ordered the ANC's communist members to go back underground, and to refuse to identify themselves.

Actually, it matters less these days. The real communist strength lay in revolutionary theory, which has been rendered obsolete. Intelligent observers are beginning to draw a distinction between the 30s-style communists like Joe Slovo and the "non-practising" communists like (former?) central committee member Thabo Mbeki.

The older generation still twitters about controlling the means of production, but Mr Ramaphosa comes up with Keynesian projects, like subsidised electricity for all homes, to create jobs. It's a nice idea, originally put forward by Eskom, but it requires, as Eskom pointed out, a willingness and an ability to pay for the electricity.

Spend now, pay later has gone out of style as an economic doctrine but, for the benefit of newly converted Keynesians, one might explain that, if many people use electricity free of charge, the cost of electricity to paying consumers will rise, exports will become costlier and less competitive and the country will end up poorer. As Peru, Zambia and Algeria discovered.

One is loath to attribute the gradual

KEN OWEN ON SUNDAY

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change in the ANC to the fact, disclosed this week, that the organisation possesses assets abroad to the value of R600-million, as much as the country's 55th-largest company, though I can't suppress my amusement when Joe Slovo, living in a R250 000 house in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, calls other people "fat cats".

THE fact is that the world is now solidly capitalist, with a few crumbling and backward exceptions, and the communist idea — the very idea itself, to quote visiting British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd — has collapsed. What remains to do in South Africa is to deal with apartheid's heritage of deprivation.

Apartheid's heritage of deprivation.

There, in four words, is a definition of the most pressing task facing the nation. Nobody who meets leading black spokesmen, in or out of the ANC, can fail to be alarmed by the sense of grievance and distrust which they feel, and which expresses itself as hostility to private property.

I'm not sure I understand why even sophisticated black people seem to think the survival of basic rights is more important to whites than to themselves; they seem not yet to have absorbed the idea that they, not whites, will soon be running the country, and they, not whites, will be responsible for the success or failure of the system. They are still at the emotional point of wanting to settle scores.

What the white Establishment —



the government, business, academies, churches, sports administrators — can do in the meantime is to change the circumstances that fill blacks with such rage, and the way to do that is to ride the tide of change — the faster the better.

THE international community is lusting to help. The sports world, despite the hiccups, wants us in, not out; sensible people everywhere perceive that nothing is quite as likely to bind South Africans together as the sight of a multi-racial Springbok team at Barcelona.

On the sanctions front, the pace was set by the European Community and the British, it was stepped up by President Bush, and now a host of American dependencies, from Israel to Japan, is

Showdown week for Winnie Mandela

IS Winnie Mandela guilty of kidnapping four youths in December 1988 and is she an accessory to their brutal assault or has she been convicted on the basis of mere inferences?

This is the main question that will be raised in the Rand Supreme Court this week when Mandela applies for leave to appeal against her conviction and sentence of six years' imprisonment.

The hearing, in which Mr Justice Michael Stegmann will review his own findings, sees the resumption of one of the most publicised trials in South Africa's history.

It was a trial in which the judge labeled Mandela "a calm, composed, deliberate and unblushing liar".

Mandela is to challenge Judge Stegmann's findings on the basis that:

● He used a process of "inferential reasoning" to conclude that she had conspired to kidnap four youths from the Methodist manse in Orlando, Soweto, on the night of December 29 1988. "Trying to imagine the incident without Mandela acting as the leading light was like trying to imagine Hamlet without the prince," the judge said.

Complex

Mandela's counsel will argue that there was no direct evidence of this and that there was, in fact, evidence that she was not involved.

● The judge found that Mandela and her co-accused, Xoliswa Falati, were part of the campaign to oust Methodist minister Paul Verryn from the manse for reasons unknown. "By January 1 1989, the manse was empty and Mandela and Falati were in control of four young persons, whom, according to Falati's evidence, they intended to use as witnesses against Mr Verryn," the judge said.

But Mandela's defence will argue that the first time the court heard of such a campaign was during judgment and that there was no evidence that Mandela knew of such a plan or had any desire to become involved in it.

● The judge found that once Falati and former Mandela Unit-

DAWN BARKHUIZEN reports on a new phase in the Winnie Mandela saga

ed Football Club, coach Jerry Richardson had kidnapped the youths, they had assaulted them without Mandela's sanction. If they were capable of doing this, they were capable of hatching the kidnapping plot on their own, her defence will argue.

● Mandela's defence will contest Judge Stegmann's decision that it had not been necessary to

put Mr Verryn on the stand. The minister's testimony could indeed have thrown more light on the matters which influenced Mandela's state of mind, they will say.

The case for the defence was that the youths had been removed from the manse and brought to the sanctuary of Mandela's back rooms to protect them from being sodomised by Mr Verryn.

Mandela's defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, devoted much time to proving these allegations.

The judge, however, ruled that the matter was a side issue.

● Judge Stegmann concluded that by January 1 1989, at the very latest, Mandela was aware that "the four captives in her back rooms" had been the victims of serious assaults. On her return from Brandfort she could not have failed to notice the sjambok marks on any one of the victims.

Mandela's defence will argue that this was not put to her during

the hearing and that there was no conclusive evidence that the occupants of her house would have informed her of the assault.

Mandela's attorneys have requested permission to appeal directly to the Appellate Division instead of going first to the Transvaal Provincial Division.

This, it is understood, is because of the complex nature of the case.

Should the judge deny Mandela the right of appeal, she has the option of appealing directly to the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

Ramaphosa still leads miners

By ~~THEMBA KHUMALO~~ and JOHANNES NGCOBO

NEWLY elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa still heads the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and will do so until the end of the year, according to NUM president James Motlatsi.

He said Marcel Golding would continue acting as Ramaphosa's deputy until the union's central executive committee (CEC) nominated the "right man to step into Ramaphosa's boots" in March.

The NUM's national executive reserved the right to veto its CEC's nominee. Although the NUM had allowed Ramaphosa to

stand for his new position at the ANC's conference last week, the union's constitution did not allow Ramaphosa to leave his powerful position immediately.

Ramaphosa, a seasoned unionist and shrewd tactician in labour matters, was elected to the ANC position when he beat his predecessor, Alfred Nzo, and the ANC's chief of intelligence, Jacob Zuma.

Less than a week after his landslide victory in Durban, Ramaphosa headed the NUM delegation in negotiations with the Chamber of Commerce for better salaries and working conditions for miners.

Motlatsi said Ramaphosa would also continue to be a member of the working committee - drawn from unions, employers and the government - whose task it is to reconstruct the waning mining industry.

Motlatsi denied speculation that either NUM education secretary Kgalema Montlante or national organiser Gwenje Mantashe would succeed Ramaphosa.

Only the CEC could appoint nominees, Motlatsi said.

Ramaphosa's election to the ANC post comes at a time when black miners have to grapple with retrenchments as the mining industry takes a nosedive.

ONE of the strongest weapons wielded by black liberation movements against the South African regime has been rendered ineffective.

US President George Bush's lifting of trade and economic sanctions against South Africa this week and the probability that other countries will follow suit had been on the cards for some time.

Sanctions and mass mobilisation have been our most effective weapons to bring about change. Nobody can deny their effectiveness. Without them apartheid legislation would still be on the statute books.

The lifting of sanctions is not a victory for the Nationalist government as President FW de Klerk would like to claim.

When sanctions began to bite, De Klerk's government had to shift from its ox-wagon mentality because the country was on the brink of economic ruin.

South Africans in general were becoming fed up with isolation.

Our sportsmen were tired of competing among

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiy

Patriotic Front still a weapon

C/P new 14/7/91

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themselves and wanted international recognition. White business could no longer expand and the standard of living of even wealthy white citizens took a knock.

However, sanctions were part of a short-term strategy to make the world aware that it was immoral to sustain apartheid by pumping money into South Africa.

That objective has been achieved and the government cannot go back to apartheid.

Our liberation movements have missed the opportunity of keeping control of the sanctions weapon to its ultimate end. They were in the

driver's seat, but they became complacent and lost control.

By late last year it was evident many countries were gearing to open up trade links with South Africa.

At the Organisation of African Unity conference last month, OAU secretary general Salim Salim warned that more than half of the OAU's 51 member states were already covertly trading with South Africa.

One would have expected the ANC to address this issue at their national conference last week. But instead they placed more emphasis on the armed struggle.

One would have thought the ANC has realised that the armed struggle has been rendered ineffective.

Neighbouring states, with the exception of Zimbabwe, see our liberation movements as a threat to their peaceful co-existence with South Africa.

Some have even been in cahoots with the South African government against the ANC and the PAC.

And the Nkomati Accord signed with Mozambique effectively barred the ANC from using that country as a launching pad.

Armed struggle

suffered a further setback when South Africa agreed to pull out of Angola and Namibia and ANC and Cuban forces withdrew from Angola.

Mass mobilisation is now the only effective weapon left in the hands of the liberation movements because it is the masses who will determine South Africa's final destiny.

This is one weapon black liberation movements must not abuse. If we are to see the transfer of power to the people, we must unite.

De Klerk is moving quickly in bringing together a solid National Party alliance and it is rumoured that the National Party is looking at recruiting members from the Zionist Church and other moderate churches that do not subscribe to the SACC.

One cannot rule out the possibility of an alliance between the Inkatha Freedom Party, community councillors and other minor groups.

We need a Patriotic Front involving all black liberation movements if we still hope to steal the show from De Klerk.

Chances of negotiation brighter now

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved to improve the atmosphere for negotiations by demoting two of his controversial ministers against the background of the Inkathagate controversy.

He is expected to follow this up with announcements on secret projects late this afternoon.

Playing his cards close to his chest as usual, Mr De Klerk's has surprised his followers with the Cabinet reshuffle.

● How the new Cabinet looks — page 17.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, while remaining in the Cabinet, have been given fairly minor portfolios.

Some of their Nationalist colleagues saw this as merely a face-saving move by the president to avoid them being humiliated too much following ANC demands that they be fired.

The two were suddenly called to the president's official residence on Sunday to be told their fate.

General Malan is known as an abrasive politician who often appears to be used by the government to attack the ANC. A former head of the Defence Force, he was a protégé of former president P.W. Botha, who appointed him to the Cabinet.

Mr Vlok is known as a mild-mannered man who maintained that he was dedicated to improving the image of the police force, but in the end it appeared that he did not have strict control over his department.

Many "dirty tricks" allegations against the police remain unresolved.

Mr De Klerk is clearly sensitive about the effect that allegations and disclosures about secret projects and the involvement of security forces in violence can have on the negotiation process.

He has therefore moved to contain the damage at this stage and to ease the way to negotiations.

An especially bad impression was created by the fact that the police channelled money to Inkatha and the trade union Uwusa.

In what is also seen as a good move among Nationalists, he has taken Dr Stoffel van der Merwe out of the Cabinet to make him head of communications of the National Party in preparation for negotiations.

Dr Van der Merwe is seen as an able communicator who has had much to do with exploratory moves to start negotiations.

With his Cabinet reshuffle Mr De Klerk has given in to demands from his own ranks that more promising, younger politicians such as Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Piet Marais and Mr Leon Wessels must be given a chance.

The one embarrassment to Mr De Klerk at this stage is the resignation of the "own affairs" Minister of Education, Mr Piet Clase, because he had only a 47 majority in his Free State constituency in the last general election and the CP is now bound to win the seat.

On the other hand Mr Clase was becoming an embarrassment to the government because he appeared to be unable to keep up with moves towards open schools.



DEMOTED:

Mr Adriaan Vlok is switched from law and order minister to take over correctional services.

ANC cautious, PAC says it's disgraceful

Political Staff

THERE has been mixed reaction across the political spectrum, ranging from caution and approval to outright indignation that Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan had been shifted in the Cabinet and not expelled.

ANC deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu said: "It's not easy to say what we will do one way or the other. To remove them (the ministers) is something, but the situation is rather complex and requires to be examined."

The ANC's national working committee meets in Johannesburg today and the full national executive committee tomorrow.

Mr Mzonke Jacobs, Western Cape head of the ANC Youth League, said the YL had not demanded the ministers' reshuffle but their removal.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said it was disgraceful that although ministers guilty of nefarious practices were no longer in their former positions, they were still in the Cabinet.

On the far right there was also dissatisfaction.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said President De Klerk had given in to African National Congress demands.

He described the Cabinet shuffle as "panicky". Bits and

pieces of portfolios had been assigned in ways which did not fit.

Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party said General Malan and Mr Vlok had probably been kept in the Cabinet to keep the NP intact and prevent by-elections.

Their successors, Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Hernus Kriel, were untried in this field — but at least they were not "tainted with the dirty tricks of the past."

Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan, another key player in the drama, said Mr De Klerk had made "an excellent move" and had shown his loyalty to "people with good service".

Labour Party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, described the reshuffle as a panic reaction.

The axings showed President De Klerk accepted that the country had no faith in the two ministers, the national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said.

Reacting from Geneva, where he is to testify before the UN High Commission on Apartheid today, Mr Currin said the moves suggested President De Klerk took the latest developments in the country seriously.

ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were called suddenly to Libertas, President De Klerk's official residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what Mr De Klerk planned to tell them. The ministers had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Friday, planning his much-awaited news conference tonight on the Inkathagate row.

They had no idea they would be key elements of today's strategy.

There was no sign of demotion. Mr Vlok, under the most fire for the police's role in funding two Inkatha rallies and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), had no signal from the bush conference of Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and provincial administrators last Monday and Tuesday that he was about to be shifted.

To his aides, it was Mr Vlok going about business as usual — with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aides judged him to be "serious but confident", and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to accusations in the Press that he had lied when he had said on television a few days previously that every cent spent on Uwusa had been accounted for.

General Malan and Mr Vlok apparently met Mr De Klerk separately after the telephone calls on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Bryntirion mansion. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Libertas to hear their fates that afternoon.

Two veteran survivors

Both outgoing security ministers, who had become specific targets of repeated calls for government heads to roll, kept their awful secrets until yesterday afternoon — after attending a lengthy State Security Council meeting which discussed Mr De Klerk's announcements tonight.

They then told their staffs. Mr Vlok first informed police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, his personal staff, and the generals at police headquarters, Wachthuis.

Aides to both men were shocked. They thought their ministers were again about to weather the storm. Both were veteran survivors by now.

General Malan has long been seen as a burden to Mr De Klerk and his reformist ways — a relic of the old South Africa. The new Cabinet clearly suggests that the era of the securocrats who directed the "total onslaught" approach under Mr P.W. Botha is finally at an end.

Mr De Klerk has in the past moved to bring intelligence and security operations more directly under Cabinet control.

Last night General Malan took fate with his chin high and some humour: "I've beaten the Reds. Now I join the Greens" (his role as Water Affairs and Forestry chief).

'Gave everything to SA'

The cause was always greater than the person, noted the defence minister of almost 11 years.

"The military successes of the SADF in the late 80s in southern Angola paved the way for the present political dispensation in South Africa."

General Malan said Armscor had through its achievements guaranteed South Africa's political independence through these stormy years.

"I gave them everything in the interests of security. Now I've been called to serve in another capacity. I will do so with devotion. A good man (Mr Roelf Meyer) succeeds me. I will help him where I can."

Among the stunned listeners as Mr Vlok told his immediate staff yesterday was Brigadier Leon Mellet, his well-known spokesman.

"I've worked with him ever since he became a deputy minister when the 1984 unrest broke out, and this is like the breakdown of a marriage."

"He has done wonders for the country. Since the day he took over he hasn't stopped working, day and night, setting a perfect example to the police."

"He was always on the ground with his men. He was never an armchair minister. I worked very hard for him because I believed in him."

FW faces the nation today

Political Staff and Sapa

PRESIDENT De Klerk faces the nation this evening on the Inkatha funding scandal.

In a Press conference to be televised live from the presidency in Pretoria at 6pm he will explain his stance on the allegations which have rocked the government.

Yesterday the State Security Council gave him a briefing on the security situation.

It is understood that the meeting was attended by the Chief of the Defence Force General Kat Liebenberg, and the Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service was said to have prepared a report for the SSC on how the public and the international community were reacting to the exposé and on responses to specific options open to the government.

In addition, the SSC is thought to have seen departmental reports on funding which may become future or barrassments, given the likelihood of further "grudge" lent to the media.

THE reception of the 48th national conference of the ANC seems to be a classic case of the gulf that often separates black and white perceptions and reality generally in South Africa.

Many political commentators (most of whom are white) wanted the ANC to focus on a particular set of issues, prime among them being the severing of links with the SACP, the role of free enterprise in a future South Africa under ANC dominance, and the question of sanctions and the cultural boycott.

Most white fears are significantly shaped by such observations, judging by the responses in letters pages of the print media, the calls to talkshows, and the questions that are constantly raised at political meetings frequented by whites.

Most blacks appeared to want the ANC to have the opportunity to put its house in order after three decades of exile and legitimatise its claim to represent their interests and grievances.

Their anticipation of delivery from apartheid's hardships would be further enabled in the process of achieving a better society where social, economic, and political justice prevails.

In the event, the ANC had its own rightful agenda and attempted to address such an agenda.

The ANC did not emerge with the earth-shattering outcomes that were expected in certain quarters, including within certain ANC circles. Deputy president Nelson Mandela's opening paper was largely addressed to the delegates to shape ensuing conference discussion. President Mandela's rally speech was in similar measure addressed to his actual and prospective membership.

The "old-guard" was retained in the top leadership with the exception of the accession of Cyril Ramaphosa to the secretary-generalship. All of this was predictable.

Even the rousing applause given to the representative from the Soviet Union was predictable.

What many commentators did not foresee was the degree of participatory democracy that was evident and the ANC's willingness to acknowledge previous mistakes, like its lack of accountability to its membership, and its commitment to the secret ballot in electing its entire National Executive, even when that procedure was so time-consuming.

This augurs well for a new democratic culture in South Africa.

If the main criticisms of political commentators since last Sunday evening were the role of the SACP and the fact that the conference was closed for the largest part, then the disparity in perception and reality between white and black in South Africa emerges starkly.

While many white political commentators bemoaned the closed nature of the ANC conference, they were unable to recognise the ANC attempting to transform itself, primarily to meet internal criticism.

How many conferences have we seen in South Africa with such an impressive representation and where the secret ballot was utilised in such fashion?

The election results probably showed the former ANC leadership where delegates' true sentiments lay, warning them that the key internal leaders could not be marginalised.

The ANC has tried and failed to convince white mainstream South Africa that it is acceptable. Until fairly recently the main attack on the ANC was nationalisation. That issue seems to have given way to red-baiting.

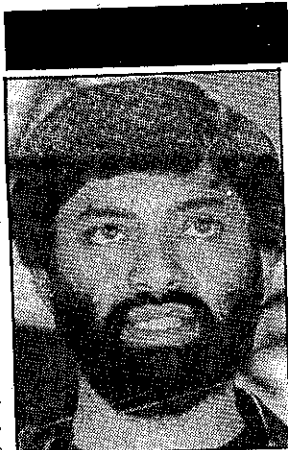
South Africa is not known for its tolerance, whether racial or political. Commentators need to desist from making communists the "new kaffirs". Perhaps they overestimate the power of their influence over most blacks.

Similarly, the ANC needs to recognise that it has taken black support for granted. Its true tests lie ahead.

South African blacks are deeply religious, caring very little about even the promise of communism. But they have experienced social degradation, economic exclusion and political marginalisation.

When the very commentators, who just 18 months ago were defending apartheid, now take up cudgels on their behalf, they become suspicious.

Are such commentators trying to boost the SACP? They need to recall that for most downtrodden "my enemy's enemy is my friend". The SACP never had the publicity it's now getting!



Dr Saths Cooper is a psychologist and is the national director of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Young blood rules ANC's new NEC

THE new 91-member National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC will bring changes to the organisation and its policies.

Thirty-five of the 50 members elected to the NEC at the organisation's National Conference last week are new and most of them are young.

Their impact will no doubt change the ANC's complexion long after the echoes of speeches and statements made during the five-day conference have died away.

Forty-one members of the NEC are appointed because of the offices they hold.

They will be joined by the 14 chairmen and secretaries from each of the ANC's regions and from the youth and women's leagues.

Those who think of the ANC in terms of camps will find that the new NEC contains both the so-called "hawks" and "doves" and has a fair split of internal and external leaders.

It also represents race groups in proportion to the country's population.

The NEC contains 14 women, several of them hardline feminists.

Half its members have spent time in prison for political activities, about eight have law degrees, another eight are worker leaders and eight are former journalists. More than half are South African Communist Party members.

There is a nun and a priest and two have large constituencies in the bantustans.

Delegates had clearly thought very hard about who they wanted as leaders and they elected people they believe will get things done.

As one delegate put it: "All the dead wood is out. It's nice to see so many new faces. But my God," he added, nodding in the direction of two dejected former NEC members, "democracy can be brutal".

Underground

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is still strong on the NEC and many members have operated underground.

Elected members include Nelson Mandela (president); Walter Sisulu (deputy president); former NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary general); ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma (deputy secretary general); Thomas Nkobi (treasurer general) and Oliver Tambo (national chairman).

Among the elected members there are: MK chief of staff and SACP leader Chris Hani; ANC foreign affairs department head Thabo Mbeki; SACP general secretary Joe Slovo; department of information head Pallo Jordan and MK commander Joe Modise.

Others include: former UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, 43; ANC Border region chairman Arnold Stofile, 47; ANC Department of Political Education head Raymond Suttner, 45; Western Cape regional executive committee member Trevor Manuel, 35; Cosatu assistant general secretary Sidney Mufamadi, 32; and the national chairman of the Provisional National Youth Committee of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, 35.

Elected women include: former head of the ANC's internal underground, Ruth Mompati; deputy president of the ANC Women's League, Albertinah Sisulu; the SACP's Cheryl Carolus; Social Welfare Department head Winnie Mandela; Women's League president Gertrude Shope; National Working Committee member Barbara Masekela; senior spokeswoman Gill Marcus; Border region information officer Marion Sparg and Catholic activist Sister Bernard Ncube.

Despite the defeat of the Women's Leagues proposal for a 30 percent quota of women on the NEC in a heated debate, the ANC delegates did support a resolution on affirmative action for women.

It has stated it will "support the emancipation of women, combat sexism and ensure that the voice of women is fully heard in the organisation and that women are properly represented at all levels".

In defining the objectives of the Women's League, the constitution says these will be "to defend and advance the rights of women, both inside and outside the ANC, against all forms of national, social and gender oppression and to ensure that women play a full role in the life of the organisation, in the peoples' struggle and in national life".

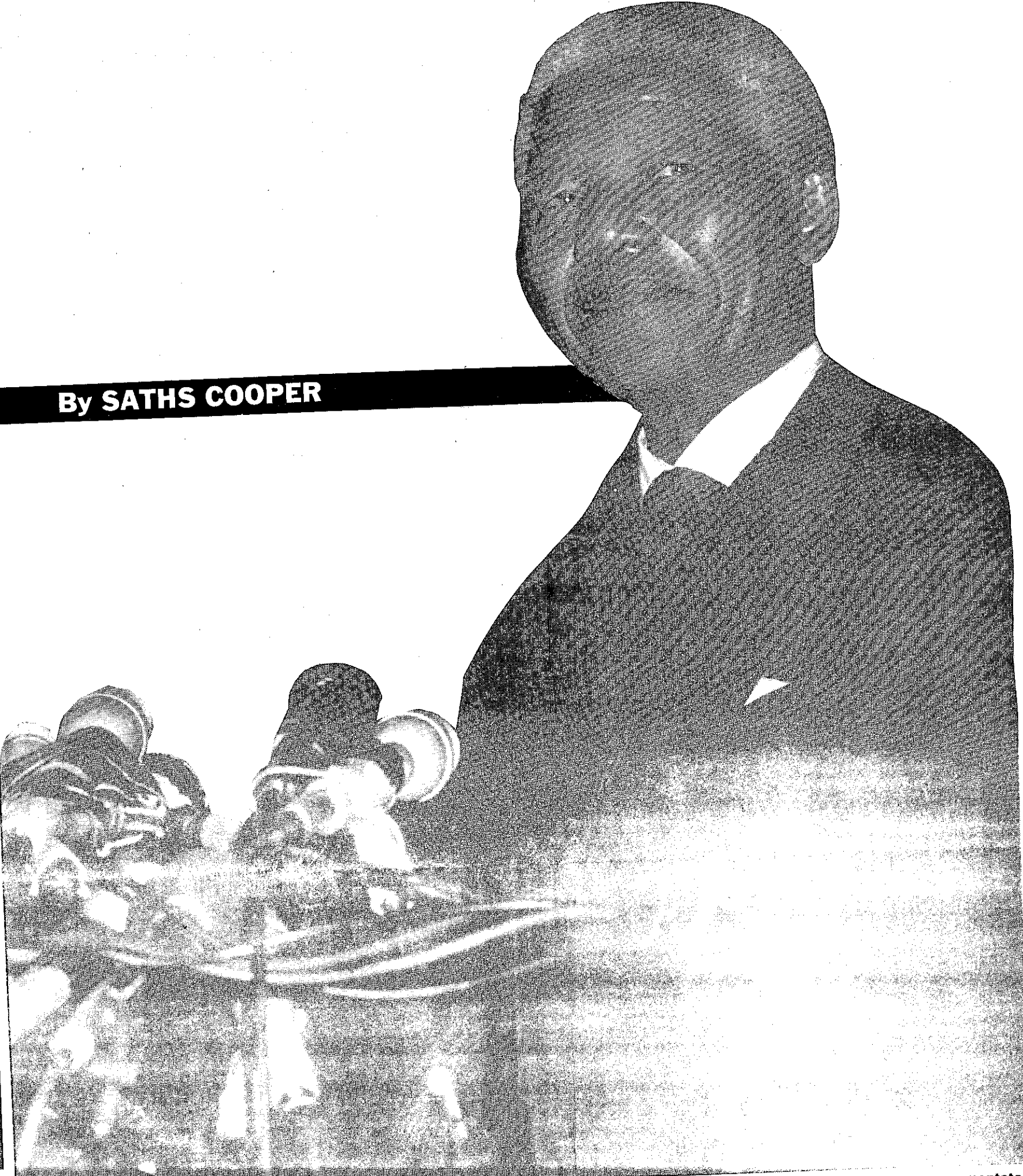
Although the constitution says it is the right of all ANC members to offer constructive criticism of officials, policies and activities of the ANC, it also has a clause restraining its members from producing or distributing literature purporting to be the viewpoint of a faction or tendency within the ANC. — AIA

WHITE FEARS, BLACK HOPES

C/Pres 14/7/91

11A

By SATHS COOPER



ANC President Nelson Mandela now faces the wide gulf between white and black perceptions of the conference. While most white commentators only focused on the role of the SACP within the ANC, black commentators saw a genuine effort by the ANC to transform itself to meet internal criticism.

Stamps 15/1/91

We will not beg, says PAC leader

Own Correspondent

(11A)

The Pan Africanist Congress would not negotiate indemnity for its members in jail or exiles, PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya told a rally at Sibasa at the weekend.

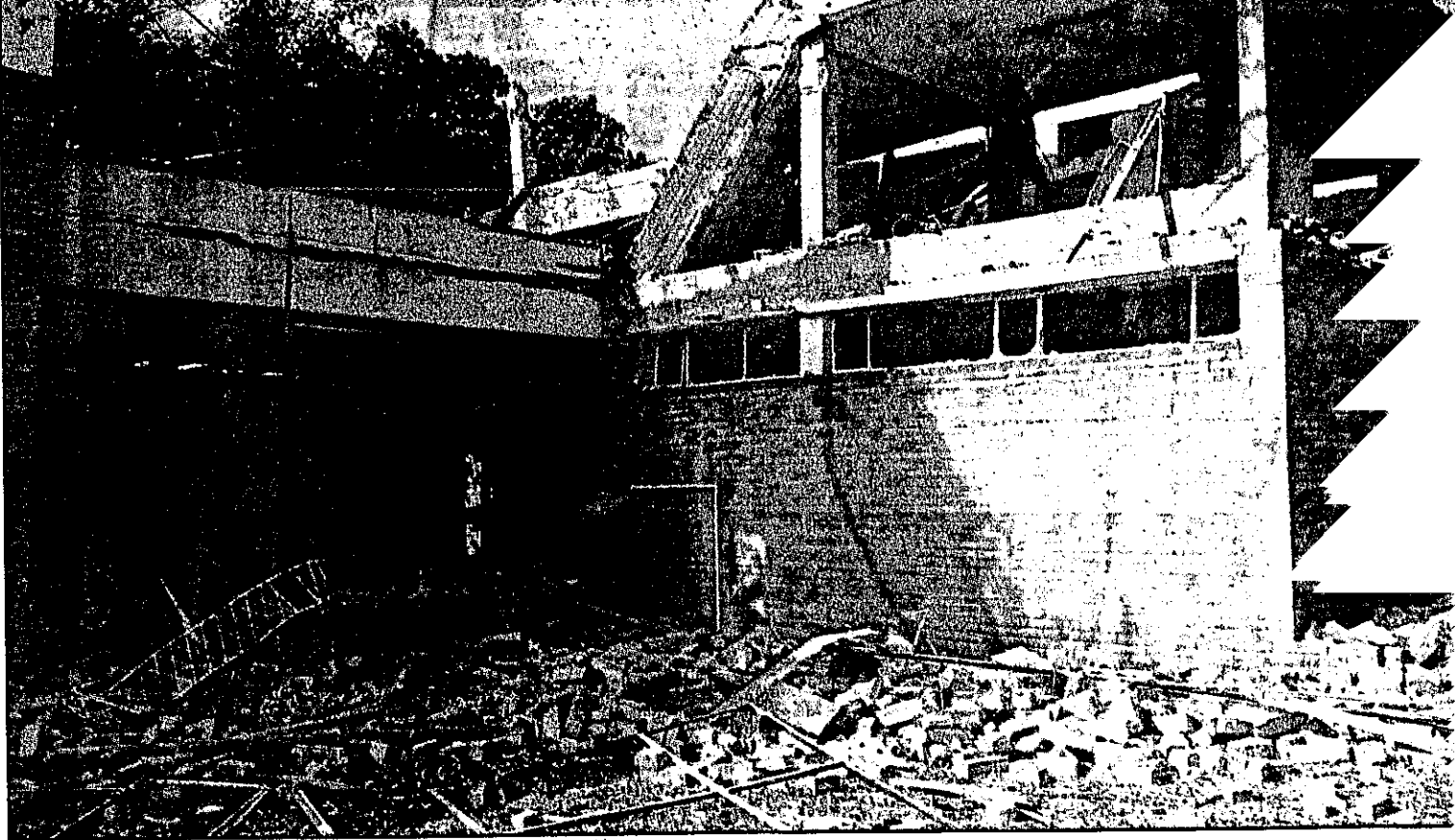
"Enoch Zulu (PAC military commander freed recently by the Government) never signed papers for his release and the same will be for our exiles.

"All this should be unconditional.

"We shall not beg for anything that is ours", Mr Madzunya said.

He said the PAC would comply with a 1989 United Nations agreement dealing with exiles and prisoners.

US President George Bush's lifting of sanctions had not come as a surprise, but reflected US meddling in South African politics, Mr Madzunya added.



Devastated . . . a section of the bombed Hillview High School in Pretoria. Damage to the school, which has been earmarked for use by the children of ANC exiles, returning to South Africa, was estimated at R800 000.

Bomb destroys 'ANC school'

Staff Reporters
and Pretoria Correspondent

An explosion extensively damaged Pretoria's Hillview High School — earmarked for use by ANC exiles' children later this month — in the early hours of yesterday morning.

No one was hurt in the huge blast, which caused damage estimated at R800 000 and all but demolished the school's main building, leaving glass and rubble strewn over a 50 m radius.

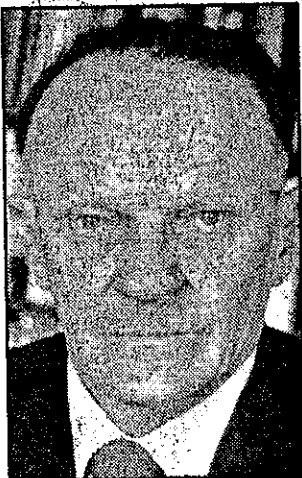
Police say they believe the bomb was placed near a first-floor classroom.

Lieutenant Jan Crouse, police liaison officer for the northern Transvaal, said about 25 kg of an as yet unknown explosive was used.

"We are still waiting for results of the tests. Explosives experts went in but were hampered because the building is unsafe."

Lieutenant Crouse said police had no suspects as yet and no witnesses have come forward. The bombing was being investigated as a case of terrorism.

The explosion occurred just one day before the newly renovated building was due to be handed over to the Government for the use of about 700 children of ANC exiles who are expected to be flown to South Africa from Tanzania later this month.



'An act of provocation' . . .
Robert van Tonder.

The ANC yesterday said it believed a lunatic right-wing fringe group was responsible for the blast.

An ANC spokesman for the PWV region, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the act was designed to destabilise the plan to take over the school. The group responsible was trying to turn the clock back to the darkest days of apartheid, he added.

"The problem of the right-wing is the problem of the Government, which has, through its propaganda, produced this type of people."

The blast follows threats by rightwingers, who pledged that the school would be a target for Boer resistance.

Star 15/7/91

Jan Groenewald, chief secretary of the Boere Vryheidsbeweging, said last week that the decision to make the school available to the ANC was an "act of deliberate encroachment and occupation of historical Boer territory".

He called on the Government to revoke the decision "in the interests of stability, peace and order", adding that "the ANC school is an object of revulsion for the Boer nation and will be a target of Boer resistance".

In his reaction last night, Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said the Government had committed an act of "extreme provocation" by selecting a school "in the heart of the Boere State and Paul Kruger's Boer capital".

"These peoples have no right of . . . permanence in the Boere State and the Government can be grateful that the school was not totally flattened because the mistrust and resentment produced by their deliberate provocation is not easy to describe."

Nightwatchmen at the scene said although they had heard a whistling sound immediately before the blast, they had seen nothing.

Large sections of the school are still usable, but it is unclear whether the ANC will still use the school to house the children.

Mandela gets Bop hunger strikers to quit

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The hunger strike by 26 Bophuthatswana political prisoners was called off early yesterday after dramatic interventions by President de Klerk, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Informed sources added that the prisoners will now probably be released under the formula worked out last year by the Government and the ANC for the release of South African prisoners.

The sources said the prisoners called off their strike at 1 am yesterday after Mr Mandela had startled them awake when he strode into their wards at Odi hospital in Garankuwa, Bophuthatswana.

This was the culmination of 15 hours of efforts by Mr Mandela to get permission to enter Bophuthatswana territory to

address them. *star 15/7/91*

It started at 8 am on Saturday when Mr Mandela telephoned Mr Botha from George to ask for help.

That set off a hectic chain reaction of diplomatic activity at the highest levels, including telephone calls between Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela and finally Mr Botha with Mr Mangope.

Mr Mangope at first resisted the idea of a visit by Mr Mandela to the strikers, suspecting that he would exploit the occasion politically.

But the ANC leader dug in his heels, encamping at Wonderboom Airport in Pretoria for several hours with his deputy, Walter Sisulu, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels was sent to the airport as emissary to the ANC leaders, while Mr de Klerk and Mr Botha battled to bring around Mr Mangope.

After an acrimonious telephone conversation between Mr

Mandela and Mr Mangope, Mr Botha finally persuaded Mr Mangope that the ANC president's intention was only to persuade the prisoners to call off their strike.

Witnesses said that Mr Mandela had not tried directly to persuade the prisoners to call off their strike. But he told them that they were about to do irreversible damage to their health which would render them useless to the ANC.

A spokesman for the hunger strikers told Mr Mandela that because he had made the effort to visit them at 1 am, they would end their protest fast.

South African Government sources said the determined intervention by the ANC and Government leaders had defused a potentially-disastrous international incident.

One top source said the successful resolution of the strike was "the first practical manifestation of how a critical situation can be overcome by mutual

trust and understanding without outside intervention".

Asked for comment, Mr Botha confirmed the basic facts and said Saturday had been a "really busy day".

He expressed his gratitude to Mr Mandela, Mr Mangope and Mr de Klerk for their intervention, which had been "in the best interests of South and southern Africa".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed last night that the hunger strike had been called off but said she could not confirm that the release of the prisoners was imminent.

"All we have is an undertaking that the release of the prisoners will be looked into."

Ms Marcus said the ANC did not regard the ending of the hunger strike as a success. They had been urged to end the strike only to avoid loss of life. The issue would only be resolved when the prisoners were released.

Unemployment in Alexandra, study finds

MORE than half of Alexandra's adult population is unemployed, according to a recent survey.

The survey by the Education for Employment Campaign (EEC) also found that the township's population had risen by about 30% during the past year to 320 000.

EEC director Dave Jackson said only one-fifth of Alexandra's children of school-going age were at school.

The remaining 76 000 children were turning to crime.

"Many unemployed people, including children, when asked how they survived, replied 'We have to steal — how else do you expect us to live?'" Jackson said.

The EEC seeks to train township residents in practical matters and is funded by the Independent Development Trust, local industries and foreign interests, including the European Community (EC).

Jackson said that 90% of Alexandra's population pinned their hopes for the

DARIUS SANAI

future on the education of their children.

But certificates of education were virtually useless if the holder could not speak English well, he said.

"There are people out there with BSc degrees who are not able to communicate properly in a factory and therefore cannot find jobs," he said.

The EEC programme aims to upgrade school facilities, provide training, counselling services and employment facilities for the unemployed and management training for community leaders.

The latter was vital to help defuse tension between rival township political groups, Jackson said.

The programme is being set up initially in Alexandra.

The EEC hopes to provide the service in other townships as well.

Farmworkers victims under law report

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE exclusion of farmworkers from industrial and labour legislation made the law a weapon in the hands of farmers, according to a report published by the Black Sash and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

University of Witwatersrand researcher Lauren Segal, the author of the report, said the relationship between farmers and labourers operated along the lines of a medieval master-serf relationship rather than according to contractual principles.

"With no written obligations to bind him, the farmer is free to dismiss his worker for whatever reason he wishes and to decide on his own terms," she said.

"SA's 1,3-million farmworkers are not legally protected and conditions on some farming operations have revealed that there is no bottom line to how bad such conditions may be under the law."

She said farmworkers were excluded from the Labour Relations Act, the Wages Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Factories Act, and had no right to public holidays, sick pay or leave pay.

There was no legal limit to working hours or any statute compelling farmers to pay overtime and as there was no minimum age for farmworkers, child labour was endemic, she said.

Legislation which could be used against farmworkers included the Illegal Squatters Act, the Trespass Act and the General Law Amendment Act, she said.

Soweto 'gives most support to govt'

JONATHAN REES

GOVERNMENT has a higher level of support in Soweto than any other political formation, according to a survey of township residents' political attitudes.

The report, by the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, found that Soweto residents were "very moderate" and gave government a higher level of support than they did the church, trade unions, the ANC, employers and Azapo.

The survey, of 905 township residents across SA, showed 80% of respondents were satisfied with the leadership of De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, but in Soweto De Klerk got 20% more support than the ANC.

The ANC would, however, get the votes

of 60% of all township residents nationally in a general election.

Civic associations, street committees, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu enjoyed lower levels of identification in Soweto than in other townships.

On the East Rand, virtually all political formations had a lower endorsement than elsewhere, except for Inkatha.

Inkatha had "overwhelming support" among hostel dwellers, who gave positive ratings to both the state and employers.

Most striking about hostel dwellers, the researchers said, was that they rated all other agencies and movements, including the church, relatively poorly.

Bookmakers prohibited

have no official status

ANC persuades 25 to end hunger strike

8 (Day) 15/7/91
TWENTY-FIVE Bophuthatswana hunger strikers have called off their fast after top level ANC intervention at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday ANC president Nelson Mandela, fearing for the weakened prisoners' lives, persuaded them to suspend their strike so that "other strategies" could be pursued in the campaign for their release.

This followed a midnight visit to the prisoners on Saturday by Mandela, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Macozoma said the ANC held the SA

JONATHAN REES

government responsible for the fate of the hunger strikers and would continue to pressure government and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to release them.

The hunger strikers, who are all serving sentences after being convicted of high treason for their role in the abortive 1988 attempted coup, insist they are political prisoners and should be released.

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday the prisoners were reported to be in "very bad health".

Setting new standard in thrillers

Bloody 157/91

11A

THE BETRAYAL by Gillian Slovo
(Michael Joseph, R59,99)

IN 1985, at a time of violent and tense political conflict, with South Africa being ruled under a state of emergency, the security forces uncovered a guerrilla hideout and arms cache.

In the shootout that followed one of the ANC's most highly regarded guerrilla leaders, Victor, was killed. His colleague Thabo Mjali, also potentially destined for great things in the organisation, was captured, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. "Who betrayed them?" was one of the most important questions the ANC and its intelligence units tried and failed to answer.

Four years later, towards the end of 1989, South Africa is in the midst of dramatic political change. Walter Sisulu and seven others have been released from prison. But the ANC is still banned. It is a period when no one — neither the fighters and their political leaders nor the security

policemen whose job it is to safeguard the integrity of the state from them — can be sure about which way SA is headed. A series of separate, but linked, events occur.

First, new circumstantial evidence leads to suspicion that the person responsible for the betrayal was Alan Littell, a white member of the ill-fated unit. At a base in Tanzania, a tribunal prepares to grill him to try and get at the truth. For the tribunal, headed by the competent Rebecca Moisia, time is of the essence. A crucial operation (shades of Operation Vula?) is about to be launched. The large group of trained cadres is due to land on the coast within days, and Littell knows the details. If he is a spy and has betrayed them too, the unit could be wiped out. Should the operation be called off before they land?

Moisia's uncertain attitude to Littell is guided as much by gut reaction as by anything else. She is not immune to instinctive mistrust of whites, despite her organisation's non-racial character and despite her awareness of this failing.

Meanwhile Littell's lover, Sarah Patterson, on a minor mission to SA, has been detained by the security police. But the commanding officer at John Vorster Square, Col Jansen, and his subordinate Capt Malan, have different views on how to proceed. Jansen, convinced the country is on the brink of major political changes, has lost the will to fight. But Malan is convinced he is about to crack a major case, and Patterson is the key.

Gillian Slovo, thanks to her connections — she acknowledges assistance from her father and other ANC

officials — has been able to bring authenticity to events in ANC camps and offices in Tanzania and Zambia, to underground operations and procedures inside SA, and to interrogation sessions at John Vorster Square.

One may have expected Slovo, given her background, to drop her literary standards and portray the security policemen simply as brutes — some of them are just that, after all. But Jansen and Malan are presented as human beings with human failings — policemen who use their frightening powers only to achieve their professional goals rather than to fulfil sadistic instincts.

All this puts *The Betrayal* among the best South African political thrillers. It creates a standard against which future efforts will have to be measured.

ALAN FINE



□ SLOVO ... among the best

Power sharing wins poll

81 Day 15/7/91

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DARIUS SANAI

FEWER than one in 10 blacks believes SA should have an all-black government, a recent Gallup opinion poll by market research company Markinor found.

Of 1 300 blacks sampled, only 9% said they favoured a government in which "all power was in the hands of blacks".

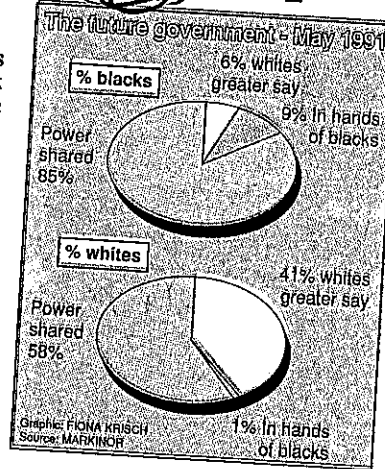
More than 2 000 people, including 800 whites, were sampled across the country for the poll last month.

Power sharing was the most popular choice among both groups, with 85% of blacks and 58% of whites saying they favoured a government in which "power is shared equally by all population groups and no one group dominates the others".

A black government was the least popular choice among both groups in the sample — favoured by only one in 100 whites and 9% of blacks.

A white-dominated government was favoured by 41% of whites and 6% of blacks.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said the results made it clear that most whites and blacks took a "realistic, middle-of-the-road



view" of political developments.

Divisions within the racial groups were more marked among whites than among blacks.

Three-quarters of English speaking whites favoured power sharing, compared to just under half the Afrikaans speakers.

Among blacks, Xhosa speakers were the most polarised, with 15% in favour of a black government. Only 6% of Zulu speakers did so.

THE ANC national conference has sent a clear and urgent message to the South African Communist Party.

It has told the party faithful to abandon any further thoughts of insurrection as the royal road to a national democratic revolution, and to focus all their energies on the negotiations processes.

The communists cannot fail to heed this call. Not only did Mandela and the conference at large commit the ANC unequivocally to negotiations, as I predicted it would do in my last contribution to this space, but the congress has knowingly elected a number of prominent communist activists to its National Executive Committee.

There, they will have to play their part — and it may well turn out to be a prominent part — in steering the ANC through the ensuing phases of negotiating a new South African constitution.

For the SACP and for its party programme, *The Path To Power*, the implications are both very challenging and extremely serious.

The Programme, adopted by the Party's Seventh Congress in 1989, tries to reconcile both an insurrectionary and a negotiating perspective within the confines of a single overall analysis.

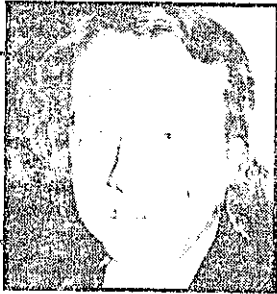
Decision-making

The ANC conference has now made glaringly apparent what some SACP analysts thought was evident when drafts of the programme were being secretly discussed, viz, that the two points of view are not reconcilable in practice.

It is quite simply beyond the bounds of political possibility to expect that President De Klerk and his allies, or anyone else for that matter, will negotiate seriously while

ANC poll shows that Reds are here to stay

By
**TONY
HOLIDAY**



the real or imaginary gun of an armed popular uprising is held to their heads.

It follows that, when the SACP holds its next congress in December, it will either have to approve a new party programme or (as seems more feasible) take further urgent steps to create such a programme.

At all events, the debates around the issue are bound to be every bit as intense and the criticisms and self-criticisms just as searching as the ANC's recent exercise in democratic decision-making has proved to be.

Prominent communist cadres, like Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Mac Maharaj and Harry Gwala, who are now also members of the new ANC executive, will have to ask themselves and their party comrades how and why a mistaken reading of political possibilities crept into the current programme.

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Inevitably, these questions, and such answers as may be given to them, have concrete implications for the make-up of the Central Committee the party must elect in December, just as discussions at the ANC conference had consequences for the leadership it decided to elect.

Leadership consequences

Of course it may turn out that the SACP congress, in a spirit of cosy comradeship, rests content with allowing the insurrectionists to admit their mistake and promising to try to do better next time. But the paths of politics, like those of true love, seldom run quite as smoothly as that.

The fact is that the dawning era of real negotiations for a transfer of power will also be an extremely testing one for all parties involved. It will be particularly unforgiving of misreadings of political realities.

The ANC, SACP and the vast mass of voteless South Africans cannot afford such misconstruals to be a ubiquitous feature of the new phase.

Inevitably, the restructuring of its programme and the acceptance of its negotiating role will plunge the SACP into a set of profound theoretical debates.

These have already begun but are still in their infancy and will continue well beyond December.

These will focus on such issues as the leading role of the party, its relation to the South African working class, black and white, the meanings of terms like "democratic socialism" and "social democracy", communist attitudes to religious belief and the place of moral values within Marxism.

Colleagues

What is certain is that the ANC-SACP alliance is as firm as ever it was, if not firmer, and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. The fact that nearly 90% of the ANC delegates voted Joe Slovo on to the NEC is eloquent proof of that.

That the 2 224 delegates to the ANC conference, have evinced this kind of support for the communists in their leadership, constitutes an unmistakable signal to President De Klerk and his constitutional advisors.

From now on they will have to debate and negotiate with communists and prepare themselves to accept them as colleagues in a future Parliament.

To do this effectively, they will need to rid themselves of the bigotry which has clouded their view of what communists really are and stand for hitherto.

If they want the negotiations to prosper, they must cease their futile plotting to prise the SACP loose from its alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

All this will not be easy for the politicians of the White Establishment. But they really have little choice in the matter. The ANC's decision is unmistakable: The Reds are here to stay.

□ *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.*

'Shadow cabinet' of ANC to be named

(11A)
A&T 16/7/91

Staff Reporter

The ANC's "shadow cabinet" is likely to be named tomorrow when the newly elected national executive committee (NEC) meets for the first time in Johannesburg.

The agenda for the meeting has not been announced, but ANC sources said one of the crucial topics would be the naming of the 26-strong national working committee (NWC), which will emerge as the alternative cabinet to lead the ANC through the period of transformation.

ANC sources said the NWC would come up for discussion but might not be finalised at the first meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the NWC would consist of the six top office bearers — president, deputy president, national chairman, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general — and 20 NEC members to be chosen by the

NEC from its 50-strong ranks.

The full 91-member NEC consists of 50 members directly elected at the ANC's national conference in Durban earlier this month, the six top office bearers, the 28 regional chairpersons and secretaries, the presidents and national secretaries of the Women's League and the Youth League, and three members which might be co-opted by the NEC.

Mr Niehaus said the 32 ex-officio NEC members — the 28 regional chairmen and secretaries and the two representatives each from the Women's League and the Youth League — would not be eligible for NWC positions.

The three co-opted members, still to be appointed, would also not be considered for the NWC.

He said the procedures for the naming of the NWC had not yet been decided.

"It still has to be decided whether the NWC will be elected

by the NEC or appointed by general consensus," he said.

The ANC announced earlier that regional chairmen and secretaries, as well as Women's League and Youth League office bearers, who had been elected onto the NEC at the ANC's national conference in Durban earlier this month would have to resign their positions.

This means that seven top ANC positions have become vacant.

Regional chairman who were elected onto the NEC at the conference in Durban were Jacob Zuma (Southern Natal), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Joel Netshitenzhe (Northern Transvaal), Ruth Mompati and Arnold Stofile (Border).

The positions of Women's League and Youth League presidents have also become vacant following the election of Gertrude Shope and Peter Mokaba onto the NEC.

...ute for C
Offenders and Rehabilit
lease of about 57 000

PRETORIA. — The
Women's Bureau of South

South Africanism at work ¹¹³ Buthelezi

AN emergent new South Africanism would dictate political events, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday. *Sowetan 16/7/91*.

"It was this South Africanism which took the National Party by the ear in Mr PW Botha's time and which took Mr FW de Klerk by the scruff of the neck and put him at the head of the NP and said: 'Get on with the job of doing what PW Botha did not do'.

"While perhaps the NP would like to take credit for De Klerk's speech and subsequent moves, the hard facts of the matter are that it was South Africanism emerging among all the National Party support base camps that dictated what he should do." - *Sapa*

Sotheby's to auction 1961 Mandela petition

CAPE TOWN — A petition signed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in 1961 will be among several pieces of South African historic and literary memorabilia to be auctioned at Sotheby's in London on Thursday.

The auction is a bid to raise money for the education of exiled students. All 38 lots of documents and manuscripts have been donated, most of them by prominent authors, on behalf of the Canon Collins Educational Trust for Southern Africa. The fund, set up in 1981, supplies books for literacy projects in refugee settlements.

The latest Sotheby's list says the three-

Binney 16 [7] 91
Owen Correspondent
page petition, calling for support from Britain, was signed by Mandela as well as current executive committee members Ahmed Kathrada and John Nkadameng.

The asking price for this lot is £700 to £800.

Most of the lots are expected to fetch thousands of rands each. Among them are:

- The draft of Shawn Slovo's screenplay of the film *A World Apart*;
- Gillian Slovo's 600-page computer print-out draft of her novel *The Betrayal*;

- Albie Sachs's typescript of his book *Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*;
- Nadine Gordimer's working typescript of the novel *Something Out There*;
- A Graham Greene working draft, and a German document by Albert Schweitzer;
- Lewis Nkosi's typescript of his novel *Mating Birds*;
- The typescript of André Brink's 1988 novel *States of Emergency*; and
- The typescript of JM Coetzee's essay *Remembering Texas*, about his experience of an alien culture on a Fulbright scholarship in 1968.

ANC set to pick *Star 16/7/91* 'shadow Cabinet'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

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Appointed

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(11A)

Allan Boesak to join ANC today

Political Correspondent

FORMER United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak will formally join the ANC at 10.30am today.

The ceremony will take place at the offices of the Foundation for Peace and Justice in Bellville.

Dr Boesak caused a stir earlier this month at the ANC's national conference in Durban when he

allowed his name to appear on the candidates list for the 50 elected positions on the ANC's national executive committee.

The unprecedented step immediately sparked controversy among several delegates who questioned his eligibility to take up a senior position in an organisation he had not bothered to join.

Dr Boesak withdrew from the

race at the last moment.

He has promised to raise his objections to the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party within the organisation's internal structures.

Dr Boesak has been approached to join several branches in the Western Cape, but has indicated that he will join the Lavender Hill branch.

We blasted school – rightwingers

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Star
17/7/91

Two right-wing groups have claimed responsibility for the Hillview High School bomb blast – but police said yesterday they had no concrete leads yet.

A woman, claiming she was a member of the "Wit Wolwe" – and a man saying he belonged to the "Wit Republikeinse Leer" (White Republican Army) have claimed to newspapers their organisations were responsible for the blast.

Neither caller revealed any identity. This is also the first mention of an organisation called "Wit Republikeinse Leer", although there is an organisation called the "Boer Republikeinse Leer".

Both callers expressed their outrage at the ANC's plans to accommodate 700 exiled children from Tanzania at the school.

The woman said seven women members of the Wit Wolwe were responsible for Sunday's blast.

Asked how they had acquired the explosives, she replied: "That remains our secret. We did it because we do not want

ANC children in our city and we are prepared to blow it up again – children and all."

The man said the action was to show the ANC that it was not wanted in the "Boer Republic". He claimed his group had been trained by the Irish Republican Army and was the "brother of the 'Wit Wolf' murder squad".

Police have decided to treat the calls "with circumspect". "We can't add too much value to the claims," a police spokesman said.

ANC education and repatriation spokesman Caleb Bush said yesterday that the organisation was waiting on the Government to contact it regarding alternative arrangements.

The childrens' arrival has been postponed.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze, reacting to allegations that the Government was not prepared to stop rightwing terrorism and violence, said everything was being done to trace the bombers.

The police also had a high success rate in investigating rightwing terrorism and thus far had solved 90 percent of such cases, which was a higher percentage than their success

rate in solving leftwing terrorism.

Captain Kotze added: "The police do not ever underestimate the rightwing's far greater capacity to commit terrorism."

A number of rightwing organisations, while denying involvement in the planting of the bomb, have applauded the action.

Deputy leader of the Orde Boerevolk, Coen Vermaak, said yesterday he believed the bomb could have been the work of the "Boer Republikeinse Leer", which recently distributed advice on how to commit sabotage and had identified specific targets by name.

This organisation, whose leadership is unknown, has circulated at least two documents among Boer independence groups over the past six months – advising people to act alone in sabotage or terrorism so they could not be identified on membership lists.

Captain Kotze said the police had taken note of the "Boer Republican Army" and wouldtake a "very close look at the origin of this organisation to see if it actually existed". or might just be a hoax."

Star 17/7/91

Boesak wants national role in ANC

Political Staff **11A**

CAPE TOWN — Dr Allan Boesak made it clear when he formally joined the ANC yesterday that he wanted a national rather than merely a regional role in the movement.

"My role has always been a national role. There is no reason why that should change now," Dr Boesak told journalists.

But there had been no discussion with the ANC leadership yet on what position he might fill.

"No deals have been made or struck, there have been no promises, and no indication given that I will serve on the national executive committee.

"The only indication I have received was not from the leadership, but from the regions who nominated me for election to the NEC."

He added: "If asked, I would be willing to serve on the NEC."

He would, however, reject being cast in the role of a "coloured" leader tasked with wooing potential coloured supporters.

Dr Boesak signed his application form and received his ANC card before the cameras at a press conference at the Bellville offices of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, which he heads.

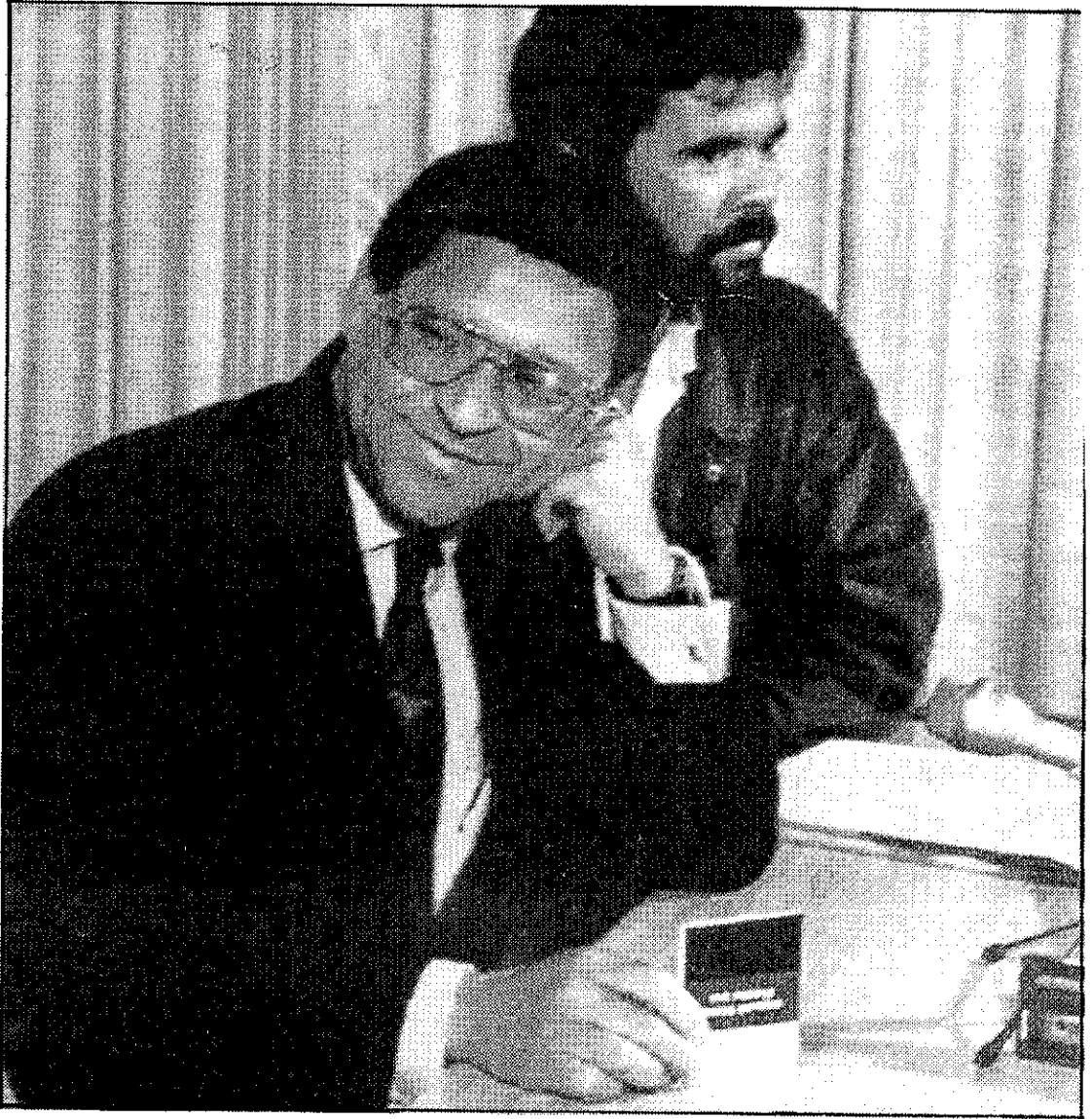
Regional president of the ANC Christmas Tinto and regional executive committee member Chris Nissen were present.

Questioned on how he saw his role within the ANC, he indicated that he hoped it would be similar to his role in the UDF, that of "mobilising people, interpreting policy and interpreting the situation".

"These are areas in which I have built up some experience over many years. It is only natural that these would be areas I would cover in the ANC."

Asked if he would seek a position in South Africa or abroad, he replied: "Wherever the ANC wants to use me."

In the short-term, Dr Boesak will "probably" join the Lavender Hill branch of the ANC. "I go to church there, it's a nice mixed branch and it's close to my home," he said.



Signing up . . . Dr Allan Boesak, flanked by Western Cape executive committee member Chris Nissen, displays his ANC membership card.

Earlier, Dr Boesak said: "I am very happy to be able to say I am a member of the ANC. It is something that has been a part of a life and particularly my political life for a long time now."

He had been "sympathetic with the goals, aims and ideals" of the movement in the past.

"I believe the ANC embodies in its life and work the aspirations of our people — the ideals people have fought for for many years — more than any other political organisation in this

country."

Questioned on why he had waited so long before joining, Dr Boesak said he had been approached by "many people" in the community, including Christians, who had wanted to join the ANC, but were concerned about certain aspects of the movement.

"I promised I would not attempt to respond to these myself, but take them up with the leadership."

As a result of this, he had had a series of "talks and consulta-

tions" with regional and national ANC leaders.

"I now feel I can go back to these people and say all these concerns will be addressed and are being addressed by the ANC. I have no hesitation in saying the ANC is working on questions about its organisation and role in the country as seriously as it possibly can."

Among the concerns was the ANC's alliance with the SACP. This issue he had undertaken to raise from within the organisation.

No secret agenda

(11A) ARG 17/7/91

SACP celebrates 70th birthday

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff

The relationship was unusual and had its roots in concrete conditions.

There were fears of a double agenda, but the strength of the alliance was that communists in the ANC "have always subjected themselves to ANC discipline and authority, the inner-democracy of the ANC and have never worked as an organised faction", he said.

"All members of the party argue their points of view without any form of mandate."

If the party had any position to put to the ANC, it did so as the party "on a formal basis when the two leaderships meet in alliance collectives. The party leadership did not have a single discussion on the issues which would arise at the last ANC conference either in respect of policy or voting".

The motivation behind the refrain that the SACP should expose its membership was to use the participation of communists to beat both the ANC and the party, he said.

"It is a matter of historic record that prior to our banning in 1950 there was was not a single secret

communist. For 40 years we were forced to work in cellars. We were selected as the key targets of slander and repression. We were attacked by the very same people for working in the shadows."

The party was grappling with a transition period which has new demands, and it was headed for its first legal conference in 40 years in December, a congress which would elect a new leadership, programme and constitution.

"And I for one am committed to the proposition that from that point onwards there will be no secret party members."

On the question of why the SACP did not fold and leave the battle to the ANC, he said: "We have no double agenda. As a party we do not hide our socialist objectives. It is our duty to spread the message of an ultimate socialist society now."

In this regard, the SACP differed from the ANC, but the differences were non-antagonistic.

It was the task of an independent party to see that working class interests were not swamped, the working class was organised in a

powerful constituency, and the choices being debated for future development were made in a way that would not "prejudice the working class whom we claim to represent".

There have been claims that the alliance was costing the ANC the support of whites, Indians, coloureds and the international community.

The answer to this could be found in a recent Markinor Gallop-related poll which showed 68 percent support, plus a possible 15 percent for the ANC. Presumably those who had given the thumbs up to the ANC did so in full knowledge of the alliance, he said.

If whites, coloureds and Indians had reservations about the party's influence on the ANC, the party was proud to plead guilty of influencing the ANC in its stand for the poor and bias in favour of black working class people.

Referring to the election of communists to the ANC' national executive committee, he said it was universally accepted that the elections were the most democratic South Africa has seen.

THE South African Communist Party has no double agenda and would participate in elections, says Mr Joe Slovo.

He also says he is in favour of stopping the secrecy about party membership after the movement has held its first legal congress in December.

Mr Slovo was delivering the keynote address at a conference at the University of the Western Cape to mark the SACP's 70th anniversary.

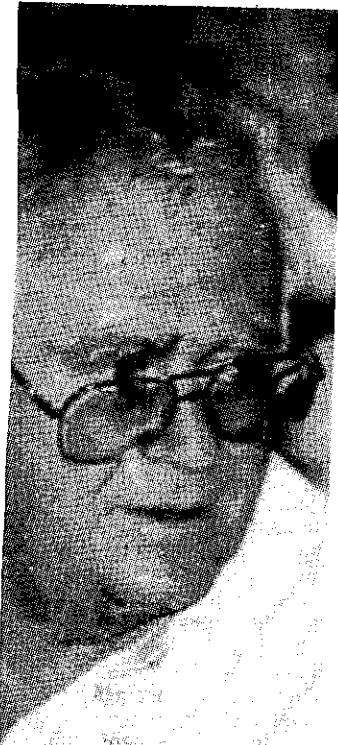
Taking part in an election as part of an existing alliance, a broader patriotic front, a coalition or on an independent platform depended on many variables, he said.

"The alliance between the SACP and ANC is, we are convinced, more solid than it has ever been. But an alliance is not like a Catholic marriage, and the way it will operate in future is a matter which will only be fruitfully addressed when those conditions emerge."

Ultimately South Africa would arrive at a socialist system.

"Existing socialism failed because it was separated from democracy. We believe that democratic socialism is the only rational future for humankind."

The countrywide violence and criticisms of the alliance was part of a major offensive against the ANC.



JOE SLOVO
Stop the secrecy

ANC children's return delayed

THE RETURN of 400 children of ANC exiles will be delayed until an alternative is found to the Pretoria school which was bombed at the weekend, the ANC said yesterday.

Hillview High School was to be used to house and educate the children, who were due to return to South Africa from Tanzania on August 15.

"The safety of the children is our most important concern and we will do everything in our power to ensure their safety on return to their country."

Damage to the school is estimated at R800 000. *Sowetan 17/7/91*



AZAPO publicity secretary Siphon Maseko will speak on youth politics today.

Youth politics to be discussed by youth bosses

AZAPO and ANC youth leaders will discuss "youth politics in the anti-apartheid struggle" at the Downtown Inn in Plein Street, Johannesburg, today.

They are national chairman of the ANC Youth League Peter Mokaba and Siphon Maseko, who is the publicity secretary of the Azanian Students Convention and a BA student at Wits University. Khotso Seathlolo,

who was one of the central figures in the June 1976 uprising, will chair the session which starts at 5pm.

Seathlolo was released from Robben Island prison last year after spending eight years for charges relating to terrorism and recruiting people for armed revolt.

The meeting is being held under the auspices of *Tribute* magazine.

New SABS service to help customers

CUSTOMERS with complaints about items bearing the South African Bureau of Standards mark can now call the newly installed SABS customer service.

The bureau said in a statement issued on Monday that consumers could call Pretoria (012)428-6666 during office hours if they failed to get satisfaction from retailers when goods which had the SABS quality mark were faulty.

Complaints about goods not bearing the mark but subject to legally compulsory safety, packaging or quality standards would also be handled, the bureau said.

Complaints about goods or services not falling in any of these categories should be addressed to the Consumer Council or other consumer organisations.

The SABS said goods subject to compulsory safety standards included all domestic electrical equipment. These items were tested regularly by the SABS on a random sample principle.

In addition, any manufacturer or importer of such goods could submit samples to the SABS for safety testing before offering it for sale. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

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Boesak signs up for ANC

FORMER World Alliance of Reformed Churches leader Dr Allan Boesak joined the ANC yesterday after talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela about his objection to the influence of communists in the movement.

Dr Boesak joined on the eve of a meeting that could see him co-opted to its policy-making National Executive Committee (NEC).

"What I have said to Mr Mandela is that there are many people in our community, especially our Christian community, who have concerns about the alliance of the ANC with the South African Communist Party (SACP).

"I feel I can go back to those people now and say that all of those concerns will be addressed and are being addressed by the ANC," he said.

Regional ANC chairman Mr Christmas Tinto delivered an application form to Dr Boesak at his office in Bellville, and watched with reporters and television crews as he signed up.

"There have been no deals struck, no promises made. If they ask me to serve on the NEC, certainly I would be willing to do so," Dr Boesak said.

ANC spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel said the NEC would meet in Johannesburg today to elect 20 members to a national Working Committee, which together with its top five office-bearers would form the movement's daily executive.

Mr Manuel said the NEC could co-opt Dr Boesak to its ranks, but he would not be eligible for the working committee. — Sapa-Reuter

SIGNING UP . . . Dr Allan Boesak signed up as an ANC member yesterday, watched by local ANC leader Mr Christmas Tinto (left). Picture: RICHARD BELL



By ANTHONY JOHNSON

CT 17/1/91

THE United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, told African journalists during a satellite link-up last Friday that he was "surprised at the lack of joy" on the part of the so-called mass democratic movement at President George Bush's decision to lift a number of sanctions against South Africa.

He argued that the lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), in force since 1986, should be seen as a "great victory" for the representatives of the black majority in South Africa who ought to be crowing: "We've won!"

This is clearly an oversimplification of how perceptions and politics work in this country and Mr Cohen, astute analyst that he is, must have known this.

A few days earlier, visiting British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd also skirted some of the complexities of the South African situation when he pronounced apartheid dead and argued that it was time to put aside worn out arguments about sanctions.

The reaction, understandably euphoric, among many white South Africans to moves to relax the international sports boycott has also shown up similar blind spots.

Violence

One of the problems bedeviling our still deeply divided and unequal society is that what for most whites is indisputably good news, remains the source of dispute, division or even indifference among black citizens.

While the easing of sanctions represents for one constituency a just reward for the reform efforts of President F W de Klerk, for others, whose day-to-day lives have so far been left largely untouched by the repeal of apartheid laws, the big fuss

Easing of sanctions: A blow for the ANC

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about the issue must seem bewildering.

For the ANC, on the other hand, the summary or "premature" relaxation of sanctions represents an unhappy downgrading of its influence at home and abroad and loss of a crucial weapon — particularly now that the armed struggle has been suspended — with which to apply pressure on the government.

In strategic terms, the ANC is not chanting triumphantly "We've won!", as Mr Cohen suggests they should, but rather "We're losing".

The normalisation of South Africa's relations with the rest of the world in the areas of diplomacy, trade and sport is increasingly going ahead regardless of what the ANC says.

SA sportsmen

At the same time, the real-life conditions of violence and deprivation affecting many township dwellers shows little prospect of improving in the short term.

This places groups like the ANC in an especially vulner-

able position among their supporters since there are few demonstrable and concrete benefits they can show for taking the risk of entering into negotiations with the government.

Indeed, as Idasa points out in its latest journal, "the birth of the 'new South Africa' is beginning to look like a nightmare to ordinary South Africans whose hopes for respite from horrendous violence and unprecedented political turmoil are being dashed daily by a relentless avalanche of conflict and confusion".

Much of the potential which sport has for welding our divided society into a single nation will be lost if South Africa rushes into international competition without first implementing massive sports development programmes in disadvantaged communities.

If South African sportsmen and women attending the Olympic Games in, say, 1996 remain predominantly white, there is little prospect that they will be seen as symbols of a new national unity to be cheered by all South Africans.

DP Youth accuse ANC of 'posturing'

Political Correspondent

THE row between the Democratic Party Youth and the ANC Youth League over sanctions warmed up yesterday with the former accusing their counterparts of "haughty posturing rather than rational arguments".

Earlier, the ANC Youth League had criticised the DP for drawing "rather disturbing and erroneous" conclusions about the ANC's pro-sanctions stance.

Yesterday the DP Youth's vice-chairman, Mr Colin Douglas, said it stood by criticism of the ANC's "irresponsible sanctions policy".

He said DP Youth had spoken out "because the homeless and unemployed and poor desperately need improvement in South Africa's dire economic situation".

The DP Youth had every right to question when ANC national executive members "threaten to destabilise South Africa to discourage investment".

Mandela wants helpful
'gesture' from De Klerk



SACP 'will take own line
which we won't follow'

'Flexible' ANC ready to talk

Star 18/7/91-

By Stanley Uys (11A)

The scene is now set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the Government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Nelson Mandela has revealed.

In an exclusive interview with The Star — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since he became ANC president earlier this month — Mr Mandela made it clear that the organisation had decided to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiating process.

Adopting a markedly less confrontational attitude than in recent statements, Mr Mandela indicated a flexible approach — if the Government demonstrated its sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence, and addressed the issues of prisoners, exiles and political trials.

He did not demand conclusive resolutions of each of these stumbling blocks, but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President de Klerk's Government. This could be redressed by meaningful gestures from Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would:

- Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the "Patriotic Front" meeting of anti-apartheid forces did not reach consensus. "Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations.

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha feeling sidelined. "We must involve them..."

- Learn from the mistakes of countries such as Mozambique and Angola which had been "reduced to ashes" because they "did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era".

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the Government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC's conviction that Government actions — or refusals to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

The Government's inability to stop the township violence, in particular, "has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President de Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game.

"But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward." President de Klerk had to ensure that he was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

Favoured

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush's lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.



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Mr Mandela said the ANC would:

- Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the "Patriotic Front" in the form of anti-apartheid forces did not reach consensus. "Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations."

- Be completely distinct from the Communist Party once apartheid was removed. The SACP would "take their own line ... which we will not follow".

- Tell the business community the ANC was not "dogmatically attached to nationalisation or State intervention", and had "perhaps overstressed" these issues in the past.

- Favour minority representation in future governmental structures. "For example, the whites must (be able to say): 'There is Gerrit Viljoen — I have got representation there'."

- Consider "very carefully how the principle of one person, one vote should be applied in the light of the (South African) situation, especially in the first few years of democratic government".

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha feeling sidelined. "We must involve them ..."

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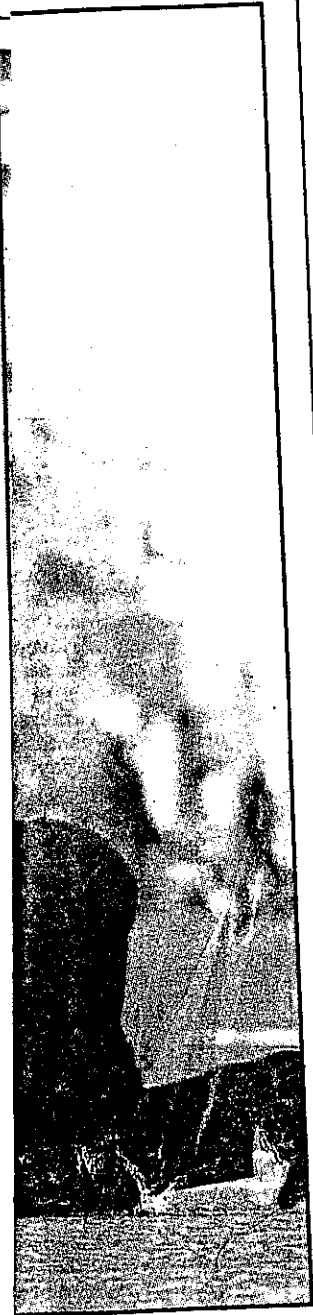
He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush's lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

The ANC favoured the lifting of sanctions once the Government had demonstrated its goodwill in overcoming obstacles and ensuring that once laws were repealed, blacks were given the opportunity to enjoy the resulting benefits.

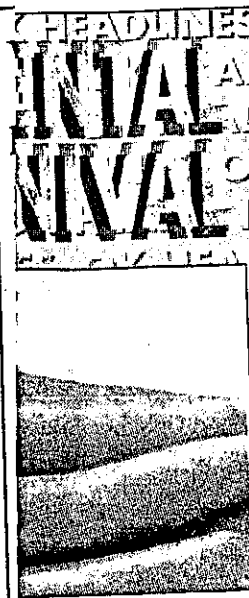
Mr Mandela criticised US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen's statements absolving the Government from involvement in violence. "That was disappointing because Mr de Klerk is involved in the violence — either because he has lost control over the State security services, or they are doing what he wants," he said in the interview at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

Mr Mandela added that he thought it unlikely that the all-party conference on constitutional negotiations could get off the ground this year.

- ANC president's words



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Picture: Sean Woods



In the words of

Star 18/7/91

(11A)

This week, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave **STANLEY UYS**, a columnist for *The Star* and among this country's most respected journalists, one of the frankest and most revealing interviews since Mr Mandela's release from jail.

AT THE ANC conference, you won a clear mandate to proceed urgently with negotiations. What is the timetable?

It is difficult to say because of the three main obstacles we must still resolve. Firstly, the release of political prisoners. The Government has gone a long way to meet us in this regard, but there are quite a large number still in prison.

Secondly, political trials are still going on. I must confess that this is not an easy matter. As far as the State is concerned, they can only decide whether a trial is political at the end of it, when the evidence has been given and there has been cross-examination.

Then there is the question of exiles. Both the Government and ourselves are to blame that there are still exiles abroad. It's a question of mutual responsibility in the sense that we have not been able to raise the necessary funds to get these exiles back. Some of the exiles — because of the situation of violence inside the country — are not very keen to come back.

The Government has said that apartheid was a mistake, which means that everybody who was arrested or harassed because of apartheid was unjustly treated. So the Government should assist in the task of bringing back exiles and we blame it for refusing to do so.

And then there is the question of the violence. This is a very sensitive one which cannot be fully appreciated by whites because of their background. The lives of blacks are regarded as cheap by whites. I have had to tell Mr de Klerk — when he has complained about me attacking him in public although he has never attacked me — that I am obliged to because he stays in the safety of Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings, far from the field of conflict.

I stay in Soweto where I return at the end of the day and find people waiting for me. They say they have been attacked in their house and what do they do? I am woken up by frantic calls in the middle of the night by people saying: we are being attacked, can you come? This violence is interfering with free political activity in the country.

I had hoped that we would not have to wait for the removal of the obstacles. Even from the point of view of sanctions I had hoped that we would not have to wait until a democratic constitution is drawn up ... If

De Klerk said to me: 'I can promise you that we will remove all the obstacles', I should be able to depend on that and go back to my own colleagues and say 'I trust this man. He has made this declaration and I am sure he will honour it'. I was working for that type of mutual confidence.

But what the Government has done — or has not done — has been a serious disappointment to me. I have told Mr de Klerk that he has let me down personally because I smuggled a letter out of prison and told my colleagues in Lusaka that I had met De Klerk and that, in my view, we are dealing with an honest man and I think that we should negotiate with him.

I was taking a risk, because you know how Nationalist politicians are hated in the liberation movement — and I had been separated from my colleagues since 1984. There was a danger of my colleagues saying about me: 'This man is a changed man, and we can no longer trust him'. But nevertheless I felt that the truth must be conveyed to them, and fortunately they accepted that.

Now, when our people are being slaughtered — and when the security forces themselves are involved in the slaughter — people are now asking: 'Do you still trust De Klerk?' That has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build and, I believe, he himself was trying to build.

Is the formation of a patriotic front of anti-apartheid forces also a precondition for forming an all-party conference?

No, the patriotic front is a front of all the liberation movements. Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations, so the patriotic front itself is irrelevant to the speed of negotiations.

What is going to delay negotiations is the all-party congress, which is different from the all-party conference of De Klerk. The all-party conference of De Klerk has refused to define what it is being called for — except to say that it is a peace conference to end violence. We reject that. The all-

party conference has three aims: to establish the principles on which the new constitution will be based; to establish the mechanism by which such a new constitution will be drafted; and by whom it will be drafted; and to decide on the mechanism that will manage the process of transformation and specifically what body will manage the process.

All parties inside and outside Parliament should be included as long as they have a constituency. We think this is important — especially from the point of view of the minorities ... They



Laying It on the table ... Nelson Mandela makes his opinions clear to St

(the minorities) are not certain what their position is going to be under an African government which — because of numbers — is dominated by Africans. The National Party is making a greater impact among coloureds and Indians, and we've got to address that.

Are you saying you have to recognise that the ethnic factor will continue in the post-apartheid South Africa?

Yes. And that is why we have to make sure — in our structures — that the ordinary man, no matter to what population group he belongs — must look to our structures and see that 'I as a coloured man am represented. I have got Allan Boesak there whom I trust'. And an Indian must also be able to say: 'There is Kathrada — I am represented'. And the whites must say: 'There is Gerrit Viljoen — I have got representation'.

So it (the all-party negotiating forum) is obviously going to be

war against us.'

That point of view is justified but I should have the courage to say: 'That is true, but we are trying to resolve this matter and I am confident that ultimately we will resolve it.'

You have stressed the urgency of creating a 'transitional government of national unity' to govern during the interim period. Could you elaborate on such a body, and how it may affect the timing of an election?

If the mutual confidence is there it is not necessary actually to form the interim government before we go on negotiating. And that is why I regret this intransigence on the part of the Government. Because we would have made long strides now if we were able to say: 'Look at these men, they are consistent. They have made an agreement and they are honouring it.'

... In my view, it is not going to be easy for us to address the

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‘We are not in favour of black majority rule. We are in favour of majority rule.’

a very important body, but it appears unlikely to meet this year.

Well, it's late in the year. It's unlikely to meet this year. But I am still discussing this with Mr de Klerk ... And we are still on good terms, which is something promising ...

But he must solve the problems on his side. Because I am going out of my way to tell our people publicly that negotiation is the only method. I am doing that, and I am discouraging those people who say: 'You are talking about peace when the Government is conducting a

whole question of a peaceful solution as long as the Government is not forthcoming and ensures that we are able to carry our people with us on the question of negotiations. It is unfortunate. But that is the reality.

The recent breakthroughs in Olympic sport and cricket are largely a result of ANC efforts to get SA sport back into the international arena. The next phase in the lifting of sanctions will be dropping visa requirements and the cultural and academic boycotts. You have indicated that this phase depends on the resolution of outstanding

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Mandela makes his opinions clear to Stanley Uys.

Picture: Jacob Rykliff

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asy for us to address the

problems with prisoners, exiles
and political violence. Once
these problems are resolved,
would one see the lifting of
these sanctions?

Undoubtedly. The first phase
would then be complete. This
would mean the lifting of sanc-
tions in regard to air links, tour-
ism and sports boycotts.

Progress has been made with
removing apartheid from the
statute books. But we are dissa-
tisfied that racialism still exists
in the way that the Population
Registration Act has been re-
pealed. But I think we can easi-
ly pressure the Government to
go the whole hog.

The (scrapping) of the Land
Act and the Group Areas Act
has been a very important de-
velopment except that the Gov-
ernment — if it wanted to com-
plete that process — should
have addressed the question of
giving us the capacity to take
advantage of the repeal of these
laws, by making sure that we

when apartheid laws were
scrapped.

Why should we dance? These
laws have done a great deal of
harm... Mr de Klerk is undoing
the damage that the whites
have done and there can be no
rejoicing in the light of what I
have said — that they have
given us no capacity to take ad-
vantage of the repeal of the
laws. They must say to us:
'Look, here are the resources.
We want you to have these so
that you can take advantage of
the repeals.' I think in that case,
the people would dance.

Are you confident that your con-
viction — that there should be
a compromise between the
black demand for majority rule
and the white insistence on
some form of protection — can
still be realised?

In the document I sent to Presi-
dent P W Botha in March 1989 I
specifically raised the question
of allaying the fears of the
whites; this was one of the ques-

have to consider very carefully
how the principle of one person,
one vote should be applied in
the light of our situation, espe-
cially in the first few years of a
democratic government.

It's a question also of doing
something to show that the sys-
tem has got an in-built mecha-
nism which makes it impossible
for one group to suppress the
other.

Do you think the gap between
the ANC's vision of the economy
and that of the business com-
munity has narrowed to the
point where consensus is possi-
ble on an immediate programme
to revive the economy?

I wouldn't say that it has nar-
rowed to that extent, except to
say that it is narrowing. We
perhaps placed too much em-
phasis on the question of nation-
alisation. It should have been
sufficient for us to say: 'We
think in the light of our own sit-
uation that some measure of
State involvement in the build-
ing of the economy is neces-
sary.' We should have said that
in all countries which have gone
through a trauma — like war or
natural disaster — State inter-
vention is inevitable.

We are now addressing busi-
nessmen and we are saying that
we have selected State inter-
vention because to us it is the
only way of rectifying the un-
fair distribution of the re-
sources of the country. If you
have an alternative we are say-
ing: Please tell us what it is.

Taxation by itself is not ade-
quate to redress this imbalance.
You can't over-tax because that
will destroy the initiative. Peo-
ple will just pull out and go and
establish somewhere where
there is no taxation...

Apart from obvious Red-baiting,
do you not think there is legiti-
mate concern among potential
investors about the future pol-
icies of an ANC with so many
communist members on the new
executive?

There is no doubt in my mind
that most of the concern is quite
genuine because people believe
in free enterprise, and Marxist
economic models have not been
able to ensure free enterprise.
We are saying that people
should be able to accept not

common objective.

People like Joe Slovo... I
trust completely. As long as he
is the general-secretary of the
SACP I am sure the party will
have no separate meetings as to
what their line should be in the
ANC. We don't think that we
have been persuaded to feel
that there is something wrong
in the alliance. I don't think that
we could ever be persuaded to
put an end to that alliance.

At the Durban conference the
ANC was looking increasingly
like a political party — with its
leadership elections, detailed
constitution and policy posi-
tions. At what point will the ANC
transform itself from a broad
liberation movement into a po-
litical party?

Certainly not before the new
constitution is accepted. If we
did transform ourselves into a
political party we would be in
difficulties because what unites
us today is the struggle against
racial oppression, and we are
not prepared to investigate the
political ideology of any parti-
cular member of the ANC as
long as he or she supports the
basic aim of destroying racial
oppression.

If we turn into a party then
we will have to go further: we
will have to decide whether we
are going to be an organisation
that believes in the capitalist
system, whether we are going
to believe in Fabian socialism
or whether we are going to be-
lieve in Marxist socialism...
That would be dangerous at the
moment because it would split
us from top to bottom.

So you accept that there will
be a natural separation in the
ANC...

After apartheid is destroyed.
The SACP has declared that
their co-operation with us is
only up to the point of the over-
throw of the apartheid State.
After that they take their own
line... which we will not fol-
low. We won't follow socialism.
We've got our own programme.
Would the ANC become a politi-
cal party at that point or would
it break up into other political
parties?

The ANC is not going to break
up, and even the communists
are going to have to be very
careful about how they break
away from us. It does not follow
that, because you have taken
over (the country), that prob-
lems will come to an end. If
there are any lessons from de-
velopments in Mozambique and
Angola — and Zimbabwe — it
is that victory merely brings fresh
kinds of problems.

Now we have to learn that
here... we have tried to merge
people of different political per-
suasions in order to avoid some-
body who is disgruntled going
to the opposition and taking up
arms against an established
government.

We have to be very careful
with such groups... like In-
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secuted or sidelined in the new
South Africa. We must involve
them. □

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boycotts. You have indi-
that this phase depends
resolution of outstanding

should have resources — either
through loans on easy terms or
through grants — because we
just can't afford to buy land in
urban areas.

As far as sports are con-
cerned, the main laws that re-
stricted nonracialism in sport
have not been repealed and
there is an interim committee
of the IOC which is attending to
the question of the formation of
a nonracial organisation and of
taking this process to the
grassroots level.

The US expressed surprise that
there wasn't an "outburst of re-
joicing" by the black community

tions the ANC and the Govern-
ment would have to address be-
cause that fear is genuine. It is
mistaken but it is genuine...
We are not in favour of black
majority rule. We are in favour
of majority rule.

When we define the rights of
an individual in a bill of rights,
and when we say that the bill of
rights is justiciable and when
we say we believe in an inde-
pendent judiciary, a multiparty
system, in regular general elec-
tions — then we hope we have
removed the fears of all minori-
ty groups.

But it may well be that we

only the democratic process,
but also the democratic result.

We are also guided by our
own experience. In the mid-
1940s, people like... myself
moved a resolution in an ANC
conference to expel the commu-
nists. We were attacked and hu-
miliated by people like Dr
Xuma and Professor Matthews
— anti-communists who said:
'The ANC is the parliament of
the African people; don't come
here and seek to change our
traditions.' And the West itself
has not hesitated to form a
common alliance with the So-
viet Union when they have a

complaints to us of estate agents refusing to deal with them because of threats like this," he said.

Azapo: some SA politicals still in jail

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 18/7/91
IIA

The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday dismissed as untrue the United States statement that all political prisoners in South Africa had been released.

Last week, in the wake of President George Bush's lifting of sanctions, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen said the US accepted that all political prisoners in South Africa — except those in Bophuthatswana — had been released.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday showed The Star a list of 15 members of Azapo and its exiled sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, whom he identified as political prisoners who had yet to be released.

Monde Kakaza and Danie Nkopodi had been among prisoners moved from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison. They were still in jail, he said.

● A total of 40 prisoners in two Bophuthatswana hospitals suspended their hunger strikes yesterday, the Human Rights Commission said.

ANC survives Bushwhack

Kings

Star 18/7/91

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ONE can picture the scene quite vividly. A telephone rings in the Soweto home of Nelson Mandela. The ANC president picks it up himself. It is a transatlantic call: "Nelson? Hi bud, George here. I'm shafting you. Just wanted you to be the first to know."

That, of course, is not the way in which the content of US President George Bush's momentous call to the ANC leader was reported to us, but it captures its political essence infinitely more accurately than endless explanations framed in diplo-speak.

Behind the legalisms and "spin control" interventions emanating from Washington in the wake of the lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act lies a stark fact of political life: on this issue, the ANC was Bushwhacked.

Mr Mandela and his senior colleagues had for some time drawn succour from the belief that the United States, at least, would not lift sanctions until the last moment. Because of the strict legal and constitutional constraints attending American measures, it was argued, the ANC's demand for full consultation would be acceded to. In the end, as the tele-

phone call proved, it was not the kind of "consultation" Mr Mandela had in mind.

But now that the body blow has been absorbed — in markedly gracious fashion by the ANC, it must be noted — the new nature of the relationship between the US and the ANC can begin to be assessed.

It might have seemed, in the immediate aftermath of President Bush's White House media conference last week (and in particular in his extempore answers to questions) that Washington was coming down very strongly on the side of the Pretoria Government in the run-up to substantive negotiations in South Africa. At that conference President Bush was insistent that sanctions had played only a minor role in bringing this country to the point of a negotiated settlement.

Thrice, when pressed, he gave the lion's share of the credit for change to President de Klerk. "I think what really turned the difference is when South Africa came in with a new regime and they decided to move forward. I don't think it was strictly because they wanted to get rid of two sanctions while others remained."

And: "I can only point to the

real change in South Africa taking place because of Mr de Klerk himself and some of his associates who have a very different approach to equity in race and to the elimination of apartheid than his predecessors."

And again: "I can't say that sanctions had no effect, but I think far more important was the fact that you had a forward-looking man of Mr de Klerk's stature, who released Mr Mandela from jail and decided to go forward in consultation. And I can't say that Mr de Klerk did that because of economic sanctions."

In a follow-up interview, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen presented a more balanced view, crediting all anti-apartheid campaigners with having changed the psyche of the white power bloc, and stressing that a number of important US sanctions remained in place despite the demise of the CAAA. While not suggesting that these survived on the say-so of the ANC, he did intimate that Washington had not yet decided to give President de Klerk a free ride home. For this and other reasons, it would be unwise to assume that the ANC's leverage in the sphere of international

pressure — and, in particular, US pressure — has disappeared entirely.

The sanctions and isolation weapon has undoubtedly been blunted. But ANC leaders will be well pleased with themselves for having modified timeously their policies on the issue at the recent Durban conference — which preceded the Bush announcement. At the time it may not have been of much interest to non-aficianados of ANC pronouncements, but the terminological contortions there performed have enabled the ANC to swallow Bush's bitter pill without gagging.

The sequence of events is important. Last year, after the unbanning of the ANC, the organisation's "line" was that sanctions should in no way be tampered with until Mr Mandela explicitly concurred. This was followed by a heart-stopping few months for the organisation as many countries — especially African countries — began to wobble precipitously and gaze hungrily at the reservoir of rands down south.

At this point international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki looked beyond the Limpopo and across the Atlantic, and saw the writing on

the wall in very large letters. At the ANC's "consultative conference" in December he fashioned a strategy for the "phased removal" of sanctions to make sure that the ANC retained at least some control of the weapon it had created. He was savaged for his pains by militant delegates. Thus everything stayed the same into 1991 — until Durban, when Mbeki shepherded through a policy of "phased maintenance" of sanctions (a very sophisticated inversion) which addressed his original concerns, but kept the militants happy too.

Thus the ANC's position remains plausible, and there is still room for business to be done with Washington. The arms embargo remains, as do the locks on the doors of the International Monetary Fund's vaults. Had the ANC still been stuck with its "all or nothing" dictum, the Government's significant diplomatic victory could have turned into a decisive one.

The ANC's claims of consistency and coherence in sanctions policy may not entirely stand up to rigorous scrutiny. But, then again, this is politics, and we do have a National Party that claims it has

been planning the De Klerk reforms all along. It should not be of too much concern if political groups try to read history backwards in order to feel better — and to make their supporters feel better — about themselves. Indeed, this is probably a necessary condition for quick progress in negotiations.

The Government, with the possible exception of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, seems to have recognised this: National Party leaders have resisted the temptation to rub the ANC's nose in the CAAA defeat.

Mr Cohen, who is an astute politician domestically as well as internationally, has let it be known to US pressure groups like the

Black Caucus that Washington is not giving President de Klerk carte blanche; some firepower is being retained in case Pretoria should become too pleased with its own triumphs, and consider renegeing on earlier undertakings. The ANC will — and, indeed, has already begun to — fall back on residual measures unaffected by the CAAA. President de Klerk's forces have not yet occupied Washington. □

ANC executives likely to continue meeting today (11A)

Political Reporter *Star* 18/7/91

The ANC's new national executive committee (NEC) met for the first time yesterday and was expected to continue its deliberations in Johannesburg today.

Last night ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said all

indications were that the meeting would continue today. No announcement had been made at the time of going to press.

The agenda for the meeting, the first since the ANC's national conference in Durban, has not been disclosed.

Expectations were that

the NEC would announce its 26-person national working committee (NWC) — its "shadow Cabinet".

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier that the appointment of the NWC might be postponed for technical reasons.

In an interview with Star

political writer Stanley Uys, he said: "We have a problem and I am sure we are going to postpone the appointment of a working committee."

"The constitution says the committee must be based on departments.

"We can't ignore the existing departments, but there is

a feeling there are too many and some are a duplication of departments in Lusaka which are no longer necessary.

"So we have to trim. It would be preferable for us to arrange a special meeting of the executive to appoint a working committee."

How many Reds does it take ... ?

South 187-2417/91

11A

JEREMY CRONIN, a member of the SACP's internal leadership group, reviews communist support in the country on the eve of the Party's 70th anniversary:

A SPECTRE is haunting the boardrooms of South Africa. That, at least, is the impression one gains from all the furious arithmetic done these past ten days. I have seen figures of 17, 18, 25, 37.

"37 Reds in new ANC NEC", screamed *The Citizen* last week. The next day "unearthed" three more, and pushed its Red head count up to 40.

The SACP, which celebrates its 70th anniversary at the end of this month, is today probably more popular among the broad oppressed masses of our country than it has ever been.

It is certainly larger now, in terms of organised membership, than ever before. And this is despite the fact that we are still painfully emerging from four decades of illegality. This growth is also happening, much to the confusion of our critics, in a world in which communism is supposed to be dead.

Formation

The formation of the Communist Party in South Africa was announced on the evening of July 29, 1921 at a public meeting of some 2 000 people in Cape Town City Hall. But it was not until the next day that conference delegates, meeting at 20 Plein Street, formally constituted the party as the South African section of the Third Communist International.

For a few initial years, the very first Marxist-Leninist party of the African continent remained rooted largely among militant white workers. They were miners, building artisans, tramwaymen and seamstresses. They came from a diversity of backgrounds.

Some were from the coal mines of Britain or the gold-diggings of North America and Australia. Others had been driven out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe by pogroms and poverty.

Others were Afrikaans-speakers, sons and daughters of farming families, driven into wage labour by the scorched-earth policies of the British during the Anglo Boer War in 1900.

But by the mid-1920s the party had begun to orient itself to the most oppressed stratum of workers in our country — black workers.



HAMMER AND SICKLE: Youths celebrate last year's launch of the SACP in Soweto

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

It launched night schools and developed generations of outstanding African communists, among them, JB Marks, Moses Kotane, Dora Tamana, Josie Mpama and Edwin Mofutsanyana.

In the late 1920s the party changed its strategic orientation. It began to link the struggle for socialism to the more immediate struggle for a national democratic transformation. In words that have reverberated down to July 1991, the party resolved in 1928 to "pay particular attention to the embryonic organisations among the natives, such as the African National Congress.

Participate

The party, while retaining its full independence, should participate in these organisations, should seek to broaden and extend their activity".

"Our aim should be to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and the British imperialist."

Our critics cannot understand the popularity of our party. They fall back on conspiratorial explanations. They try to present a picture of Reds "high-jacking" the ANC. In fact, our alliance goes back seven decades. It would not have survived, and it would not be in the healthy shape it is today, if communists had ever acted as a secret cabal inside the ANC. We have argued our perspective inside the ANC, but we have always done so



Jeremy Cronin

with the greatest respect for its internal democracy.

Long before it was an easy thing to do, let alone a possible fast-track to governmental office, communists were slogging away loyally, shoulder to shoulder, with many non-communists building the ANC and other democratic formations.

This is not to say that all in the party's history is rosy.

There were difficult periods, particularly in the 1930s, when the SACP was riven by sectarianism and Stalinist dogmatism. The party in more recent decades made the mistake of mechanically and uncritically lin-

ing up with every Soviet foreign policy intervention.

But it is, above all, a party with deep roots in South Africa. Indeed, the party pioneered some of the hallmarks of present democratic political culture in our country.

It was the Communist Party that was the first, and for many years the only non-racial political party in our country. In fact it was alone in this regard from 1921 right up to the late 1980s, with one minor and short-lived exception in the shape of the Liberal Party in the 1950s.

Pioneered

It was the party that was the first, and the only serious political formation for some four decades, to advance the call for majority rule, for one person, one vote.

From the 1920s communists have been in the forefront of building progressive trade unions. It was communist journalists who pioneered what we call today the "alternative" press.

But, of course, and above all, it is the SACP's present deep association with the ANC that lends it its particular character and strength. This association has all along been a reciprocal process of enrichment.

The party has benefited greatly and learnt. But it is also communist cadreship that has played a central role in strengthening and unifying the ANC, not least through the last difficult decades of exile and diaspora.

There is, of course, a price paid for

this. In 1980 in a secret internal party discussion document the central committee noted: "The overwhelming majority of our membership is integrated into one or other structure of the ANC in a professional full-time capacity.

The work which they are engaged in is the work of the revolution and is therefore vital party work.

"But it is obviously a form of liquidation to allow a position to develop in which work in party structures and collectives is completely neglected, becomes a mere hobby, and takes second place to everything else.

"There is no doubt that such an approach will not weaken the party but will dilute the effectiveness of the contribution which party members can make to the struggle as a whole."

Challenge

The challenge of balancing the imperatives of helping to build a strong, mass-based and democratic ANC, while still building an independent SACP remains.

There are those on the left and the right who argue that the SACP should either disband entirely into the ANC, or that it should break with a long tradition of overlapping membership and leadership.

The SACP has no intention whatsoever of doing either of these things.

The immediate task before all democratic South Africans is the dismantling of white minority power and privilege and the building of a united, democratic South Africa.

This is an enormous challenge, and it requires the maximum unity of democratic forces, communist and non-communist.

We believe that the ANC is the movement to spearhead this task.

It was the vision of a South Africa finally rid of a system in which (as they put it) "the means of life are concentrated in the hands of a small privileged class, which exploits the propertyless working masses" that brought together our launching conference in 20 Plein Street 70 years ago.

That vision remains our guiding principle down to this day.

It is a vision which is now beginning to haunt more powerfully than ever the boardrooms of South Africa. That is good. Let them do their Red head counts.

For our part, we are not counting heads on the ANC NEC. We are counting the ongoing cost to our country of allowing a small handful of white, male capitalists to continue, in the name of the "free market", to exercise their economic stranglehold over all of us.

A conference aiming to 'ecologise politics and politicise ecology' drew over 200 delegates from a wide range of political, religious, union and other organisations. **DAVE LEWIS** reports:

Differences set aside at ecology conference

South 18/7-24/7/91

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON Environment and Development held at the University of the Western Cape last weekend saw 231 representatives from a wide range of organisations discussing the links between environmental degradation and the political situation in Southern Africa.

The three-day conference, hosted by the Cape Town Ecology Group (CTEG) and the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP), aimed to "ecologise politics and politicise ecology".

"The conference represents a breakthrough. For the first time groups such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) found common ground around the issue of the environment," said conference organiser Phakamile Tshazibane.

"There was also a wide range of religious groupings represented, from Hinduism to Judaism, as well as many people from rural areas such as Kuruman and Tuang," he added.

The conference opening was marred by the last-minute withdrawal of key international speaker Vandana Shiva of India due to ill health, but other international environmentalists filled the gap.

Bert von Pinxteren of Friends of the Earth in the Netherlands told the conference that international environ-

mental groupings had been wary of engaging with South African environmental organisations.

However, recent political changes in the country had made participation possible. He cautioned against the attitude that environmentalists could continue their work without assisting the democratic process in the country.

Thobeka Thamage of the South African Women's Environmental Collective in London focused on environmental abuses affecting women around the world, and on the fact that many contraceptive methods endanger women's health.

She drew particular attention to the environmental problems facing rural women in Africa, and to the fact that development programmes in the Southern African region had ignored the extra burden carried by women as a result of the migrant labour system employed by the South African mining industry.

THE NEED FOR "greater grassroots participation in the development decisions affecting people" was the message conveyed by Yemi Katarere of the Zimbabwe Environmental Research Organisation (Zero), who spoke about development problems in general and the lessons to be learnt from the Zimbabwean experience.

Debate at the conference centred on issues such as the land question, with many delegates feeling that a new

constitution would alleviate the inequalities that had resulted in land degradation in the homelands.

Solly Skosana of the PAC reiterated the view that land apartheid had not disappeared and that a constituent assembly was the only mechanism in which environmental concerns over land distribution would be able to be addressed.

There seemed to be consensus among delegates that unequal land distribution was a major cause of environmental problems in South Africa and that the land itself needed protection under the law.

SPEAKING ON BEHALF of the ANC, Cheryl Carolus criticised the lack of political involvement by environmentalists in the past and made the point that her decision to get involved in politics had arisen out of a desire to empower herself and to regain control over her environment.

The issue of workers' involvement in environmental issues was taken up by Nosey Peterse of the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU), who told delegates: "You can talk about environmental degradation but while you talk workers are losing their jobs because of environmental degradation."

"You cannot have a fishing industry without fish or agriculture without soil," said Peterse, who then added that a sustainable environment would mean thousands of jobs in the future. He urged delegates not to intellectualise about workers but rather

"The interesting thing was that political groupings were not only represented in their official capacity but also by individuals, and many groups found their members were already aware of the environmental dimension of the political situation."



Henri Laurie PIC: SHAMEL MANIE

to do something practical about the problem.

A statement adopted at the end of the conference declared: "A peaceful and just society can only be sustained if its ecological basis is sound, and this means working with the people of the country striving for a democratic government and justice in access to land and the common wealth."

"Ecologically sound practices and projects can only succeed through grassroots participation where the people concerned retain control of those things that affect their lives."

Delegates agreed that full grassroots participation would have to involve a change in perception and values towards seeing "the interdependence of all living things". Inspiration for such

values existed in "many religious and spiritual traditions, in particular indigenous African belief systems".

CTEG spokesperson Henri Laurie said the conference was significant in that people from backgrounds that were potentially divisive had shown a willingness to work together.

"The amount of goodwill was remarkable and the delegates showed an enormous degree of solidarity on the environmental issue," he said.

"The interesting thing was that political groupings were not only represented in their official capacity but also by individuals, and many groups found that a significant proportion of their members were already aware of the environmental dimension of the political situation."

ANC's 'shadow 1/19

cabinet' lines up

South 1817-241719
THE newly-elected ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) met behind closed doors in Johannesburg this week to elect its 26 member National Working Committee (NWC).

The election of the so-called "shadow cabinet" was the top priority on the agenda, ANC spokesperson, Mr Kari Niehaus, said. The NWC would consist of the ANC's six office-bearers — "president, deputy president, national chairperson, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general and treasurer-general — as well as 20 NEC members to be chosen by the NEC. The 91-member NEC consists of its office-bearers, 50 members directly elected at the recent ANC national conference in Durban, the 28 regional chairpersons and secretaries, the presidents and national secretaries of the ANC Women's League and the Youth League and three co-opted members.

Boesak signs for ANC under glare of television spotlight

11A

South 18/7-24/7/77.

AT an unusual "ceremony" this week, the African National Congress welcomed one of its newest members — Foundation for Peace and Justice director Dr Allan Boesak.

Under the glare of television spotlights and camera flashes, Boesak signed an application form brought to his offices by ANC regional executive members, Mr Christmas Tinto and Mr Chris Nissen.

Asked whether it was unusual for the ANC to take membership forms to prospective members rather than them approaching the office, Tinto replied that the organisation's national congress this month had decided that members should do door-to-door work to recruit more members.

"This afternoon, we will be going to many other doors to sign up more people," Tinto said.

Boesak said he was "glad" the mo-



Dr Boesak signs up

ment had arrived when he could join the ANC and announce that he was a member of the movement.

"I believe the ANC embodies my

life and work and the aspirations of our people," he said.

Boesak said he hoped that he would not be viewed as an "ethnic person" in the ANC whose specific role would be to win coloured support for the organisation.

"All my political life I have participated in nonracial politics and my acceptance in political life has also been nonracial," he said.

"Being a coloured is a kind of insult — I don't regard myself as a coloured person."

Boesak said he had worked in the UDF by assisting in the mobilisation of people and interpreting the policies and decisions of the UDF inside the country and abroad.

As this was the area in which he had built up expertise, it was "only natural" that this could be the area he could cover for the ANC, if the organisation wanted to use him.

INTERVIEW

Nelson Mandela speaks

SPECTRUM

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18/7/91

The Argus, Thursday July 18 1991

QUESTION: At the ANC conference you appear to have won a clear mandate to proceed urgently with negotiations. What is the timetable for the rest of the year?

ANSWER: It is difficult to say because of the obstacles which are still in the way of negotiations. There are three main obstacles which we must still resolve. Firstly, there is the question of the release of political prisoners. The government has gone a long way to meet us in this regard, but there are quite a large number of prisoners still in prison.

Secondly, political trials are still going on. I must confess that this is not an easy matter. As far as the state is concerned, they can only decide whether a trial is political at the end of the trial when the evidence has been given by the defence and the state and there has been cross-examination. Then there is the question of exiles. Both the government and ourselves are to blame that there are still exiles abroad.

It's a question of mutual responsibility in the sense that we have not been able to raise the necessary funds to get these exiles back. Some of the exiles — because of the situation of violence inside the country — are not very keen to come back. But the main responsibility is that of the government because they are not fast enough in providing us with permits for people to return. They are not prepared to assist.

The government has said that apartheid was a mistake which means that everybody who was arrested or harassed because of apartheid was unjustly treated. So the government should assist in the task of bringing back exiles and we blame it for refusing to do so.

And then there is the question of the violence. This is a very sensitive one which cannot be fully appreciated by whites because of their background. The lives of blacks are regarded as cheap by whites. I have to tell Mr De Klerk — when he has complained about me attacking him in public although he has never attacked me — that I am obliged to be because he stays in the safety of Tuynhuys and the Union Buildings — far from the field of conflict.

I stay in Soweto where I return at the end of the day and find people waiting for me. They say they have been attacked in their house and what do they do? I am woken up by frantic calls in the middle of the night by people saying: 'we are being attacked can you come?' This violence is interfering with free political activity in the country.

I had hoped that we would not have to wait for the removal of the obstacles. Even from the point of view of sanctions I had hoped that we would not have to wait until a democratic constitution is drawn up and

— except to say that it is a peace conference to end violence. We reject that. The all-party conference has three aims: to establish the principles on which the new constitution will be based, to establish the mechanism by which such a new constitution will be drafted and by whom it will be drafted, and to decide on the mechanism that will manage the process of transformation and specifically what body will manage the process.

All parties inside and outside parliament should be included as long as they have a constituency. We think this is important — especially from the point of view of the minorities, because there is a fear on the part of — not only whites — but coloured people and Indians. They are not certain what their position is going to be under an African government which — because of numbers — is dominated by Africans. The National Party is making a greater impact among coloured people and Indians and we have got to address that.

Q: Are you saying you have to recognise that the ethnic factor will continue in the post-apartheid South Africa?

A: Yes. And that is why we have to make sure — in our structures — that the ordinary man, no matter to what population group he belongs — must look to our structures and see that I as a coloured man am represented. I have got Alan Boesak there whom I trust. And an Indian must also be able to say: 'There is Kathadra — I am represented.' And the whites must say: 'There is Gerit Viljoen — I have got representation.' Unless we organise our structures in that form it is going to be difficult for people to attach weight to the principles in the Freedom Charter.

We think an all-party congress which would represent all these groups in proportion to their numbers will be able to allay the fears of these people — in addition to the work we will have to do in establishing efficient channels of communication between ourselves and these minorities.

Q: So, it's obviously going to be a very important body, but it appears unlikely to meet this year.

A: Well, it's late in the year. It's unlikely to meet this year, but I am still discussing this with Mr De Klerk. I was in touch with him last Saturday over the prisoners in Bophuthatswana. And we are still on good terms, which is something promising — that the problems arising will not get out of control. I have that hope.

But he must solve the problems on his side. Because I am going out of my way to tell our people publicly that negotiation is the only method. I am doing that, and I am discouraging those people who say: 'You are talking about peace when the government is conducting a war against us.'

What is going to delay negotiations is the all-party congress, which is different from the all-party conference of De Klerk. The all-party conference of De Klerk has refused to do fine what it is being called for

STANLEY UYS, a special writer of the Argus Foreign Service, this week interviewed ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela.

The subjects included negotiations, the ethnic factor, a traditional government of national unity, sports ties, violence, white fears, the economy, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, and the question of whether the ANC will become a political party.

Mr Nelson Mandela

It is difficult, therefore, to say whether the all-party congress will be held this year. I doubt it.

Q: You have stressed the urgency of creating a "transitional government of national unity" to govern during the interim period. Could you elaborate on the role and composition of such a body, and how it may affect the timing of an election?

A: If the mutual confidence is there it is not necessary actually to form the interim government before we go on negotiating. And that is why I regret this intransigence on the part of the government. Because we would have made long strides now if we were able to say: 'Look at these men, they are consistent. They have made an agreement and they are honouring it. There's no reason, therefore, that we should doubt any undertaking that they have made.'

In my view, it is not going to be easy for us to address the whole question of a peaceful solution as long as the government is not forthcoming and ensures that we are able to carry our people with us on the question of negotiations. It is unfortunate. But that is the reality.

Q: The recent breakthroughs in Olympic sport and cricket are largely a result of efforts to get SA sport back into the international arena. The next phase in the lifting of sanctions will be dropping visa requirements and the cultural and academic boycotts. You have indicated that this phase depends on the resolution of outstanding problems with prisoners, exiles and political violence. Once these problems are resolved would one see the lifting of these sanctions?

A: Undoubtedly. The first phase would then be complete. This would mean the lifting of sanctions in regard to air links, tourism and sports boycotts. Progress has been made with removing apartheid from the statute books. But we are dissatisfied that racialism still exists in the way that the Population Registration Act has been repealed. But I think we can easily pressure the government to go the whole hog.

The (scrapping) of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act

ANC and the government would have to address because that fear is genuine. It is mistaken but it is genuine. When you read the Freedom Charter there is no necessity at all for whites to fear majority rule. We are not in favour of black majority rule. We are in favour of majority rule.

When we define the rights of an individual in a Bill of Rights, and when we say that the Bill of Rights is justifiable and when we say we believe in an independent judiciary, we believe in a multi-party system, in regular general elections — then we hope we have removed the fears of all minority groups in the country.

But it may well be that we have to consider very carefully how the principle of one person, one vote should be applied in the light of our situation, especially in the first few years of a democratic government. It's not just a question of stating the rules and regulations.

It's a question also of doing something to show that the system has got an in-built mechanism which makes it impossible for one group to suppress the other.

Q: Do you think the gap between the ANC's vision of the economy and that of the business community has narrowed to the point where consensus is possible on an immediate programme to revive the economy?

A: I wouldn't say that it has narrowed to that extent except to say that it is narrowing. We perhaps placed too much emphasis on the question of nationalisation. It should have been sufficient for us to say: 'We think in the light of our own situation that some measure of state involvement in the building of the economy is necessary.' We should have said that in all countries which have gone through a traumatic experience — like war or natural disaster — state intervention is inevitable.

It happened in Germany after the Second World War. In Japan, South Korea... in order to put the economy on a sound basis the state had to intervene. To have stressed nationalisation as such perhaps has been a slight mistake on our part.

We are now addressing businessmen and we are saying that we have selected state intervention because to us it is the only way of rectifying the unfair distribution of the resources of the country. If you have an alternative we are saying: 'Please tell us what it is because we are not dogmatically attached to nationalisation or state intervention.'

I have said that taxation by itself is not adequate to redress this imbalance. Even when we speak in terms of state intervention, it can't be done by the ANC because building the economy is not just the task of the ANC. It

is the task of the whole community.

Q: You often explained the reasons for the close alliance between the ANC and the SACP. Apart from obvious red-baiting, do you not think there is legitimate concern among potential investors about the future policies of an ANC with so many communist members on the new executive?

A: There is no doubt in my mind that most of the concern is quite genuine because people believe in free enterprise and marxist economic models have not been able to ensure free enterprise. We are saying that people should be able to accept not only the democratic process, but also the democratic result.

Once you are a democrat and you believe that people should exercise a free choice of their leadership then you must be prepared for them to elect anybody that they want to.

We are also guided by our own experience. In the mid-1940s people like the late Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and myself moved a resolution in an ANC conference to expel the communists. We were attacked and humiliated by people like Dr Xuma and Professor Matthews — anti-communists who said that the ANC is the parliament of the African people, don't come here and seek to change our traditions. The communists themselves — Moses Kotane and J B Marks — never spoke because it never became necessary. Our point of view was completely rejected. We were drowned. That has been our tradition.

The West itself has not hesitated to form a common alliance with the Soviet Union when they have a common objective. In the second world war, Britain, America, France had this grand alliance with the Soviet Union and nobody could condemn that alliance because — in regard to the danger that faced the world — it required us to forget about our ideological differences and to think in terms of destroying the common enemy. That is also our approach.

If the CP had 49 out of 50 (an ANC) meeting I am convinced personally that I would never accept anything which I don't consider to be in the interests of the ANC. We have got an agenda and we are carrying out that agenda. The Communist Party has not opposed that agenda. They have not sought to undermine it.

People like Joe Slovo — who has grown up along with me, and we were at university together and we practised law together — I trust completely. As long as he is the general secretary of the SACP I am sure the party will have no separate meetings as to what their line should be in the ANC.

We don't think that we have been persuaded to feel that there is something wrong in

the alliance. I don't think that we could ever be persuaded to put an end to that alliance.

Q: At the Durban conference the ANC was looking increasingly like a political party — with its leadership elections, detailed constitution and policy positions. At what point will the ANC transform itself from a broad liberation movement into political party?

A: Certainly not before the new constitution is accepted. If we did transform ourselves into a political party we would be in difficulties because what unites us today is the struggle against racial oppression, and we are not prepared to investigate the political ideology of any particular member of the ANC as long as he/she supports the basic aim of destroying racial oppression.

If we turn into a party then we will have to go further: we will have to decide whether we are going to be an organisation that believes in the capitalist system, whether we are going to believe in Fabian socialism, or whether we are going to believe in marxist socialism.

We have to be very careful about our economic programme and we have to indicate what we believe in. That would be dangerous at the moment because it would split us from top to bottom.

Q: So, you accept that there will be a natural separation in the ANC into...

A: After apartheid is destroyed. The SACP has declared that their co-operation with us is only up to the point of the overthrow of the apartheid state. After that they take their own line which will not follow. We won't follow socialism. We have got our own programme.

Q: Would the ANC become a political party at that point or would it break up into other political parties?

A: The ANC is not going to break up, and even the communists are going to have to be very careful about how they break away from us. It does not follow that, because you have taken over (the country), that problems will come to an end.

If there are any lessons from developments in Mozambique and Angola — and Zimbabwe — it is that victory merely brings fresh kinds of problems. Mozambique and Angola have been reduced to ashes because they did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era.

Now we have to learn that here we have tried to merge people of different political persuasions in order to avoid somebody who is disgruntled going to the opposition and taking up arms against an established government.

We have to be very careful with such groups... like Inkatha. We must try to the utmost to prevent them from feeling that they have been persecuted or sidelined in the new South Africa.

DP Youth accuses ANC of 'haughty posturing'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NEWS 18/7/91

THE Democratic Party Youth has challenged the ANC's Youth League to respond to criticism of its stand on sanctions by arguing its case rationally, rather than by "haughty posturing".

Vice-chairman of the DP Youth Mr Colin Douglas was reacting to the ANC's angry response to an early DP statement accusing the movement of being "grossly irresponsible" in advocating sanctions.

Mr Douglas said: "It is unfortunate that the ANC Youth League chooses to counter our criticism with haughty posturing rather than rational argument."

"The DP Youth speaks out against the ANC's continued support for sanctions not because we wish to be offensive, but because the homeless, the unemployed and the poor desperately need an improvement in South Africa's dire economy, and that cannot take place unless foreign investment is encouraged immediately by all political leaders." (11A)

Mr Douglas said the ANC should accept that the time of "open, multiparty debate has arrived".

"The ANC Youth League should respond to our criticism by arguing the case for sanctions rather than taking offence and questioning our credentials."

Mandela: ANC will be flexible

But compromise only if government restores faith

CT 12/7/91

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11A

STANLEY UYS, The Argus Foreign Service

THE scene is set for real negotiations — and major ANC compromises — if the government acts quickly to restore faith in its intentions, Mr Nelson Mandela disclosed today.

In an exclusive interview with The Argus — his first in-depth policy pronouncement since the landmark ANC conference this month — Mr Mandela made it clear the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues blocking the negotiation process.

He emphasised this depended on the government demonstrating its sincerity in resolving the principal obstacle of political violence and addressing the issues of prisoners, exiles, and political trials.



HAPPY BIRTHDAY: Mr Nelson Mandela turns 73 today — but it will be a normal working day as he will attend a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee which was adjourned yesterday. He said he was looking forward to his birthday. "We have been getting congratulations from all over. It gives one a lot of inspiration."

He did not demand conclusive resolution of these stumbling blocks but said there had been a distressing erosion of trust in President De Klerk's government.

This could be redressed by meaningful gestures by Pretoria.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would —

- Not delay constitutional negotiations because an interim government had not been agreed on, or if the "Patriotic Front" meeting of anti-apartheid forces did not reach consensus. "Some of them have said they are not interested in negotiations. We are going on with negotiations".

- Be completely distinct from the Communist Party once apartheid was removed. The SACP would "take their own line ... which we will not follow."

- Tell the business community the ANC was not "dogmatically attached to nationalisation or state intervention", and had "perhaps overstressed" these issues in the past.

- Favour minority representation in future governmental structures: "For example, the whites must (be able to say): 'There is Gerrit Viljoen — I have got representation there'."

- Consider "very carefully how the principle of one person one vote should be applied in the light of (the South African) situation, especially in the first few years of democratic government."

- Avoid groups such as Inkatha feeling sidelined: "We must involve them."

- Learn from the mistakes of countries like Mozambique and Angola which were "reduced to ashes" because they "did not prepare properly for the post-colonial era".

Crucial to ANC flexibility is the restoration of mutual confidence between the ANC and the government, said Mr Mandela.

He made clear the ANC's conviction that government actions — or the refusal to take action — had eroded the feeling of mutual trust which had existed when the ANC leader was released from prison.

Expressed disappointment

The government's inability to stop the township violence in particular "has destroyed the atmosphere that I was trying to build. I would like to think that there are people undermining (President De Klerk) because I think he is too honest to play this kind of game.

"But my problem is that he has not been able to use his capacity to put an end to the violence so that we can move forward."

President De Klerk had to ensure that he was seen as being on the side of those who were fighting against the violence, Mr Mandela implied.

He expressed disappointment — but not surprise — at US President George Bush's lifting of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. The ANC favoured the lifting of sanctions once the government had demonstrated its goodwill in overcoming obstacles and ensuring that once laws were repealed, blacks were given the opportunity to enjoy the resulting benefits.

● Interview, page 19.

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ZULU POLITICS

ROYAL SPLIT

The election of a senior Zulu royal prince to the ANC's national executive committee could tear the royal family apart, according to Oscar Dhlomo.

The former Inkatha second-in-command says that Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu (60) is now *persona non grata* with the King's household and would not, therefore, be able to mediate to normalise relations between the ANC and King Goodwill Zwelithini.

The prince's support within the ranks of the ANC was manifest at its recent conference, when his election announcement drew loud applause — almost as great as that for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani, who topped the poll.

Dhlomo, who heads the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, says the rift between those in the royal family who support the king and those who back Prince Zulu could widen as a result of the prince's election to the ANC policy-making body.

Since relations between the prince and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi are also strained, Mcwayizeni's access to the king to bring about any reconciliation was also blocked, Dhlomo added. Buthelezi himself is a senior member of the royal family and often speaks on its behalf.

The prince had come under fire for joining the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa). The king and Buthelezi have called the organisation "a spear" in the heart of Zulu unity.

Dhlomo says: "He has little chance to move to recruit for Contralesa within KwaZulu. Remember that the chiefs are paid officials of the KwaZulu government and owe their allegiance to it and would be re-



Dhlomo ... news of a split among Zulu royals

garded as rebels if they moved from Inkatha to Contralesa."

But princes and princesses who are not favourably disposed to Buthelezi or Inkatha might be wooed. Buthelezi has admitted this.

FM 19/7/91

The election is the latest twist in a bitter feud within the Zulu royal family. It started soon after the prince was made Zulu Regent in 1968, after the death of his half-brother (and the present king's father), Paramount Chief Cyprian Bekuzulu.

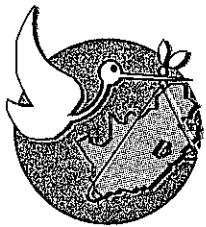
In his three years as regent, he has managed to upset Buthelezi, rising through the ranks at the same time, by excluding him from certain functions and duties.

Prince Mcwayizeni resigned as the king's representative in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in 1989 because of his "disillusionment" with the system.

Animosity became public when the king made a veiled threat at a Shaka Day rally last year against "dissident" members of the royal family and chiefs who joined Contralesa. The Zulus would "find them out and kill them," he warned.

Cyril sets the tone

He's a pragmatist who needs to sharpen up on Marx and economics



The advent of Cyril Ramaphosa as the African National Congress's secretary-general, and one who is ostensibly near centre on the political stage, has evoked widespread interest in the man and his ideas.

And understandably so. For, if our measure of his ambition and ability is correct, the prosperity of more than 30m people will depend critically upon them.

At 38, he is representative of those younger men who will one day lead the ANC beyond the confines of merely being a "liberation movement." So businessmen and investors, in particular, want to know — as precisely as possible — the degree of his socialism.

And if he is after all a pragmatist, as the evidence suggests, will he nonetheless be constrained in his actions by militant followers with dangerously high expectations and outdated collectivist dogma?

Ramaphosa has been greeted by sympathisers and detractors alike as good for the ANC in that he has already shown the leadership and negotiating skills the congress needs if it is to become the "well-oiled machine" Nelson Mandela has said he wants it to be. For it is in credible leadership, coherent policies and organisational ability that the ANC most needs to be endowed.

Now that its National Executive Committee (NEC) has been through the fire of an election, it needs someone with Ramaphosa's solidly proven attributes to progress beyond the politics of confrontation and towards a fully fledged alternative government. Foreign funding, too, is increasingly likely to be dependent on the congress's success in projecting an image of competence and commonsense.

So the secretary-general's post is bound to take on greater significance at this stage of the ANC's political life; and it would be surprising if Ramaphosa were not part of its negotiating team in the coming multiparty venue that will begin the debate on a new constitution.

Ramaphosa himself describes his new job as having "manifold functions":

- To co-ordinate the ANC's administrative activities on a national basis — which will be a mammoth task;
- To ensure that proper records are kept; and
- To co-ordinate the activities of the NEC so that decisions that are taken are implemented and properly reported.

To these tasks the bearded former trade

union leader will bring charisma, a grass-roots following and tested skills honed in the tough bargaining environment of the mining houses. He is articulate, hard-working and — the quality most frequently observed — a consummate negotiator, which could mean that if he asks for one rand he shouldn't be offered more than 20c.

He is also an avowed Marxist, though it is well worth examining exactly what this means to him. How does he reconcile his image as a working-class hero with his reputation for being a snappy dresser, the owner of a BMW — and keen on trout fishing?

"People should judge me by what I do and the work I've done," he retorts. The record indeed suggests that what Ramaphosa does well is strike accords. In any case, his bourgeois tastes are irrelevant, he says, adding that he bought the Beemer when he was an article law clerk 12 years ago, is proud to have maintained it for so long, and in any case now drives a Toyota. As for fishing, "what are we saying about fishermen all over the world who lead some of the most desperate lives?"

So he also has a sense of humour, as well, perhaps, as the upper-crust inclinations of a future commissar.

But, essentially, understanding Ramaphosa inevitably means coming back to that

Government should be able to intervene to give direction to the economy

word: pragmatist. "That's my problem," he once confessed, "that I am a pragmatist, not an idealist." But it also belies his claim to being a Marxist.

Those who know him say we can now expect the negotiating process to be cut by 12 months. That would be refreshing.

Ramaphosa is at present winding down his activities in the NUM, though he would like to continue acting as some kind of consultant to the union because "I owe it to the miners."

Under his leadership, the path-breaking profit and performance-linked wage agreement at Ergo was forged during a time of dire straits for the mining industry. Earlier this year he led the Soweto People's Delegation to negotiate an electricity and rent arrears agreement with the Transvaal Provin-

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Significantly, these initiatives were opposed by Moses Mayekiso, who is head of the Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), and who is also general secretary of the metalworkers' union, Numsa, and a high-profile member of the SA Communist Party.

Ramaphosa got his way — and the constituency support. This helps to explain the popularity of his election to the ANC's governing committee.

His rivalry with Mayekiso goes back to the time Ramaphosa left his former Black Consciousness-inclined home in the union federation Cusa, where he had been legal adviser, to form the NUM under the Fosatu umbrella in 1982. The rival miners' union in Mawu was then led by Mayekiso, and the issue of the day was that of access agreements to recruit membership.

What transpired is instructive. Ramaphosa came to believe that the existing method of surreptitiously penetrating an industry and then presenting management with a fait accompli was time-consuming and could fail. So he went directly to Anglo management on the access issue, was granted that access — and NUM membership shot from 22 000 to 50 000 in a year. Mine team leaders were targeted as key personnel to enlist in this drive.

Within 12 months he had outflanked his rivals and demonstrated that there would be room for only one black union in mining.

He was able to take the political tide and see what was going to work. In formulating policy, Ramaphosa has an acute sense of what will achieve the desired end. In that light, his publicly proclaimed allegiance to socialism needs some qualification. He has also seen first-hand the ruin it brings.

For all that, he still claims to remain a Marxist: "We don't share the view of those who say that socialism has collapsed completely in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is rather the method of application that was wrong..." This, of course, is a familiar refrain among romantics with a lifetime of support for the Communist Party. And it begs the question: if the Russians with all their resources and cultural attributes could not get it right, why should anyone believe the ANC will succeed here?

Reflecting this line, Ramaphosa adds: "Those countries were able to achieve optimum heights in terms of winning for the people a number of essential benefits that should be part and parcel of life. For in-

stance, the question of employment. In the then-socialist countries, unemployment was unheard of; health care was one of the best you could get; the participation of people in the running of enterprises was, at a theoretical level, quite ideal — but they did not put it into practice in the way they should have.”

The point is, of course, that none of this could be sustained. When asked about his visit to Moscow in 1989, he admits: “It was a shock in a number of ways. I went at a time they were beginning to experience enormous economic problems . . . You cannot go to any of these countries and not be surprised by the level of economic decline.”

He can recognise economic decline. That much is clear. But is he fully aware of its causes and what the alternative must be if SA is to generate, let alone redistribute, wealth? Businessmen who know him confess to doubts about Ramaphosa’s practical understanding of the dynamic of a market economy.

This is what one had to say: “In some respects there is a parallel with the development of trade unions — the need we had for an organised channel of communication, strong union leaders to bring the members along. For that you need people of Cyril’s calibre. He is a consummate negotiator, and it’s in the ANC’s interests, if negotiations with government are to succeed, to have such a person. He understands the fundamental lesson of negotiation — that it involves compromise.

“But while we all think he’s a great guy, he doesn’t understand wealth-creation. For instance, when he was asked about the issue on TV (on *Agenda*) he brought up that hoary old chestnut, electrification.”

Last week — under consistent pressure from business — Ramaphosa issued a statement that categorically denied he had ever been a member of the SA Communist Party. But what of the policy of nationalisation, which the NUM supports?

Ramaphosa responds: “The decision of the NUM is that in terms of achieving the objectives that we believe are necessary for growth, there should be certain enterprises that should be identified for public ownership . . . Government should be able to intervene by giving direction to the economy, by taking ownership of certain enterprises in the economy, by managing others, and so forth. And all that should be to achieve certain strategic objectives.

“If it turns out that by taking a particular enterprise you are not going to achieve those objectives, you should not do it. There’s going to have to be a process of research and study of whether the taking into State ownership of a particular enterprise is actually going to win the objectives we want. Nothing will be taken into State ownership without thorough research and analysis, including what is currently under State ownership.”

Is this not a little disingenuous? Ramaphosa knows that popular feelings willy-nilly support nationalisation. Clearly the ANC will examine this “option,” but whether it is

exercised or not will depend on whether the ANC’s leadership can bring itself to admit that it has never, anywhere, succeeded. And then to explain to its followers why this is so.

(Clarity on ANC economic policy, based on guidelines presented at its recent conference, can be expected “within six months,” according to Ramaphosa.)

Ramaphosa is also not completely clear — perhaps not even in his own mind — on the principle of private ownership as crucial to a successful modern economy.

“I accept it without any form of reservation,” he says, then goes on to lodge a reservation: “I also accept the fact that you need to have public ownership of certain means of production. In that respect, we locate those two objectives in a mixed economy, which the ANC has set out as the foundation of its economic policy.”

But a mixed economy has no place in anything that Marx ever advocated. Simply put, he adumbrated, using a spuriously scientific technique, a process whereby inevitably the rich would become richer and fewer, and the poor even poorer and greater in numbers. The outcome would be a revolution from which a people’s dictatorship would emerge with the State owning the means of production and in which each worker would contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Marx was no moralist. He described a historical process that he claimed was inevitable. And everywhere it has subsequently been shown to be in ruins.

There is sufficient evidence to indicate now that successful democracies are invariably based on private ownership and the allocation of resources by the market. Government’s allocation of resources too often leads to a loss of personal freedom as failure impacts upon failure. Ramaphosa disagrees.

“No. I think successful democracies should really be judged by the way that people as a whole are given the opportunity to participate from grassroots level up to the highest decision-making structures of any country . . . The type of democracy we want to see engendered in this country goes way beyond that we have seen in practice in capitalist countries. It is the type of democracy in which civil society organisations are fully empowered to get to grips with issues of the day, and able to feed all they are debating into the highest structures of government.”

He is as ambivalent on the efficacy of the market. “I remain convinced that the free market is not solely able to solve the ills that beset a number of countries. It will not be



Ramaphosa interviewed by FM’s Amarnath Singh . . . at the helm

able to do so in our country. You need to have a mixed economy that mixes what the market is able to do best — and also takes into account what State-run corporations are able to deliver to the people as a whole.”

That sounds agreeable but it defies close intellectual scrutiny. State corporations are able to deliver nothing to the people more efficiently than private corporations are able to.

Those who have reservations about his grasp of economics should remember that he is adept at using advisers, has shown he is more attuned to the pragmatic solution than to ideological deadlock, and has before him evidence that mounts by the day of the sterility of the collectivist dogma.

Feeding policy

As secretary-general, and therefore part of the top six of the ANC, Ramaphosa will be part of the national working committee directly involved in overall ANC policy formulation and direction. If, through his pragmatism, he has reservations about issues such as nationalisation, this should be reflected soon in official ANC policy, if that is not already the case.

Ramaphosa sees himself as much as a politician as a unionist. “Just by being an official of the ANC also means that you are a politician. And my abilities as a politician are going to be finally seen in action, rather than based on what I say . . .”

Last year in a special interview published on September 28, Mandela told the *FM* that he was not a socialist. However, as recently as 1985 (according to a report in the *Mail on Sunday*) the ANC president said to one of his visitors in prison, Lord Nicholas Bethell, “personally, I am a socialist.”

We are not sure whether that is Mandela’s ambivalence or a change of mind. We hope it is the latter.

And that Ramaphosa’s equivocation on Marxism can be taken in much the same light. If we are wrong, the Harold Macmillan phrase about “never having it so good” will apply to the majority of people in this country, regardless of race, right now. And they certainly won’t ever have it as good again.

Cyril sets the tone

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Ramaphosa is also not completely clear

— perhaps not even in his own mind — on the principle of private ownership as crucial to a successful modern economy.

"I accept it without any form of reservation," he says, then goes on to lodge a reservation: "I also accept the fact that you need to have public ownership of certain means of production. In that respect, we locate those two objectives in a mixed economy, which the ANC has set out as the foundation of its economic policy."

But a mixed economy has no place in anything that Marx ever advocated. Simply put, he adumbrated, using a spuriously scientific technique, a process whereby inevitably the rich would become richer and fewer, and the poor even poorer and greater in numbers. The outcome would be a revolution from which a people's dictatorship would emerge with the State owning the means of production and in which each worker would contribute according to his ability and receive according to his needs.

Marx was no moralist. He described a historical process that he claimed was inevitable. And everywhere it has subsequently been shown to be in ruins.

There is sufficient evidence to indicate now that successful democracies are invariably based on private ownership and the allocation of resources by the market. Government's allocation of resources too often leads to a loss of personal freedom as failure impacts upon failure. Ramaphosa disagrees.

"No. I think successful democracies should really be judged by the way that people as a whole are given the opportunity to participate from grassroots level up to the highest decision-making structures of any country... The type of democracy we want to see engendered in this country goes way beyond that we have seen in practice in capitalist countries. It is the type of democracy in which civil society organisations are fully empowered to get to grips with issues of the day, and able to feed all they are debating into the highest structures of government."

He is as ambivalent on the efficacy of the market. "I remain convinced that the free market is not solely able to solve the ills that beset a number of countries. It will not be



Ramaphosa interviewed by FM's Amarnath Singh... at the helm

able to do so in our country. You need to have a mixed economy that mixes what the market is able to do best — and also takes into account what State-run corporations are able to deliver to the people as a whole."

That sounds agreeable but it defies close intellectual scrutiny. State corporations are able to deliver nothing to the people more efficiently than private corporations are able to.

Those who have reservations about his grasp of economics should remember that he is adept at using advisers, has shown he is more attuned to the pragmatic solution than to ideological deadlock, and has before him evidence that mounts by the day of the sterility of the collectivist dogma.

Feeding policy

As secretary-general, and therefore part of the top six of the ANC, Ramaphosa will be part of the national working committee directly involved in overall ANC policy formulation and direction. If, through his pragmatism, he has reservations about issues such as nationalisation, this should be reflected soon in official ANC policy, if that is not already the case.

Ramaphosa sees himself as much as a politician as a unionist. "Just by being an official of the ANC also means that you are a politician. And my abilities as a politician are going to be finally seen in action, rather than based on what I say..."

Last year in a special interview published on September 28, Mandela told the *FM* that he was not a socialist. However, as recently as 1985 (according to a report in the *Mail on Sunday*) the ANC president said to one of his visitors in prison, Lord Nicholas Bethell, "personally, I am a socialist."

We are not sure whether that is Mandela's ambivalence or a change of mind. We hope it is the latter.

And that Ramaphosa's equivocation on Marxism can be taken in much the same light. If we are wrong, the Harold Macmillan phrase about "never having it so good" will apply to the majority of people in this country, regardless of race, right now. And they certainly won't ever have it as good again.

As the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) approaches its first annual conference as an official political party this weekend, members find themselves under the shadow of a new controversy.

A KwaZulu MP was this week sentenced *continue - P*

to two years imprisonment, suspended for five years, after having been found guilty of culpable homicide for shooting a man in 1989. He was ordered to pay R10 000 to the deceased's dependants and declared unfit to possess a firearm.

In May this year, a KwaZulu deputy minister and IFP central committee member received a life sentence for murder and attempted murder.

At the same time, IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi is embroiled in a tussle with universities over an unofficial biography which his lawyers claim is defamatory. The book is titled *Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda*. It was written by ANC official Nobleman Nxumalo (under the *nom de plume* Mzala). At one stage it was removed from library shelves at the University of Natal, but has since been returned. Nxumalo, who wrote the book while in exile in London, died earlier this year.

Eight other universities are understood to have received letters from Buthelezi's lawyers threatening legal action if the book is not removed. Apart from sparking a debate on academic freedom, the matter could well end in court.

Attorney Jenny Friedman, acting for Buthelezi, has indicated that he will probably continue trying to get the book out of university libraries, despite strong protests from academics and the decision of the University of Natal to again make the book available to staff and students.

The IFP's conference this weekend, like the ANC's earlier in the month, is expected

to be a milestone event.

At last year's conference the decision was taken for Inkatha to change from being a "cultural liberation movement" to a political party. This happened at a special conference last December, when the necessary changes were made to the organisation's constitution.

A lot of attention will probably be paid to internal matters as the IFP completes the transition to a fully fledged political party, as well as to issues which came out of the ANC conference.

Buthelezi is expected to react to the ANC conference in his main address on Saturday, particularly to the decision by Umkhonto we Sizwe to continue recruiting members; the call for an interim government and constitu-



KwaZulu's Buthelezi ... to react to ANC conference

ent assembly; the IFP's relationship with the PAC; and political violence. Other issues on the agenda include sanctions, negotiations and the process towards peace.

The IFP's image has taken a bit of a battering lately. First came allegations, backed by pictures in the press, of officials being supplied with automatic weapons at an Inkatha rally.

Concern at the alleged issuing of unlicensed arms grew following a machine-gun attack on ANC members (returning from their conference earlier this month) at a station near Durban.

Then on Tuesday, KwaZulu MP Psychology Ndlovu was sentenced for culpable homicide in the Maritzburg Supreme Court for shooting Muzikawukhulelwa Ngcobo in the back with a rifle in September 1989. The court heard that Ndlovu and five other men were investigating a faction fight near Wartburg and that the MP gave chase and fired shots at a group of fleeing men.

Justice John Didcott said while the court was convinced Ndlovu fired the shot which killed Ngcobo and that the shooting was not accidental, lack of evidence as to exactly what happened meant the court had to find his conduct negligent rather than intentional. Co-accused Mandla Ndlovu, also a KwaZulu MP, was discharged.

In May, KwaZulu Deputy Minister of the Interior, Samuel Jamile, was sentenced to life imprisonment for killing Joseph Khumalo and attempting to murder the man's fiancée, Thokozile Shabalala, in 1987. ■

COSATU'S CHOICES

11A

Would an ANC-dominated government protect working-class rights, and should unions maintain their alliances with the ANC and SA Communist Party?

These linked questions will be debated at the Congress of SA Trade Unions' fourth national conference in Johannesburg on July 24-27. The conference, which will draw delegates from 14 Cosatu affiliates, will focus strongly on political issues.

A central issue will be the adoption of a workers' charter, intended to herald the entrenchment of workers' rights in a future constitution. Such a charter would cover, for example, the right to strike and belong to unions.

Before the ANC national conference, at least, the ANC leadership looked set to be attacked for its lack of consultation with Cosatu, a member of the tripartite alliance which includes the SACP. Union leaders have been dismayed particularly by the ANC's poor negotiating skills and failure to keep government to agreements.

The Cosatu conference is likely to decide on the secondment of key negotiators to the ANC for negotiations and talks-about-talks. It is a position that the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) tried to get Cosatu to accept, shortly after the ANC was unbanned last year, but the proposal was defeated. Now it is more likely to succeed with NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa in the ANC secretary-general's chair.

The NUM central committee is due to meet on Tuesday to appoint an acting general secretary to succeed Ramaphosa. Marcel Golding, NUM deputy assistant general secretary, is the likely choice but education officer Kgalima Motlanthe is a strong con-

tender. Motlanthe, also a rising star in the ANC as head of its PWV region, will have to decide to which post he will give priority.

The so-called *two hats* debate — that of key unionists holding top positions in political organisations — will probably be the most hotly debated issue of the conference. Cosatu deputy general secretary Sydney Mafumadi, for example, now wears three hats: he is also on the ANC national executive committee and the SACP's central committee. Moses Mayekiso is another: ANC committee, general secretary of the metalworkers' union, head of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal.

There is a strong union lobby which argues against dual and triple leadership roles on the grounds that no job will be done properly and there will be uncertainty about which hat is being worn at a given time. There is also suspicion that political parties cannot always be trusted to place workers' interests first.

John Copelyn, general secretary of the Clothing & Textile Workers' Union, has been the most vociferous opponent of unionists having leading roles in political parties. In the latest issue of the *Labour Bulletin* he describes how the SACP approached several key unionists secretly to be part of its Internal Leadership Group. These leaders were announced as part of the SACP national leadership — without Cosatu being advised beforehand.

Subsequently, in the first meeting of the political committee of the tripartite alliance, top Cosatu office bearers ended up representing the SACP in its dealings with the unions!

Copelyn and others like him believe not only that this is undemocratic, but that it shows scant regard for the independence of the unions. Many Cosatu unionists are acutely aware of the lessons of eastern Europe, where the union movement destroyed itself and neglected worker interests by not cutting its links with political parties and, therefore, the State.

Also to be debated will be the issue of

socialism in the light of events in eastern Europe. At their May congress miners re-dedicated NUM to "building socialism and to achieve full political and economic emancipation for the working class." It argued that socialism failed in eastern Europe because "it became a bureaucratic dictatorship of the Party."

The Food & Allied Workers' Union (which supports the wearing of two hats) said at its congress last month that socialism had not failed, but rather eastern bloc leaders had departed from Marxist-Leninist theory.

Central to this debate is the issue of nationalisation and centralised economic planning — which not all unions support, and from which the ANC has been moving away.

Violence will be another topic. Unionists and their families have in recent times been targets of assassinations. Cosatu has played a key role in monitoring violence and in peace efforts in Natal and the Reef.

Proposals to restructure the economy will provoke long and complicated discussions. Though Cosatu has discussed economic planning with its affiliates, only broad ideas have emerged. Few in Cosatu are satisfied that the federation has workable ideas on economic restructuring.

However, in its greatest advance of the year, Cosatu will discuss with its affiliates the new role it hopes to play on the restructured National Manpower Commission, which is expected to begin work in October. The commission will, for the first time, include black trade unionists. This means unions will influence the drafting of labour law long before blacks have the vote. ■

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continue →



Cosatu's Jay Naidoo ...
major debates ahead

(11A) (185)
Star 19/7/91
**Top PAC delegates
talk to Ciskei leaders**

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

A high-level Pan Africanist Congress delegation yesterday held talks with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei military government, according to a press statement.

The statement, issued by PAC Border region publicity-secretary Zamikaya Gxabe, said the meeting was scheduled to discuss political, social and economic problems.

The meeting, Mr Gxabe said, followed the PAC's numerous attempts in the past to hold talks with the Ciskei Council of State on various issues of local and

national importance.

The PAC delegation included national executive council members Mahlubi Mbandazayo, Mpolose Mangqangwana and Victor Zamela.

Also in the delegation were Border regional executive committee members Mvuyo Mhangwana, Walter Tshikila and Mr Gxabe.

Relations between the PAC and the Ciskei government were strained in mid-June after homeland soldiers hauled PAC publicity-secretary Barney Desai out of a radio studio where he was giving an interview.

Brigadier Gqozo later apologised for the incident.

Europe is no longer as uncritical about the Government's opponents, writes Shaun Johnson

The ANC's halo is slipping

Star 19/7/91

11A

~~1977~~

HERE was a time, and it wasn't that long ago either, when the only European newspapers to attack the ANC outright — and by implication side with the Pretoria Government — were those of the far Right; the *Patriots of the Continent*. The cause of black South Africans was seen to be so patently just that criticism of its organisational custodians was regarded as beyond the pale — unjustifiably sympathetic at best, crypto-racist at worst.

This position has shifted incrementally and perceptibly since the accession to power of President de Klerk. Now, however, here are indications that, in some important cases at least, the penulum has swung all the way round.

At the recent conference of the ANC in Durban, concern was expressed about ground being lost in the international sphere: it should

be especially worrying to the ANC, therefore, that even the success of that conference has not succeeded in stemming the ebb of European sympathy.

The latest European organ of influence to come out in the open with its concerns about the ANC is the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ). The FAZ is not just another European newspaper. It is arguably the most prestigious newspaper in what is arguably the most powerful state in Europe. Although regarded as "conservative" in European terms, it by no means has a record of anti-ANC policy, and its "anti-apartheid" credentials are unimpeachable.

For these reasons the decision by the FAZ to publish, on its front page, a searching opinion piece about the ANC by its chief political editor is deserving of attention. Even if the ANC chooses to dismiss such criticism as wrong-headed or uninformed, it should be

borne in mind that Germany's most powerful financiers read the FAZ — and, to some extent, form through it their opinions of the "new South Africa" as a potential repository for investment.

This is an abridged — and translated — version of Klaus Natorp's argument in the article, "Not yet able to rule".

"The ANC is preparing itself to assume governmental responsibility in South Africa in the foreseeable future. However, is it mature enough to do so?"

"Nelson Mandela ... is a shrewd politician. Hopefully, he will remain head of this important organisation for a long time. However, he is not almighty ... he has to accommodate many different views. There is a gap of almost two generations between him ... and the ANC youth ... In order to preserve the young generation's loyalty, Mandela must often appear more radical than he actual-

ly is. This complicates the preparation towards negotiations on a future constitution and might, even after their conclusion, hinder efforts to construct the new constitution.

"Even before Durban there were complaints among the ANC that the leadership was frequently acting without previous consultation with the ANC grassroots. This will now be corrected. However, at (this) level, unreasonable demands are frequently made ... it still dreams of an immediate, unconditional accession to power of the black majority. If Mandela in future dares only negotiate in accordance with the wishes of the advocates of such unrealistic ideas, the conference on a new constitution is not likely to come to a conclusion that is acceptable to all South Africans ...

"Another handicap is the continuing alliance with the South African Communist Party. No one

could prevent him from dissolving the ANC as a liberation movement and transforming it into an ordinary political party in which there would be no more room for the communists. Mandela, however, refrains from doing so, because he does not want to (appear) ungrateful ...

"However, one day, he will have to do so ... The strong influence of the communists does not only irritate most white South Africans, but many blacks as well — not least because the South African communists seemingly haven't learnt anything from the collapse of socialism in Europe ...

"Distrust has also been aroused in some by the aggressive rhetoric of the ANC. The military wing has suspended and not stopped its military actions, although it is clear that negotiations will start soon and the introduced reforms are irreversible ...

"It is (also) the uncertainty

about the future policy of the ANC that deters many South Africans ... Therefore, in question are the statistics revealed recently by a research institute: that the ANC could expect to gain more than 60 percent of the votes in an election. On election day, a good many may decide differently. Since its re-admission in South Africa, the ANC could not canvass nearly as many members as it had expected. Its organisational faults are obvious. Some time will pass before the elections take place. Despite having an outstanding leader like Mandela, the prestige of the ANC may decline further.

"In any event, the ANC does not at present seem to have the capability to rule."

The ANC no doubt believes it can convincingly rebut all or most of these deductions. But that does not detract from the fact that it has failed to prevent them being reached in the first place. □

Police siding with ANC in Natal township — Inkatha

Star 19/1/91
DURBAN — Members of the Inkatha Freedom Party at Malukazi, near Isipingo, have laid charges of assault and intimidation against the police, alleging that members of the SAP have sided with the ANC in the township.

In a statement, the head of the Inkatha Institute's project on violence, Kim Hodgeson, said about 60 IFP members assembled in the township on Tuesday to lay charges against the SAP at the mobile police station.

He said a meeting was arranged for Tuesday between IFP members and a policeman implicated in almost all the statements.

"Just prior to the meeting, the SAP raided IFP homes in the presence of ANC members," he charged.

Mr Hodgeson alleged they also assaulted the IFP vice-

chairman in the area.

He said one woman who fled from the "SAP/ANC" when they raided her home also arrived at the police station on Tuesday.

"Her clothes were torn and she had obviously been assaulted. But not only that, an ANC member who has been implicated in murdering an IFP member was also at the station.

"The suspect hot-wired a car and drove off. Police gave chase but he escaped."

Mr Hodgeson said it was shocking that the police had not arrested the murder suspect.

He claimed that Tuesday's incidents were merely a continuation of what seemed to be "a saga of SAP/ANC collusion to crush the IFP in the area".

SAP spokesman Captain Hamilton Ngidi confirmed that the police had opened dockets of assault and intimidation. — Sapa.

Malan hits at Mandela claims

ANC president Nelson Mandela's claims about the security forces are outrageous and his generalisations about whites terrible, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Responding to Mandela's comments during an interview with The Star, Malan called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about SA's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

Malan was speaking at an NP meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand.

References to individual transgressions by soldiers or policemen "due to the stress caused by the nature of their work" did not con-

stitute proof of security force complicity in township violence, Malan said.

Mandela's sweeping statements placed a question mark on his ability to "forsee the consequences if the security forces were not there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire"

8/10/91
19/7/91
Insult

He said Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations" because of his claim that white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways in a new order.

"The question begging is, who is going to hijack whom, with so many SACP members in the ANC executive."

The tone of Mandela's interview was confrontational and did not reflect a spirit of conciliation, Malan said.

Malan's speech also included a warning that he did not regard Mandela's claims as simple rhetoric aimed at keeping an electorate satisfied.

"These allegations, and the ANC's insistence on developing MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) as a private army — unacceptable in any country — have far reaching implications for security," Malan said. — Sapa.

ANC bending, bowing to oppressor

One presumes that the ANC's fervent desire to get into negotiations is based on the premise that power is with De Klerk and his Government. Of course this is indisputable: the police with their barely concealed murderous inclinations, the army with blood dripping from their hands, are on De Klerk's side. So it is only realistic of the ANC to go cap in hand, bending and bowing to the oppressor.

But what is often overlooked — and which is much more important — is the Government's original usurping of power, of the country itself.

The Black Consciousness Movement maintains that the present Government is only in power, and manages to stay there, by a brutal system of subjection and decimation of black people. It is only through naked might and a genocidal racism backed with guns that we are kept from power.

It becomes clear that negotiations themselves presuppose



Were attacks on Wimpy bars and unused toilets using Soviet-made explosives intended to bring the enemy to its knees?

an acknowledgement of the other person's superiority in all aspects.

So we begin to wonder: just what did the ANC gain through its mythical armed struggle? The electricity pylons, the Wimpy bars and unused toilets that fell to pieces under the forceful impact of Soviet-made explosives, weren't they intend-

ed to bring the enemy to its knees?

Why then the sorry spectacle of respectable old men and their zealous minions prostrating themselves in front of the oppressor, seeing dubious solutions and half-baked reconciliation when the real problem is so conveniently overlooked?

The media itself is largely to

blame for portraying our struggle as one between the weak-hearted Charterists and a Government that has used every fascist manoeuvre in the DIY manual of genocide, to keep black people scraping and scrounging in garbage bins, and more than that, to keep us fratricidal by tempting the weaker of us with superficial offers, thus marginalising the rest of us.

The BCM recognises the importance of land, and it is for this that we declare for all the world, for our brothers and sisters within the ANC, and for the adversary in Pretoria, that the premise of our struggle is the complete

and impartial reclamation of every square metre of Azania. Until this happens, any solution of our political problems will be at the most piece-meal, and at the least, insignificant.

It took the white man guns and his innate racist arrogance to flatten our perspective into one of unrelenting shackles and constant bloodletting. God for-

bid if it has to require the same means to repossess our land ... all of it.

Keep on playing your academic games of constitutional wishful thinking, but in the end we'll just come for all of it.

We are not racist. In fact it is our love for all humanity that instils in us this unflinching insistence on reaching the right solutions to our problems, without feeling the need to play Mr Nice Guy to anyone.

On the other hand we are not apologetic for demanding what is rightfully ours, and if need be, our scythes and hammers, tempered in the furnace of love of justice and compassion, will clang on to the hilt.

Not all the combined might of Times Media Ltd, Argus, SABC, AWB, SADF, and liberal vipers will stop us.

Sefora April Manaka
Warmbaths

Star 19/7/91 (11A)

NP lauds Nelson — Magnus cries foul

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

National Party sources have hailed ANC president Nelson Mandela's latest statements on negotiations, calling them "remarkable" and "good news for the process".

In an exclusive interview published by The Star yesterday, Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues if President de Klerk moved quickly to restore ANC trust in his Government.

However, Sapa reports that last night Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said Mr Mandela's claims about the security forces and his generalisations about white people were outrageous.

The NP sources told The Star they were encouraged by the conciliatory tone adopted by Mr Mandela. "It substantially counters the somewhat confusing signals (we got) from the recent ANC conference. This is far more in tune with the times, and with the initial phase of Mr Man-

dela's leadership after his release."

The MPs expressed "irritation" with the ANC leader's insistence that Mr de Klerk had not done enough to halt township violence — or was being "undermined" by reactionaries in Government — but said this should not detract from the "overall, positive" impact of his latest remarks.

"It looks to us as if he has decided, as he suggested at the end of the ANC conference, that as leader he must lead.

Indiscriminate

"This provides great impetus — we've said all along that Mr Mandela's role within the ANC is absolutely crucial to the future," said one MP.

Asked whether Mr de Klerk was likely to respond with a positive gesture now that Mr Mandela had "put the ball in his court", a Nat MP replied: "On the multiparty congress, the locality of the ball hasn't changed. Mr de Klerk put it in the court of the ANC some time ago. The ANC has just acknowledged that the game can go on. They've

stopped sitting on the ball."

General Malan, speaking at a National Party meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand, called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about South Africa's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

He said Mr Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations", because the ANC president claimed white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mr Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, General Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mr Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways once the apartheid State was removed.

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(11A) ~~SECRET~~

Ties with ANC, SACP on Cosatu agenda

Political Staff

Star
19/7/91

South Africa's largest trade union federation, Cosatu, will hold its fourth national congress next weekend, it was announced yesterday.

Major political issues will be discussed at the congress, to be held at

Nasrec south of Johannesburg. More than 2 500 delegates are expected to attend.

Also up for discussion are the labour federation's role in negotiations and a review of the tripartite alliance with the ANC and the SACP.

In a statement issued

yesterday, Cosatu said organisations invited to attend the congress included the ANC, SACP, PAC, SA Council of Churches and SA Catholic Bishops Conference.

Cosatu said its programme would include sessions that would be open to the press and diplomats.

DENIS WORRALL, MP, assesses the ANC conference and its impact on the future shape of politics.

The battle lines drawn between NP and ANC

11A
CT 19/1/91

The ANC as an organisation has reason to be pleased and proud of its national conference in Durban, which was a personal triumph for Nelson Mandela.

It was well-organised and managed and a remarkable exercise in democracy — both in the election of office-bearers and in the discussion of issues.

The conference was also heartening to people who recognise that the ANC is a major political player and crucial to the successful negotiation of a post-apartheid South Africa.

It supported Mandela in his commitment to the negotiation process, reaffirmed its support for an all-party constitutional conference as soon as possible (Mandela said September), and defined in more flexible terms its attitude toward a transitional government arrangement.

The conference adopted constitutional guidelines that, in principle, are acceptable to liberal democracies; and on the economy, while the internal debate will continue, the policies agreed on are a far cry from the nationalisation proposals of the first half of 1990. They confirm that the ANC will settle for a mixed economy of the social market kind.

Two aspects of the ANC's strategic position raise serious questions. The ANC, it was widely hoped, would use this conference to convert itself into a political party and clarify its relationship to the SACP. This did not happen.

The ANC decided to continue as a liberation movement and its rela-

tionship to the SACP was strengthened rather than weakened.

No doubt this is a matter of timing. The ANC's reason for not making the change now is that it knows this will involve a change of relationship with the SACP. It also means that, in line with other political parties, the ANC would have to radically re-define its views on "the armed struggle" and its relationship to its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Becoming a political party would also mean a drastic change in conceptualisation, rhetoric and forms of political action.



DENIS WORRALL: 'Favourable response to... a remarkable exercise in democracy'

'Patriotic front'

The ANC also regards the liberation format (as opposed to political party status) as more appropriate to the "patriotic front" which it hopes to establish with other political movements.

The other aspect which causes concern is the ANC's continued commitment to its armed wing. The "armed struggle" is suspended and not ended, and the ANC will continue to recruit for MK. It will refuse to reveal its arms caches.

The ANC's "armed struggle" never amounted to much, and neither will it in the future. As a matter of fact, the ANC can go only one way and that is into negotiations. In fairness to the ANC,

The ANC's alliance with the SACP will be exploited by its opponents. Government-supporting newspapers reported coloured politicians in both the Labour Party and the NP as saying there were two reasons for the ANC's self-acknowledged failure to draw support from the coloured community: First, the perception that the ANC is associated with violence; and secondly, its SACP connection. The same point applies to whites and Asians, and many black Christians.

The conference clearly reinforced the "system/struggle" polarisation. With the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations in February 1990, both parliamentary parties and extra-parliamentary organisations were thrown together in one system, and there are only two ways in which they can fuse their respective constituencies.

One entails building out the centre to include most of the National Party and the ANC, with the extremes falling away. The other entails the parliamentary parties consolidating against those in the "struggle".

Emphasis

Unfortunately, recent developments tend to emphasise the latter development. The deflection of LP members to the NP, while healthy and welcome in that it breaks down racial polarisation, is less desirable from a party political point of view in that it highlights "system" versus "struggle".

At the conference, Mandela and others compared the NP's success in drawing support from other ethnic communities with the ANC's failure to do the same. The tendency in the

ANC is therefore also towards a political realignment on "system/struggle" lines.

Inevitable though this may be, it will complicate the process of negotiating a new form of government. The country faces a long hard slog of at least three years before a new form of government is in place, and things could become very sticky if, already at this early stage, the two major players are drawing up political battle-lines.

Mandela and De Klerk may trust each other. But getting it down to

grassroots — especially given the perceived and real conflict of interests — is going to be very difficult. In fact, about the only way of achieving this is through the use of independent facilitators — as the issue of political violence demonstrates.

Dr Lou Alberts' initiative on violence is the best thing that could have happened. He and his team of facilitators are working flat out and may be expected to come up with a concrete programme of action in early August. And President De Klerk, who, with

many others, is understandably impatient to see the all-party constitutional conference meet and constitutional negotiators start, would be wise to hold back until they have finished that assignment.

And the president would be even wiser were he then — with the concurrence of Mandela and Buthelezi — to ask them to set up the constitutional talks.

[This is an edited extract from "Insight", a fortnightly analytical and research brief published by Omega Investment Research Limited.]

ANC 'cabinet'

(11A)

ET 11/7/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday emerged from a two-day national executive committee meeting with a new 26-member national working committee — described in some quarters as a "shadow cabinet".

After the meeting in Soweto, the ANC said in a statement the elections were conducted by secret ballot under the supervision of three members of the organisation's constitutional committee. Twenty-five people were nominated for the 20 positions available.

According to the statement the meeting, presided over by Mr Nelson Mandela, also adopted a programme of action for the coming six months based on three slogans:

- Peace, freedom and the vote.
- Jobs, houses and education for all.

● Land for all.
It was agreed the most challenging task facing the organisation was to provide coherent leadership to the South African liberation movement.

Violence

"In addition to building the ANC as a powerful liberation movement, rooted among the majority of South Africans, there was a need to project the movement's unbroken record of principled struggle to entrench democratic values among the people of our country, and to realise a vision of a single, united South African nation."

The meeting endorsed the decisions of the ANC recent national conference on setting up community defence structures and the need to ensure the success of the church-business peace initiative.

It also undertook to mobilise the broadest possible support for

the national campaign to end the violence.

"The NEC noted that despite the efforts of the ANC and other forces sincerely interested in peace, the government had still done little to bring the perpetrators of this violence to justice."

The ANC said a key objective during the coming period would be harnessing the efforts of the widest cross-section of the people to compel the government to clear the remaining obstacles so that genuine negotiations could begin as soon as possible.

In pursuance of this programme, the ANC said it would mark the following dates:

- 9 August: South African Women's Day.
- 27 October: the 20th anniversary of the murder in detention of Ahmed Timol.
- 10 December: Human Rights Day.
- 16 December: the 30th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- 8 January 1992: The 80th anniversary of the ANC. — Sapa



FIRST ...
Thabo Mbeki

HOW VOTE WAS CAST

Pos.	Name	Votes
1.	Thabo Mbeki	66
2.	Chris Hani	65
3.	Pallo Jordan	64
4.	Patrick 'Terror' Lekota	63
5.	Popo Molefe	62
6.	Steve Tshwete	61
7.	Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim	56
8.	Joe Slovo	53
9.	Joe Modise	52
10.	Cheryl Carolus	52
11.	Joel Netshitenzhe	52
12.	Sidney Mufamadi	51
13.	Ronnie Kasrils	48
14.	Joe Nhlanhla	48
15.	Mohamed Valli Moosa	47
16.	Trevor Manuel	46
17.	Barbara Masekela	46
18.	Alfred Nzo	45
19.	John Nkadameng	49
20.	Zola Skweyiya	30

● In the case of the last two positions, there had to be a second vote to break a tie among three nominees. The third nominee, Mac Maharaj received 35 votes and automatically fell out.



SECOND ...
Chris Hani

The resurrection of Allan B as the Reverend enters the ANC fold

in mail 1917-25/7/91

11A

REDS in the ANC's bed no longer infuse Allan Boesak's political dreams with nightmares.

Soothed by assurances that the African National Congress acknowledged its alliance with the South African Communist Party was a problem, especially for Christian supporters, and would be addressed, Boesak this week took out his pen and did what everyone had long been waiting for him to do — signed up.

Holding a crisp new membership card, he pledged to try to build the organisation "not as someone who merely has sympathy with the movement, but as a member".

Not as an ordinary member, however. "My role has always been a national role and there's no reason why I should change," the former United Democratic Front patron said.

The circumstances of his signing reinforced this. Usually, would-be members go to the ANC; this time, the ANC came to Boesak.

In attendance were regional ANC executive member, the Reverend Chris Nissen and Western Cape ANC president, Christmas Tinto.

If asked, he would serve on the ANC's national executive committee, Boesak said. But he stressed that "no deals were struck" during the "series of talks and consultations" he'd had with the regional and national leadership.

Nor did he see himself as the ANC's "coloured attraction", to be set to woo an ethnic vote. "All my political life I have regarded myself as participating in non-racial politics ... the question of being coloured is the kind of insult I do not even consider."

Now that he's in the fold, Boesak will pursue his ideological objections regarding the ANC's alliance with the SACP from within. "There are many, especially in the Christian community, who have raised concerns about this," he said. "It is the kind of issue one should raise from inside. I am now a member and will raise them."

Boesak will want to be able to reassure Christian constituents just as he himself has been reassured. He wants to return to the ministry he was forced to abandon when his extra-marital affair became known and combine a clerical with a political career.

Former colleagues within the Dutch Reformed Mission Church are under-

When Reverend Allan Boesak fell from grace over an extra-marital affair it seemed his political career was over. Now he has been absolved of his sins.

By GAYE DAVIS

stood to be pushing for his return; he was made an elder of the church he attends in Lavender Hill, a coloured township near his Constantia home.

However, he will first have to settle a dispute which has arisen between the Foundation for Peace and Justice, of which he is the director, and the Bellville Dutch Reformed Mission Church he ministered to for 14 years.

When Boesak resigned his post, he asked that the foundation, set up in 1985, no longer be part of the church but become a separate entity. This was agreed to on condition the move be discussed with a church council commission.

According to church sources, these discussions never took place. A flurry of correspondence has failed to resolve the issue and the church has since taken legal advice on whether it is accountable for the foundation and the funds it receives.



The ANC's newest member, Allan Boesak

Still guessing the ANC's next move

W/maul 19/7-25/7/91 (11A)

THE African National Congress conference may be more and less important than it seems. More, because it may have inched us closer to a settlement. Less, because it left many questions about the movement's strategy and style unanswered.

The conference produced only one detailed strategic decision (on sanctions) and no firm policy positions — these are to be debated at another meeting. This wasn't surprising, since the meeting wasn't really about detailed policies and strategies.

Because it was the first ANC conference within the country for 30 years, its purpose was to establish the ANC's identity as an open movement, rather than an idea shrouded in the mists of martyrdom.

It was more about the ANC's attitude to itself than to its negotiation partners or the rest of the country.

But, despite that, the conference may have placed the country more firmly on the road to a negotiated settlement. The ANC leadership now has a mandate to negotiate a settlement. So its chief concern may be not whether to negotiate but how to get the best deal out of the talks. Political conflict may now be more about the outcome of negotiation, less about the process itself. The ANC leadership is now also elected. This will give it more confidence to strike deals which may make a settlement easier.

Perhaps the most important event at the conference was that, for the first time, the leadership persuaded members to accept a compromise — on sanctions — in open debate. The knowledge that they can argue for compromise and win may make ANC leaders more willing to take members with them, rather than accepting compromise in private and denying it in public. After the conference, Mandela seemed to confirm this, warning supporters that more compromises lay ahead.

There were also signs that ANC leaders are aware of weaknesses which endangered the movement and negotiations. They acknowledged that people will not join it simply because of its history and that its strategies may have been the reason why it has failed to make major gains in the past 18 months.

Not so long ago most setbacks were blamed on the state; the shift may signal an ANC attempt to become a more effective negotiator. One sign was Mandela's warning that "mass action" — a "holy cow" — was a tactic, not an end in itself. This suggests that the ANC now takes negotiation seriously enough to seek strategies which will win gains in talks. This will make a settlement more likely.

None of this means the ANC will become the "moderate" negotiating partner the government and most of the press want. If it takes negotiation more seriously, it will become tougher. Talks may be punctuated by breakdowns and "mass action".

But these will be means to an end — a settlement favourable to the ANC. And a settlement is more likely when negotiating parties know what they want and are tough about getting it. Compromises negotiated with a more effective, stronger, ANC will be far more likely to win support from its activists.

But if this is what some in the ANC would like it to become, it is too soon to say their wish will be granted. We don't know what compromises ANC activists might accept. The leaders have a mandate to negotiate, but what must they settle for if they don't get what they want? The only compromise the meeting endorsed was a strategy, not a demand, so neither we nor the leaders know how far they can go.

Nor did anything emerge from the meeting to suggest what it would take to break stalemates over local

government or education.

Executive elections showed that symbolism was a strong force in the ANC: the criteria for success was what the candidate symbolised — exile, prison — more than the constituency he or she represented. This could mean the executive has enough symbolic appeal to win support for tough bargains. But the aura could wear off when compromises begin.

At bottom, the ANC remains a liberation movement. There is no reason why a movement should content itself with competing for votes when most people don't have them. But liberation movements unite people around symbols, not policies. They fudge choices because to make them could split the movement. A movement held together by symbols may find it hard to make the strategic choices negotiation will demand and to take its supporters with it.

It will take more than a conference to change all that. The conference may have made talks inevitable. But it may not have made them, the ANC — or the hope that negotiation will lessen conflict — any more predictable than they were before it.

Next WEEK: Ameen Akhalwaya

ANC cadres key targets of assassins

By BEATHUR BAKER ^{W/May 1917-25/7/91}
 THE African National Congress is under fire from all sides; the target of violence allegedly linked to Inkatha, the right wing and the police. According to the organisation, at least 20 activists have been killed in the past six months.

Hillview High School in Pretoria, intended for use by 700 children of exiled Umkhonto weSizwe cadres, was destroyed in a bomb blast on Sunday — shortly before its opening.

Previously a white school, it was forced to close because of a lack of pupils.

Right-wing extremists who openly declared they would resist the move to house blacks in the school have been blamed by the ANC for the explosion. All have denied

responsibility.

This is but the latest in a trail of planned assaults on ANC members.

Various methods of killing form identifiable patterns. Sophisticated explosive devices have been used.

Victims are gunned down by strategically placed marksmen or lured into an ambush. These bear the hallmarks of the officially disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Attacks in which a gunwielding group opens random fire are characteristic of killings near and around hostels. Another method is that of the balaclava-clad gunmen who fire from close range and move off, leaving intended victims and people accompanying them riddled with bullets.

In attacks at the homes of "comrades", not

only cadres are attacked — their families have also being targeted by killers.

Ernest Sotsu, Vanderbijlpark ANC/Congress of South African Trade Unions office bearer, who lives in the area of the kwaMadala hostel near Vanderbijlpark, was attending the ANC's Durban conference when assassins gunned down his wife and two children.

In the same manner 18 people were gunned down in Natal in one night while going home — six of them from the same family, all of them ANC supporters.

ANC members live in fear of who will be next. Investigations into these mysterious murders remain "ongoing".

Meanwhile, the ANC has demanded that the government disband its death squads.

From Council of war to congress on the future

Wimond 1917-25/7/91.
A healthier partnership with the African National Congress — that's the big issue facing Cosatu at its national congress next week.

DREW FORREST reports

A STARK contrast to their last encounter — in the darkest hours of the Emergency — Congress of South African Trade Unions' national congress delegates will meet next week by the first feeble rays of dawn. "We're now into the beginnings of political transition; the movement is confronting all sorts of challenges and problems,"

comments Cosatu press officer Neil Coleman. While the 1989 congress was a council of war of the entire embattled democratic movement — the United Democratic Front and other organisations were almost participating delegates — next week's gathering will focus much more narrowly and intensely on labour's role at a time of political and economic transformation.

Central to the congress agenda will be Cosatu's place in the horse-trading over a new constitutional order. Conscious that the million-strong federation is the most organised component of the left, delegates will be looking at ways of boosting the worker voice and extending popular control over the negotiating process.

Of deep concern is the African National Congress' perceived high-handedness and "top-down" style, and labour's partnership with the ANC will come under close scrutiny.

But unionists are equally aware that political alliances are vital to the worker cause: steps towards a more rigorous partnership with the ANC, rather than disengagement, is a certain outcome of the congress.

Delegates can draw hope from the recent ANC conference, where the need for consultation within the alliance was a persistent theme. The election of mine unionist Cyril Ramaphosa as ANC secretary general also promises stronger lines of communication.

Coleman stresses that the congress will have to look at every phase of the constitutional process and Cosatu's connection with it. Will the "broad patriotic front" be one of political tendencies or should it include labour as an independent actor? How should Cosatu be represented at an all party conference? Should unions push for a place at the negotiating table, or perhaps second negotiators to the ANC team?

"This ties with the debate about whether the ANC is a liberation movement or a party," Coleman said. "If the struggle is for national liberation and democracy, all popular organisations must be dynamically involved — not



Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and the SACP will be a key focus of the congress
general secretary Jay Naidoo (left) told a press briefing this week

Photograph: DREW FORREST

just by association."

More than on any other issue, union beefs about the ANC have centred on its handling of violence. There is deep scepticism about current peace moves, and the congress is likely to push for a broader strategy, including mass action to pressure the state.

Most Cosatu unionists see their interests being best served by a strong ANC, and this has implications for the "two hats" question — dual union-political leadership.

Alarmed by the potential erosion of union autonomy, Cosatu's chemical and textile affiliates are likely to push for a ban on multiple hats. But the majority view will almost certainly be that during transition, and as long as union work does not suffer, labour leaders

should feed their experience into Cosatu's allies.

The congress is certain, however, to endorse the demand that a future constitution guarantee trade union independence, along with other constitutional demands adopted at Cosatu's recent campaigns conference. These include strike and organising rights and accountable government.

Linked to political change is sanctions policy: some affiliates have bitterly resisted any shift on this, at least until a constituent assembly sits, but the ANC's move to a phased lifting of sanctions must have altered perceptions.

The congress is likely to call for a broad conference of anti-apartheid organisations to

rethink the issue — and sources indicate that such a pow-wow is likely within weeks. Debate will also centre on an investment code for the post-sanctions era.

But political change forms only part of the background to the congress; just as critical to its agenda will be what Coleman describes as "the massive economic crisis which faces working people".

Retrenchments and unemployment, coupled with the tantalising prospect of a sympathetic government taking the reins, have forced the unions to broaden their focus from narrow workplace issues to the economy as a whole.

The congress will adopt an economic policy which lays heavy emphasis on a state and union role in economic restructuring to create employment and meet social needs. This will underpin Cosatu's short-term job creation and security demands in upcoming talks with employer body Saccola and the government.

Heavy emphasis will be placed on literacy and training, which the federation has come to see as crucial both to workers' empowerment and economic growth. For the first time, delegates will be asked to endorse a set of training principles, which look to nationally integrated schemes open to all workers and an employer duty to train.

The restructuring debate will not be without controversy: some unionists hold that economic reconstruction cannot take place under capitalism, or that union palliatives should not serve to buttress the existing regime.

The vexed issue of a "social contract" on the economy with employers and the state, and its connection with the federation's long-term socialist goals, is likely to generate some heat.

Cosatu's determination to shape South Africa's economic and political future lends a special urgency to its organisational goals. The need for worker unity, and to deepen and extend organisation, will be central congress concerns.

Up for debate is the question of launching Cosatu's own farmworkers' affiliate, and whether public sector affiliates should merge into one super-union. Embracing a million workers, most unorganised, the public sector is seen as a vital organising objective if the independence of the labour movement is to be safeguarded.

Discussion will also focus on the needs and interests of professional groups such as teachers and nurses, which Cosatu is increasingly targeting, and white workers.

Significantly, both the National Council of Trade Unions, Cosatu's smaller rival, and the Pan Africanist Congress will be addressing delegates. How to forge unity with Nactu will be an important congress theme.

Ronges of Sachs' 'Bill'

Why can we go to the Olympics — but still not watch British TV? **MARK GEISSER** examines the debate over Albie Sachs' proposal of a 'Bill of Rights for South African Artists'

CAN we talk about artistic freedom in South Africa while we are still in the chains of a cultural boycott?

In a response to Albie Sachs' proposal for a "Bill of Rights for South African Artists", presented at this year's Grahamstown Festival, *Sunday Times* critic Barry Ronge last week rapped the African National Congress' most famous cultural commissar over the knuckles for presuming to defend South African artists' rights while belonging to an organisation that still supports this country's cultural isolation.

At its conference two weeks ago, the ANC did, in fact, resolve to advocate lifting the cultural boycott entirely as soon as the state removes "the obstacles to negotiations" — which means, in effect, as soon as all exiles are home, all political prisoners are released, and some serious effort has been made to curb township violence. This could take weeks or it could take months. In the meanwhile, the ANC continues to advocate a fuzzy selective cultural boycott that is in urgent need of clarification.

Ronge challenges the integrity both of the ANC and the international artists who continue to boycott South Africa: "As long as artists hold out against acknowledging change in South Africa, they will always command a higher-profile media audience (as well as better photo opportunities) which will cast doubt on the bona fides of the new South Africa," he writes.

What clearly jars the arts community that Ronge represents is the following: "If sportsmen and businessmen can move more freely, why should artists not be able to?" If the ANC has put its stamp of approval on the lifting of the sports boycott, why not the cultural boycott too? Why, in the same week that the International Olympic Committee readmitted South Africa, did Equity reimpose its ban?

Perhaps it is because sport has a larger and more vocal constituency in all sectors of South Africa than culture will ever have; perhaps because of the vision and hard work of sportspoliticians like Steve Tshwete and Sam Ramsamy, who have managed to commit most South African sports bodies to a common goal of non-racialism.

But rather than crying foul and attacking international boycotters and the ANC for the continuation of the cultural boycott, we could all (including the ANC) look at the work that has been done in South Africa to make sports non-racial, and try to replicate that work in the arts.

If the government were more forthcoming in its democratisation of the airwaves and the SABC fairer in its reporting of the news; if the performing arts councils, still firmly entrenched in the Very Old South Africa, were to make obvious and far-reaching attempts to restructure so that our arts resources were more equitably spread, then we — like the sportsmen — could have stronger grounds on which to base our calls for an end to the cultural boycott.

All too often, the boycott is used by South Africans as a convenient scapegoat for all cultural stagnation in this country, when it could, in fact, serve exactly the opposite function: Whether we support the boycott or not, we

●Turn to PAGE 29

Rights and

w/march 1917-25/7/91

Was Albie Sachs evasive?

could use our isolation productively — to encourage a diverse and thriving local art scene.

While Sachs once again evaded the issue of the boycott in his "Bill of Rights", what he proposed was precisely a system whereby we could begin to create the circumstances that would make a cultural boycott entirely unnecessary and unjustifiable.

Ronge glosses over Sachs' major point: that apartheid has marginalised black people and their culture, and that, just because we have entered a media-fashioned "new South Africa" doesn't mean that black culture has yet been put on centre-stage, where it belongs.

Sachs' central critique is that the allocation of resources in this "new South Africa" perpetuates the inequities of apartheid: "What does it mean that millions of rands are spent on fantasy palaces to delight wealthy audiences with large homes to go back to while there is no money to upgrade the shacks in which millions of their compatriots live?"

Ronge takes issue with Sachs' conflation of the apples of art and the oranges of living conditions, but Sachs insists on looking at them together: just as shacks have been bulldozed, he says, so too have the shack-dwellers' culture. Just as black South Africans have been marginalised politically and geographically, living in suburban backyards or in peripheral townships, so too have they been marginalised culturally.

What Sachs therefore proposes is a Bill of Rights that, rather than simply stopping at a guarantee of artistic freedom for all, calls for creative affirmative action that will move black cultural expression from the margins of our culture to its centre.

Ronge is right in chastising Sachs for not coming up with concrete solutions for effecting this (subsidies, pay equity, access guarantees): Sachs does "evade the question of subsidy and sponsorship which is what keeps opera, ballet and theatre alive in this country".

And it is perhaps this, more than anything,

that sits uneasily with Ronge, who is clearly worried about the implications of affirmative-action subsidies, which he sees as "a Verwoerdian-style cultural quota".

In Sachs' South Africa, Ronge writes, "for every *Sleeping Beauty* there must be one wedding dance. For every *Rigoletto* there must be a concert by rural drummers. Can you imagine the nightmarish bureaucracy that will leap, hydra-headed, from such a system?"

Strangely, Ronge — an unapologetic advocate of the classical "Eurocentric" artforms — rejects Sachs' solution, one which would not only guarantee the immortality of *Rigolettos* and *Sleeping Beauties* on the African continent, but that is modelled on systems already in operation in Europe and North America.

In a multi-ethnic land like the USA one does have have one "wedding dance" (as Ronge so disparagingly abbreviates the entirety of black South African culture) for each *Sleeping Beauty* — there, state arts foundations and councils are required by law to allocate resources equally, even if this does require more bureaucracy.

Ronge is worried that redressing cultural imbalances will further impoverish South African art by reducing "standards". But as South Africa's sportsmen have discovered about sport, a coherent commitment to non-racialism (which is what Sachs was trying to evince from South Africa's arts community at Grahamstown) can only enrich our culture — not least by readmitting us into the international cultural market.

Certainly, if Sachs is going to continue to be the ANC's cultural troubleshooter, he needs to deal with the issue of the boycott and he needs to translate his ideas into policy. But his ideas are a vital and creative addition to an ANC that seems to show little interest in fostering the arts, and that, while talking about democratising everything else, seems to have forgotten about culture.

●From PAGE 25

Azayo rejects ANC compromise

By IKE MOTSAPI

ANC president Nelson Mandela was yesterday told by the Azanian Youth Organisation to stop pleasing whites at the expense of the liberation of black people.

Azayo deputy president Mr George Ngwenya said the organisation was concerned at reports that the ANC was prepared to compromise a political settlement with the Government.

In a statement to *Sowetan*, Ngwenya said the ANC talks about further compromises which indicates their desperation over getting into power regardless of the compromised nature of that power.

"There is a difference between fighting for power and fighting for liberation.

"We wish to warn

Mandela that as black people, we have sacrificed our lives for liberation.

"We have rejected the tricameral system and the homeland system because those things were meant to derail our liberation.

"We will continue to reject anything which will further derail our liberation.

"Our commitment to liberation should not be undermined by any individual or any organisation."

Ngwenya said any settlement solution, which would not be preceded by the following conditions, was likely to be a sellout solution.

The conditions were:

1. Unity of the components of the liberation movement into a patriotic front.
2. Resignation of the present Government so as to make sure that it does not become a referee and a player at the same time.
3. The involvement of credible mediators in the form of the United Nations, OAU, Non-Aligned Movement, governments or states.
4. The establishment of a constituent assembly.

US wants air links

Sowetan
SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE

NEW YORK - Three of the biggest US carriers are reported to be "interested" in restoring the JFK-Jan Smuts direct flights that Pan-American Airways once shared with

Azasm conference on

11A

THE Azanian Students' Movement's national conference, scheduled for this weekend, has been postponed to August 30.

So wetter 19/7/91

Spokesman Mr Joe Seaga said the conference was expected to end on September 1. No reasons were given for the postponement. - *Sapa*.

Slovo election to ANC body 'a major irritant'

(11A) ARGUS 19/7/91

Political Staff

THE election of South African Communist Party chief Mr Joe Slovo to the ANC's national working committee has drawn criticism today in an otherwise cautious reaction to the profile of the 20-member group that will run the movement's day-to-day affairs.

But ANC international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki's position at the top of the poll has been welcomed.

The Western Cape is represented on the committee by communist Ms Cheryl Carolus and regional publicity secretary Mr Trevor Manuel. Both are becoming increasingly prominent in the national affairs of the ANC.

National Party sources cautioned against "reading too much" into the list of names, indicating that they believed the committee more or less reflected the profile of the national executive committee, chosen at the ANC's national conference two weeks ago.

A source remarked: "It is not as if a great deal of significance can be attached to the choice of the NWC."

But the presence of Mr Slovo, particularly, and other communists such as Mr Ronnie Kasrils was described as "a major irritant".

"What the election does show is that it is going to be very difficult to dislodge the communists from positions of power," the source said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said there were "no surprises" in the list.

"In as much as the voting results run closely parallel with those of the NEC in Durban, one cannot expect any particular surprises."

He added: "One remains anxious as always over the substantial commu-

nist presence in the leadership of the ANC."

Twenty NEC members were elected to the "national working committee" NWC. They join the six top office bearers, led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, in forming the ANC's key policy-making body.

The voting for the NWC, which was held by secret ballot, went as follows: 1 Thabo Mbeki (66 votes), 2 Chris Hani (65), 3 Pallo Jordan (64), 4 Patrick Lekota (63), 5 Popo Molefe (62), 6 Steve Tshwete (61), 7 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (56), 8 Joe Slovo (53), 9 Joe Modise (52), 10 Cheryl Carolus (52), 11 Joel Netshitenzhe (52), 12 Sidney Mufamadi (51), 13 Ronnie Kasrils (48), 14 Joe Nhlanhla (48), 15 Mohammad Valli Moosa (47), 16 Trevor Manuel (46), 17 Barbara Masekela (46), 18 Alfred Nzo (45), 19 John Nkadimeng (49), 20 Zola Skweyiya (30).

In the case of the last two positions, there had to be a second vote to break a tie among three nominees. The third nominee, Mr Mac Maharaj, lost the vote.

Surprise losers include Natal hardliner Mr Harry Gwala, who finished eighth in the NEC elections at the recent Durban conference, Mr Ahmed Kathrada who polled sixth, and the Reverend Arnold Stofile who came 10th. Others who performed well in Durban but did not make the NWC last night include Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Ms Ruth Mompati, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Raymond Suttner and Mr Aziz Pahad.

Those who won places on the NWC, in spite of relatively low polls in Durban, include trade unionist Mr Sydney Mafumadi, former UDF leader Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, cultural department head Ms Barbara Masekela and constitutional expert Mr Zola Skweyiya.

Country must be placed on a new growth path

Mandela spells out business strategy

Star 20/7/91

11A



NELSON MANDELA: "We recognise that growth is crucial".

ANC President Nelson Mandela says the ANC is well aware of the need to address economic questions in a manner that does not pit the need to address social disparities against ensuring economic growth.

"If we define economic growth narrowly, as increasing GDP output, this approach will not in itself be useful unless it is located within a national development strategy."

Mr Mandela told businessmen who attended the Finance Week's Breakfast Club yesterday that an economic strategy should address both socio-economic development and poverty.

"Together with you, we recognise that growth is crucial. We believe there must be a reworked industrial, mining and agricultural strategy that should aim in the first instance at meeting basic needs and creating jobs."

Mr Mandela was careful to avoid references to nationalisation, but he said that the focus on redistribution "might not be

SVEN LUNSCHÉ

a sufficient condition for generating growth, but is certainly a necessary condition for growth".

With regard to the mining industry a plan needed to be developed for optimal extraction of gold in the national interest, in full consultation with the leading producers and trade unions, he said.

"In conjunction with this, a new system of taxation, leasing and financing will need to be developed with measures of public ownership where appropriate."

Unemployment

Mr Mandela expressed concern at the recent wave of retrenchments and he said unemployment and job creation needed to be considered simultaneously and in the context of a new growth strategy that encourages investment, "which is currently locked into speculative activity."

"We suggest a strategy which focuses in the first instance on basic goods, such as housing and linked not only to providing shelter but also to reviving the economy."

Apart from housing, other questions which should be addressed immediately were education, land reform and provision of basic welfare for the very poor.

In reference to the current tight monetary policy Mr Mandela said there was a need for macro-economic stabilisation.

"Such matters as reducing inflation are crucial if the economy is to grow and attract investment in the future, but this will best be achieved through placing South Africa on a new growth path and not by merely tinkering with monetary policy in a period of recession."

Mr Mandela also appealed to the business community to support the ANC's call for a binding set of agreements aimed at ending the violence in the townships.

"For there to be any real progress in the economic domain we all know that there has to be political stability — the violence must end."

"I urge you to join us in demanding that the government use the powers at its disposal to bring the reign of terror to an end."

THE African National Congress's working committee or "shadow Cabinet" yesterday formally took over the leadership of the ANC amid renewed reports of attempts by security forces to destabilise the organisation.

The emergence of the 26-member working committee brought to an end the process which began on July 2 when the ANC held its annual conference — the first inside the country since 1959 — to elect a new executive and to assess its policies.

The working committee consists of the men elected to the six top executive positions at the ANC conference, plus another 20 members elected by a full 91-strong executive.

Several points of continuity emerge when the 50 members who were elected directly at the conference are compared to the 20 members chosen by their co-executive members to serve on the working committee.

The first is the immense popularity of the two men who supposedly represent opposing poles within the ANC: Chris Hani, chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, an avowed communist and a reputed militant, and Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs chief who has been categorised as a pragmatist.

UDF ^{stew 20/7/91} figures among leaders

PATRICK LAURENCE

At the conference Mr Hani topped the poll with 1 858 votes against 1 824 for Mr Mbeki. In the election of the working committee Mr Mbeki turned the tables, winning 66 votes against 65 for Mr Hani.

Another common point is the strong showing of SA Communist Party members in both elections. In the conference election, known or suspected communists won about half of the 50 places on the executive. They won the same proportion of seats in the later poll for the 20 members of the national working committee.

Preferred

SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo did not fare as well in the election of the 20 working committee members. He was eighth on that list, against his third position in the election of 50 executive members.

Another common point is the preference given to younger ANC figures who served in leadership positions of the United Democratic

Front against the administration of President P W Botha.

But they were preferred even more strongly in the poll for the working committee.

Six former UDF leaders won positions on the working committee, with Patrick Lekota and Popo Molefi holding their own in popularity against big names like Mbeki and Hani.

Broadly, the working committee represents a balanced blending of the different strands in the ANC: exiled leaders, Robben Island prisoners and UDF leaders.

It has the ability, energy and experience to implement the strategy hammered out at the ANC's conference: using negotiations as a "terrain of the struggle" and where necessary, backing demands with civil disobedience and mass action.

The Machiavellian view of President de Klerk as a tough and cunning opponent who has to be forced centimetre by centimetre to loosen his grip on power will almost certainly be reinforced by yesterday's allegations against the security forces.

The police were reported to have financed the rival Inkatha Freedom Party — with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok admitting last night that it had — and the SADF was alleged to have orchestrated train massacres (which they denied) in order to expose the ANC as weak and unable to check violence.

ANC 'Cabinet' takes

control

Weep for our collective

death wish

Stew 20/7/91

11A

SOMETIMES I despair about us South Africans. We have an unerring ability to find a cloud in every silver lining. Consider what has happened in the space of the past couple of weeks.

It is now only a matter of time until we re-enter the world of international cricket and rugby. Other sports will follow. We will certainly participate in the Olympics again, probably soon.

We can start saving up to attend major international sporting and cultural events at Ellis Park.

There has been a handbrake-turn in relations with the United States. Trade delegations have come sniffing from every corner of the world: Russian, Japanese, Polish and other equally cosmopolitan chequebooks are being waved at us.

Pretoria has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Readmission to the United Nations is a serious prospect.

And Nelson Mandela, in his first interview as president of the ANC, has spoken passionately of real — not rhetorical — compromise and conciliation among all the peoples of this land, and of the time being ripe for giving the stalled negotiations process a long-awaited jump-start.

There is a headlong rush towards our reacceptance as another normal bunch of people in the world community. Black South

Undercurrent
Affairs

SHAUN
JOHNSON



Africans will no longer have to endure the psychological — and practical — torture of having no political rights or human dignity in their own country. Our passports will no longer have to be sequestered, like dirty magazines, when we pass through foreign airports.

White South Africans will no longer have to pass themselves off as New Zealanders when asked the dread question of origin by London cab drivers.

There remains a long way to go, of course. And, sure, there are fears and uncertainties and ugly, bloody incidents. But there are things for everybody to look forward to: when last could we all say that, together? We inhabit an entirely different world from that mean, hopeless fortress of the Rubicon era.

But are we cheerful and energetic about the fact that because, largely, of the emergence of two

remarkable national leaders, we have been transformed as a country from certain basket-case to potential breadbasket? Quite the opposite.

For me, General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, personified our death wish this week. I read his response to Mandela's buoyant statements on the prospects for peace with a heavy heart.

Here is a senior Government figure, by no means free of controversy himself, destroying the potentially electrifying effect of a remarkably open-ended — and open-armed — intervention from a rival political party which has concentrated on confrontation for several months.

Did the General look carefully at the import of what Mandela had to say about compromises, guarantees, softenings, reassurances? Did he put the parts which challenged the Government to give a gesture of sincerity into the context of the whole? Did he recognise that now, in the aftermath of the ANC conference, the golden moment had arrived for a quantum leap forward in the negotiations process?

No, no, and no again. The Gener-

al says he's had enough from Mr Mandela. The ANC leader is "slandering whites ... trying to cause tension between blacks and whites". Worse, he declares, Mandela has "insulted the overwhelming majority of whites who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level". That last statement casts serious doubt on the decade in which the General thinks he's living.

If there was a bucket handy, I would cry into it. This country needs one thing and one thing only at the moment: a start to real negotiations. Once they are underway, and their momentum is sufficient to carry them forward under their own steam, then — Lord knows — there will be ample opportunity for ruthless politicking.

General Malan will have no trouble in finding platforms from which to berate the ANC for its allegations about security force collusion in township violence. But to spurn, in such cavalier fashion, a clear effort to breathe optimism back into the bigger process? It defies comprehension.

Other National Party sources have, as this newspaper has reported, adopted a much more farsighted approach. Is it too much to expect from President de Klerk — who has demonstrated statesmanship before — to slap down his warmongering Minister?

No witch-hunt, but who is real ANC?

Star
20/7/91.

WILL the real ANC please stand up? I make this plea at the risk of being accused of conducting a McCarthyite witch-hunt against the SA Communist Party and members.

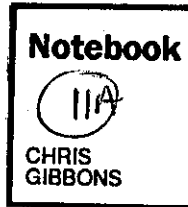
Far from it. I do not want to ban or imprison them, nor do I want to execute or excommunicate them. I just want to know who they are so I can go to great pains not to vote for them in a future election.

This I state as someone who has long argued in public for the unbanning of the SACP. The logic is simple. As a banned organisation, the SACP could do no wrong. Nor could any of its policies bear any scrutiny. Unbanned, however, it would either flourish, or, in the cold light of day, wither and die on the vine.

My hostility towards communism, by the way, is purely practical. It does not work. It has never worked. Nor has anyone yet convinced me it will work in a future South Africa.

Communism has brought more misery to more people more effectively than apartheid ever dreamed of. Think of the 20 million or so who perished in Stalin's camps. Add to them the tens of millions who rejoiced as the Iron Curtain lifted. Apartheid claims its victims, and can number them in the millions too, but on the scale of human misery it comes nowhere close to communism.

As they say in the classics, that is my democratic opinion and I'm entitled to it. And that is why I would like to know exactly who is and who



is not a communist in the upper echelons of the ANC.

You, of course, may be a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, but you don't know the answer either — which will prevent you, comrade, from exercising your democratic rights.

Mind you, one definite area of similarity between communism and apartheid is the bureaucratic sophistry they both breed. We have, for years, laboured under National Party governments telling us what to think and when to think it.

Now, with chilling irony, we hear the newly-elected general secretary of the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa, ordering his colleagues not to answer media questions on whether or not they belong to the SACP.

As I read those words, I hear the icy gales of political censorship and thought-crime blowing in across the tundra and the veld. Carried on the howling wind, the ghostly laughter of Trotsky and Beria, the NKVD and the KGB, Jimmy Kruger and P W Botha, the Security Police and the state of emergency.

If I was a member of the ANC's

NEC, and any kind genuine democrat, I'd tell Mr Ramaphosa precisely what he could do with his instruction. Imagine a general secretary of Britain's TUC or the President of America's AFL-CIO telling senior colleagues what they may or may not say about their political views to reporters. The thought is grotesque.

And another thing. If I were a communist or a member of any other banned party and had done 30 years in exile or on Robben Island for my beliefs, I would wear my allegiance openly and proudly.

In this case, literally, a red badge of courage.

Nor do I derive any comfort from Allan Boesak's assertion that, as a pre-condition to joining the ANC this week, he voiced his community's similar concerns about communism to Nelson Mandela. Boesak said Mr Mandela had told him the ANC was willing to take up these matters and address them.

Forgive my howl of laughter, Dr Boesak, but how do you believe this is going to be addressed?

Do you believe we need this kind of political secrecy?

Local sources say upwards of half the NEC belongs to the Communist Party. Is Mr Mandela going to wake up one morning and fire them? Or are they just going to hand in their ANC-membership cards?

I really do think we should be told.
● Chris Gibbons is the presenter of Radio 702's *Newstalk*.

When I had already given up on radio ^{Star} 20/7/91 I finally heard the light

I have invested in a shortwave radio and now listen to the BBC World Service regularly. The reasons for this lies in a comment made to me by the head of audience research of the BBC Africa Service. He said that it was interesting to note that South African blacks knew far less about the rest of Africa than their counterparts in East and West Africa.

There is an intense interest in current affairs, and indeed, in world affairs in Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania where the BBC has a very high penetration rate, around 70 percent.

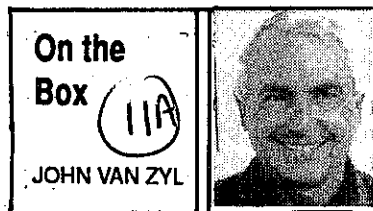
In South Africa it is only about 6 percent. This is mainly due to the fact that most listeners in South Africa (both white and black) own FM or medium-wave radios rather than short-wave radios. One has to be fairly dedicated to tune in to the medium wave signal from Lesotho, but possibly listenership will begin to grow sometimes in the future.

Be that as it may (to quote my uncle Oswald) the fact is that radio has assumed a new importance in my media world. After the years of genteel, expatriate colonial British material on the English service and endless recipes for bobotie, hunting stories and guntalk on the Afrikaans service I gave up radio as a lost cause.

But both the BBC and Radio 702 have restored my faith in radio (although in slightly different ways). BBC news has the ability to deal in depth with a news story in a way that eliminates that sense of special pleading, of a hidden agenda that characterises SABC news and actuality (both radio and television).

I know that the BBC has been accused of bias, but there remains an integrity that SABC news will never have.

Radio 702 has taught us that airing issues and taking about them at length is good radio. A discussion recently between Peter Mokaba, the president of the ANC Youth League, and Pal Fourie of Jeugkrug was genuinely illuminating.



The discussion on the bombing of the Hillview School in Pretoria was similarly scary and reassuring, ranging from the outrageous (Willem in Boksburg who wishes the school had been filled with children) to the sensible (Craig in Parktown who thought the children should be integrated into several schools).

The question of whether ex-

tremist comments like these of Willem should be heard brought to mind the remarks of the American Supreme Court judge Justice Brandeis in 1920:

"Those that won our independence believed that freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people ... it is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

Bearing this in mind let us cast our minds back to the "Agenda" programme two weeks ago. Just after the ANC conference. It followed the familiar format, the ANC on trial having to defend not only its policies but also the personal beliefs of its executive members.

John Bishop asking Chris Hani questions like "Are you a Christian." Imagine a SABC staffer asking Adriaan Vlok or Magnus Malan about their religious or sexual preferences!

The familiar Red-baiting questions by Bishop made it quite clear that "Agenda" and the news have been given two issues to plug: exploit the incipient communist paranoia of viewers however you can, and push the Inkatha Freedom Party as much as possible.

Question: Why doesn't SABC-TV news run to Bennie Alexander of the PAC, instead of Gatsha Buthelezi of the IFP, every time they need a comment on sanctions or township violence? And why did the news devote so much time to Buthelezi gabbling on about "South Africanism" so incomprehensibly on Monday evening?

The same evening they even wheeled Cliff Saunders out of Moscow to go on about the West being suspicious of Gorbachev because he won't commit himself to a market economy. And then, in a dizzying *non sequitur* he linked this event to bad African countries that espoused communism to their detriment. Once again the SACP was fingered. Funny that the SABC should be so scared of a party they believe is on its way out.

CT 20/7/91 (11A) 20

Mandela appeals for SA business support

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the business community to support the ANC by donating it funds.

Speaking at a Finance Week breakfast club meeting, Mr Mandela said the ANC had been successful in getting donations from Africa, Asia and Europe and had encountered fund-raising problems only in South Africa.

He said the lack of business support was causing the ANC constituency to question whether white business was behind the peace process.

The ANC had always understood that unless it got the co-operation and support of businessmen it was useless to think in terms of rebuilding the economy. — Sapa

Mandela asks for business funding

11/18 (11/18) AUG 20/7/91
SHAUN JOHNSON

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela has appealed directly to South African businessmen "to help the ANC with funds" in order to ensure a negotiated political settlement.

Addressing a Finance Week breakfast meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC president said: "We have noticed that it is only when we go abroad that we have the support of governments and business people. You will have seen on countless occasions our success in collecting funds in Africa and Asia.

"In Europe we have received a very positive response from the point of view of governments being involved in projects.

"It is only in South Africa where we have encountered enormous problems, which are leading our own constituency to say: 'Are you sure that the white businessmen of this country are behind the peace process?'"

"If they are behind the peace process, we should not learn this purely from Pretoria — we should be able to point at the concrete responses on their part which give us the capacity to carry on with this initiative which we have successfully undertaken . . . and which has led to the talks between us and the government."

The ANC leader said "very few liberation movements have taken the line that we have."

He said the African National Congress was putting "tremendous pressure" on Pretoria "for a speedy solution to our problems", and challenged the local business community to "no longer regard the ANC as just a pure political organisation".

Mr Mandela said he was making this appeal to businessmen "because we do want to carry our own constituency, and if they are not ready to accept businessmen as a key element in striving for a peaceful solution it is going to be difficult for us to make progress."

What economic policy?



PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS
OF AZANIA

Towards
A Democratic
Economic Order

Just what are the economic policies — now — of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress? The redistribution of wealth, resources and land as part of a fundamental restructuring of the country's economy form the cornerstone of both and both highlight the need for this redistribution to be co-ordinated by a national development strategy or "Marshall Plan" with active involvement by the state. **MAGGIE ROWLEY**, Deputy Business Editor, reports on the two economic manifestoes.

114
MUG 26/7/91

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
Department of Economic Policy



Discussion Document:
ECONOMIC POLICY

EXPORTS

"The conventional market of western Europe, if it has to exist, has to find its place within the dynamics of initially heavy state involvement."

However, it stresses it would not prevent this market from existing and the size of the place for market forces would increase as the country moved to "normal conditions".

The PAC sees the manufacturing sector and initially the building and construction industry as being the engine power for development.

The agencies for the manufacturing sector would be the "state, multi-organisations formed through joint efforts of the state, private larger business corporations formed by the individuals, collectives and workers' corporations, multi-organisations formed without the participation of the state and individual firms from the private sector."

Where an economic venture or sub-industry is considered critical due to its linkages with the rest of the economy and/or export potential, such as the motor industry, and where demands for technology skills and finance are beyond the capabilities of most individual firms, "national multi-organisations" with or without participation would be encouraged.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

A PAC government would play a major role in the financial sector including insurance and pension funds. However this role would not come as a result of destroying existing actors.

It also envisages a revised tax structure and system which would act as a mechanism for the redistribution of resources from the haves to the have-nots and increase public revenue to enable the state to provide social, economic and physical infrastructures supporting economic development and meeting basic needs.

Central economic planning activities would not seek to cripple the private sector through punitive actions, damage economic growth or eliminate entrepreneurial initiatives.

However the state would give "preferential treatment" to African (black) entrepreneurs with regard to purchasing policies and in the supply of goods and services. Assistance would be given to existing and potential African entrepreneurs and an Entrepreneurial Promotion and Development Fund would be established.

The private sector would be expected to provide venture and development capital to African entrepreneurs through a variety of agencies and to fund entrepreneurial promotion and development institutes.

Through legislative avenues and/or "possession of powers, of moral persuasion", financial institutions would be pressurised to redesign asset portfolios to include loans to the state and African entrepreneurs.

Policyholder funds in mutual associations would be used to encourage redistribution of wealth through the state's appointment of senior managers or directors and worker representation in policy decision-making by influencing and directing the policies of companies in which they have controlling shares.

HOUSING

Like the ANC, the PAC stresses the need for better use of land not only for housing and industrial purposes but also for creating employment in the agricultural sector.

The PAC advocates land redistribution to smaller African producers and massive investment in land reclamation and reversal of land degradation. The size of remaining commercial farmers "should be determined by the extent of landlessness experienced by African people for residential and productive activities and by the economics of producing different produce".

Like the ANC, the PAC sees the engine power for economic development lying in the manufacturing sector and initially the building and construction industry.

Regarding foreign investment, the PAC says it strongly opposes foreign control and ownership of strategic sections of the economy but would encourage selective foreign investment for strategic purposes including investment orientated to technology transfer and joint ventures with currently disadvantaged Africans.

Measures to attract and retain foreign investors would be taken with a PAC government honouring and guaranteeing agreements.

SIMILARITIES between the economic policies of the PAC and ANC far outweigh their differences.

The PAC document is slightly more nationalistic but it is to the ANC's credit that its document is clear and concise, inviting debate from both its membership and the wider public and, as intended, designed to draw widespread reaction.

The PAC document on the other hand is written in a style which at times borders on obscurity and is peppered with jargon.

While certain areas such as the unemployment problem and how this should be solved are handled extensively, the style and language threaten to make it less accessible to those without a tertiary education.

The ANC economic discussion document issued to promote debate within its ranks stresses "growth through redistribution". The subsequent Economic Manifesto presented to the national conference earlier this month has dropped the term but the general thrust of the organisation's economic policy remains unchanged.

□ REDISTRIBUTION

Redistribution, it argues, can provide a kick-start for growth in that a new housing programme would create employment and generate income. With other redistributive measures, this would expand demand for basic goods.

Stressing that redistribution would need to take place within a framework of responsible fiscal and monetary discipline, the ANC says redistribution programmes would need to be accompanied by measures to not only promote employment but make beneficiaries productive. They would have to stimulate growth.

Rejecting both an unfettered free market system and a "commandist" central planning system on the other, the fundamental framework of the ANC economic policy is that of a mixed economy based on the principles of "democracy, participation and development".

Co-operation between the state, private companies, financial institutions, trade unions and other non-government organisations would be fostered by a "developmental state", leading and co-ordinating a national economic strategy with longer-term developmental objectives taking priority over short-term sectional interests.

Both the ANC or the PAC claim not to be obsessed with nationalisation and both appear to have toned down their stance on this issue.

However, the ANC is opposed to moves to privatise public utility corporations, and is adamant these should remain part of the public sector.

In addition, it would consider incorporating in the public sector enterprises in other sectors which are considered strategic to promoting development. This would be done in one of three ways — either through nationalisation, purchasing through the market or the establishment of new state enterprises.

□ JOB CREATION

The ANC's policies would be aimed at encouraging and supporting a more dynamic and efficient private sector which would be expected to make a greater contribution to national economic development including job creation.

However, the continuing trend in recent years towards conglomeration is not seen to be compatible with a "democratic economic system" and while the ANC is not opposed to large companies, it would undertake a major inquiry into the impact of the conglomerate structure to encourage a more "equitable and efficient" private sector ownership pattern.

Attention would be given to rectifying race and gender imbalances in business and to encouraging small business. Anti-trust and anti-monopoly legislation would be considered to promote greater private sector efficiency.

The future is seen to lie in becoming a manufacturing nation and transforming the economy from its reliance on mining exports.

A new growth path would of necessity require a strategy of industrialisation. Policy would be aimed at meeting basic needs, increasing employment, enhancing technological capacity and ensuring South Africa emerged as a more significant manufacturing exporter.

In the mining industry, the ANC says a plan for the optimal extraction of gold in the national interest would have to be formulated in consultation with producers and trade unions. A new system of taxation, leasing and financing with measures of public ownership is advocated.



□ RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Also to receive attention would be a programme of rural development including land redistribution to increase employment in the agricultural sector and provide both exports and food for domestic consumption.

The state must have the right to acquire land for redistribution with priority given to those who suffered dispossession by removal.

A variety of forms of land tenure would be encouraged with guarantees for wages and conditions of workers with special attention being paid to the needs of women, the landless and the underemployed.

All land characterised by "heavy indebtedness, absentee ownership or under-utilisation" would be considered for redistribution.

□ PENSIONS

An ANC government would accept ultimate responsibility for the provision of welfare, and state pensions would be equalised immediately. A national retirement scheme underwritten by the state and a compulsory, comprehensive unemployment scheme involving workers, employers and the state, would be introduced.

Like the PAC, an ANC government would seek to promote mutually beneficial trade relations with all other countries giving special attention to co-operation among developing countries particularly in southern Africa.

Foreign investment would be encouraged on terms consistent with the ANC's development goals "particularly in activities leading to increased employment and the development of local technological capacity and capability".

A law on foreign investment would be needed to govern the rights and obligations of foreign investors obliging them to follow acceptable labour practices and reinvest part of their profits to promote continued growth.

In return foreign investors would be given guarantees of the security of their investment and the right to repatriate part of the profits.

□ TAXATION

The ANC says while the ending of apartheid should yield material benefits, these would not be sufficient to meet all needs and taxation would be important for mobilising additional resources for redistribution and growth.

The ANC supports shifting more of the tax burden away from individuals to corporations and applying principles of progressive taxation. It would also consider the introduction of new taxes including a capital gains tax, a capital transfer tax and property and land taxes.

Changes in expenditure patterns and priorities in the state budget would be a major instrument for redistribution.

The ANC makes special mention of the need to address gender equality highlighting the fact that a disproportionate part of poverty and inequality has fallen on black women who have been subject to systemic gender oppression.

The PAC says its policy is best described as "being redistributive, restorative, reproductive, accumulative, entrepreneurially supportive (individuals, collectives and state), human needs orientated and equi-beneficial".

Without spelling it out, the PAC advocates a mixed economy seeing the state, co-operative ventures and private initiatives as all having an important role to play.

□ NO RETRIBUTION

In its 41-page discussion document, the PAC emphasises redistribution of wealth and resources would not be on the basis of retribution for past injustices and wealth would not be redistributed from one elite group to a new one. However, it points out, it would not be possible for redistribution to be executed without the currently economical advantaged group of society "losing something".

Like the ANC, the PAC points out that market forces on their own are not enough to end the existing economic and social inequalities and redistribution cannot proceed without taking into account the need for economic development and wealth creation.

Regarding the nationalisation of private corporations, the PAC says it is the "economic behaviour of economic institutions" that is more important than their mere ownership by the state. However, if individual companies chose to defy other redistribution measures and associated behaviours under a PAC government, they would be considered for nationalisation.

Nationalisation might also be used as a policy against monopolies. However the PAC says "it might make little sense" in nationalising private monopolies to turn them into state monopolies.

As with the ANC, the redistribution of land is a central concern of PAC policy and it is presently examining different policy options in this respect.

□ OPTIONS

The first of these options includes the confiscation of land without compensation.

The second option involves the "de-commodification and redistribution and allocation of land for use". Land would cease to be a commodity to be bought and sold. Rather each citizen would have access to land on a leased entitlement and would have the right to pass this lease to their children but not to sell the land itself. Land would be redistributed with the size of each unit determined, among other things, by the intended use. Existing owners would be compensated, according to certain criteria, and this compensation would take the form of interest-bearing government bonds.

The third option involves the use of a tax structure with incentives to landowners to sell land to the state and disincentives to keep land beyond a particular size.

The PAC maintains that due to scarce resources and the existence of extreme wealth differentiations between the haves and the have-nots, the country is in a "war-like" and "post-war-like situation" and the active involvement of the state is of absolute necessity.

SACP-ANC alliance 'solid'

11A
CT 20/7/91

THE alliance between the SA Communist Party and the African National Congress was more solid than it had ever been, the secretary-general of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, said last night.

Delivering the keynote address to a conference at the University of the Western Cape marking the 70th anniversary of the SACP, he added: "But, an alliance is not like a Catholic marriage, and the way in which it will operate in future conditions is a matter which will only be fruitfully addressed when those conditions emerge."

Mr Slovo said he wished to reiterate the SACP's "complete confidence that

ultimately South Africa will arrive at a socialist system ... existing socialism failed because it was separated from democracy".

"We believe democratic socialism is the only rational future for humankind. And we will continue to propagate it and to work for conditions in which it can be realised in a future South Africa."

Turning to the controversial issue of "secret" SACP members, he said it was a "matter for historical record that prior to our banning in 1950 there was not a single secret communist. For 40 years we were forced to work in the

cellars".

The party was leading up to its first legal congress in 40 years in December, and "I, for one, am committed to the proposition that from that point onwards there will be no secret party members".

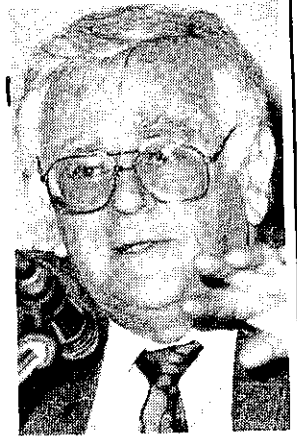
But, Mr Slovo added: "Those who have socialist commitments but who, whether for personal or political reasons, cannot fit into this new phase, should have our respect even though they may not be our members."

If and when elections came in South Africa, the SACP would "certainly participate ... whether we do so as part of an existing alliance, or a broader patri-

otic front, or a coalition, or on a completely independent platform, depends on many variables, including the specifics of a future electoral system".

Mr Slovo said it should be remembered that the alliance between the SACP and the ANC was based "not merely on immediate political consensus, but has its roots in the inter-class nature of the current struggle".

It was the task of the independent SACP to ensure that in this inter-class lineup of forces, working-class interests were not swamped and that the working class was organised as a powerful constituency. — Sapa



ALLIANCE ...
Joe Slovo

budget in the Foreign Affairs Special Account, part of the Secret Services Account. This anti-sanctions budget had been widely used, it appeared, to fund campaigns all over the world.

Buthelezi hits at 'offensive' story

CHIEF BUTHELEZI'S response came soon afterwards. He denied just about everything. He denied knowledge of payments through the police to Inkatha for rallies. He denied ever having accepted money to undermine the ANC. (S) (A)

He described the Weekly Mail article as "offensive" and he accused the ANC of having accepted government money to attend the Groote Schuur peace conference and having taken money from Russia, Cuba and the Middle East. (S)

He particularly denied Brigadier Steyn's claim that he had been grateful for money received for a rally.

Lastly, came the ANC response, delivered by Mr Mandela on his departure overseas. The revelations, he said, confirmed ANC charges that the government had been funding anti-ANC activities and it bore direct responsibility for "the murder, sometimes of entire African families, in both the PWV and Natal". (S) Times 21/7/91

He again called for the sacking of Mr Vlok and General Malan.

At the press conference, meanwhile, he warned that the revelations had set the government and the ANC on a collision course. If President De Klerk could not control the security forces, said Mr Mandela, there was no point in the ANC having further discussions with the government.

For more news visit our website
http://www.times.co.za

Surprises in ANC 'Shadow Cabinet'

By SEKOLA SELLO

(Press 21/7/91)

THE ANC elected its 26-man national working committee or "Shadow Cabinet" this week, showing that former exiles are still a dominant factor in the movement. (11A)

It was full of surprises. Favourite candidates like Gertrude Shope, who recently trounced Winnie Mandela in the contest for leadership of the Women's League, did not make it.

Only two women, Cheryl Carolus and Barbara Masekela, were elected to the NWC, which is responsible for the ANC's day-to-day activities.

The election of only two women is likely to raise complaints.

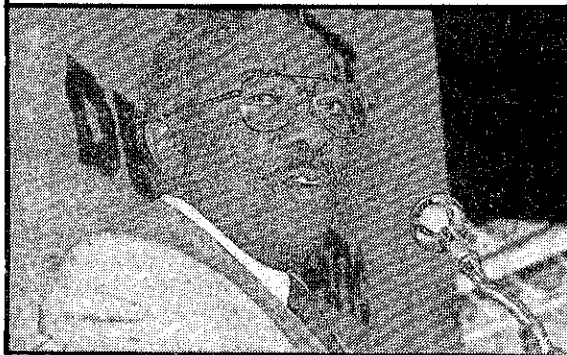
Women complained bitterly about under-representation in the National Executive Committee during the recent ANC conference in Durban. Their proposal that 30 percent of NEC members should be women was defeated.

Another surprise outcome of the elections was the good showing by former United Democratic Front members Popo Molefe and Patrick "Terror" Lekota. They were among the top five popularly elected members.

Former secretary-general Alfred Nzo was another surprise winner. During the run-up to the Durban conference, Nzo was strongly criticised for



Popo Molefe ... a surprisingly good showing in the "Shadow Cabinet" elections.



Alfred Nzo ... this former secretary-general was yet another surprise winner.

"weak leadership" and was considered lucky to have won a place in the NEC.

The erstwhile external leadership once more showed that, contrary to popular speculation, they are still a power to reckon with in the movement. They won 14 of the 20

positions contested.

With the election of the NWC out of the way, national focus is now on the allocation of portfolios to the NWC.

This will indicate which candidates are likely to become ministers in the event of the ANC becoming a new govern-



Patrick "Terror" Lekota ... in the top five elected to the national working committee.

ment.

The results of the elections with the number of votes in brackets were: Thabo Mbeki (66); Chris Hani (65); Pallo Jordan (64); Patrick Lekota (63); Popo Molefe (62); Steve Tshwete (61); Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (56); Joe Slovo (53); Joe Modise

(52); Cheryl Carolus (52); Joel Netshitenzhe (52); Sydney Mufamadi (51); Ronnie Kasrils (48); Joel Nhlanhla (48); Mohammed Valli Moosa (47); Trevor Manuel (46); Barbara Masekela (46); Alfred Nzo (45); John Nkadimeng (49) and Zola Skweyiya (30).



Chances of negotiation brighter now

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency

PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved to improve the atmosphere for negotiations by demoting two of his controversial ministers against the background of the Inkathagate controversy.

He is expected to follow this up with announcements on secret projects late this afternoon.

Playing his cards close to his chest as usual, Mr De Klerk's has surprised his followers with the Cabinet reshuffle.

How the new Cabinet looks — page 17.

Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, while remaining in the Cabinet, have been given fairly minor portfolios.

Some of their Nationalist colleagues saw this as merely a face-saving move by the president to avoid them being humiliated too much following ANC demands that they be fired.

The two were suddenly called to the president's official residence on Sunday to be told their fate.

General Malan is known as an abrasive politician who often appears to be used by the government to attack the ANC. A former head of the Defence Force, he was a protégé of former president P.W. Botha, who appointed him to the Cabinet.

Mr Vlok is known as a mild-mannered man who maintained that he was dedicated to improving the image of the police force, but in the end it appeared that he did not have strict control over his department.

Many "dirty tricks" allegations against the police remain unresolved.

Mr De Klerk is clearly sensitive about the effect that allegations and disclosures about secret projects and the involvement of security forces in violence can have on the negotiation process.

He has therefore moved to contain the damage at this stage and to ease the way to negotiations.

An especially bad impression was created by the fact that the police channelled money to Inkatha and the trade union Ufusa.

In what is also seen as a good move among Nationalists, he has taken Dr Stoffel van der Merwe out of the Cabinet to make him head of communications of the National Party in preparation for negotiations.

Dr Van der Merwe is seen as an able communicator who has had much to do with exploratory moves to start negotiations.

With his Cabinet reshuffle Mr De Klerk has given in to demands from his own ranks that more promising, younger politicians such as Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Piet Marais and Mr Leon Wessels must be given a chance.

The one embarrassment to Mr De Klerk at this stage is the resignation of the "own affairs" Minister of Education, Mr Piet Clase, because he had only a 47 majority in his Free State constituency in the last general election and the CP is now bound to win the seat.

On the other hand Mr Clase was becoming an embarrassment to the government because he appeared to be unable to keep up with moves towards open schools.



DEMOTED:

Mr Adriaan Vlok is switched from law and order minister to take over correctional services.

ANC cautious, PAC says it's disgraceful

Political Staff

THERE has been mixed reaction across the political spectrum, ranging from caution and approval to outright indignation that Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan had been shifted in the Cabinet and not expelled.

ANC deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu said: "It's not easy to say what we will do one way or the other. To remove them (the ministers) is something, but the situation is rather complex and requires to be examined."

The ANC's national working committee meets in Johannesburg today and the full national executive committee tomorrow.

Mr Mzonke Jacobs, Western Cape head of the ANC Youth League, said the YL had not demanded the ministers' reshuffle but their removal.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said it was disgraceful that although ministers guilty of nefarious practices were no longer in their former positions, they were still in the Cabinet.

On the far right there was also dissatisfaction.

Conservative Party deputy-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said President De Klerk had given in to African National Congress demands.

He described the Cabinet shuffle as "panicky". Bits and

pieces of portfolios had been assigned in ways which did not fit.

Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party said General Malan and Mr Vlok had probably been kept in the Cabinet to keep the NP intact and prevent by-elections.

Their successors, Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Hernus Kriel, were untried in this field — but at least they were not "tainted with the dirty tricks of the past."

Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga Mr Kobus Jordaan, another key player in the drama, said Mr De Klerk had made "an excellent move" and had shown his loyalty to "people with good service".

Labour Party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, described the reshuffle as a panic reaction.

The axings showed President De Klerk accepted that the country had no faith in the two ministers, the national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Brian Currin, said.

Reacting from Geneva, where he is to testify before the UN High Commission on Apartheid today, Mr Currin said the moves suggested President De Klerk took the latest developments in the country seriously.

ALAN DOWN, Political Staff

DEFENCE Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were called suddenly to residence, on Sunday afternoon.

They had no inkling of what Mr De Klerk planned to tell them. The ministers had been part of his team at the Union Buildings on Friday, planning his much-awaited news conference tonight on the Inkathagate row.

They had no idea they would be key elements of the strategy.

There was no sign of demotion. Mr Vlok, under the most fire for the police's role in funding two Inkatha rallies and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa), had no signal from the bush conference of Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and provincial administrators last Monday and Tuesday that he was about to be shifted.

To his aides, it was Mr Vlok going about business as usual — with no hint of dramatic moves around the corner.

His aides judged him to be "serious but confident", and painstakingly helped him plan a response on Saturday to accusations in the Press that he had lied when he had said on television a few days previously that every cent spent on Uwusa had been accounted for.

General Malan and Mr Vlok apparently met Mr De Klerk separately after the telephone calls on Sunday, not seeing each other at the Bryntirion mansion. It is not known how many others involved in the shuffle drove through the gates of Libertas to hear their fates that afternoon.

Two veteran survivors

Both outgoing security ministers, who had become specific targets of repeated calls for government heads to roll, kept their awful secrets until yesterday afternoon — after attending a lengthy State Security Council meeting which discussed Mr De Klerk's announcements tonight.

They then told their staffs. Mr Vlok first informed police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, his personal staff, and the generals at police headquarters, Wachthuis.

Aides to both men were shocked. They thought their ministers were again about to weather the storm. Both were veteran survivors by now.

General Malan has long been seen as a burden to Mr De Klerk and his reformist ways — a relic of the old South Africa. The new Cabinet clearly suggests that the era of the securocrats who directed the "total onslaught" approach under Mr P.W. Botha is finally at an end.

Mr De Klerk has in the past moved to bring intelligence and security operations more directly under Cabinet control.

Last night General Malan took fate with his chin high and some humour: "I've beaten the Reds. Now I join the Greens" (his role as Water Affairs and Forestry chief).

'Gave everything to SA'

The cause was always greater than the person, noted the defence minister of almost 11 years.

"The military successes of the SADF in the late 80s in southern Angola paved the way for the present political dispensation in South Africa."

General Malan said Armscor had through its achievements guaranteed South Africa's political independence through these stormy years.

"I gave them everything in the interests of security. Now I've been called to serve in another capacity. I will do so with devotion. A good man (Mr Roelf Meyer) succeeds me. I will help him where I can."

Among the stunned listeners as Mr Vlok told his immediate staff yesterday was Brigadier Leon Mellet, his well-known spokesman.

"I've worked with him ever since he became a deputy minister when the 1984 unrest broke out, and this is like the breakdown of a marriage.

"He has done wonders for the country. Since the day he took over he hasn't stopped working, day and night, setting a perfect example to the police.

"He was always on the ground with his men. He was never an armchair minister. I worked very hard for him because I believed in him."

'W faces the nation today

Political Staff and Sapa

PRESIDENT De Klerk faces the nation this evening on the Inkatha funding scandal.

In a Press conference to be televised live from the press-conference in Pretoria at 6pm he will explain his stance on the allegations which have rocked the government.

Yesterday the State Security Council gave him a briefing on the security situation.

It is understood that the meeting was attended by the Chief of the Defence Force, General Kat Liebenberg, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service, was said to have prepared a report for the SSC on how the public and the international community were reacting to the exposé and on responses to specific options open to the government.

In addition, the SSC is thought to have seen departmental reports on funding which may become future embarrassments, given the likelihood of further "grudge" leaks to the media.

MK conference in SA next month

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
and CP Correspondent

ANC military wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe will hold its first legal conference in South Africa next month, ANC spokesman Karl Niehaus said this week.

MK was formed 30 years ago when the ANC was banned.

According to Niehaus, the congress - which will be attended by representatives from inside and outside the country - will probably take place either in Venda or KwaNdebele.

Sources close to MK said the conference was originally scheduled to take

place in the Transkei in May.

However, senior officers decided on the postponement to allow the ANC national conference to take place first.

Niehaus, who served a jail term for being an internal MK recruit, said next month's conference would be dominated by the ANC's Durban conference resolutions on its armed wing.

The plight of returned members who were experiencing personal and social problems would also be addressed.

Among its conference resolutions the ANC decided to strengthen MK and to cater for the needs of its combatants. It also resolved to take responsibility for cadres prosecuted over the execution of

their duties in defence of their people.

Delegates also resolved to maintain and develop MK until a democratic constitution was adopted and a new defence force created into which MK cadres would be integrated.

Sources close to MK predict that heads are going to roll at next month's conference because of complaints by returned combatants that the ANC has not met most of its promises to them since their return.

Those who returned from Angola claimed they were promised jobs and houses.

Many soldiers still outside the country are now said to be reluctant to

return to the same political situation which they turned their backs on more than 20 years ago.

The ANC, however, has reported financial difficulties in supporting members to their satisfaction. Because of high transport costs it has also instructed its Frontline States structures to bury members who die in exile at their places of death.

■ MK commander Joe Modise told City Press last month that his cadres were undergoing conventional training to prepare them to take over a new army under a future government. He said hundreds of youths were still leaving the country to join MK.



JOE MODISE . . . getting ready for the future.

Azapo out of Patriotic Front?

By SEKOLA SELLO

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THE participation of Azapo in the much publicised patriotic front embracing all major anti-apartheid liberation movements is in the balance.

This comes amid rumours that the front, which was to be launched in Cape Town between August 23 and 25, may be postponed to September.

PAC and Azapo sources alleged the ANC was "dragging its feet in accepting Azapo as an equal partner".

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe says his organisation is committed to the front but unhappy it has not yet been included in the ANC and PAC organising committee.

Nefolovhodwe warned against the front going ahead with some liberation movements being accorded junior status.

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

THE united front conference of black liberation movements in Cape Town next month is sure to put the South African government and certain international powers on edge.

They will be hoping the conference is a flop as a united black liberation movement will spell doom for white supremacy in any form.

The desire to keep black liberation movements fragmented has been openly expressed by many white politicians and is part of the secret agenda of a number of Western countries.

What is so special about this united front? Why form one at all when the ANC enjoys centre stage in South African politics with plenty of support even among whites?

Further, what is the motivation of the PAC and Azapo, which have their own constituencies. Are they trying to climb on the ANC's back?

The Inkatha Freedom Party under Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might also have claimed a

MY WAY
.....
With Khulu Sibiy

The real goal is long-term unity

C/P/Pres
21/9/91

(11A)



place at the conference, until this week when its collusion with the National Party Government was exposed.

The IFP has now disqualified itself from the united front, and Buthelezi must make his stand clear to the masses. He must either go it alone as a political party or openly form an alliance with the NP.

Our people have been confused for too long by Buthelezi. He refused to send a representative to the Conference for a Democratic Future held at

Wits recently to work out a strategy for a united front. His reason was that he was not invited. In fact no organisation was officially invited to the conference.

The united front will most likely include the ANC, PAC and Azapo. Apart from their track record of fighting apartheid rule, these organisations have more in common than differences. They believe in one person one vote, support the concept of a united front and all want a constituent assembly.

However, they differ

on the question of an all-party congress. The ANC says it will go ahead with its plans for such a congress while the PAC and Azapo are against it.

The conference next month has also raised problems for Azapo. It refuses to attend along with homeland leaders who were elected on "ethnic grounds", and has slammed the idea of an interim government as an "interim solution".

In its search for a permanent government, Azapo wants President FW de Klerk's government to resign. It says the

military and police should also be confined to bases while the transition is monitored by the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement.

The three organisations may also differ on the restoration and distribution of land and wealth. The ANC is likely to take a more conciliatory approach while Azapo and the PAC push a hard line.

Despite these differences, the three organisations are united in their need to topple the present government before they go their separate ways.

The dangers of this short-term strategy surfaced in Zimbabwe when liberation movements triumphed against the Smith Government.

After losing elections to Robert Mugabe's Zanu party, the Zapu party of Joshua Nkomo resorted again to guerrilla warfare and nearly destroyed the newly liberated country.

We can only hope discussion at the conference gives equal attention to long-term goals and short-term strategies.

Tough-talking Cyril rises

C/Pren 21/7/91

After years of invaluable negotiating experience in the trade union movement National Union of Mineworkers strongman Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa was recently elected as the new ANC secretary general. Here, in a frank interview, he gives his views on the ANC, constitutional negotiations and State President FW de Klerk's strengths and weaknesses.

Special Correspondent

(11A)

THE ANC is sometimes criticised for being organisationally weak. Do you agree and if you do what are you as secretary general going to do about it?

We have (at the recent congress) criticised ourselves as an organisation. Any organisation that subjects itself to criticism is more prepared to correct its past bad ways than an organisation which is not keen to criticise itself.

In the past we have not always emerged as an effective and efficient organisation. But we recognised that at our conference and we resolved to turn ourselves into a much better run organisation.

Like many other people, I bring into the ANC experience and certain skills which we can put to good use. Fused together in a structured way, the experience and skills of people from exile, prison and the mass democratic movement will produce an ANC which will be admired by many organisations in this country.

How do you see the political process unfolding in South Africa? Are you convinced the obstacles to negotiations will be removed?

Being a trade unionist one manager once said to me: "You know, we have only changed because you have put pressure on us." We are going to continue putting as much pressure as possible on the government to make them finally agree to remove all these obstacles.

Do you think in terms of a time frame?

It's very difficult. It depends on whether De Klerk moves on the obstacles or not. Does he move next week or next year? It really depends on him. As the government, he has the timetable in his hands. After that we see a constituent assembly being elected. Then we draft a constitution and we have democratic elections.

What are the strong and weak points of the ANC and the NP?

Our strength lies in the masses of our people and in the fact they are determined to win their liberation. That is what we bring to the negotiating table.

I can't think of weaknesses right now. Organisationally we have to become a lot stronger, but I don't think that is a weakness.

The weakness of the Nats is that they are perceived as foot draggers. They are not releasing the political prisoners, they are not eliminating the violence and that is going to weaken them.

Once the negotiations start, once we are over the obstacles, what would you then see as the NP's weak points?

They are going to represent unpopular viewpoints. For instance they will oppose a constituent assembly, they will oppose an interim government and will want to be referee and player at the same time. That is not going to be well received by the many parties that are going to take part in the negotiations.

Do you see their having interim control of the security forces as a strength during negotiations?

It becomes a strength only to the extent to which it is used. If it is used against the majority of the people, yes, it becomes a strength and we are obviously worried about it. It will give them an unfair advantage if they want to use the security forces to strengthen their position. But otherwise I don't see many strengths on the NP's side.

What do you see as essential skills for a negotiator?

I think preparation, planning and knowing that you've got the support base that it takes to get a good agreement out of your opponents.

C/Pren 21/7/91

the negotiations, because the new South Africa that will emerge will not be better off without their contribution.

How do you see De Klerk as a leader? Can he be trusted?

I think he is a strong leader. As to whether he can be trusted or not really depends on what he is delivering and whether he lives up to the agreements or not.

Unfortunately for him, many people are beginning to doubt whether his government can actually be trusted to deliver the goods. He should be worried about that.

His strengths and weaknesses as a leader?

It's difficult to say. You can only judge a leader in a collective sense, rather than in an individual sense. That is also how I view Nelson Mandela. I see him as part of a collective leadership. If one views De Klerk in this collective sense you fall back on to the description I gave earlier about the weaknesses of the NP and the strengths of the ANC.

Will there be a role for De Klerk in politics after apartheid if the ANC becomes the majority parliamentary group?

I don't see why not. If you look at what happened in Namibia and Zimbabwe, there has been a role for people in the opposition.

It is rumoured that you wrote the speech that Mandela made on the Parade in Cape Town the day he was released?

No, that was a collective effort.

It was also rumoured that there was some tension between you and Mandela after his release?

No, there was never any tension between me and Mr Mandela.

Some people say your refusal to discuss the role of the SACP in the ANC is an effort to suppress discussion about the failings of communism?

We have never ever tried to suppress discussion on the failings of communism. In fact we encourage discussion on the failings of eastern European governments because there are many lessons in the reasons why these governments failed.

In that respect we have nothing to hide. Joe Slovo's, and other papers on why these governments have failed, have been discussed extensively in both the ANC and the SACP.

What we resent though, is that right now there is a public inquisition and a McCarthy-type witchhunt against communists. That is not the issue. There was an attempt to tell (congress) delegates that they were wrong to choose Joe Slovo for the NEC because he is a communist. That they should have chosen a non-communist.

That undermines democracy - and it is being done by people who proclaim from rooftops that they are democrats.

That is what we resent and is why we told people not to answer questions on their affiliations.

The SACP will throw open their books at their conference in December (their first in the country in 40 years) and until then the media should not put us on trial because we have an alliance with them.

Can the ANC's main political objective of getting rid of apartheid only be achieved if it remains a liberation movement - and not a political party?

Our view is that it can only be achieved if we remain a liberation movement. A political party becomes a political party to contest elections. We cannot be a political party because apartheid is not gone yet. We still have to pursue strategies of liberation.

Do you have role models in politics?

Yes, people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Joe Slovo.

What are your tastes in music, books and sport?

I enjoy jazz (especially John Coltrane and Kenny Burroughs), read biographies of various world leaders and play a little tennis.



THE FINAL DRIVE ... ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa reckons pressure should be kept up until the government removes all obstacles.

Is there a central dynamic at work in the negotiating process?

It's difficult to single out one. One dynamic could be the expectations of your people, what they regard as negotiable and not negotiable - and of course the

element of compromising.

On some issues you have to compromise. Then there are some issues where there can be no compromises. And, of course, negotiations are about accommodating each others positions.

Do you think the AWB and CP should also take part in these negotiations?

Yes, they also represent a viewpoint that needs to be put forward at the negotiating table. I think it would be unfortunate if the AWB and the CP do not take part in

'Patriotic conference' to take place

THAMI MAZWAI

LEADERS of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and leading business and trade union organisations will meet in Cape Town next month for a "patriotic conference" flowing from the ANC and PAC's Harare summit in April. Negotiations, sanctions and violence are expected to be among the issues discussed at the meeting on August 23 to 25.

It was decided in Harare to convene a conference of "organisations of the oppressed" to formulate a joint strategy to continue the struggle against apartheid.

Azapo was the first to be canvassed and will now be a major participant. Inkatha is not expected to attend after its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a TV interview last week the conference would lead to polarisation. Government, he said, would be on the one side and black organisations on the other.

Organisations expected to attend include the SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the National Council of Trade

Unions, the SA Council of Churches, National Olympic Council of SA, SA Council on Sport, Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc).

The conference will be the first major meeting of black organisations looking at the negotiations issue. The PAC, Azapo and ANC have sniped at each other since May last year when the latter had its first meeting with government. The PAC and Azapo have both rejected government invitations to negotiations.

Similarly, they have behind-the-scenes differences on sanctions, and this conference may see them take a common position.

Full details on the conference will be released this week, once the size of delegations and their voting rights have been decided on.

Concern over medicine thefts

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Medical Association of SA (Masa) is concerned that recent reports on medicine thefts in the pharmaceutical industry have given the impression that "trading doctors" bought and sold medicines for profit.

Masa federal council chairman Bernard Mandell said at the weekend Masa was not aware of any specific cases.

It could not condone so-called trading doctors. Mandell said exceptionally high standards were maintained by dispensing doctors.

They were not primarily profit-motivated and did not "trade" in medicines, but provided a convenient and cost-effective one-stop service to patients.

Masa's ethical committee monitored dispensing doctors' activities, he added.



NP to move into townships

By Shareen Singh

Blacks have started joining the National Party in increasing numbers since about April this year, the NP says, and plans are under way to open offices in a few black townships.

NP spokesman for the greater Pretoria region Joggie Boers said the NP would soon open offices in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve because membership in these areas had been increasing rapidly.

However, he could not say how many blacks had joined in his region because "the party does not register people on a racial basis and would

not like to differentiate between black and white".

The Hillbrow branch of the NP, which has a "multiracial" executive committee, says it has a significant number of black members.

Ronnie Ontong, a Pentecostal church minister, said he joined the NP in May this year because he believed in President de Klerk and the NP's policies.

He was also full of praise for Nelson Mandela and said he would have joined the ANC if it did not have communist alliances.

David Mathipa, an estate agent, said he had been an ANC member in his youth but had joined the NP because he supported capitalism.

The secretary of the NP's

Johannesburg region, Juli Coetzer, said many "disillusioned ANC members" were joining the NP, particularly in Hillbrow.

Responding to NP claims, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said "naturally they are free to recruit and open branches anywhere and we don't see it as a threat".

"Our membership as we stated at the congress was 700 000, most of which we managed to recruit in difficult circumstances in a short time since our unbanning."

Mr Macozoma, of Hillbrow, accused the NP of "engaging in propaganda" to try to increase its membership.

"I am a Hillbrow resident and I don't believe our members are joining the NP. If

anything, the ANC branch in Hillbrow is very strong and is growing daily.

"We are actively taking up issues affecting residents in Hillbrow and they believe in the ANC," said Mr Macozoma.

The NP was attracting conservative people who "are their political offspring and their natural allies".

Mr Macozoma said the ANC would like some guarantee from the NP that its recruitment drive would not be accompanied by repression and restriction of free political activity.

He said ANC members in some areas had been harassed by police, who had torn up their ANC membership cards.

FW, Mandela relics to be housed together

ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk are to move in to an exclusive Sandton home together.

Chairman of industrial group SA Bias, Christopher Seabrooke, said at the weekend that he had bought for £2 000 Mandela's 1961 petition to the British people, and that he planned to keep it with his signed copy of De Klerk's February 2 speech last year, in which he announced drastic reform measures including the unbanning of the ANC.

Seabrooke, a self-confessed "Africana fan", bought the petition last week in Lon-

31 Day 22/7/91 (11A)
DARIUS SANAI

don at a Sotheby's auction which raised more than £40 000 for exiled SA students.

Among other manuscripts sold at the auction was a typescript by Nadine Gordimer, which fetched £2 850, and an unfinished story by Graham Greene.

Seabrooke professed to admiration for both leaders, "as long as they get their acts together".

The petition, signed by Mandela on behalf of the 1956 treason trialists, was addressed to the "People of Great Britain"

from "all the Freedom-loving People of SA".

Two other potential buyers bid for the petition amid rumours that the ANC would try to recover a piece of its own history.

Earlier this month the ANC, entering the auction room for the first time in its history, tried to buy the disused Grootvlei colliery from Anglo American — but was outbid by a locally based development company.

An ANC spokesman said on Friday he had no knowledge of the Sotheby's auction or of an ANC bid.

Patrick Laurence assesses whether the SA Communist Party can turn the

tide of history

11A
POWER

Eyeing the corridors of

Star 22/7/91.

UNLIKE nearly all its ideological brethren, the South African Communist Party is not in disarray but knocking at Pretoria's gates and peering down its corridors of power.

Deeply ensconced in the African National Congress, South Africa's premier "liberation movement", the SACP has a chance of defying the current tide of history and gaining a share of power in a post-apartheid South Africa.

It is a prospect which its general-secretary, Joe Slovo, describes as daunting but exciting.

The SACP's expectation and hope of power is reflected in the title of its programme, "Path to Power", adopted at its congress in Havana in 1989. But its attainment of power cannot be assumed.

Its immediate prospects look good, however. Its position within the ANC, South Africa's prospective future government, is stronger rather than weaker after the ANC's recent annual conference.

The election of communists to the ANC executive in a palpably free and fair election strengthened the SACP by silencing critics who had previously insinuated

that communists had surreptitiously wormed their way into pivotal positions without the approval of the ANC rank and file.

The exact strength of the SACP in the upper echelons of the ANC is a matter of intense but imprecise debate. While still proud to label itself communist and to display the hammer and sickle, the SACP has not yet fully identified all its leaders.

Of the 50 successful candidates — chosen after the top six offices were filled — about half are conservatively estimated to be communists. At least 11 communists sit on the ANC's recently announced 26-member working committee or shadow Cabinet.

The strength of the SACP within the ANC has aroused curiosity in the press, apprehension in sections of the wider community and embarrassment in the ANC. The ANC's unease is reflected in a statement issued by its newly elected general-secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa.

In it he expresses grave concern about the "chorus of red-baiting comments" in the South African press and chides the press for speculating on how many of the 50

directly elected ANC executive members are communists.

The SACP's close relationship with the ANC seems to ensure that it will be carried to power by the ANC.

But, if President de Klerk succeeds in fulfilling what is rapidly emerging as his preferred game plan, the SACP will not realise its dream of power. Mr de Klerk's strategy is to construct an anti-ANC alliance, known loosely as the Christian Democratic Alliance, with which to challenge and defeat the ANC in South Africa's first non-racial election.

A defeated ANC will certainly look for scapegoats in the event of defeat at the polls. The SACP will undoubtedly be a prime target.

Even now the ANC-SACP alliance is not without its strains. The report of the outgoing secretary-general identified the link with the SACP as one of the factors impeding the ANC campaign to win recruits in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities.

Allan Boesak, former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, has expressed concern over the role of communists in the ANC, naming it as a reason for

delaying his decision to join the ANC. It, the issue of communism in the ANC, is now being addressed, Dr Boesak observes enigmatically.

In a recent interview, published in *The Star*, newly-elected ANC president Nelson Mandela implicitly acknowledges that there are tensions between the different ideological tendencies in the ANC.

Talking of capitalism, Fabian socialism and Marxist socialism as tendencies in the ANC, he says: "We (will) have to indicate what we believe in. That would be dangerous at the moment because it would split us from top to bottom."

In a brief look into the post-apartheid future, Mr Mandela envisages a parting with the SACP: "They (the communists) will take their own line ... which we will not follow. We won't follow socialism. We have our own programme."

Earlier Mr Mandela argues that the ANC has its own agenda, to which the SACP subscribes, almost, he comes close to suggesting, as a condition of its membership of the alliance.

Mr Mandela's remarks call into

question the thesis that the SACP can and will ride to power on the ANC's back. They resonate, too, with a still inchoate but definite feeling in the ANC that it must assert its own identity and not allow itself to be smothered ideologically by the SACP.

An SACP member who occupies a key position in the ANC offers another perspective on the same process. Speaking on condition of anonymity, he says philosophically: "When a liberation movement smells power, it begins to purge itself of communists ... Some communists even begin to purge themselves."

He mentions three members of the ANC executive: Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's urbane secretary for international affairs, Jacob Zuma, its intelligence chief and newly elected deputy to Mr Ramaphosa, and Aziz Pahad; all three have, he says, begun to distance themselves from the SACP, in spite of being members of its central committee.

These are developments that make it foolhardy to assume that the SACP will assume power through its alliance with, and penetration of, the ANC. Against that,

however, it is equally facile to conclude that the SACP will not taste power in the next few years.

The SACP has faced attempts by nationalists of various hues to expunge communism from the ANC or to isolate communists by drawing African nationalists out of the ANC:

- In the 1940s when, ironically, Mr Mandela as a younger man led an abortive bid to expel communists from the ANC.

- In the 1950s and 1960s Africans first tried to drive communists out and then, when they were forced to withdraw themselves, to do themselves up as the authentic custodians of the ANC's nationalist heritage.

- In the 1970s, when eight nationalists, led by Tennyson Makiwane, were expelled after attacking the role of communists in the ANC.

The SACP has travelled a long and arduous path since its forma-

tion in the early 1920s, surviving hostility from black exclusivists and from white supremacists.

Steeled over the years from its clashes with "fascists", black and white, it will not timidly decamp and retreat from the gates of power. □

PAC's ^(IIA) ^{so western} ^{22/1/91} cure for violence

THE formation of a "patriotic front" of political organisations in August could lead to an end to the spiral of violence that has engulfed South African townships, according to PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

In a speech delivered at a meeting of the African Society in Egypt, Makwetu said the PAC would not abandon the armed struggle until the majority had been given the vote.

He said the lifting of economic sanctions would not lead to an immediate flow of investment into the country because of violence. - *Sapa*.

SA doubtful for Olympics, Mandela tells the Spanish

AFSU 22/7/91

11A

The Argus Foreign Service

MADRID. — Mr Nelson Mandela said here that it was doubtful that South Africa would attend the Barcelona Olympics, that sanctions should not be lifted and he further denounced Pretoria's support of Inkatha.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie are being given red-carpet treatment usually accorded to heads of state during their first official visit to Spain.

Foreign Minister Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordenez said yesterday that Spain was the only European country that contributed financially to the ANC office in Madrid.

Mr Mandela's photograph was on the front page of all Spanish newspapers after his arrival on Saturday and many had interviews with the ANC president.

Mr Mandela said he was seeking political support and financial aid for the ANC.

"The action of the European Community (lifting sanctions) is premature because they were introduced for a specific purpose — the elimination of all forms of racial oppression and giving the vote to all South Africans," he said.

"Neither of these two objectives has been met.

"It is true that certain discriminatory laws considered pillars of apartheid have been abolished, but their disappearance does not mean that we have finished with apartheid.

"Discrimination continues in funds for education, housing and for health and social services. Also, in our system of government, the principle of one man, one vote has not been introduced."

He warned that because of this South Africa would not be

at the Olympic Games to be held next year in the Mediterranean seaport of Barcelona.

"We are totally in favour of South Africa participating in the Olympic Games if South Africa meets the conditions imposed by the IOC. These are the elimination of all the laws which interfere with free sport in our country. We want them to eliminate racial segregation in the bodies that control sports activities," he said.

"If this is not done by 1992 they will not see us in Barcelona."

Inkatha had been working with the government to destroy the ANC.

"What is happening in South Africa is not violence with blacks against blacks but a prepared strategy between this black organisation and the government. That's why they are paying them.

"We said there was an unholy alliance between the government and Inkatha 15 years ago. It is violence orchestrated by the security services."

Yesterday Mr Mandela met — separately — Spanish communist leader Mr Julio Anguita and Mr Nicolas Redondo and Mr Antonio Gutierrez, leaders of Spain's two main trade unions.

"We believe we must keep the sanctions and therefore we are opposed to the government's proposal to lift them," said Mr Anguita. "Until there is one man, one vote that is the principle of democracy and human rights."

The same note was struck by the union leaders, who threatened to take industrial action against companies which traded with South Africa.

"They are putting their economic interests before democracy and civil rights," said Mr Gutierrez.

People's interests must be first, civic groups are told

Sowetan 22/7/91

(117)

THE need for civic associations to be politically non-sectarian in their dealings dominated the opening session of the Northern Transvaal Civic Association general council in Seshogo on Saturday, writes MATHATHA TSEDU.

The tone was set by NTCA president, Mr Kamela Sekonya, in his opening address in which he called on affiliate associations to strive to serve all people without

regard to political affiliations.

Sekonya said the NTCA and the civic movement in general aimed at developing "maximum civic unity in action". This would enable them to fight for affordable housing, free education, recreational facilities and community empowerment through political power.

He said the civic movement had to develop

a code of conduct and discipline and ensure that the people's interests were served at all times and that accusations that the NTCA was inclined to the ANC were false.

"We serve all our people," he said.

"Perhaps it is a measure of the unpopularity of the NTCA that the liberation movements have not deemed it fit to be with us here today despite invitations and confirmations", Sekonya said.

Cyrl Kobus reply in an affidavit

As a storm rages over cash for Inkatha ...

ANC warns



PIK BOTHA ... admitted

Sowetan 22/7/91.



of talks crisis

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

The Government has admitted channelling money to Inkatha for "anti-sanctions rallies".

The ANC has called for an end to secret funds and said the Government must come clean.

What is your opinion of this latest scandal? What effect will it have on the negotiation process?

Telephone DJ Tim Modise and share your opinion with the nation on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback show between 5 and 6pm today.

The hotline number is 714-8063.

Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback show on mediumwave 576KHz.

THE Government must open for public scrutiny all its secret funds, much of which have been used to achieve its own political ends, if it wants to save the negotiation process.

This is the message from the ANC following allegations at the weekend that the Government had channelled about R5 million of taxpayers' money to Inkatha.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha admitted he had authorised R250 000 - from a secret slush fund - to Inkatha for two "anti-sanctions rallies".

However, evidence obtained from top-secret police documents published by the *Weekly Mail* last week showed that the money was in fact channelled to Inkatha "to show everyone that he (Inkatha's Chief Buthelezi) has a strong base".

Buthelezi has emphatically denied knowledge of receiving funds from the South African Police to block the growth of the ANC in Natal.

But an SAP memo from Brigadier JA Steyn, a deputy regional chief of the security police in Natal, to the commanding officer of the security police in Pretoria published by the *Weekly Mail* said: "Chief Minister Buthelezi was very emotional when a copy of the receipt was given to him.

Violence

"He could not say thank you enough and said that he had not expected it."

The Inkatha rally which the Government funded triggered off the worst spate of violence in Natal since trouble erupted in the province during the mid-80s.

Democratic Party MP Mr Kobus Jordaan, from Natal, said yesterday he had information that R5 million in State funds had been channelled to Inkatha's trade union, the United Workers

•To Page 2

'ANC school' bombed again -
Page 2

Runaway win for Orlando Pirates -
Page 28



Woman cop is gunned down after chase

Story on Page 2

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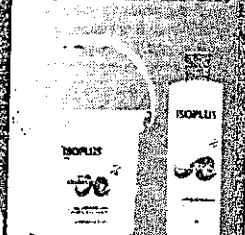
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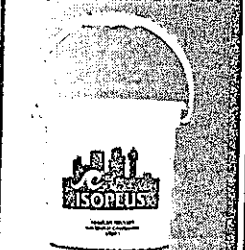
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Cosatu to review ANC link

COSATU's alliance with the SACP and the ANC will come under heavy focus during the union federation's fourth national conference in Johannesburg this week.

Mr Neil Coleman, publicity officer of Cosatu, said an important decision regarding the matter will "have to be adopted by congress."

"It has become apparent that our alliance with the ANC and the SACP has to be evaluated considering the present political climax in the country."

Coleman said violence, which has claimed hundreds of lives since the beginning of the year, will also be under discussion.

"Congress is going to tackle this matter very seriously and a decision on how people should defend themselves will be

By IKE MOTSAPI

mooted," said Coleman.

The congress, which will bring together more than 2 500 delegates, will be staged against a backdrop of crumbling economic sanctions, a spectre of bloody political violence and an outcry against communism.

"The most immediate question facing us is the removal of the obstacles being created by those wishing to interrupt the transition to a democratic South Africa," Coleman added.

Peace

"Following hard on the heels of the ANC national conference, the Cosatu congress will give a very clear indication of what the working people of our country are saying."

Delegates will also discuss an overall strategy for peace, the question of self-defence, and "a

A DOCUMENTARY depicting the history of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) will be shown on television today and tomorrow. *Sowetan 22/7/91*

The documentary entitled 'Hlanganani - A Short History of Cosatu' will be shown on TV2 and TV3 for 30 minutes at 7,30pm today and tomorrow, according to Cosatu's head of communication, Mr Moeletsi Mbeki.

He said the documentary would look at the history of labour organisations in South Africa, contributions made by trade unions, especially Cosatu.

campaign to bring the security forces under control."

On sanctions, the congress is expected to fully back a call by its allies for the convening of a conference "of all democratic forces to develop a common stand" in the wake of the lifting of economic measures by the United States and other countries.

Coleman said Cosatu's paid-up membership had soared to 1 258 853. At the same time, however, it acknowledged it faced an uphill battle in bringing

all workers under one umbrella.

"Cosatu and its affiliates have been engaged in discussions on how to rescue our economy from the crisis into which employers and the State have plunged us."

Thus the question of economic reconstruction is high up on the agenda of Congress,

"In the short term Cosatu is engaging in discussions with the State and employers on various economic issues in order

to lay the basis for an economic reconstruction programme, and to defend workers from the economic onslaught they are experiencing," he said.

Other issues to be discussed are:

* Health policy: Congress will discuss a campaign for a national health service that provides affordable and accessible basic health care for all.

* Industrial health, safety and the environment: Hundreds of workers are killed, and thousands are injured in industrial accidents each year. Many others suffer from occupational diseases.

Health

Industry also damages the environment and health of workers and their families. Congress will address the need to include these questions as part of our broader industrial and economic restructuring programme,

Coleman said.

Congress will also discuss a campaign for the review of all relevant legislation; the establishment of an independent monitoring structure; training centres to retrain disabled workers; and the right for shop stewards to negotiate issues related to health, safety and the environment.

* Public transport: Public transport is in crisis because of privatisation, deregulation, removal of subsidies, taxi wars, accidents, and long travelling distances.

Congress will address the call for the reorganisation of the transport system, and the campaign for efficient, affordable and safe public transport.

* Hostels and housing: the housing crisis in our country is one of the most serious problems facing workers and families.

Congress will have to consider various aspects

of the housing situation, including the provision of land, financing, a unified national housing policy, and company housing schemes.

Congress will also have to determine an approach to transformation of hostels, taking into account the need to unify workers, the right of all people to decent accommodation, and the views of hostel dwellers and the communities in which they live.

* Pensions and provident funds: Congress will discuss the need for State pensions to be equalised and set an amount which provides for a decent standard of living.

Congress will also discuss the demand for industrial pension schemes to be centralised and placed under workers' control, and for funds of these schemes to be invested in ways which benefit the working people.

BEFORE February 1990 Cosatu, to a large extent, spoke for the entire democratic movement. It was seen as the voice of the ANC in a situation where the ANC could not openly speak. Now the nature of the federation's political role must be reconsidered.

The key difference in the post-apartheid period is that Cosatu no longer has to attempt to speak for those political organisations. The ANC, SACP, PAC and others can now openly speak for themselves.

Cosatu's direct role is not on the political terrain of Parliament, elections and lawmaking, although its policies will continue to have major effects on these. For the federation this will probably mean a shift in emphasis from "Politics" to "politics", with its political role in the 1990s one of process and direction.

While it is Cosatu's right and duty to call for a constituent assembly as the most democratic means of drafting a new constitution, its role is not to stand for election to that assembly. In the interim, however, Cosatu is still likely to play a direct political role, partly because of its mobilising ability and partly because the foundations are being laid for the country's social and political system for decades to come.

A key element of Cosatu's political activities will undoubtedly be to ensure that the voice of organised labour is heard when the policies of a post-apartheid SA are drafted. Cosatu will undoubtedly continue to draft policies on issues such as housing, medical care, social security, and training.

It is also considering economic policy in some detail — particularly the relationship between the state and the private sector, between market and non-market forces, and the role of the union movement in restructuring the economy.

It will no longer be sufficient for the trade unions to be a force of opposition and resistance. They will have to be a force for reconstruction and change.

A major task facing the federation

Cosatu may trade political centre stage for background role

JEREMY BASKIN

~~11A~~ 11A
BIDrag 22/7/91

is the active reshaping of the country's industrial relations system. The present system acknowledges the union movement grudgingly. A new system must accept unions as necessary social institutions.

This demands that employers and unions accept a new set of "rules", including an end to the culture of violence, which has become a hallmark of industrial relations since the 1986 state of emergency, and the establishment of basic rights and powers in the workplace.

In presenting its perspectives on post-apartheid SA, the union movement needs to be aware of the dangers of sectionalism. As the voice of organised labour, unions have an inherent tendency to be sectional. Already unions face allegations of representing only a labour aristocracy — privileged workers employed by the larger corporations, or urban, rather than rural, workers.

Two aspects of sectionalism require particular vigilance: disputes involving members of the public and a tendency to represent the views of relatively better-off workers.

In the health sector strikes of 1990 a potential conflict of interest emerged between workers and the broader public. Health workers were striking for the right to join unions and earn a decent wage. On the other

hand members of the public were concerned about their health and the virtual collapse of medical services for the duration of the strike.

In situations like this the union movement will have to spend more time and energy justifying its actions to the public. This implies greater responsibility, more openness, improved publicity, and a conscious attempt to win public support during industrial action. This principally affects unions in the service sector, where workers deal directly with the public, although it may also be relevant during protracted disputes in the manufacturing sector.

SA's economy already contains a dangerous dualism, with large, technologically sophisticated enterprises operating alongside sweatshops and informal sector production. It is easier for the movement to organise, mobilise and represent workers employed by major corporations.

However, unless Cosatu can show that it is interested as much in employment creation as in a living wage, as much in public health care as in medical aid schemes for its members, its influence will decline.

The movement is used to being labelled a disruptive force and

blamed for inflation, unemployment and a variety of other ills. The unions can expect to be accused of disruption even in the post-apartheid era.

The charges will be packaged differently. There will be less talk of "communists" and more of "sabotaging national reconstruction". The unions will have to take these allegations seriously, especially since they will come from a popularly elected government. Cosatu is attempting to face this challenge by developing a comprehensive programme for union involvement in social and economic reconstruction.

Combating dogmatism and intolerance within its own ranks is another difficult task facing Cosatu. In part this problem has arisen because of the situation where Cosatu was seen, and saw itself, as a flag-bearer of the banned ANC. Most unions attempted to adhere to a clearly defined line, maintaining political clarity and coherence during a period of harsh state attack.

But when there were no clear majorities to determine that line the results were deeply divisive. Unions acting as bearers of one political position are unsustainable in the current period. They are essentially mass organisations which accept all workers as members, regardless of political affiliation.

All key political organisations now accept, at least in theory, the need for political pluralism in a post-apartheid SA. This involves the right of a variety of political parties to exist, contest elections, and compete for support within all major social institutions — including the trade union movement.

When this becomes a reality it will be hard to justify linking the union movement too closely with one political line — as happened not only in the Soviet Union but with many of the social democratic parties of Western Europe.

Two options can accommodate this situation. The first envisages separate federations linked to different political parties or movements. These could co-operate on industrial issues as required. In practice the situation would not be vastly different to continuing with Cosatu, Nactu and Uwusa, allied to the ANC, PAC, and Inkatha respectively.

The other option is to have one federation for all workers, and one union in each sector. This would require a high level of tolerance for differing political views within its ranks, with majority and minority factions competing for support from the membership as a whole.

Cosatu's slogan of "One Country, One Federation" impels it towards the second option, although this has implications for the existing alliance between Cosatu, the ANC and SACP. How the process unfolds will depend on the policies of a post-apartheid government and on the union movement's decisions about its political role in a democratic society.

In its brief five years, Cosatu has shown itself capable of reaching great heights. How it resolves the challenges outlined here will have long-term implications for the future of the union movement and the country as a whole.

□ This is an edited extract from **Striking Back — A History of Cosatu**, to be published this week by Ravan Press to coincide with Cosatu's fourth biennial congress. Baskin is a former general secretary of the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers' Union.

AS THE reeking edifice of apartheid collapses, those at its core are starting to emerge like woodlice from a burning log to seek redemption by telling of what went on inside.

They cannot be stopped, nor should they be. Rather, the process of confession and atonement should be institutionalised. If South Africans are to have a decent future, they must now be exposed to the full horror of their past. The ghastly arcana of the 40-year National Party imperium must be laid bare remorselessly if history is not to repeat itself under new management.

All South Africans must see, in every last harrowing detail, what autocracy breeds; the corruption, the lies, the arrogance, the immoral alliances, the squandering and theft of national treasure, the destruction of lives, and yes, the terror. Let full, dispassionate disclosure become a national project.

And let the secrets of the opposition phalanx be known also, for those too will be an object lesson in how the placing of ends over means, both by the state and its enemies, have debased and corrupted even the most saintly. The fruits of extremism, by whomever practised, must be made plain that all may see and recoil.

The alternative is to let the truth seep out drop by drop. The disclosures of police funding for Inkatha may be followed by tomorrow's headline news that a respected clergyman in the anti-apartheid movement participated in kangaroo courts that effectively sentenced men and women to death.

Piecemeal revelations by a Press whose new-found freedom may be only temporary are not enough. At best, the public will grow inured and cynical, persuaded by the daily drumbeat of sensation that what has been happening for so long is standard operating procedure and that there is no better way. To despair is to succumb to more of the same.

Dispensed in little bits, often without proper context, the truth is also subject to politicisation and readily packaged as hate-inducing propaganda for one undemocratic faction

All in SA must come clean about horrors of the past

by Day 23/7/91
SIMON BARBER in Washington

or another.

The ANC has every right to express outrage at the latest disclosures and to accuse the government of lying through its teeth. It is entirely justified in wondering whether the government is sincere about negotiation. But it has no right to demand that its own atrocities be overlooked in the process. Reconciliation requires that all come clean.

The movement is clearly overjoyed that it has been able to capture the "moral high ground". From its new vantage it believes it will be able to exercise more leverage over the government in negotiations while discrediting a principal dissenter and his following. Tactically speaking, it is probably correct in this analysis.

The exposure of the state's mendacity and double dealing, and the discrediting of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (though why did Inkatha need the money for rallies if, as is constantly alleged, it had always been in Pretoria's pay?) are hugely embarrassing to many who have risked much to stand up for De Klerk and what they believe to be the best interests of a future SA democracy.

President George Bush has been made to look a fool for having determined that the conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had been met. If half the stories now appearing are true, the

government's "good faith" in agreeing to negotiate must be seen as highly questionable; the contention that it has opened up the political process to full and free participation is unsustainable. Glasnost is not compatible with dirty tricks, let alone with lethal ones.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's admission that his department had a slush fund to counter sanctions renders imbecile Bush's assertion that the dismantling of formal apartheid thus far had less to do with sanctions



□ BUTHELEZI

than with the government's enlightenment. There is nothing enlightened about turning an apparently sincere opponent of sanctions into the political equivalent of a streetwalker.

From this and more the ANC can only benefit in its pursuit of power. The kindness that the Bush administration and Congress, both Republicans and Democrats, recently showed Buthelezi is now meaningless. Washington was at last beginning to understand that there were more than two sides to the SA equation and to grant official recognition to a third. Now we will be lucky if the majority of congressmen listen to more than one.

The more Americans see of the crude, subterranean gangsterism that operates within the SA government, the more they will simplistically heed the blandishments of the "victim" ANC, ignoring the grim potential that lurks in its ranks as well. Those who have had the guts to worry about the SACP alliance, the thuggery of the comrades or the unholly sources of some of the ANC's own income, will scurry away. Who can complain about township defence units under present circumstances?

As for the notion that the ANC and Inkatha should benefit equally from the \$10m Congress set aside last year to "promote democracy", forget it. If last week's agreement between House Africa sub-committee chair-

man Mervyn Dymally and his Republican counterpart Dan Burton has not already been tossed down the memory hole, it soon will be.

Liberty flows from sound economics. Having run the SA economy into the ground over the past four decades, the government and its creatures have now effectively obliged the rest of the world to let the ANC continue running it into the ground, thus ensuring that for the mass of South Africans freedom will be ... an empty shell.

Burnt on the repeal of sanctions, Bush will unlikely feel in much hurry to signal the IMF that the US will support an SA credit application. The administration's commitment to the Gramm Amendment, which obliges the US to veto such an application unless it meets certain conditions, was until now a political aspirin thrown to the sanctioners to help them get over the demise of the CAAA. Today, it is much more binding. If the ANC says no IMF loans to Pretoria, the Congress will concur, and with Congress not only the president but the international financial community as well.

SA's economic recovery will have to wait until the ANC has obtained more of its unilateral negotiating demands — demands in which major foreign powers will, for their own political reasons, be considerably more likely to acquiesce than heretofore. The prospects for the 40-million unemployed will not improve, further fuelling the violence.

There is no point competing to get back the "moral high ground". De Klerk's hands may be clean, but that is little consolation if the rest of the world has lost confidence in the government he leads. Better to begin by admitting that in SA there is no such thing as "moral high ground" any more. The place has been reduced by years of gross misrule and abuse of power to a vast moral swamp in which common criminals cannot even be identified as such any more but are let loose to rampage.

The swamp can be cleared only by opening the record on all sides so all may see and learn from what has happened, and perhaps forgive, understanding at last that the alternative is too ghastly to contemplate.

Vlok Malan to resign

PRESSURE mounted yesterday on the Government to come clean on the Inkatha secret funding scandal - and calls were made on President FW de Klerk to reconvene Parliament for an emergency session, to immediately appoint a judicial inquiry into covert State funding, and to sack two senior Cabinet Ministers.

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC), which held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the repercussions of the scandal, again called for the sacking of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The ANC said disclosures of secret State funding of the IFP had put the entire peace process in jeopardy.

In a hard-hitting statement, the ANC said they were "alarmed by the cavalier manner in which Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi shrugs off his responsibility concerning receipt of Government funds, channelled through the security police to a movement he leads."

The NWC said the expose underscored the need for an interim government and said it would not be fobbed off with another version of the Harms Commission of Inquiry. *23/7/91*

Crisis

In another development, the Pan Africanist Congress - which has tried to play a mediatory role between the IFP and the ANC - broke off talks with the IFP scheduled for next month.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer called on De Klerk to convene a special session of Parliament to discuss the crisis following the Government's admission that it had paid R250 000 for two IFP rallies and R1,5 million to its trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

De Beer said a public debate was needed on the scandal, which had created a crisis of credibility for the National Party and had placed the negotiation process at risk.

The emphasis of the scandal shifted to De Klerk, with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht noting that De Klerk had "misled" Parliament in April when saying the Government was not giving direct or indirect financial support to any political organisation.

The two leading Government-supporting Afrikaans daily newspapers, *Die Burger* in Cape Town and *Beeld* in Johannesburg, hinted broadly that Cabinet members should be sacked.

'It proves Govt can't be trusted'

Star 23/7/91
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Inkatha secret funding scandal had proved that the Government could not be trusted to preside over the transition from apartheid to a democracy, the ANC said yesterday.

After an emergency meeting of the ANC's national working committee to discuss the implications of the scandal, the ANC said the disclosures of secret State funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party underscored the pressing need for an interim government which would enjoy the confidence of the majority of South Africans.

And, also in response to the scandal, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday cancelled talks with the IFP on the formation of a patriotic front.

The ANC "challenged President de Klerk and his Cabinet to put an end to these sinister practices. The country will not be fobbed off with a second version of the Harms Commission or some other cover-up."

It said Mr de Klerk should comply with six demands to prove his commitment to cleansing his administration and keeping the peace process on track. He should:

- Dismiss Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, who "bear direct ministerial responsibilities for the crimes that have been committed".

- Institute a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate "with the utmost rigour" the full extent of Government involvement in the violence and secret funding of political activities.

- Publicly dismantle all the special counter-insurgency forces of the SADF and the SAP, "including those composed of foreign mercenaries".

- Open up to public scrutiny the secret fund, in the region of R380 million, that had been budgeted by the Government.

- Give guarantees that all civil servants and other State em-



Centre of the controversy ... leading British daily The Guardian yesterday questioned the credibility of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the light of his denial of any knowledge of the source of the funding. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok (seen with Chief Buthelezi) reaffirmed that he had never discussed financial support for Inkatha with the KwaZulu leader. Picture: Reuter

ployees who came forward to tell the truth about these covert operations would be immune from prosecution and receive protection.

- Charge and put on trial all police officers and SADF personnel who had been implicated by past commissions of inquiry.

"The ANC and the people of South Africa shall measure the seriousness with which the Government regards the present impasse by its response to these

demands."

The ANC's full national executive committee would meet before the month-end to discuss this response and the repercussions of the funding scandal on negotiations.

The ANC also said it wanted to alert the international community to the danger of lifting sanctions too soon.

"Those who accepted the bonafides of the De Klerk Government as an agency for politi-

cal change should seriously reconsider their position."

Brian Sokutu reports that PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday ruled out any future contact between his organisation and the IFP.

"Inkatha must choose either to be part of a CCB as a destabilising agent, or to form part of the democratic forces," Mr Moseneke said.

He said the scandal and Inkatha's rejection of a constitu-

ent assembly and formation of a patriotic front "left the PAC with no option but to withdraw from the intended meeting with Inkatha on the patriotic front". It was scheduled for August 16.

The PAC condemned the use of public funds for the furtherance of party-political programmes and said it would "reconsider the value" of the coming church-sponsored peace conference, in which the Government would take part.

Govt urged to resign over funding scandal

WITWATERSRAND ANC, PAC and Azapo spokesmen called yesterday for the government's resignation following disclosures of covert funding of Inkatha.

The call was made in a joint statement which said the exposure of state funding had dispelled the myth of the "third force".

"It is clear that the so-called third force is the activities of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order and Constitutional Affairs. The state as a whole is heavily implicated in this issue rather than some few isolated individuals."

The organisations said they were preparing for a day of mass action, details of which would be announced next Monday.

The spokesmen seemed to leave the door open for some form of reconciliation with

8/Day 24/7/91
PATRICK BULGER

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We call on all our people at this critical moment to close ranks and rally under the banner of freedom. We extend our call to those located within enemy structures to break with their past..."

They urged government to make a clean breast of its covert funding activities.

Those at Inkatha leadership level who had been "duped into these activities must stand up and denounce the government and individuals directly involved must come out with the information".

PAC "consultations" planned with Inkatha for August 16 had been cancelled.

Payments 'were authorised'

AUDITOR-General Peter Wronsley said yesterday government's payments of R250 000 to Inkatha were properly authorised by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and there was nothing irregular about them.

He said the Foreign Affairs Department controlled two secret accounts

8/Day 24/7/91
BILLY PADDOCK

— the Foreign Affairs Special Account and the Information Service of SA Special Account.

Wronsley said two payments of R100 000 and R150 000 were made out of the Information Service of SA Special Account.

The payments were not made out of the Foreign Affairs Special Account, as reported by some sections of the media, he said.

Wronsley said he had audited the payments and both had been correctly signed by Botha in accordance with the Auditor-General's Act.

There was no require-

ment that President F W de Klerk or Finance Minister Barend du Plessis authorise the payments.

The only issue on which authorisation by De Klerk, Du Plessis and himself was required was in determining what details he could report on secret accounts. This had nothing to do with authorising payments.

Wronsley stressed that his function and comment in this matter was of a purely technical nature.

Judgment of whether the payments should be made did not concern him. This was a political issue that had to be decided by politicians, Wronsley said.

Callers divided over union alliances



CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show were divided yesterday over whether labour unions should affiliate to or have alliances with political parties.

At issue was the link between the Congress of

^{Sowetan} South African Trade Unions, the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Some callers told Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise that political issues in the labour arena were dividing the workers while others said worker

^{24/7/91} issues could not be divorced from politics.

One caller said that during the banning of black political organisations and the detention of leaders, unions played a vital role as the voice of the liberation movements.

there was nothing wrong in forming alliances with political organisations.

This view was supported by Royal from Soweto.

Resign

Veli from Katlehong, however, said he disapproved of such alliances and union leaders who belonged to political parties should resign from unions which were formed to address "bread and butter struggles".

Buti from Tsakane also said the divisions among workers on the shopfloor over which organisations to affiliate to led to intolerance and other undemocratic practices.

Vote

This view was supported by Mxolisi of Protea who said the Government had politicised labour through the introduction of legislation such as the Labour Relations Act.

Black people did not have the vote to influence what should be on the Statute Book.

Cosatu and Nactu had their own principles and

Azapo, ANC and PAC join forces

IIA
Sowetan 24/7/91

THREE liberation organisations are to announce a specific programme of action on Monday, following disclosures that the South African Police channeled funds to Inkatha.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, the African National Congress, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress said they had begun consulting with their various mass formations and democratic structures.

"The climax of this process will be marked by an announcement of a specific programme of action that will be

SA Press Association

announced on Monday July 29." According to the statement, the exposure of "state-funded covert anti-liberation operations designed to destabilise the liberation movement, has dispelled the myth of the existence of the third force".

The three organisations said third force actions were "the activities of the departments of Foreign Affairs, Law and Order and that of Constitutional Affairs".



State President FW de Klerk (centre) and Foreign Minister Pik Botha (right) had discussions with Chief Lucas Mangope in Pretoria last night. De Klerk declined to discuss the "funds for Inkatha" issue.

Star 25/11/91 (11A)

Border ANC to contest Ciskei laws

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the ANC will challenge Ciskei's National Security Act in Bisho's Supreme Court in November.

The ANC will argue that the security legislation is illegal on the grounds that it contradicts the homeland's constitution decree, passed earlier this year.

A lawyer representing the ANC said this week papers had been served on the Ciskei government and that the matter had been set down to be heard over three days from November 13.

The Supreme Court will be asked to decide whether the Ciskei Constitution Decree of 1990 — which guarantees Ciskei citizens certain fundamental rights — is contradicted by amended portions of the National Security Act of 1982.

The sections provide for detention without trial for indefinite periods for interrogation, and restrict gatherings.

— Sapa.

Reveal secret funding, urges ANC

Star 25/7/91

The ANC has demanded that the Government's secret projects budget of R380 million be frozen immediately and that the covert spending of R1,5 billion over the past five years be made public.

In a statement in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said it was formulating a programme of action "that will express the outrage at the ongoing State-sponsored violence and manipulation of the political process by the incumbent Government and its security forces".

The organisation did not say what form the programme of action, to be formulated with "democratic forces throughout the country", would take.

The decision was taken during a two-day meeting of the ANC's national working committee on Tuesday and yesterday, called to discuss the "Inkathagate" scandal flowing from the Government's admission that it had secretly provided Inkatha and other organisations with taxpayers' money.

"While we regard the secret funding of Inkatha and Uwusa as totally unacceptable, it is but a small part of the R1,5 billion that has been spent over the past five years on secret projects. We demand a full,

public account of how all this secret funding has been allocated and that the current budget allocation of R380 million be frozen," the ANC said.

The manipulation of Inkatha had to be seen in the wider framework of "a considered destabilisation policy by successive apartheid governments, including that of President de Klerk".

The ANC said the confession of Inkatha official Zakhele Khumalo that he had accepted Government funding without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's knowledge did not diminish the responsibility of the Inkatha leadership and IFP president.

Reacting to reports that a witch-hunt had been launched for the person who leaked proof of Government funding of Inkatha to a newspaper, the ANC said it was disturbed that the authorities regarded the disclosure as the problem, instead of the document's contents.

On allegations that the SA Defence Force orchestrated much of the recent township violence, the ANC said it was becoming increasingly clear that the SADF "and foreign mercenaries in its employ" were directly involved in ongoing violence. — Sapa.

US donation 'must not fuel SA power struggle'

Biday 25/7/91

11A
11B
11C

State bugged our office — Idasa

~~25/7/91~~ GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Idasa yesterday blamed agents of the state for planting two bugging devices in its Hatfield, Pretoria office.

The organisation's Pretoria director Ivor Jenkins said two bugging devices were found in light fittings in the main conference room used by a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the Black Sash and the ANC.

Jenkins said it was believed they had been there for more than a year. *Biday*

He said no complaint had yet been lodged with police. An SAP spokesman said police had no knowledge of the bugs but said any complaint would be investigated. *25/7/91*

Jenkins said the bugs constituted interference in the free political process and brought government's commitment to open political discussion into question.

He questioned why such clandestine activities were necessary when South Africans had been told "the security establishment had all but folded and we can all now look forward together to the new SA".

"It was this kind of double agenda which caused so many South Africans to doubt the integrity of the NP," he said.

SIMON BARBER

ted by severe human resource constraints which undermine the organisation's capacity to engage in the negotiation process" while the IFP had at least gained some experience through the Natal Indaba.

The report argued that the US should focus most of its funding to the ANC on helping the organisation establish its negotiation task force, which should receive R7,6m.

The consultants recommended a maximum IFP grant of R9,25m to move the national headquarters from Ulundi to Durban and to help establish 30 regional branches, which were necessary to help the party reach out from its Natal base.

The package has been frozen since December by congressional Republicans opposed to funding the ANC.

On the basis of the report, USAID and the State Department recently offered a compromise under which the ANC and IFP would receive "in kind" contributions worth \$4,5m and \$2,5m respectively with the remainder going to the SA Council of Churches and the US National Endowment for Democracy.

By law, agreement must be reached by September 31, or the funds will cease to be available.

WASHINGTON — An SA consultancy hired by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) to assess the needs of the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party has warned foreign donors not to meddle in the organisations' power struggle.

Zille Shandler Associates, in a private report prepared for USAID in May, cautioned that "it could be highly controversial inside SA if funds allocated by the US Congress were utilised to build the support base of any party in the contest for political power".

The firm was brought in to study how the ANC and IFP might most effectively use proceeds of the \$10m Transition to Democracy Project created by Congress last year to "encourage negotiations" in SA.

USAID and the US embassy asked the consultants to recommend ways in which the ANC and IFP might spend the funds, with an upper limit of R12,9m for the ANC and R11,9m for IFP. The firm was not asked to study either party's needs in terms of their current finances.

On the basis of interviews with party officials and independent analysts, it found that both the ANC and IFP were sorely lacking in skilled personnel and organisational ability.

The ANC, in particular, was "limi-

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Cosatu congress to make vital choices

VERA VON LIERES

COSATU's relationship with the ANC and SACP will be scrutinised by more than 2 500 delegates to the federation's fourth national congress which starts at the Nasrec show-grounds near Johannesburg today.

The conference will be attended by delegates from 14 affiliated unions.

The ANC, SA Communist Party, PAC, SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference have been invited, as have guests from trade unions and labour federations around the world.

A key issue on the agenda will be the adoption of a workers' charter, to ensure that a future constitution will entrench workers' rights and guarantee trade union independence. Such a charter would include the right to strike, organise, belong to a union and the right to a democratic government.

Congress delegates would consider whether Cosatu should play a direct role in the negotiation process, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo told a news briefing last week.

Cosatu's tripartite alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party will also come under scrutiny. Naidoo said discussions would be aimed at strengthening the alliance.

Delegates will discuss how the issue of overlapping union and political leadership in the alliance can be regulated to ensure that it does not compromise the federation's independence. *8 Day 25/7/91*

Delegates are likely to support a broader strategy for peace and will discuss self-defence. They will also focus on adopting an economic policy with the emphasis on a union role in economic and industrial planning to create jobs and meet basic social needs.

Sugar sector outlook 'strong in long term'

8 Day 25/7/91

DURBAN — The long-term sugar market could be viewed optimistically, outgoing chairman of the SA Sugar Association, Glyn Taylor, said at the annual meeting yesterday.

Making a forecast for the short term he said a modest improvement was expected in domestic market sales following last year's exceptionally high growth. The sales estimate figure was 1,329-million tons of which 88% would be white sugar.

The proceeds would be boosted by the recent price rise but the increase had to be measured against sharply escalating production costs due to high inflation.

The export market had seen prices slumping from \$357 a ton just over a year ago to \$200 a ton for deliveries in December this year.

World production had surpassed consumption two years in a row while some countries had cut purchases due to recession and foreign exchange shortages. Export proceeds for farmers would not be "very remunerative".

But the premium on the export market for white sugar "has been remarkably strong at over \$100 a ton and a good premium seems set to continue".

This appeared to present an opportunity for SA, which was examining the feasibility of further increasing refining and conditioning capacity. A back-end plant attached to a sugar mill would require investment of about R75m.

The past 40 years had seen a steady 2% growth in world consumption which by the year 2000 would reach 131-million tons — a rise of

21-million tons. That annual rise was equal to SA's total annual output.

Taylor said most production would be consumed where it was grown but a "significant quantity will be left for the world market".

"At the current depressed price levels nobody is going to invest capital for additional world market sugars and this should have the price trending upwards in the medium to longer term.

"I remain optimistic that the 1990s will be altogether better years for SA sugar and sugar cane producers than the 1980s," Taylor said.

Own Correspondent

Sanctions

Discussing the reasons for the differential between the domestic price of sugar and the world price Taylor said the world price represented a "dumped price".

SA sold all its sugar into this market and it had no preferential arrangements — SA enjoyed a US quota which represented a price premium on the 10 000 to 20 000 tons sold there, but this fell away under sanctions. Dropping of US embargoes could revive that market.

On escalating food prices Taylor said the industry sugar price was now, in real terms, lower than it was five years ago — the aggregate rise in sugar prices was below the rise in the food and consumer prices indices.

He said that keeping these price rises down was made very difficult by steeply rising costs of all agricultural and factory inputs.

Taiwan's development plans hold promise for SA

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Taiwanese government's plans to spend about \$2bn on capital projects to develop Taiwan's economic infrastructure during the next six years has huge potential for SA construction and engineering companies.

SA trade counsellor in Taipei Stephan Pretorius yesterday told the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce SA companies had successfully tendered for large capital projects in the past.

There were orders, for example, for trains, rails, asphalt plants and locomotives as Taiwan upgraded its transport system.

Pretorius said the fast-growing Taiwanese economy had outgrown its infrastructure.

The country was not self-sufficient in terms of expertise and skilled labour, and would have to look abroad for assistance.

Taiwanese figures show that trade between Taiwan and SA amounts to about \$2bn annually. SA exports concentrate on coal, steel and iron ore. Steel exports total about \$300m, and 25% to 30% of Taiwan's coal requirements come from SA.

Pretorius said Taiwanese exports to SA tended to be consumer products. Government and industry were working together to export more value-added goods, such as supermarket products.

SA fruit juices and beer had been very successful. Ceres exported 55% of its fruit juice production to Taiwan, while 300 000 cases of Castle beer had been sold there this year.

Pretorius said it was possible that Castle, now fifth in the beer ranks, could take the top slot next year. SA biscuits were also sold.

He said he had received many inquiries from SA motor manufacturers about export of components to Taiwan, which had restricted Japanese imports because of that country's large trade surplus with Taiwan.

Back to step one as trust takes knock

Star 25/7/91

11A

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations — it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase — came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was voluble, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could be expected only once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party — in fact, if not in name.

In the event, the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horse-trading which would shape our future.

Constitution Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was set.

The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Govern-

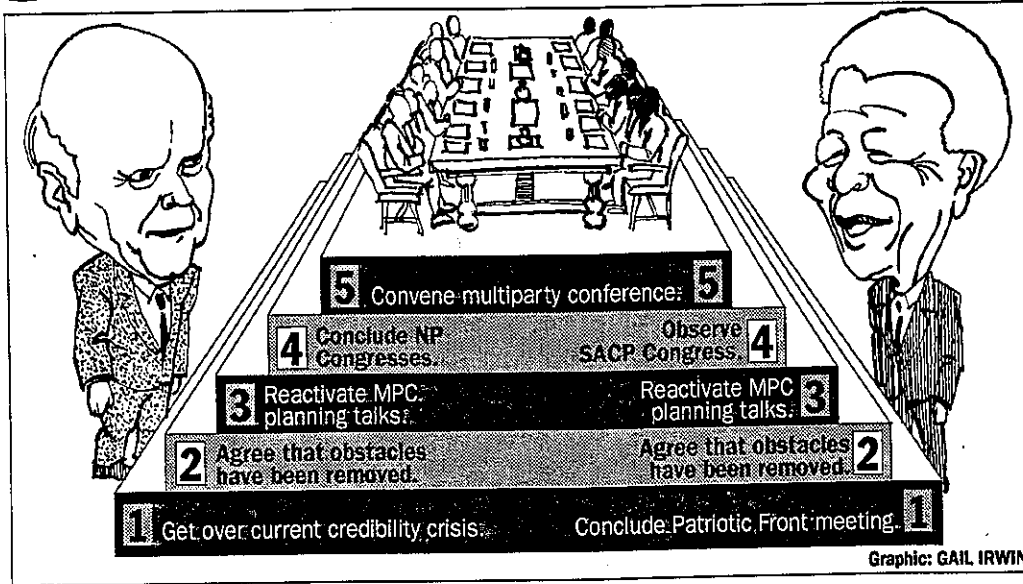
Before July, South Africans were told that real negotiations would get under way once the ANC's conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we appear to be back to square one. Star political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

ment funding for Inkatha was exposed and — in one of the ironic twists that characterise South African politics — it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiations process relies on the political survival of Mr Mandela, so an unsullied Mr de Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy title in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference (MPC). For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate". Then it must compromise

to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Then the planning talks for the conference must be reactivated — the ANC has been refusing to take part since March. Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the talks can begin and lead, eventually, to elections.

For its part, the ANC must

conclude its "patriotic front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" — the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively.)

The ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. It must reactivate MPC

planning talks without losing face; and, finally, it must see through — as an observer — the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the conference.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift — that

is to say, harden or soften — their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC national working committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview with The Star only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government's thinking in some detail. It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Mr Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks — it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about a constitution-making body.

"If the patriotic front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the multiparty conference together. If that is so, one can expect another two or three months to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (NP, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the conference.

Further, Mr Meyer had this to say about the Government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government to super-

vise the transition period: "We will probably have to find compromises, but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government? I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other."

"The idea of an interim government is not on as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing Constitution. We can't do that — it would create a vacuum."

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week. The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC — only days ago Mr Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year — and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to "demote" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive. But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm — and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not predict when and how they will unfold. □

You can count on us, says veteran Dutch activist

South 25/7-31/7/91

(11A) (C)

IT TOOK A MEETING with two South Africans who had fled the country for Holland to launch Connie Braam on a 22-year campaign against apartheid South Africa. Her interest in South African politics began in the 1960s when the two South African refugees lived with her in Amsterdam.

One was white and left because of the Immorality Act; the other was black and left because he was politically involved.

"Here were these two men, who had lived less than 100km apart, getting to know each other's lives and backgrounds for the first time," Braam said.

"I was amazed that two people who had lived in the same country had so little knowledge about each other's lives.

"It was also an incredible shock to hear just how bad conditions were for blacks in South Africa."

As a member of a staunchly anti-fascist family — her parents were rescued from Italy by solidarity groups before the end of World War II — Braam said she was determined to eradicate this new form of fascism in South Africa.

"I was totally innocent about racial prejudice and when I heard what was happening in South Africa it angered me enormously," she said.

"This anger was the basis from which I worked for the past 22 years. My understanding of the fight which had to be waged against apartheid did not stem from a theoretical basis."

In the following years, Braam met more and more exiles who had fled South Africa in the wake of the banning of liberation movements and became fascinated with the history of the African National Congress (ANC) and its "revolutionary ideals".

She helped form an organisation called the South Africa Committee which was launched after the Sharpeville shootings in 1960.

In 1968, the Committee changed its name to the Anti-Apartheid Movement to link up with the work being done by AAMs in other countries.

"From the start, the AAM in Holland

President of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement Connie Braam was in Cape Town this week for the South African Communist Party's 70th anniversary. She spoke to **REHANA ROSSOUW:**

made it clear that we chose to support the ANC, unlike some others which supported all liberation movements in South Africa," Braam said.

"We had the autonomy to decide on such an issue and we were adamant that we could not support what the Pan-Africanist Congress stood for."

The AAM's support for the ANC included both political and material assistance.

The organisation "adopted" the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo) in Tanzania when it was formed and provided funding supplied by the Dutch government and teaching staff.

THEY ALSO PROVIDED non-military aid to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), particularly to its camps in Angola. "It wasn't easy for cadres in Angola. The country itself was at war and it wasn't easy for the ANC to get money for MK," Braam said.

"A vast number of MK people needed food, they needed recreational material like chess sets and footballs and they needed tents and mosquito nets to combat malaria.

"We have been the only AAM prepared to support the armed struggle unconditionally."

The Dutch AAM also assisted in bringing political pressure to bear on their own government to take action against the South African government as part of the ANC's campaign for the international isolation of apartheid.

It linked up with other European AAMs to pressure the European Economic Community to impose sanctions on South Africa.

Through the AAMs there were often thousands of activists all over the world working in concert to put pressure on the government to end apartheid.



Connie Braam

"The recent campaign for sanctions and the release of political prisoners was the biggest worldwide campaign against South Africa," Braam said.

"It was amazing how AAMs managed to get support all over the world and co-ordinate the work of thousands of activists all highlighting the same issue at the same time."

The Dutch AAM's programmes did not only include campaigns for boycotts of South Africa, but attempted to highlight the strength of the South African people as well.

Their two conferences in the 1980s, Culture in Another South Africa (Casa) and the Malibongwe women's conference, brought hundreds of South African activists and exiles to-

gether in Amsterdam.

"We wanted Amsterdam — the city from which Jan van Riebeeck left to conquer South Africa — to be a platform for South Africans to meet," Braam said.

"The mayor of Amsterdam, who supported us so much that he was prepared to let us use his office for meetings, said he wanted South Africans to feel safe in his city."

Braam said Dutch people supported the struggle of the ANC completely as they had also been "colonised" during World War II.

"We equated racism in South Africa with fascism, which is still alive although people fought bitter battles against it in Europe," she said.

"The attitude among Dutch people is that this should never be allowed to happen again."

As a member of the Dutch Communist Party — she joined it in the 1970s as a "logical step" in her political development — Braam became part of the socialist international solidarity movement which brought even more meaning to her work against apartheid.

While socialists were on standby to support liberation movements in other countries, they were adamant that their work had to be guided by the organisation's own assessments of their situation and the assistance they needed.

"We have managed to incorporate our solidarity work into the official policy of our government," Braam said.

"By forcing apartheid on to our own government's agenda, we have put on to its agenda the removal of racism in our country.

"Campaigns for political and material support for the ANC have stimu-

lated discussion about democracy in our own country.

"The question of the armed struggle has led to fierce debate in Holland. Why was it okay to use arms to fight nazism, but not to fight apartheid? Is it because black people are using arms in South Africa?"

"Our AAM was so strong that our parliamentarians could no longer ignore it.

"Nowhere else in Europe has there been so much support for a struggle over such a long period.

"This included covert support — people like Klaas de Jonge were inspired internationalists who were prepared to fight side by side, in the field."

SINCE FEBRUARY 2 LAST YEAR, the Dutch AAM has continued its support work for the ANC and Braam believes there will be more work to be done after democratic elections in South Africa.

During her visit here she will be examining which areas they could assist with during the transition period.

Recent political developments, instead of narrowing the scope of work of the AAM, has created new opportunities for assistance, Braam believes. In recent months, the AAM has had to employ another person to cope with the new workload.

"We also have a better idea of how enormous the problems are which have to be overcome.

"But while the problems are incredible, our victory is also incredible. We all won that victory together — people in Holland working with people in South Africa.

"Together we brought the monster apartheid to its knees.

"South Africans can count on the people of Holland to continue their fight, even after they have won the vote.

"South Africans have won the hearts of people internationally, and we will not let you down.

"We have been anti-South Africa in the past, now we are going to become pro-South Africa."

Inkatha victims to 'sue' Vlok

South 25/7 - 31/7/91
(11A)
THE African National Congress is investigating possible legal claims against the government following state funding of an Inkatha rally in March last year.

And the Inkatha Freedom Party, still reeling from the revelations that it and its labour wing Uwusa had been the beneficiaries of a government "slush" fund, may now see aid being cut off by foreign governments.

Senior ANC official and NEC mem-

ber Mr Harry Gwala said this week the Inkatha rally was immediately followed by a week of violence in the Pietermaritzburg area, now known as the "Maritzburg war".

During the "war" a large number of people, most of them allegedly supporters of Inkatha, attacked the city's townships.

Homes were set alight, at least 50 people were killed and thousands fled the area.

"Since the government funded the rally, they must pay compensation to the many thousands who suffered," Gwala said.

A spokesperson for the The Legal Resource Centre (LRC) in Durban said that the complainants' case had a base despite the elapse of time.

"There is flexibility in that the revelation that the government was

● TURN TO PAGE 3

South 25/7 - 31/7/91 *(11A)* Inkatha victims to sue Vlok

● FROM PAGE 1

responsible only surfaced now," said Peter Roch, an LRC attorney.

The slush fund scandal is likely to affect financial support to Inkatha from foreign governments.

The US administration, for instance, is expected come under pressure not to allocate a \$1,5 million grant to Inkatha. The grant is part of a \$10 million allocation, of which \$4 million is earmarked for the ANC, to promote democracy in South Africa.

Political wrangling in the US Congress has stalled the allocation of the grant.

Pragmatism key to

B1 Day 25/7/91

THE negotiation process could get an unexpected shot in the arm next month if the ANC secures conditional support for its pro-talks stance from black political organisations which to date have avoided engaging government.

Leaders of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and a number of church, community and labour organisations meet in Cape Town from August 23 to 25 for a "patriotic conference" — the first major meeting between major township political players since government un-banned them last year.

While sanctions and political violence will be discussed at length, the success of the conference will be judged by the extent to which the parties involved reach agreement on the thorny issue of constitutional negotiations.

Last month the ANC conference solidly supported continued negotiations with government, while in December the PAC and Azapo formally rejected talks. Inkatha is unlikely to participate in the conference.

Given these conflicting mandates, the consensus reached will be decided by how much the leaders are

prepared to compromise and the flexibility they — particularly the PAC and Azapo — enjoy from their organisations to amend their stance on talks.

Added factors are the relative strengths of organisations in the black community, and support which delegates to the conference will lend to their positions.

The conference will also be attended by Cosatu, Nactu, the SA Communist Party, the SA Council of Churches, the National Olympic Committee of SA, the SA Council on Sports and others.

Their participation will be crucial if the impasse between the ANC, PAC and Azapo is to be broken.

Contrary to popular belief, Cosatu and SACP backing does not necessarily give the ANC dominance over the PAC and Azapo, which have close links with Nactu and the New Unity Movement, and Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action.

Principles and pragmatism

Leading black organisations will focus their attention on negotiations, sanctions and township violence at a high-level conference in Cape Town on August 23-25. **THAMI MAZWAI**, business editor of the Sowetan, who is currently on secondment to Business Day, looks at some of the issues involved, and why the ANC may get support to continue with talks with government.

ism have a better chance of succeeding at this conference than any other similar meeting because of the determined stand by unions affiliated to Nactu and Cosatu to disassociate themselves from specific political organisations.

For instance the Cosatu conference which begins today will be addressed by leaders of the ANC, PAC and Azapo for the first time. The SACC, cultural, community and sports associations are now taking a more independent line. They will do their best not to side with any of the three on the basis of ideology, but will do so on principle.

Nonetheless, the ANC's size, resources and higher profile locally and internationally gives it a definite advantage over the

PAC and Azapo. It also enjoys the support of more organisations.

The PAC enjoys considerable community support because of its radicalism and its land-orientated approach to the liberation struggle. It is also respected for its consistency.

Azapo has fought hard for the recognition it now enjoys. It draws its support largely from the 1976 generation and in some areas has a bigger following than the PAC and ANC.

Azapo and the PAC enjoy an influence over the ANC which would appear to outweigh their numerical strength. This was borne out by the Harare conference in which apparently PAC sentiments on several issues won the day.

Despite its relative strength, the ANC is unlikely to ignore other organisations' objections to negotiations. Instead it sees this conference as an opportunity to win support for talks from as wide a range of organisations as possible. It knows this will increase its clout with government. More importantly, it will need credible allies should government prove an uncompromising opponent.

The PAC and Azapo will be forced to be more pragmatic because of their failure to wage an effective armed struggle, their alternative to negotiations.

In addition, the PAC and Azapo know that while support for negotiations has flagged somewhat after the ANC's frustrations with government, blacks as a whole want talks, which appear to promise normality for their conflict-ravaged communities.

Perhaps the determining factor is that the Cape Town indaba comes after desperate appeals for unity in action from the black community, even if it is at the cost of some organisations. Any organisation that takes an uncompromising and unrealistic stand, without viable options, is likely to pay for this in terms of lost membership.

While Azapo and the PAC appear unlikely to enter negotiations, they are flexi-

ble. Pruning their rhetoric, all that they have actually said is that talks with government are premature at this stage as De Klerk currently holds all the aces.

Hence their demand for a democratically elected

Support for ANC, govt talks

(11A)

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday,

government is a de facto acceptance of De Klerk's legitimacy while they insist his government is illegitimate.

Also, they argue, De Klerk would dominate an interim government as the army, police and civil service would remain loyal to him rather than the interim structure.

For the rest of the conference agenda, the three groups agree inter-organisational violence must be

reduced and the sanctions campaign continue.

Pressures will, however, be brought to bear on the ANC over its vacillating policy on the sports and cultural boycotts. While the ANC conference called for the maintenance of all sanctions, officials have gone abroad to help dismantle the the sports and cultural boycotts.

There is no doubt that the patriotic conference is going to change the face of politics in this country.

Its most important result is likely to be a strengthening of the ANC's position on negotiations, thus giving the process a vital boost.

constituent assembly. They want the numbers in the black community to restore the balance of power between government and its black negotiating partners. Only then, they argue, will negotiations hold some promise for blacks.

What may then happen at the conference is that the ANC will reach an accommodation with other organisations if it agrees that the election of a constituent assembly must be the basis for all talks. The ANC is likely to go along with this position, as a constituent assembly has also been among its demands.

While general support for negotiations from the conference will strengthen the ANC's position in the townships, it will find that it has less room for manoeuvre in talks with government.

Accepting anything less than the constituent assembly will be seen as stabbing its allies in the back and reneging on the resolutions of the patriotic conference. This spells problems for government, which has rejected the assembly, saying it will lead to a "winner takes all" solution.

The conference will put on the backburner the ANC's hesitant demand for an interim government, and government's willingness to discuss the issue.

The PAC and Azapo, and many elements in the ANC, maintain that an interim

Azanyu slams funding

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Azanian Youth Unity yesterday slammed what has come to be known as "Inkathagate".

Azanyu said the scandal underscored the futility of negotiations.

"In view of the Government-Inkatha scandal, Azanyu reiterates its position that negotiations and demands for a constituent assembly are counter-revolutionary and a waste of time.

"Needless to say, the virtual silence of the 'liberation movements' on an issue of this magnitude raises extreme suspicion. 25/1/91

"The liberation movements need not only condemn the action but must also be seen to be serious by pulling out of the circus called negotiations."

ANC, PAC and Azapo consult on consumer boycott

Sowetan 25/7/91

11A

By ALINAH DUBE and Sapa

A PLAN of action, including the possible boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV area, was being discussed among the ANC, Azapo and the PAC, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa told *Sowetan* that although his organisation's intention was to have the consumer boycott effected from today, this was not possible as consultations were still being carried out with the PAC, Azapo and "various mass formations and democratic structures".

"The climax of this process (of consultation) will be marked by an announcement of a specific programme of action on Monday," he said.

The ANC, South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions called for the boycott of white-owned businesses in pamphlets distributed during the past weekend.

They also called for an end to retrenchments and electricity cuts, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Meanwhile, Azapo's Central Transvaal region has distanced itself from the call.

Miss Malebo Rammopo, regional publicity director, said Azapo was not consulted when the decision was taken and therefore did not endorse it.

"We believe that there has not been maximum consultation with all components of the liberation struggle and that this is a very important prerequisite to any mass action by the community.

"If people are going to be called upon to make decisions involving sacrifices, they must be consulted so that they become part and parcel of decisions taken," Rammopo said.

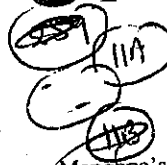
Azapo's Thabong branch yesterday criticised the ANC/SACP/Cosatu call for a consumer boycott in Welkom, saying such action was a useful weapon for black emancipation, but should be preceded by consultation.

"The Thabong branch of Azapo feels the call for a consumer boycott by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance undermines the existence of other organisations such as Azapo, Nactu, PAC, Ministers Fraternal, the Thabong Business Association, Aptocsa, Sapda and the civic association."

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the branch said it had resolved that a joint meeting of all components of the liberation movement should be held to discuss and agree on local demands. - *Sapa*.

Protest march for Pretoria

Sowetan 25/7/91



THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu tripartite alliance is to stage a protest march in central Pretoria on August 7 to protest against the controversial Government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said Cosatu.

The Government at the weekend acknowledged the Inkatha scandal, saying the slush fund was part of a sanction-busting campaign and was not aimed at boosting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's organisation, which is largely regarded as the main political rival of the ANC.

Cosatu's Northern Transvaal general secretary, Mr Donsie Khumalo, told a Pretoria news conference on Tuesday the alliance would also impose a stayaway in the Pretoria region on August 19 to protest against the banning of its trade union affiliates in Bophuthatswana.

The stayaway was also intended to back the union federation's demands for the release of political prisoners on

hunger strike in Chief Lucas Mangope's homeland.

Khumalo earlier told a Cosatu meeting in Pretoria the federation would hand over a memorandum on August 7 to the Pretoria Central Police Station to protest against the funding of Inkatha and its trade union arm, the United Workers Union of South Africa.

Memorandum

A second memorandum would be presented to American embassy officials in Pretoria protesting against the lifting of some economic sanctions against South Africa.

Khumalo said a third memorandum would be presented to the South African Defence Force in Pretoria to protest against the alleged massacres of workers commuting on trains in Reef townships. - Sapa.

Coming out of cellar: SACP blinded by the light

South 25/7 - 31/7/91

11A

A YEAR and a half after its unbanning, the South African Communist Party is still grappling with the task of becoming a legal organisation.

And amid concern among members that an organisation was needed to promote working class interests, there are signs that the Party will be seeking a separate role, independent of the alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

After 40 years of having been forced to work in the cellars, as SACP secretary general Joe Slovo puts it, the Party faces a key congress in December which will determine its identity in a transitional and future South Africa. While the SACP has increased its popularity since its unbanning, the task lying ahead is to translate that into active mass support.

However, it has done little to campaign around working class issues and demands outside of the alliance.

These issues were debated at a conference titled "Socialism in South Africa — History and Prospects" organised jointly by the SACP and the University of the Western Cape's Historical and Cultural Centre.

Assessment

Slovo assessed the problems facing the SACP in his keynote address: "Some of our negative practices were imposed upon us by the framework in which we were forced to operate.

"For example, during the 40 years of illegality we could not engage in complete inner-party democracy.

"I stress this point because it is precisely during such periods when unavoidable practices imposed by the situation are entrenched and become habits; they tend to continue unless the greatest vigilance is exercised when the situation changes."

However, Slovo said he was committed to the proposition that after the December congress there would be no secret Party members.

There is also no certainty on whether the Party would be open to all those who supported its programme and constitution or whether it would continue to recruit selectively — in other words, whether it would be a vanguard or a mass party.

During its underground years, aspirant Party members had to serve a period of probation and attend study courses before they were accepted into the ranks. Emphasis was also placed on Party discipline.

Mass recruitment implies that the SACP would move away from being an "exclusivist" organisation.

The Party has yet to decide where it will recruit its members — and whether they will be drawn into industrial or residential units.

Slovo said the Party's claim to lead the workers had to be earned and re-earned through democratic and open political contest.

The continued independence of the

The South African Communist Party, to mark its 70th anniversary, last weekend held a conference to reflect on its past and prepare for its future. After its eighth congress to be held in December, the SACP could find its path diverging from that of the ANC. **REHANA ROSSOUW** reports:



TASK AHEAD: The SACP has increased in popularity since its unbanning but needs to translate that into mass support
PIC RASHID LOMBARD

Party and the trade union movement was vital to ensure that working class aspirations did not end up at the "bottom of the pile" in a post-apartheid South Africa, Slovo said.

"Another problem we are grappling with is to define more precisely the role of the Party as an independent force in the light of the broad consensus which exists within the liberation alliance on the character of a post-apartheid South Africa and the strategy and tactics to get there," Slovo said.

"We are also embarked upon an internal discussion on the relationship between the post-apartheid economy and our ultimate vision of a socialist South Africa.

"What I am attempting to emphasise is the open-minded way in which

our Party is ready to examine its policies in the light of the emerging new realities."

The Party's first legal congress in 40 years will elect a new leadership and adopt a new programme and constitution.

Agreement

The Party has to address the question of why — if there is broad agreement between the ANC and SACP on the shape of a post-apartheid South Africa and on how to get there — the SACP does not close and leave the struggle to the ANC.

Slovo said the answer was clear. The SACP's duty was to spread the message of an ultimate socialist society and in that respect it differed from the ANC, although the differences

were not antagonistic.

"It is the task of an independent Party to ensure that in this inter-class lineup of forces, working class interests are not swamped, that the working class is organised as a powerful constituency and that the choices which are being debated for future development will be made in a way that will not prejudice the working class whom we claim to represent."

When elections were held, the Party would participate, but it needed to discuss whether it would act as a separate entity at negotiations and possibly at a constituent assembly.

Although, through the alliance, the Party supported and assisted the ANC's programme, it was already acting as a separate entity at the peace



Joe Slovo

talks convened jointly by the church and the government.

The SACP will have to draft its own policies on the economy, health, education, women, housing, local government, defence and justice.

Party members at the conference indicated that they were disturbed that their organisation had already been involved in "compromises" made by the ANC and they feared this could be seen as compromising the interests of the working class.

They felt the SACP should not be seen to be "putting all its eggs into the ANC basket" and there was a need for an independent voice on issues affecting the working class in South Africa.

While Party members would participate in ANC campaigns, they could also campaign separately to develop its own identity and build the organisation.

Campaigning with other organisations limited the extent to which working people could identify the Party as the protector of their interests.

Challenge

The challenge facing the Party was to balance its independent campaigning with work done in the alliance with the ANC and Cosatu.

The next six months could see an independent SACP campaign on the theme of hunger which would highlight the problems faced by the working class. This would culminate in a hunger march in December.

The Party should also campaign separately for elections, and should be able to lead and initiate campaigns which include the alliance partners.

Other problems experienced in the alliance included the fact that SACP members who were also members of the ANC were subject to the discipline of two organisations and Party leaders and key activists were also full-time office bearers of the ANC and Cosatu.

"The alliance is unbreakable but the Party is in the process of developing its own identity," Slovo said.

ANC, PAC and Azapo consult on consumer boycott

Sowetan 25/7/91

11A

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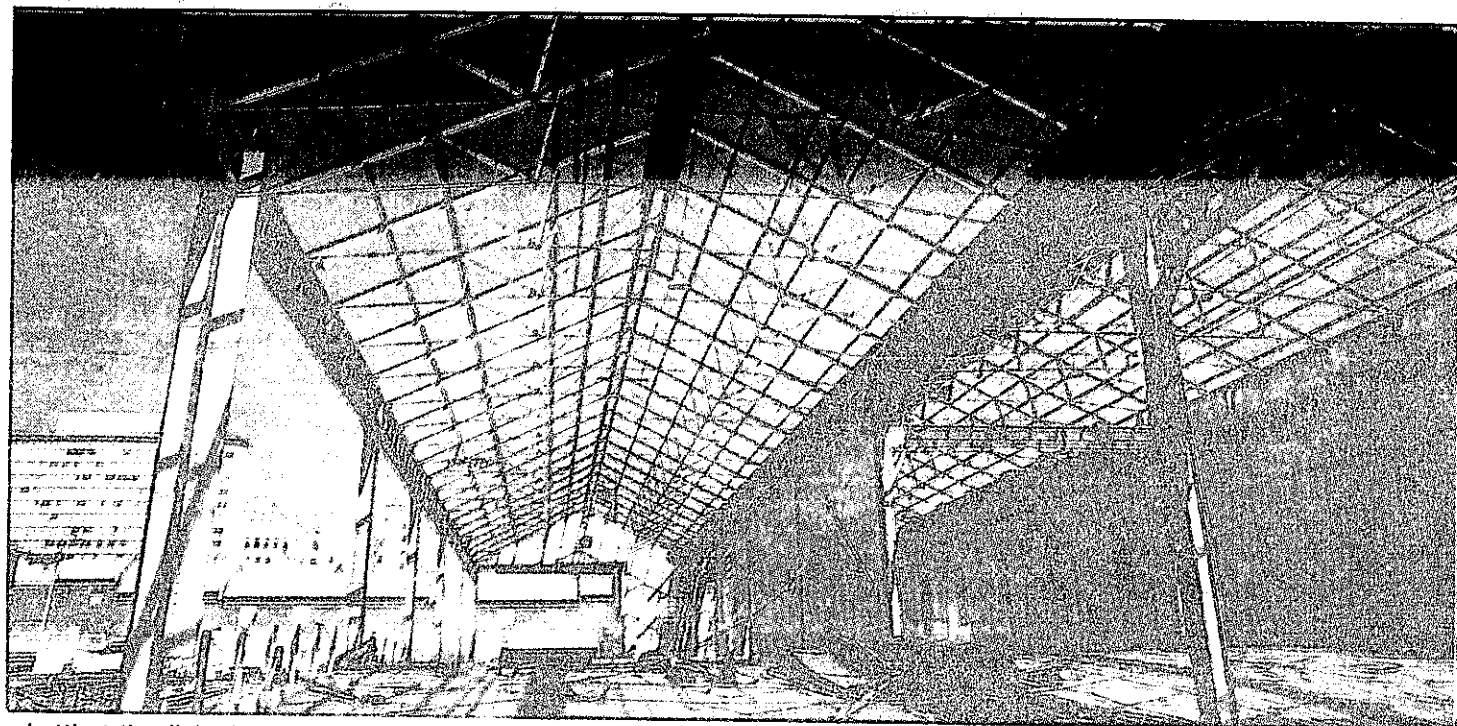
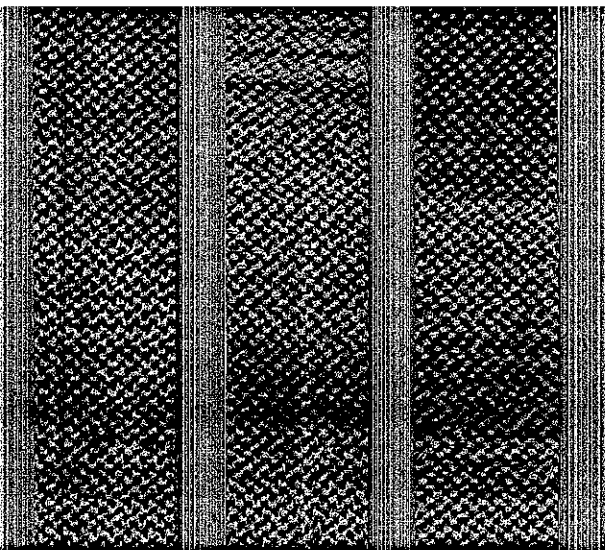
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In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the branch said it had resolved that a joint meeting of all components of the liberation movement should be held to discuss and agree on local demands. - Sapa.



Letting the light in . . . the Johannesburg Institute of Social Services roamed the world to find capital necessary to transform this Fordsborg building into a centre for multiracial welfare services. Says director Cassim Saloojee: "The success of a new democratic South Africa will be determined by self-help projects which get off the ground."

The nation's women take peace by the hand

By Jacqueline Myburgh

11A

Many people think that, with the promises of reform in the political, legal and security fields, many liberation organisations will disband with their work apparently completed.

South Africa's new-found sense of hope is, however, not sufficient for a group of about 1 200 women countrywide, who intend to continue their fight for equal opportunities and justice for all. The group is Women for Peace — black, white, coloured and Indian women who have been working against apartheid and for peaceful change for 15 years.

When Soweto erupted in 1976, Bridget Oppenheimer, wife of the former Anglo American chairman, and prominent Afrikaans academic Dr Cecile Cil-

liars, made a call to all women in South Africa to make contact across the colour line and to foster good relations between races.

About 5 000 women responded.

People were desperate — there was almost no form of communication between races, ex co-chairman Liz Mundell says. (Women for Peace always has two chairmen — one black, one white.)

These days, Women for Peace is active in the field of improvement and education. Back then, Liz says, when a white person couldn't get into a township without a permit, the women's chief challenge was simply to make contact with one another.

Branches were established in Sandton and Soweto, Alexandra and Benoni, Daveyton and Welkom.

25/7/91
"The first years were spent building trust between races — only then could we become an anti-apartheid movement."

With the practical hurdles overcome, Women for Peace set about campaigning for equality between races, providing education facilities for the underprivileged and making representations to authorities on racial issues.

Through the "bad" years from 1985 to the beginning of 1990, the organisation was very much involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, while at the same time actively building women's skills.

One of the most successful projects of Women for Peace has been the "Wonderbox" — the cheap and cordless slow cooker that was the brain child of Bridget Oppenheimer.

The Women for Peace Centre in Alexandra is another success story. For many years, women of all races have got together there to share skills and to teach the unemployed how to sew and type so that they can earn some money from home.

The Centre is continually expanding, says Liz, and now includes facilities for socially and physically handicapped children.

Women for Peace has made a contribution in the education field too: Matriculants who attended "Saturday schools" in Benoni last year had a greater degree of success than their DET-trained compatriots.

Compared to the "early days", Women for Peace is now involved in totally different activities, but it remains an important forum for women to come together, says Liz.

Zimbabwe fails to cut deficit

Bl Day 26/7/91
HARARE — Zimbabwe has not yet been able to reduce its budget deficit, estimated at more than Z\$1bn, and figures contained in the estimates of expenditure tabled in parliament yesterday indicate increased public spending, the domestic news agency reported.

Senior Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero outlined a programme last year to reduce the deficit to 5% of gross domestic product (GDP) by 1995, a development which is central to Zimbabwe's economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP), Ziana reports.

Among the steps proposed to achieve this were a reduction of the civil service by 25%, and scrapping of subsidies to parastatals and on some commodities.

However, this year's estimates reflect an increase in the vote for the public service, as well as subsidies to parastatals, with some of them being allocated almost three times that of 1990-91.

In addition, the controversial Ministry of Political Affairs, which houses one senior minister, two ministers of state and four deputy ministers, although showing a reduction of almost Z\$15m, has an increased sala-

ry, wages and allowances bill of more than Z\$23m, compared with Z\$21.5m last year.

The president's salary has been frozen at Z\$125 000 a year.

The nearly Z\$15m cut in the Political Ministry's vote is largely accounted for by the drastic reduction of the allocation for national service, which plummeted from Z\$20m last year to Z\$1.5m, Ziana said.

The public service, which has an 180 000-strong work force, has been allocated an additional Z\$9m.

Subsidies

The perennially loss-making national flag carrier Air Zimbabwe had its subsidy increased from Z\$9m to Z\$26.7m this year, while the allocation of public funds to struggling Zimbabwe Iron and Steel Company (Zisco) has risen to Z\$139m from Z\$100m last year.

National Railways of Zimbabwe, one of the few parastatals that have managed to reduce losses, this year received a subsidy of Z\$148.6m, compared with Z\$255m last year. Agricultural subsidies remain almost constant at Z\$270m.

The hosting of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting represents a Z\$1.8m bill. — Sapa.

SA firms show goods in Zambia

Bl Day 26/7/91
LUSAKA — Thirty SA companies will take part in the Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show, which kicks off in Lusaka on August 1.

The record SA presence confirms that Zambia is in fact trading with SA.

Ministry of Commerce and Industry officials said yesterday that the 30 firms had been given permission to exhibit their products at Zambia's largest agricultural and commercial show.

Zambia Agricultural and Commercial Show Society chairman Andrew Hamaamba has appealed to the Zambian business community to take advantage of the presence of SA businessmen who will be exhibiting.

"This is your chance to make hay while the sun is shining," Hamaamba said.

Many Zambian shops are flooded with SA products.

SA products ranging from machinery to household goods will be on display at the show next week.

Asked last week why Zambia could not normalise trade relations with Pretoria — especially in the light of the availability of SA products in Zambia — Commerce and Industry Minister Crispin Sibeta said: "The time is not yet ripe for us to do so. When the opportunity arises, we shall make a formal announcement about trade links with SA." — ANO.

Violence 'scaring off buyers'

Bl Day 26/7/91
CAPE TOWN — The volume of residential property sales to foreign buyers has dropped considerably because of violence and political uncertainty, says Seeff Residential Properties MD Samuel Seeff.

Seeff does not expect the lifting of sanctions to have much effect on the local property market in the short term. Traditional foreign investors — people from the UK and Europe who had previous involvement with SA — have continued purchasing with a view to acquiring holiday homes or places to retire to.

Seeff's London-based international property manager, Adele Beare, says the easing of the UK property market could release new buyers for SA's market.

"One of the factors that would result in greater movement from potential immigrants from the UK is the lowering of interest rates by 2% in the past two

LINDA ENSOR

months. This has led to a greater number of sales than in any similar period in the last two years, so buyers waiting to sell in the UK before coming to SA will be able to move that much more freely."

Seeff says that in the medium to longer term new investors will be brought to SA as companies return to do business here.

SA's property market remains undervalued compared with the rest of the world. Should SA overcome its problems and move toward political settlement, "we can expect a great resurgence" of foreign investors, he says.

On the domestic front, Seeff says Transvaal buyers have shown much interest in Cape Town property, and that sales in white areas have increased noticeably since the Group Areas Act was scrapped.

Azapo will attend talks on patriotic front

Bl Day 26/7/91
THE Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) yesterday cleared the way for a patriotic front when it dismissed speculation that it would not attend talks with the ANC and PAC in Cape Town next month.

Azapo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa told a

news briefing in Johannesburg: "There has been speculation that Azapo is pulling out of the patriotic front. There can be nothing further from the truth."

But Mabasa acknowledged there were problems surrounding the concept of

a front, "and we hope to find solutions".

Asked to identify the problems, he said agreement on a front was reached outside SA's borders by the ANC, PAC and the OAU — which recognised only these two organisations. — Sapa.



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**INKATHA RALLIES
EVEN CURIOSER**

Speeches at the two Inkatha rallies funded by the police, supposedly to promote an anti-sanctions message, referred only once to sanctions. The Law & Order Ministry refuses to reveal documents itemising expenditure on the rallies.

This follows Sunday night's SABC TV's *Agenda* when Minister Adriaan Vlok said the SAP had ensured that "senior Inkatha officials accounted for every cent" of taxpayers' money.

But Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze refused an *FM* request to see the documents or names of senior Inkatha personnel who had submitted the receipts. Kotze said the documents were protected under the Official Secrets Act. Lawyers stated that police documents are not covered by the Act. Kotze still refuses access.

Only five weeks ago Foreign Minister Pik Botha, whose Foreign Affairs Special Account channelled money to Inkatha, said that giving financial support to a chosen political side in SA increases the climate of violence. His comments came after his Australian counterpart, Gareth Evans, donated R4m to the ANC and other organisations.

"I warned him that this kind of action increases the climate of violence," Botha told

a press conference. "It is not going to Inkatha. It is not going to the Pan Africanist Congress or any other party. This creates a feeling of being pushed aside. It creates emotions that create violence."

Scrutiny of the 12-page speech delivered by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on November 19 1989 — evidently the first rally funded by the SAP — shows not a single reference to sanctions, nor any related activity. Instead the king spoke at length about the need for Zulu unity and criticised Prince Mchayizeni Zulu (who was elected on to the ANC's National Executive Committee this month) and Chief Maphumulo (assassinated near Maritzburg earlier this year).

Greed and racism

The king also delivered an attack against the "white politics of greed and racism," the ANC and "Indian activists (who) use Indian money to subvert the morals of black children and turn them into young, killing demons."

At the second Inkatha rally, on March 25 1990, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi referred only once to sanctions in his eight-page speech.

At the end of page four he asks: "Do you not send me to the outside world and to the SA negotiating table to reject sanctions, which rob you of your jobs because your factories are closed down or have to cut back

on outputs?"

Most of the speech is an attack against the ANC, its policies and certain individuals. Buthelezi devoted a page to Patrick "Terror" Lekota (former ANC southern Natal regional chairman and now an NEC member) for "talking about my political annihilation" in a Washington newspaper.

During the height of the "war" in the Maritzburg area, Vlok and Buthelezi flew over the area in a helicopter. The role of the police and Inkatha was criticised by the Democratic Party then and again this week.

The revelations of the past week may throw a new light on other incidents. On April 28 this year 28 people died in a massacre in the Meadowlands township, under full view of a strong police and media contingent. The ANC had warned government three days before that Inkatha was planning an attack on residents after a funeral. Police made no attempt to stop the attack.

Meanwhile, the ANC has denied government and media reports that the movement has also received funding from government. Spokesman Carl Niehaus says this is an attempt to divert attention from the real issues: "Government has never given us money for rallies or similar activities. They invited the ANC down for the Groote Schuur conference and paid for us as their guests; this is normal procedure and was entirely open."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus says the ANC "wants an independent judicial inquiry into government's R380m secret account."

After an emergency meeting on Monday, the ANC's "cabinet," the National Working Committee, insisted on the resignations of Vlok and Defence Minister, Magnus Malan. The ANC also demanded guarantees to "all public-spirited civil servants and other State employees who come forward to tell the truth about covert operations, that they will be immune from prosecution and receive protection," and added that "all police officers and SADF personnel identified by past commissions as culpable for perpetrating violence be put on trial."

The committee criticises the "hasty lifting of sanctions" and says that "those who accepted the bona fides of the De Klerk government as an agency for political change should seriously reconsider their position."

It adds: "The conduct of government demonstrates that the covert operations, State murder squads, secret funds to corrupt and buy support, and other dirty tricks that became infamous in the days of (PM John) Vorster and (President P W) Botha remain features of government's arsenal to this day."

The ANC will convene its NEC on Wednesday to discuss the row and government's response.

Charlene Smith

LESS than a third of the members of the African National Congress National Executive Committee and its "shadow cabinet" are active in the South African Communist Party and the number is likely to decline before the end of the year, according to SACP sources.

ANC and SACP members have indicated in off-the-record discussions that eight of the 26 members of the movement's National Working Committee are active SACP members, and that none of the top six executive positions are held by communists.

Between 24 and 26 of the 82 ANC NEC members (including its ex-officio members) are involved in the SACP, they claim.

All the sources agreed, however, that the relatively tight organisation of the SACP leadership and its coherence in pushing certain candidates enabled it to have strong representation in the movement.

But they acknowledged that the party had failed to get certain candidates elected and that, for the first time since the 1960s, the close relation between the ANC and the SACP was "becoming an issue" within the movement.

Over the past year non-communists within the movement have felt relatively free to declare themselves and to criticise the SACP publicly — as Pallo Jordan, head of information and publicity, did recently — or to question the relationship between the two organisations, as Western Cape ANC leader Christmas Tinto and Allan Boesak have done.

Two former members of the SACP's Central Committee — Jacob Zuma and Aziz Pahad — have publicly stated that they are not party members, while the ANC's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, has made no attempt to counter reports that he was suspended from the Central Committee for non-attendance at its meetings. Notably, all three were strongly criticised by active party members in the run-up to the ANC elections.

Each of them did better than most movement members expected. Mbeki came second in the NEC election and then topped the NEC poll for the working committee. Zuma beat former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe and former ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo to become assistant general secretary and Pahad, whom some expected would not be elected, came 21st.

A suggestion of the gradual shift in the relationship came in an interview

Few Reds in ANC's bed. And more may tumble out

W/Mail 26/7-18/91

How many prominent African National Congress members are active in the South African Communist Party?
Fewer than you think. (11A)
Weekly Mail Reporters



SACP member Ronnie Kasrils

with *The Star* last week in which ANC president Nelson Mandela said he had "no doubt" that most of the public concern about the presence of communists in the ANC leadership was genuine. He added that the alliance would continue until apartheid was overthrown.

"After that they will take their own line which we will not follow. We won't follow socialism. We've got our own programme."

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Cyril Ramaphosa, who is reported to have been a probationary SACP member in 1989, said last week: "I am not at present, nor have I been in the past, a member of the SACP." He was, however, strongly backed by the SACP leadership in his successful bid for the position of ANC general secretary (where he defeated former SACP members Zuma and Nzo).

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ANC and SACP members said the perception that "the only Indians, coloureds and whites to get elected were communists" was not correct. They mentioned that Dullah Omar, Marion Sparg and Kadar Asmal were not party members, while Albie Sachs and Aziz Pahad had dropped out of SACP activities, and Mohammed Valli Moosa was no longer active.

'Front' vital to future of SA - Azapo

So wetan
26/7/71

11A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

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While Azapo's decision to negotiate was contingent on the "patriotic front", the front was more important than entering into talks with the Government on the constitutional future of the country.

Exploited masses

"Our very existence and the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole is based on uniting the oppressed and exploited masses to fight for total and meaningful liberation," Mabasa said.

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ANC starts peace drive

11A
South Africa 26/7/91
281

THE ANC yesterday launched a campaign to appeal to security force members to stand up for peace.

In a message to police and defence force members, the ANC said security force personnel should expose the "real terrorists" who perpetuate the violence.

It accused certain elements in the Government of breaking "their own laws and rules".

"It is time the truth is told. It is time responsible South Africans joined hands to promote peace and reconciliation," the message said.

It also accused Cabinet Ministers of doing different things in private to what they said in public.

"They train and deploy mercenaries to butcher people in coldblood. They supply weapons to these groups and create a situation of anarchy and instability in the country. They fund a party whose members are responsible for raids and murders against communities in the PWV and Natal.

Security forces

"This is not law and order. Even the basic principles of police and army professional work do not allow this."

Policemen and soldiers were also urged to join security force members who had already exposed the "perpetrators of violence".

The message called on the security forces to act impartially, respect people's right to free political activity, take action against illegal arms dealers and to "refuse to be used against the people".

Meanwhile, the KwaZulu government on Wednesday repaid the R250 000 given to it by the South African Government to cover the cost of staging two political rallies.- Sapa.

LESS than a third of the members of the African National Congress National Executive Committee and its "shadow cabinet" are active in the South African Communist Party and the number is likely to decline before the end of the year, according to SACP sources.

ANC and SACP members have indicated in off-the-record discussions that eight of the 26 members of the movement's National Working Committee are active SACP members, and that none of the top six executive positions are held by communists.

Between 24 and 26 of the 82 ANC NEC members (including its ex-officio members) are involved in the SACP, they claim.

All the sources agreed, however, that the relatively tight organisation of the SACP leadership and its coherence in pushing certain candidates enabled it to have strong representation in the movement.

But they acknowledged that the party had failed to get certain candidates elected and that, for the first time since the 1960s, the close relation between the ANC and the SACP was "becoming an issue" within the movement.

Over the past year non-communists within the movement have felt relatively free to declare themselves and to criticise the SACP publicly — as Pallo Jordan, head of information and publicity, did recently — or to question the relationship between the two organisations, as Western Cape ANC leader Christmas Tjino and Allan Boesak have done.

Two former members of the SACP's Central Committee — Jacob Zuma and Aziz Pahad — have publicly stated that they are not party members, while the ANC's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, has made no attempt to counter reports that he was suspended from the Central Committee for non-attendance at its meetings. Notably, all three were strongly criticised by active party members in the run-up to the ANC elections.

Each of them did better than most movement members expected. Mbeki came second in the NEC election and then topped the NEC poll for the working committee. Zuma beat former United Democratic Front general secretary Popo Molefe and former ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo to become assistant general secretary and Pahad, whom some expected would not be elected, came 21st.

A suggestion of the gradual shift in the relationship came in an interview

Few Reds in ANC's bed. And more may tumble out

W/Mail 26/7-18/91

How many prominent African National Congress members are active in the South African Communist Party? Fewer than you think. **Weekly Mail Reporters**



SACP member Ronnie Kasrils

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SACP man ^{Sowetan 26/7/91} faces nation



THE ANC was a movement composed of different groups on the left, from liberals to conservatives, Stanley Nkosi said on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday.

He said the SACP, however, was enjoying wide support, "particularly from the poor and oppressed" in the country.

Nkosi, convener of the interim leadership group of the SACP, was a guest on the show.

Speaking on the future role of the SA Communist Party, he said there was no reason why the ANC should be questioned on its alliance with the SACP.

Responding to questions by host DJ Tim Modise, Nkosi said it was not true that the communists were dominating the decision-making structures within the ANC.

Decisions within the ANC's leadership were taken by its membership.

Nkosi said the foremost challenge facing the country was economic, but this had to be done through democratisation.

This would be followed by addressing the glaring inequalities in income and participation in the economy between the different groups.

The wealth of the country and control of the economy was also locked within the white minority.

He denied that communism was discredited by events in Eastern Europe and the USSR, explaining that problems there were created when the countries sought to implement socialism without democracy.

Azapo's cell of support

(11A)
Sowetan 26/7/91

THE Azanian People's Organisation is often dismissed as irrelevant and seen in certain circles as an appendage of the greater liberation movement.

It is seen as the hind leg of one of a team of horses that is drawing the country into the future.

In May this year research concluded by Professor Laurence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies, at the University of the Witwatersrand, indicated that overwhelming support existed for the ANC and the National Party under President F W de Klerk.

Similarly, the research suggests that even the church and trade unions rated higher than Azapo in terms of political allegiance.

SOWETAN REPORTER

Support in a (hypothetical) free election showed the ANC was the overwhelming favourite.

However, tucked away under the morass of statistics was a figure for Soweto - arguably the most politicised urban area in the country - which indicated that more people "felt close to" Azapo than both to the PAC and Inkatha.

In the same section of the survey 64 percent of Sowetans "felt close to" the De Klerk government, 57 percent "felt close" to the church, 51 percent "felt close to" the various trade unions, 49 percent "felt close to" the ANC, 41 percent

felt this way about their employers and 38 percent said they "felt close to" Azapo.

Effectively Soweto is split among three political organisations, De Klerk's government, the ANC and Azapo.

In summing up this section of the research, Schlemmer says in his report: "In the study an attempt was made to assess the support for political groupings in a more active and perhaps more meaningful sense.

"This involved attempting to probe beyond symbolic popularity and to assess the degree of political trust and the extent to which residents feel that parties or organisations support their interests."

The question that was asked in this regard was: "You feel close to some organisation because you know who the leaders are, you know what the organisations do and you feel that the organisations help people like you.

"You might not feel close to organisations if you do not know the organisations, and do not feel the organisation tries to help people like you.

"Do you feel close to, just close to, or not close to the following organisations?"

Azapo scored high in Soweto only and received 25 percent support in all metropolitan areas. The church scored 70 percent, the ANC 65 percent, De Klerk 62 percent, the PAC 20 percent and the IFP 12 percent.

'Front' vital to future of SA - Azapo

So wetan
26/7/91

11A

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Landmark congress for future of Paso

Stuifan
26/7/91

11A



DIKGANG MOSENEKE ... to speak at congress.

MORE than 800 Pan Africanist Students Organisation members are expected in Cape Town this weekend for a special congress.

The delegates, representing about 195 000 students are expected to push for a resolution that will alter Paso's current status as an autonomous affiliate of the Pan Africanist Congress into its "loyal and committed component".

Despite criticism that black pupils are too politicised, Paso is prepared to take a resolution which would clearly identify it with a political party.

"Student organisations are more than just that," explained Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela.

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

"They are student political organisations who all subscribe to a particular ideology.

"Our aim is to rally all African students under an African nationalist banner. If we pass a resolution that we be part and parcel of the PAC it will mean we will get our directives and orders directly from the national executive leadership.

Target

"This will strengthen our relationship and give us access to their knowledge and resources."

"Our target is not to compete with other organisations in the numbers game," Nqandela said.

"We are after a sober minded membership . . .



NGCUKANA

pupils who know why we have to fight the white racist regime without compromising our academic achievements.

"Problems plaguing black education will only end when political power has been seized by Africans."

"But for now our duty is to allow and assist black pupils to achieve good results at the end of each year."

Struggle

Education could be not be divorced from the political struggle. It was the duty of parents and community leaders to fight for better education and political power.

"Parents should embark on stayaways, sit-ins and marches while their children remain in class.

"In this way they will withhold their labour power and force employers pressure the Government for change."

Nqandela said delegates would decide on a programme aimed at "making parents take the education seriously".

The delegates will be addressed by PAC second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana and PAC Youth Affairs secretary, Mr Themba Godi.

... and for the ANC to run with the ball

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Inkatha scandal has given fresh impetus to African National Congress calls for an interim government and the movement is intent on building an alliance of all anti-apartheid forces around the call.

The scandal has passed the political initiative back to the ANC which is already running hard with the ball towards the National Party's goal line.

"We are now going to dictate terms on the national political scene," said ANC National Working Committee (NWC) member Patrick "Terror" Lekota.

However, far from slowing the negotiations, ANC officials want to push to get an all-party congress, the lynchpin in the negotiations, moving as soon as possible.

The newly elected NWC, at its first meeting this week, issued a list of six demands, including the dismissals of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok; a multi-party commission of inquiry to investigate government involvement in the violence; and the opening to public scrutiny of the government's R380-million slush fund.

If President FW de Klerk does not go far towards meeting these when he makes his statement on the crisis on Tuesday next week, there will be

strong moves at an emergency meeting of the full National Executive Committee next week to break off all contact with the government.

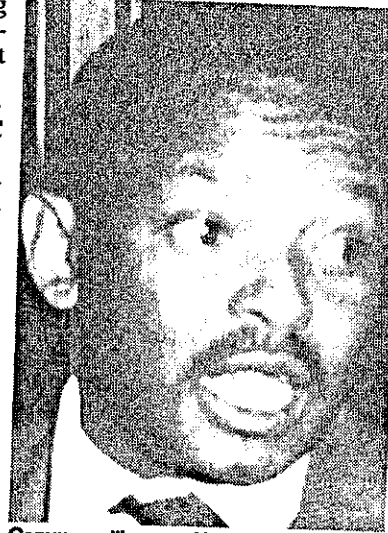
"The situation has become very urgent," says Lekota. "We in the ANC don't think we can continue seriously to discuss these things with the government. A formula must now be established that enjoys the confidence of all. We are going to push for an interim government now."

"There can be no continuation of the process of negotiation without the establishment of an interim government."

"The demand that there should be an interim government was predicated on precisely the fact that we were concerned that unless there was an interim government, the National Party would use its monopoly on power as a leverage to influence the political process in the country."

"They have been doing precisely that by funding Inkatha, turning it into a colossus on the political scene. They made it impossible for anyone to proceed without Inkatha. These revelations have in fact punctured that whole situation."

Lekota points out that at the same time as the government was funding Inkatha and its supporters, there were other homeland leaders who took a positive



Common alliance ... National Working Committee member Patrick Lekota

attitude towards the ANC, for which they were penalised by being denied monies from Pretoria.

"Transkei's a case in point. While the government was squeezing those ones who don't agree with its policy, it was in fact channelling huge sums of money in the direction of those that supported it."

He said there was also the suspicion that the government was involved in

supporting killer squads such as the Three Million Gang in Kroonstad with both arms and money.

"The question is, how much money was fed into those instances?"

Lekota says it is the ANC's view that the all-party congress should get moving as soon as possible.

"Nationally, all democratically minded organisations should move towards a common alliance, at least around the principal demand that there should be an interim government and make the demand a non-negotiable principle now."

Other ANC sources said the hope was that this alliance would include liberal groups such as the Democratic Party and the homeland parties, with which the movement has been in contact.

Though these parties do not support a constituent assembly — the demand around which a patriotic front conference has been called — the uniting of forces around the demand for an interim government is likely to be much broader and will take a higher priority at this point.

The ANC has, meanwhile, offered an amnesty to people who participated in township and other atrocities if the government is willing to make a call on them all to come forward and come clean.

MANGOPE TO BLAME FOR DELAYED NEGOTIATIONS, SAYS PIK

Weekly Mail Reporters

26/7-11/89
PRESIDENT Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is holding up the removal of obstacles to negotiations between the government and the African National Congress by refusing to release political prisoners in his jails.

This emerged from the briefing Foreign Minister Pik Botha gave to ambassadors in Pretoria on Wednesday.

According to the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum, there are 166 po-

litical prisoners in Bophuthatswana, 138 of them former members of the national guard who participated in the 1988 attempted coup in the homeland.

The remaining 28 are ANC activists and residents of the Braklaagte community who have been resisting incorporation into the territory.

Mangope held a meeting with FW de Klerk on Tuesday evening after the president returned from the two-day *bos-beraad* (bush conference) with

his cabinet to discuss the Inkatha funding crisis. *11A*

Botha told the ambassadors that Mangope was "not disposed to be helpful" on the matter.

He said he had phoned ANC president Nelson Mandela in Spain to ask for his assistance in securing the release of the prisoners. However, Mandela had replied that Mangope was the problem of the South African government.

Come to the great one-man show: Inkatha's conference

W/M and 26/7-1/8/91-

114

This month the ANC and IFP held national conferences. And nothing could have been more different.

By **CHRISTER PETTERSSON**

GREAT roars of applause went up as the Conservative Party's Tom Langley took the stand at the Inkatha Freedom Party's annual conference in Ulundi this week, its first as a non-racial political party.

But when Langley said he brought greetings for the "the Zulu nation" from "the Afrikaner nation" and wished them luck, it all changed.

Infuriated delegates of the IFP's newly-established Sandton branch left their seats — prominently placed up front and highly visible next to diplomats and guests — and made their mark.

"No, no, we are not Zulus," they shouted with raised fists in the air and Mangosuthu Buthelezi badges on their chests. "I couldn't let that racist get away with that," one explained.

The relationship with whites was one of the main points when IFP leader Buthelezi outlined the history of the former Zulu cultural liberation movement.

"We won't join any Patriotic Front and gang up against whites. We could have done so 10 years ago, but today it's outdated," he said.

It was a message that went down well across the spectrum — from the white delegates in the section up front to the black delegates, 3 000 of them, who filled the rest of the tent.

What may make the Patriotic Front notion difficult for Ulundi to digest is probably the enthusiasm with which the African National Congress is calling for it. Also unpopular are ANC concepts like an interim transitional government or a constituent assembly to approve a new constitution.

"You want no constituent assembly where there can be adventurism in politics," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha over the years has regularly rejected ANC policies, charging they would lead either to violence or to socialism. But on the conference surface, the two organisations had a lot in common.

As at the ANC conference in early July, there were a large number of marshals in beige khaki and berets — although they lacked the comrades' discipline when parading during the lunch break.

Security also was much looser than at the ANC conference. The Inkatha leaders didn't find it necessary to body-search visitors for lethal weapons or demand press accreditation cards.

Buthelezi's power base ranges from the kwaZulu homeland and its tribal structures to business circles inside and outside South Africa. The way to address these highly different camps simultaneously is to wave a variety of political symbols adapted to different locations.

At Inkatha's 16th annual meeting it was not the warrior but the peace broker who talked, surrounded by slogans like "Victory through peace, action and negotiations".



Mangosuthu Buthelezi's power base ranges from the kwaZulu homeland to business circles in the cities

Photograph: **KEVIN CARTER**

It has been a one-man-show. Buthelezi reminded the IFP conference of his — not Inkatha's — resistance against apartheid, fight for the release of Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress's Zeph Mothopeng, of Buthelezi's status as the father of negotiations in this country, his refusal to negotiate with the government as long as prisoners were not freed.

In fact, while the ANC was ruining the country with its guerrilla and sanctions warfare, he said he was the only one who looked after the women, children, the elderly and the poor.

Now the ANC is back and, admits Buthelezi, the ball game has changed and Inkatha has to follow suit: "You have said that I must negotiate for a new constitution and then we can vote and ... have a new South Africa. You have said it as simply as that."

He echoed one of Mandela's concerns at the ANC conference when he made an address concerning women. They have, he said, achieved a lot: "We in kwaZulu long ago emancipated our women. They are there with us in the Central Committee and they are there with us in the Central Committee Executive. We have more women in the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly than we have in parliament in Cape Town. We repealed the Zulu Code which kept our women as minors years ago."

The ANC women didn't buy the sweet talk and demonstrated against their men — but the Inkatha Women's League was

busy serving refreshments to guests in the conference tent.

While the ANC, at its national conference only some 30km from Ulundi, made a point in showing off how democratic they were, with independently supervised secret ballots and the whole liturgy of consultation, the IFP AGM did not feel any need to score such points.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked the delegates and IFP members in the conference tent to stand up if they were opposed to Buthelezi's leadership. Everyone remained seated.

At the ANC conference a fortnight earlier Patrick "Terror" Lekotha publicly challenged Mandela's authoritarian rule — but there was no such note sounded at the IFP gathering, where any criticism would have damaged the sensitive balance that starts and ends with Buthelezi. The opposition was nil. Opposing camps within the IFP do not exist. Communication is one way.

Inkatha's organisational problems, if there are any, didn't appear, nor were they published or leaked through the general secretary's report, as was the case at the ANC conference.

The ANC admitted problems with recruiting whites, coloured and Indians, and aired the problems in establishing a non-racial membership.

Inkatha, instead, made a point of showing off its white membership at the conference. Indeed, they were all invited to lunch with Buthelezi and the media.

This reversed affirmative action has limited scope. While the ANC problem among whites is that the organisation largely attracts leftwingers, with few exceptions, the Inkatha seem to attract rightwingers.

Sandton branch delegate Bruce Anderson was once Abel Muzerewa's assistant in Zimbabwe. He was also a National Front candidate for parliament in Britain.

Another member and AGM delegate was Benoni councillor Les Lancaster. "I have business to protect and I have joined Inkatha because I have found that they serve my interests best," he said. "Times are changing quickly and the National Party has lost control."

While the ANC conference gave a moral boost to its members and amalgamated the movement's different strands, the IFP AGM was an uphill struggle, due to allegations that it bought some of its placards and banners with Security Branch money.

But some of the new members were not disturbed by the allegations. As Anderson put it: "I would take money from the devil to fight the ANC, and that is the truth."

Buthelezi's job is seen as saving South Africa's traditionalists, black and white, from the evil of the ANC/SACP, or at least making the ANC's road to power substantially more shaky.

"He's a fantastic leader, isn't he?" said a female delegate. She expressed strong feelings against the "biased" media reports that ignore those 153 Inkatha leaders that, according to the chief in his opening address, have been slaughtered by the other side. But she does not mention the 5 000 people on both sides that have lost their lives in the carnage that has raged since the mid-1980s.

There's no longer time to watch 'Dallas' — AWB

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will launch an all-out membership drive on October 10 at a parade where the organisation will exhibit its paratroopers, motorcycle brigade and cavalry, according to AWB commandant-general, Servaas de Wet.

Addressing about 1 500 people in the Pretoria City Hall this week, the former police colonel told the meeting that South Africa was on the verge of a civil war. He said whites who were watching "Dallas" on TV rather than attending the meeting were "hensoppers".

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche exhorted the audience to "make a date" with him for revolution the day the Government handed over power to the African National Congress. *Sowetan 26/7/91*

Discussing the Inkatha secret funding debacle, TerreBlanche said the Government was a fraud and should resign.

He said President FW de Klerk would within the next few weeks accede to the formation of an interim government consisting of the National Party, the ANC, Inkatha and homeland leaders.

De Wet said the AWB would found a Volksleer (army) at the October 10 exhibition. *11A*

Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, who was warmly welcomed by the audience, said the ANC had not bothered to constitute itself as a political party because it knew the Government would abdicate power to it.

Rudolph pleaded for rightwing unity, saying AWB stood for "Almal Weer Bymekaar".

He said the NP, ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the SA Communist Party were enemies of the white man.

"Affirmative action" meant the slaughtering of the white man, he warned. - Sapa.

Picking up the pieces after 'Inkathagate'



Sowetan 26/7/91

PROGRESS towards "real" negotiations - it may be difficult to believe, but we are still in the "talks about talks" phase - came to an effective standstill in the first half of this year.

While wrangling over outstanding "obstacles" to the convening of a multiparty conference (the precursor to a new constitution) was voluble, leaders in both Government and ANC circles said privately that real momentum could only be expected once the ANC had its own house in order.

The leadership of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues had to be ratified democratically, binding policies had to be thrashed out and the organisation had to be poised to operate as a political party, in fact if not in name.

In the event the ANC conference came and went, and the conditions were fulfilled. ANC leaders spoke with a measure of anticipation of getting down to the real business of the political horsetrading which would shape our future.

Prisoners

Constitution Minister Gerrit Viljoen, while carping about the tenor of the conference, said negotiations (what he likes to call "the real McCoy") could start "tomorrow".

It seemed that intractable issues such as political prisoners and the return of exiles were closer to resolution, and that the overarching problem of the township violence was finally being addressed seriously by all the key actors simultaneously. The scene was ready, and set.

The "go" signal never came. Out of the blue, secret Government funding for Inkatha was

FOCUS

Before July, South Africans were told real negotiations would get under way once the ANC conference was over. Now, with the crisis provoked by the Inkatha funding scandal, we seem to be back to square one. Sowetan political analysts SHAUN JOHNSON and STANLEY UYS try to pick their way through the rubble.

exposed and - in one of the startlingly ironic twists that characterise South African politics - it was no longer the ANC's house that was in a shambles, but the Government's.

Scandal

This is where we are today, as the country waits with bated breath to see whether President de Klerk has the will and the ability to extricate himself from the scandal.

There is a keen understanding on the part of the Government's opponents that he must do so: just as much as the negotiation process relies on the political survival of Mandela, so an un-sullied De Klerk is a necessary ingredient to it.

Thus the ANC has stopped well short of saying it can no longer do business with the reforming President: it is seeking to exact a heavy tithe in terms of sackings, commissions of inquiry and demonstrable purging, certainly, but it still wants to negotiate.

It is in this context that observers can try to assess the

damage and rework their predictive timetables for how the process might unfold.

Both the Government and the ANC have a staircase to climb before meeting to take a seat at the multiparty conference.

For the moment, the Government's is steeper and more treacherous. It has first to cleanse itself after "Inkathagate".

Then it must compromise to secure agreement that the remaining "obstacles to negotiations" have been cleared.

Elections

Then the planning talks for the MPC must be reactivated - the ANC has been refusing to participate since March.

Then the provincial National Party congresses must be held, and concluded, in unity. When this apex is reached, the MPC can begin, and lead eventually to elections.

For its part, the ANC must conclude its "patriotic front" conference with the PAC and others, and emerge with its commitment to a negotiated settlement intact. (Curiously enough, its task is made more difficult by "Inkathagate" - the PAC will be able to criticise dealings with the Government more effectively).

Then the ANC, too, must compromise in order to reach agreement on the removal of obstacles. Then it must reactivate MPC planning talks without losing face and finally it must see through - as an observer - its ally the SA Communist Party's first internal congress. At this stage the ANC will also be ready for the MPC.

The question, of course, is whether these steps will be taken in tandem. The re-establishment of trust is fundamental to this,

and is without question the country's top political priority.

But will recent developments cause either side to shift - that is to say, harden or soften - their positions, and thereby alter the timetable?

The key decision-making bodies, the Cabinet on the one hand and the ANC National Working Committee on the other, are for the time being mesmerised by the unfolding political drama.

But in an exclusive interview only days before "Inkathagate" broke, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer set out the Government's thinking in some detail.

It is a useful benchmark against which to test possible shifts in the coming months.

Meyer was upbeat about the prospects for the timeous convening of the MPC ("the last facet of talks about talks - it could happen before the end of the year") and its potential as a forum for bringing about an eventual constitution-making body.

Logistics

"If the patriotic front takes place in August," he said, "then immediately thereafter I would guess we would be able to come together and work out the logistics to get the MPC together. If that is so, then one can expect another two or three months thereafter to arrange the necessary practicalities."

He believed, then, that there was "a sort of agreement (between the Government and the ANC) that there are three major players (National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party)" as a departure point for deciding attendance at the MPC.

Further, he had this to say

* To next page

Talks lie in the rubble

Soweto 26/7/91

* From previous page about the Government's rejection of the ANC call for an interim government to supervise the transition period: "We will probably have to find compromises," he said, "but surely we are not going to give in to the demand for a constituent assembly or an interim government.

"I imagine they won't want to give in from their side. Somewhere we will have to find each other.

"The idea of an interim government is not on as far as we are concerned, because that will simply mean that we will have to abolish the existing constitution. We can't do that - it will create a vacuum."

On each of these points, the balance of power has shifted in the last week. The shift certainly need not be permanent, but the fluidity of the situation is palpable.

Disasters

The Government may have to revise its optimism about a quick start to the MPC - only days ago Mandela said he doubted it could happen this year - and it will certainly face a campaign from the ANC to "demote" Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi from the Government's conceptual triumvirate of key players.

And crucially, the ANC's argument on the interim government issue has been greatly strengthened by the proof of Government one-sidedness at least as far as the Inkatha funding saga is concerned.

Negotiations, extraordinarily given the disasters which have befallen them, survive. But it is now clear that the unexpected is going to be the norm - and the best that politicians or observers can do is to identify the essential elements of that process, not when and how they will unfold.

ANC and Inkatha to back new code

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, the ANC and Inkatha are on the verge of agreeing to a code of conduct for security forces, as a mechanism to end township violence.

The code, which sources said was in the final stages of drafting, was hammered out in a series of meetings between representatives of the three groups, businessmen and church leaders.

The preparatory committee which emerged from the initial church and business-sponsored peace initiative met earlier this week.

It heard reports on codes of conduct for political parties and security forces, socio-economic development and implementation of monitoring mechanisms.

The next preparatory committee meeting will be held on August 14.

Secret funds

Interim
CT 26/7/91
govt
demand
from (SAPA) (11A)
ANC

KINGSTON, Jamaica. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday demanded the formation of an interim government of national unity in South Africa, following the Inkatha funding scandal.

Mr Mandela did not say who should compose the interim government.

"We demand the creation of an interim government of national unity that enjoys the confidence of all South African people," he told the Jamaican parliament.

The main task of the new government, Mr Mandela said, would be to do away with apartheid completely.

Saying that apartheid could not oversee its own demise, he added: "The transitional government should preside over negotiations, and the transition should culminate in the election of a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage to write a new constitution."

He said disclosures had supported the ANC's long-standing claim that the government supported political violence.

Mr Mandela described Inkatha as the "organisation that has been most active in politically motivated violence". Much of the black-on-black violence in South Africa in recent months had pitted Inkatha backers against ANC supporters. — Sapa-Reuter, UPI

Azapo 'will attend talks'

JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) yesterday cleared the way for a Patriotic Front (PF) when it dismissed as untrue speculation that they would not attend common talks with the ANC and PAC in Cape Town next month.

Speaking at a press briefing here, Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said: "There has been speculation that Azapo is pulling out of the Patriotic Front. There can be nothing further from the truth." He said that when the PAC and ANC returned to South Africa after talks in Harare, they put forward the idea of the PF to Azapo, "and we agreed to participate". — Sapa

(117) CT 26/7/91

ANC, PAC share Cosatu platform

JOHANNESBURG. — Political unity and frank admissions about its own weaknesses marked the first day of the fourth national congress of the 1.3-million member Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday.

More than 2 400 delegates from Cosatu's 14 industry-related affiliates gathered at the National Exhibition Centre south of Johannesburg to hear ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo and the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwethu, exhort the union federation to intensify the struggle for a constituent as-

sembly.

It was the first time that top-ranking office-bearers of the traditionally rival organisations shared a common platform at a Cosatu congress.

In an open admission of serious weaknesses, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said these had to be addressed if Cosatu was to play a leading role in building a society free from racism and exploitation.

The federation had to move beyond sloganeering and rhetoric.

Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi said

in his opening address that workers had to be vigilant and guard against a "false liberation" which retained the white monopoly over the country's wealth.

Yesterday's debate in closed session focused on social, organisational and educational matters. Political and constitutional matters are on today's agenda.

Mr Tambo said the collective challenge of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance was clear: "We must compel the Pretoria regime to remove all obstacles to a negotiated settlement. We must persuade it to abandon apartheid completely." — Sapa

11A F404 26/7/91

ANC: Police in attack

Staff Reporter

THE ANC and the police yesterday clashed over the petrol-bombing of a house in Khayelitsha this week.

The ANC said the house of one of its senior members, Mr Richard Makeleni, was petrol-bombed early on Tuesday morning. The incident had not been reported to police because the ANC believed the police were behind the attack, according to ANC spokesman Mr Vuyani Ngcuka. He also blamed the police for being behind much of the violence in Peninsula townships.

'Come forward'

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz rejected the allegations. He said the ANC would have to provide proof of police collusion if they wanted to make such claims.

"They must come forward with all the necessary witnesses and then we'll have the allegations investigated," Major Calitz said.

Mr Makeleni was not at home at the time of the attack. He is out of town and expected back in Cape Town only this weekend.

Mr Ngcuka said the ANC believed that some policemen were colluding with the Western Cape Black Taxi Association and town councillors in carrying out attacks against ANC members.

When the Cape Times visited the gutted remains of Mr Makeleni's house in Site B, several



GUTTED . . . The gutted remains of the Khayelitsha home of the ANC vice-chairman for the township, Mr Richard Makeleni. The ANC yesterday claimed the house was petrol-bombed by a group of men, including four policemen, early on Tuesday morning.

Picture: HAROLD KING

residents said they saw four policemen in a blue van and a group of balaclava-clad men in a white combi in the area shortly before the attack.

The residents showed a variety of spent cartridges, including one from an R1 rifle, and several live rounds which they claimed were found at the scene of the attack. They said they also found an unexploded petrol bomb at the front of the gutted house.

They said that shots were fired at the house during the petrol-bomb attack.

Two of Mr Makeleni's brothers

who were sleeping in the house when the attack occurred escaped.

Another Khayelitsha resident, Mr Sipho Makatisi, said his house, which is a few metres away, was set alight shortly before Mr Makeleni's house burst into flames.

Other people, who claim to have witnessed the event, said that the attackers were using a police van and two Ford cars. They also claim that a white man, who "was there during the attack", returned to the scene yesterday.

They said he was accompanied by other men in a Webta taxi.



Forward to the winning tape . . . Fidel Castro with Nelson Mandela at the opening of an athletes' village in Havana yesterday.

Picture: Reuter

Castro praises Mandela for 'indefatigable fight against apartheid'

HAVANA — ANC leader Nelson Mandela began a three-day tour of Cuba yesterday with praise from President Fidel Castro for his "athletic figure".

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie accompanied Dr Castro as he inaugurated an athletes' village for the Pan-American Games next month.

Star 26/7/91
At the inauguration, Dr Castro praised what he said had been Mr Mandela's indefatigable fight against apartheid. He complimented him for maintaining an "athletic figure" despite his 73 years.

"We have in Nelson Mandela a magnificent example to follow," he told the crowd, which

included the 633 athletes who make up Cuba's team for the Games and were first to occupy the village.

Mr Mandela arrived in Cuba yesterday for a three-day visit. Dr Castro said one of the first things he had asked was whether Cuba's three-time Olympic champion Teofilo Stevenson

was still boxing. (Mr Mandela was a boxer in his youth).

The Cuban leader then invited Stevenson, who now coaches and was in the audience, to come up and meet Mr Mandela.

During his stay in Cuba, Mr Mandela was expected to thank Dr Castro and Cuba's communist government for their unwa-

vering support for the ANC.

Mr Mandela is going ahead with his Caribbean and Latin-American tour while back in South Africa, the political scene is being rocked by continuing revelations that the Government gave secret funds to the Inkatha Freedom Party. — Sapa-Reuter.

(11A)

'Cuba a second home' ¹¹⁴ Winnie

HAVANA. — Mrs Winnie Mandela said yesterday the warm welcome she and her husband had received in Cuba made them feel the communist-ruled island was their second home.

"This warm welcome has confirmed what we have already known, that Cuba is our second home," Mrs Mandela told Havana historian Mr Eusebio Leal as he gave the Mandelas and their delegation a tour of the old city.

"In a way, we just feel we have always belonged here," she added.

Very tight security surrounded the sightseeing tour.

Mr Mandela and his wife toured the city museum where Mr Leal described Cuba's history, focusing especially on the tens of thousands of black slaves from Africa who were transported to the island by its former Spanish colonial rulers.

— Sapa-Reuter



ANTI-FUNDING MARCH ... ANC supporters demonstration in Loop Street yesterday air their views on the government's secret funding of IFP rallies.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

ANC in demo against IFP funding

CT 2717191
Staff Reporters

ANC supporters yesterday demonstrated in the city centre against the government's funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The demonstrators, who gathered at security police headquarters in Loop Street, called for the resignation of the "whole" National Party government.

Mr Richard Martin of the Western Cape ANC Youth League said the funding of organisations "hired to destabilise" the ANC and

its allies, jeopardised the whole negotiation process.

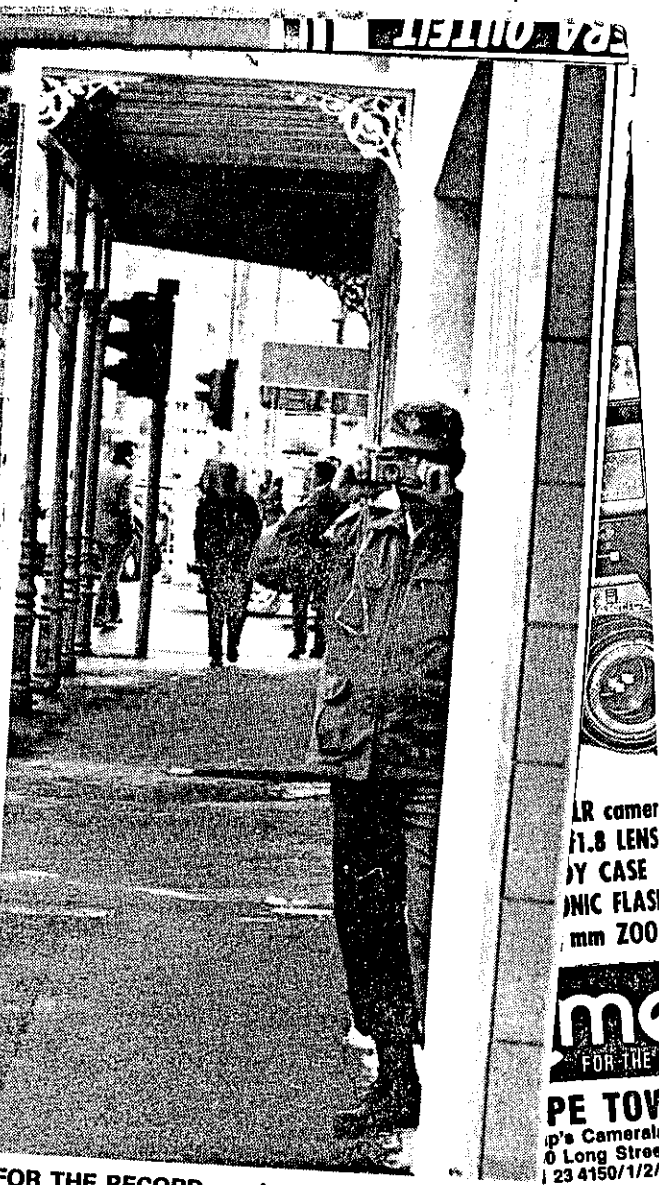
"We cannot help but ask the ANC leadership to call off the negotiations with the National Party until such time as an interim government is elected to prepare for the constituent assembly."

Mr Martin said that the demonstration was the beginning of a campaign, "No Right to Rule", which the ANC and other organisations would implement nationally tomorrow.

The ANC might call for a national stayaway to broaden its demands, he said.

The demonstrators also called for the immediate release of all political prisoners and shouted "Down with Gatsha (Buthelezi)".

● The Western Cape Black Pensioners Association yesterday demanded that the government give to black pensioners the R250 000 Inkatha has repaid the government.



FOR THE RECORD ... A policeman snaps away with his camera during the ANC picket yesterday.

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The ANC, meanwhile, will demand the government cease its secret operations against it. This time, sources suggest, verbal undertakings from De Klerk will not be accepted in good faith. The ANC will want quite a bit more than this.

It seems the ANC is to step up pressure on the government to sack both Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, particularly Vlok whose security police paid Inkatha.

University of Stellenbosch academic Janine Gagiano says it is fair for the ANC to demand the government fire all the Ministers involved.

However, national director of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, Dr Saths Cooper, was less forgiving. He suggested that "the ANC wants to negotiate with De Klerk" - come what may.

Cooper says the ANC is so blindly committed to negotiating that it will ignore the scandal.

This, he says, will be especially so if the fragile talks about talks are jeopardised, or if De Klerk's position is threatened.

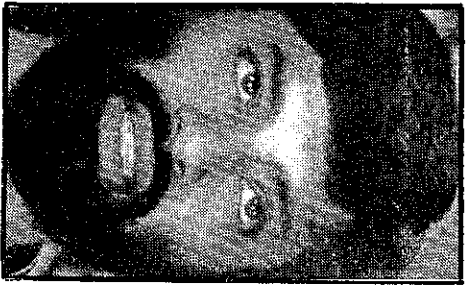
He suggests the ANC firmly believes that without De Klerk, "there are no negotiations".

Truth, whole truth, nothing about truth

nothing about truth



Nelson Mandela



Saths Cooper

Gagiano agrees that the ANC is out to bolster De Klerk's bargaining power.

Yet he cautioned the ANC against "overplaying" its already strong hand. He suggested the ANC should desist from taking to the streets if its demands for the dismissal of the two Ministers is not met.

Security Police cash scam won't deter ANC

Gagiano suggests that the ANC "play it cool" to show the outside world it is reasonable.

He says: "The government is hoping the ANC will do something that will project them as unreasonable."

In the wake of the revelations, the government will likely again hit the concessions trail with a vengeance, starting with the speedy release of all political prisoners.

This could well include prisoners being held in Bophuthatswana. Already this week it is known that Botha has been on the phone to Nelson Mandela who is overseas.

He apparently merely wanted to "clarify the question of prisoners" in Bophuthatswana. Botha also says he made the call to Mandela "just before" he had met Bop president Lucas Man-

gope in Pretoria.

De Klerk will be extremely concerned about the impact of the scandal abroad. His friends in the US and Britain have been leaning on him, requesting that he "comes clean".

Meanwhile De Klerk is facing yet more questions: To what extent was he aware of the operations? Did he approve the actions?

It seems that if he was indeed aware of the campaign, then the ANC will be forced to review its place at the table. Gagiano and Cooper both agree that the ANC's demand for a neutral arbiter to oversee the establishment of an interim government has never been more compelling.

"Even the West no longer sees De Klerk as being politically neutral," says Gagiano.



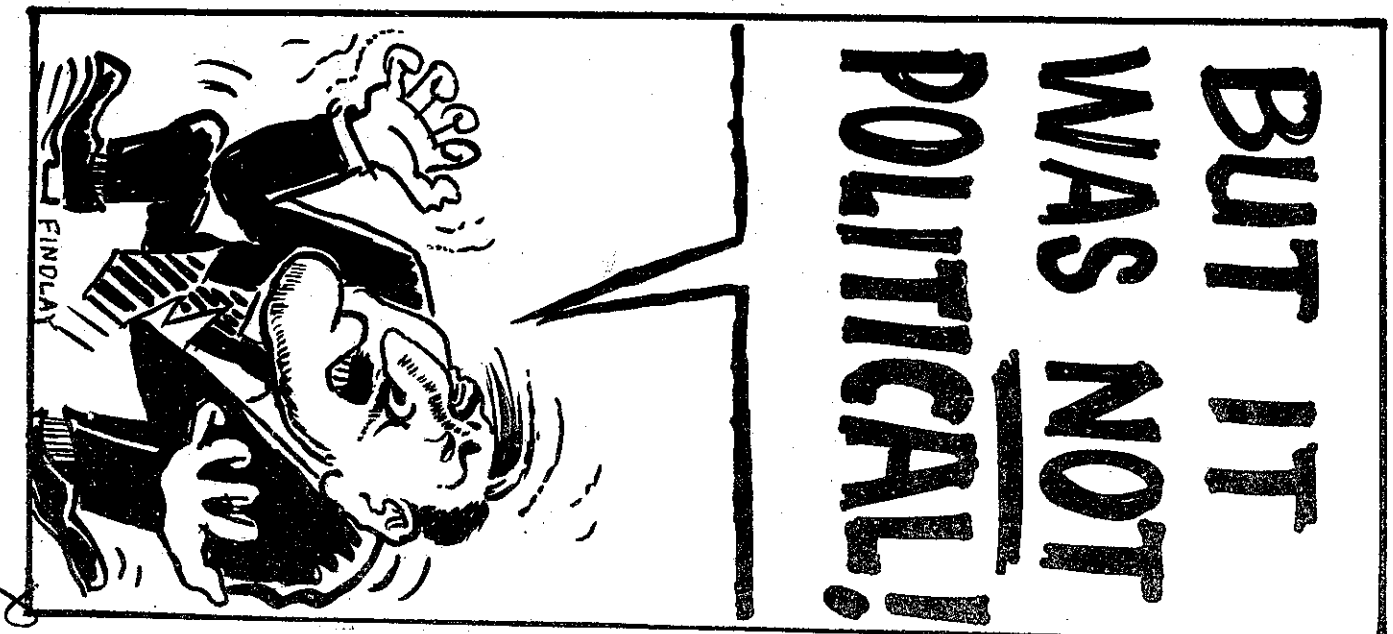
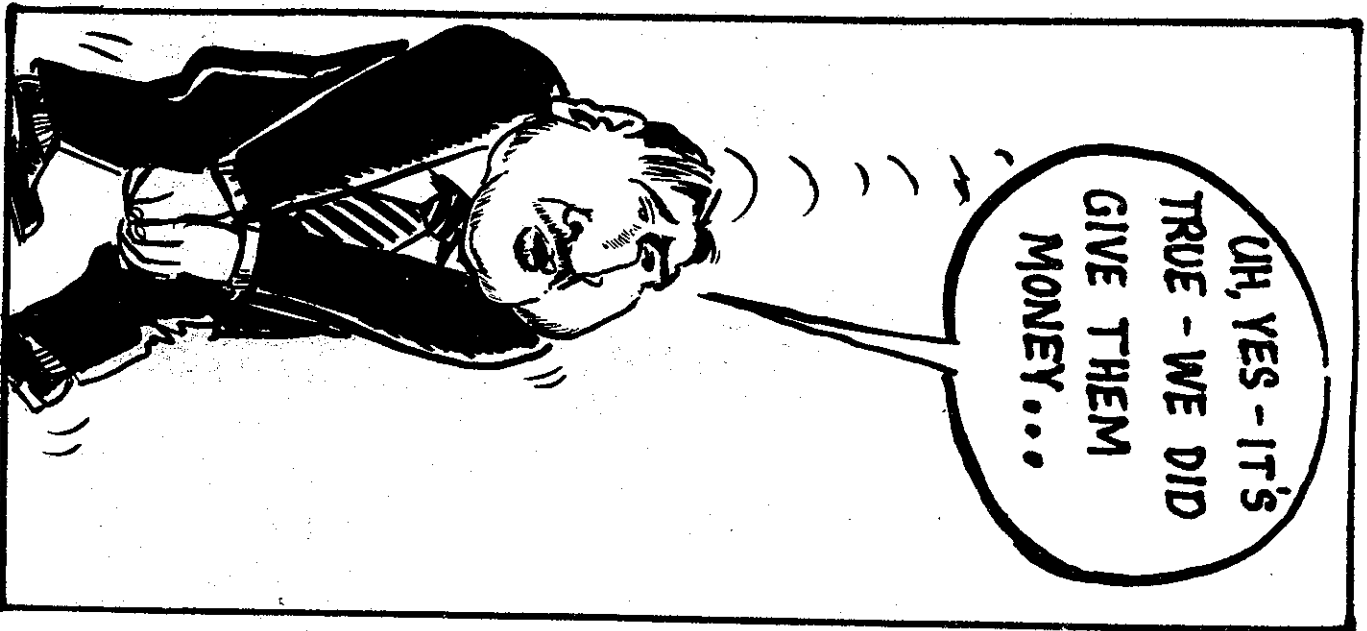
FW de Klerk ... reputation in question.

THE negotiations process has suffered a severe knock this week following revelations that the government channelled secret funds to the Inkatha Freedom Party in order to undermine the popularity of the ANC. Reports have revealed that not only Inkatha received generous handouts of taxpayers cash from the slush fund, but a hotch potch of conservatives - homeland leaders, community organisations and marginal political parties - also benefited.

In all, the government finds itself in an increasingly unfavourable position. However, most political observers are agreed that the damage done to the negotiations process is not irreparable. What the scandal has done is to cast a dark question mark on the cabinet's credibility, and for the first time since February 2, on the reputation of State President FW de Klerk.

At the same time the ANC's hand has been strengthened. In essence the scandal exposed the governments two-pronged secret effort to undermine the ANC - post February 2 Documents published reveal a security police-endorsed strategy to whittle away the ANC's support by presenting conservative homeland leaders as "credible" rivals. In the urban areas quasi-political organisations like the (Umsa) and the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa (Ucas) were also being paid to play to a prepared script.

It is understandable that the accused have denied receiving government money to subvert the ANC. They have been stripped naked by the affair. Even more revealing has been the up-and-down performance of Foreign Minister Pik Botha. His shift from galeforce denials to intimate confession have been a revelation to hardened observers. It seems a serious exercise in damage control lies ahead for the government. Pretoria will have to move fast to win back the ANC's confidence.



SACP albatross on ANC's NEC?

C/press 28/7/91.

(11A)

THE media seems obsessed with identifying South African Communist Party members on the ANC's National Executive Committee. Almost every NEC member, with the exception of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo, has been named an SACP member by the media.

The media has come up with creative phrases to describe the nature of this membership.

So we have "non-practising communists" or "communists out of habit more than anything else" - or even "communists who have allowed their membership to lapse".

This fervent interest is surprising for two reasons. Firstly, the mainstream media has never defended or upheld the principles of the ANC. So why this sudden concern?

Secondly, when focusing on the National Party, the press rarely bothers to question whether this or that Minister or administration official is a practising, habitual or lapsed member of the Broederbond.

Yet it is the Broederbond which has for decades infiltrated every facet of Afrikaner society, plotting the disastrous apartheid path which the country has so far charted. Under the guise of the need to defend Afrikaner nationalism, they have fragmented South African society into tribal and racial compartments.

In the pursuit of their warped ideas, millions of our people were removed at gunpoint from their only source of livelihood - the land - and crowded into the barren homelands where they died in droves from starvation.

The Broederbond intellectu-

The hunt for SACP members in the ANC is spurious when one considers that members of the Broederbond have infiltrated every aspect of the Nationalist Party, argues RONNIE MA-MOEPA of the ANC's PWV Media Department. He says the hunt should be called off as SACP members are here to stay.

als have lied to Afrikaner society that their mission to rule South Africa was God-given.

This is the type of manipulation that our society knows through bitter experience. Unfortunately, this is the type of history our critics have chosen to ignore.

Yet our people have never experienced such treatment from SACP quarters.

The public is demanding the right to know who in the nationalist Party is a member of the Broederbond. It is our democratic right to know!



OLIVER TAMBO



WALTER SISULU



NELSON MANDELA

The country can no longer afford this band of dishonest intellectuals who continue with impunity to manipulate the country's power structures for their narrow ideological leanings.

Meanwhile, we cannot help but think that the sole purpose of the communist hunt is to sow division within the ranks of the ANC and to scare off potential supporters and members.

The ANC is a national liberation movement whose main characteristics are anti-imperialist and anti-colonial.

The ANC seeks to unite the

different sectors and classes of the people in the struggle against apartheid colonialism and for democracy. Anyone who is against apartheid and subscribes to the view of a new South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter, irrespective of race, colour, gender or class, is eligible for membership.

The SACP is anti-imperialist and anti-colonial.

In 1962 it gave its unconditional support to the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter. In the pursuit of this, the party has placed all its hu-

man and material resources at the disposal of the ANC.

It is well documented that some of the best cadres of the ANC and fighters who have displayed courage, bravery and creativity were communists.

They did seek material gain, glory or distinction, but fought because of their commitment to the struggle and ideals of the ANC and their desire to bring apartheid to an end.

At the ANC National Conference the SACP was an observer and therefore did not vote.

Those elected were voted in

by secret ballot. The nominees were elected by grassroots structures of the ANC on the basis of their participation and track record and not because they were communists.

The elected members of the ANC NEC are therefore expected to execute the mandate charted by the ANC constituency as put forward by the national conference, and not that of the civics, youth structures, SACP or religious bodies.

Although some of these organisations and sectors may identify themselves with the ANC, they do not thereby become affiliates of the ANC or conveyor belts of ANC policy. The SACP is one such organisation.

The SACP programme - "The Path to Power" - was adopted in 1989 at an underground congress held outside the country before its unbanning in February last year. This programme even predicted the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the country's problems.

Obviously some of the perspectives and programmes of the national democratic struggle of the various organisations will coincide. This commonality of programmes and shared perspectives necessitates a unity of purpose.

It is in this context that a need for an alliance between the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu emerged.

But in any alliance, the partners meet as equals with mandates from their various constituencies and seek to influence one another.

Cosatu would, for instance, sway the opinion of the alliance to embark on a stayaway because workers have been re-

trenched. Similarly the ANC would be entitled to persuade the alliance on any matter just as the SACP has that right.

For one reason or another, the ANC has been singled out as being the only partner of the alliance amenable to communist influence, but there has never been a suggestion that the SACP is under the nationalist influence of the ANC!

We suppose this stems from an ignorance of the operations of the alliance. We plead not guilty to these charges. The onus rests with those who allege undue influence to prove it.

It should be noted that people who have sought to manipulate the ANC have been dealt with.

Accordingly, a group of eight were expelled in Morogoro in 1969 and the Marxist Workers Tendency in 1985. No one is immune from such disciplinary action in 1991.

During World War II the alliance between the communists and Western countries brought about the collapse of the Nazi regime.

In period communists were together with the people in the trenches. On the other hand, key Nationalist Party leaders actually supported and fought on the side of Hitler.

There was no question that this alliance of the allied forces was under any communist influence. What was at stake was democracy and it had to be defended at all costs.

In 1981 Oliver Tambo wrote in *Sechaba*: "The struggle against apartheid colonialism in particular and fascism in general, has taught our people that communists are our greatest allies and that is why our alliance with the SACP is indestruct-

ible."

"Our alliance is also based on the need to create a democracy in South Africa. Whether after liberation the country will follow a socialist or capitalist path of development is a democratic right of the people to exercise. No one has the right to prescribe this."

His sentiments still apply. However, we accept that in some quarters the alliance has never been welcome. Some people suggest that the coloured, white and Indian communities have been alienated from the ANC by the alliance. We have yet to see research which conclusively proves this.

We believe it is the democratic right of any individual to be a member of the SACP. It is also our democratic right to form our alliances with those forces which we believe can assist to achieve our goals. Such democratic rights should not be interfered with.

Without wishing to deny the right of the media and our critics to comment on our movement and our alliances, we also wish to call for political tolerance. For the ANC, political tolerance is not an empty slogan. It entails the right of all organisations to co-exist side by side with us.

While the ANC might differ with any organisation it will continue to fight for their right to exist.

To us the SACP has never been an albatross around our necks, but a tried and tested ally.

This alliance was built on the sweat and blood of our martyrs.

We will continue to build and defend it at all costs until our people decide otherwise.

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This fervent interest is surprising for two reasons. Firstly, the mainstream media has never defended or upheld the principles of the ANC. So why this sudden concern?

Secondly, when focusing on the National Party, the press rarely bothers to question whether this or that Minister or administration official is a practising, habitual or lapsed member of the Broederbond.

Yet it is the Broederbond which has for decades infiltrated every facet of Afrikaner society, plotting the disastrous apartheid path which the country has so far charted. Under the guise of the need to defend Afrikaner nationalism, they have fragmented South African society into tribal and racial compartments.

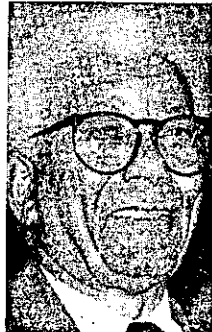
In the pursuit of their warped ideas, millions of our people were removed at gunpoint from their only source of livelihood - the land - and crowded into the barren homelands where they died in droves from starvation.

The Broederbond intellectu-

The hunt for SACP members in the ANC is spurious when one considers that members of the Broederbond have infiltrated every aspect of the Nationalist Party, argues RONNIE MA-MOEPA of the ANC's PWV Media Department. He says the hunt should be called off as SACP members are here to stay.



OLIVER TAMBO



WALTER SISULU



NELSON MANDELA

als have lied to Afrikaner society that their mission to rule South Africa was God-given.

This is the type of manipulation that our society knows through bitter experience. Unfortunately, this is the type of history our critics have chosen to ignore.

Yet our people have never experienced such treatment from SACP quarters.

The public is demanding the right to know who in the nationalist Party is a member of the Broederbond. It is our democratic right to know!

The country can no longer afford this band of dishonest intellectuals who continue with impunity to manipulate the country's power structures for their narrow ideological leanings.

Meanwhile, we cannot help but think that the sole purpose of the communist hunt is to sow division within the ranks of the ANC and to scare off potential supporters and members.

The ANC is a national liberation movement whose main characteristics are anti-imperialist and anti-colonial.

The ANC seeks to unite the

different sectors and classes of the people in the struggle against apartheid colonialism and for democracy. Anyone who is against apartheid and subscribes to the view of a new South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter, irrespective of race, colour, gender or class, is eligible for membership.

The SACP is anti-imperialist and anti-colonial.

In 1962 it gave its unconditional support to the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter. In the pursuit of this, the party has placed all its hu-

man and material resources at the disposal of the ANC.

It is well documented that some of the best cadres of the ANC and fighters who have displayed courage, bravery and creativity were communists.

They did seek material gain, glory or distinction, but fought because of their commitment to the struggle and ideals of the ANC and their desire to bring apartheid to an end.

At the ANC National Conference the SACP was an observer and therefore did not vote.

Those elected were voted in

by secret ballot. The nominees were elected by grassroots structures of the ANC on the basis of their participation and track record and not because they were communists.

The elected members of the ANC NEC are therefore expected to execute the mandate charted by the ANC constituency as put forward by the national conference, and not that of the civics, youth structures, SACP or religious bodies.

Although some of these organisations and sectors may identify themselves with the ANC, they do not thereby become affiliates of the ANC or conveyor belts of ANC policy. The SACP is one such organisation.

The SACP programme - "The Path to Power" - was adopted in 1989 at an underground congress held outside the country before its unbanning in February last year. This programme even predicted the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the country's problems.

Obviously some of the perspectives and programmes of the national democratic struggle of the various organisations will coincide. This commonality of programmes and shared perspectives necessitates a unity of purpose.

It is in this context that a need for an alliance between the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu emerged.

But in any alliance, the partners meet as equals with mandates from their various constituencies and seek to influence one another.

Cosatu would, for instance, sway the opinion of the alliance to embark on a stayaway because workers have been re-

trenched. Similarly the ANC would be entitled to persuade the alliance on any matter just as the SACP has that right.

For one reason or another, the ANC has been singled out as being the only partner of the alliance amenable to communist influence, but there has never been a suggestion that the SACP is under the nationalist influence of the ANC!

We suppose this stems from an ignorance of the operations of the alliance. We plead not guilty to these charges. The onus rests with those who allege undue influence to prove it.

It should be noted that people who have sought to manipulate the ANC have been dealt with.

Accordingly, a group of eight were expelled in Morogoro in 1969 and the Marxist Workers Tendency in 1985. No one is immune from such disciplinary action in 1991.

During World War II the alliance between the communists and Western countries brought about the collapse of the Nazi regime.

In period communists were together with the people in the trenches. On the other hand, key Nationalist Party leaders actually supported and fought on the side of Hitler.

There was no question that this alliance of the allied forces was under any communist influence. What was at stake was democracy and it had to be defended at all costs.

In 1981 Oliver Tambo wrote in *Sechaba*: "The struggle against apartheid colonialism in particular and fascism in general, has taught our people that communists are our greatest allies and that is why our alliance with the SACP is indestructi-

ble." "Our alliance is also based on the need to create a democracy in South Africa. Whether after liberation the country will follow a socialist or capitalist path of development is a democratic right of the people to exercise. No one has the right to prescribe this."

His sentiments still apply. However, we accept that in some quarters the alliance has never been welcome. Some people suggest that the coloured, white and Indian communities have been alienated from the ANC by the alliance. We have yet to see research which conclusively proves this.

We believe it is the democratic right of any individual to be a member of the SACP. It is also our democratic right to form our alliances with those forces which we believe can assist to achieve our goals. Such democratic rights should not be interfered with.

Without wishing to deny the right of the media and our critics to comment on our movement and our alliances, we also wish to call for political tolerance. For the ANC, political tolerance is not an empty slogan. It entails the right of all organisations to co-exist side by side with us.

While the ANC might differ with any organisation it will continue to fight for their right to exist.

To us the SACP has never been an albatross around our necks, but a tried and tested ally.

This alliance was built on the sweat and blood of our martyrs.

We will continue to build and defend it at all costs until our people decide otherwise.

Cosatu backs alliance with ANC, SACP

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Union (Cosatu) congress held at the weekend has reaffirmed the union federation's alliance with the ANC and SA Communist Party.

It also called for a summit of anti-apartheid organisations to map out a programme to force the government to resign in favour of an interim government.

The conference was marked by a strong display of political unity, a reassertion of trade union independence and frank admissions of organisational weaknesses.

It adopted resolutions on issues ranging from negotiations and the peace process to economic restructuring and Aids.

Efforts will also be made to form a single union federation incorporating Nactu and other trade unions.

Meeting at Nasrec near Johannesburg, the 2460 delegates committed Cosatu to the tripartite alliance with the SACP and ANC and gave all but paid, full-time Cosatu office-bearers the go-ahead to take leadership positions in political organisations.

"We have no problem with people occupying two leadership positions; if they do, they stay with their Cosatu

mandate," said Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Metalworkers leader Mr John Gomomo beat Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini in the election for president of the federation. Mr Dlamini was then re-elected vice-president. Both are members of the SACP internal leadership group.

Following the congress's decision to bar full-time workers from multiple leadership posts, Cosatu deputy general-secretary Mr Sydney Mufumadi stood down because of his recent election to the ANC's national working committee.

Mr Jay Naidoo was re-elected general-secretary, while Mr Mufumadi was succeeded by Transport and General Workers' Union president Mr Sam Shilowa.

Delegates resolved that Cosatu had to play a leading role in the peace process.

In other resolutions, delegates also came out in favour of:

- A multi-party peace conference convened by a non-partisan body.
- A programme of economic restructuring leading to an interim high wage/low cost economy and, eventually, socialism.
- Campaigns for an end to retrenchments and against the implementation of VAT.

ANC looking for unrest releases

CT 29/7/79 11A

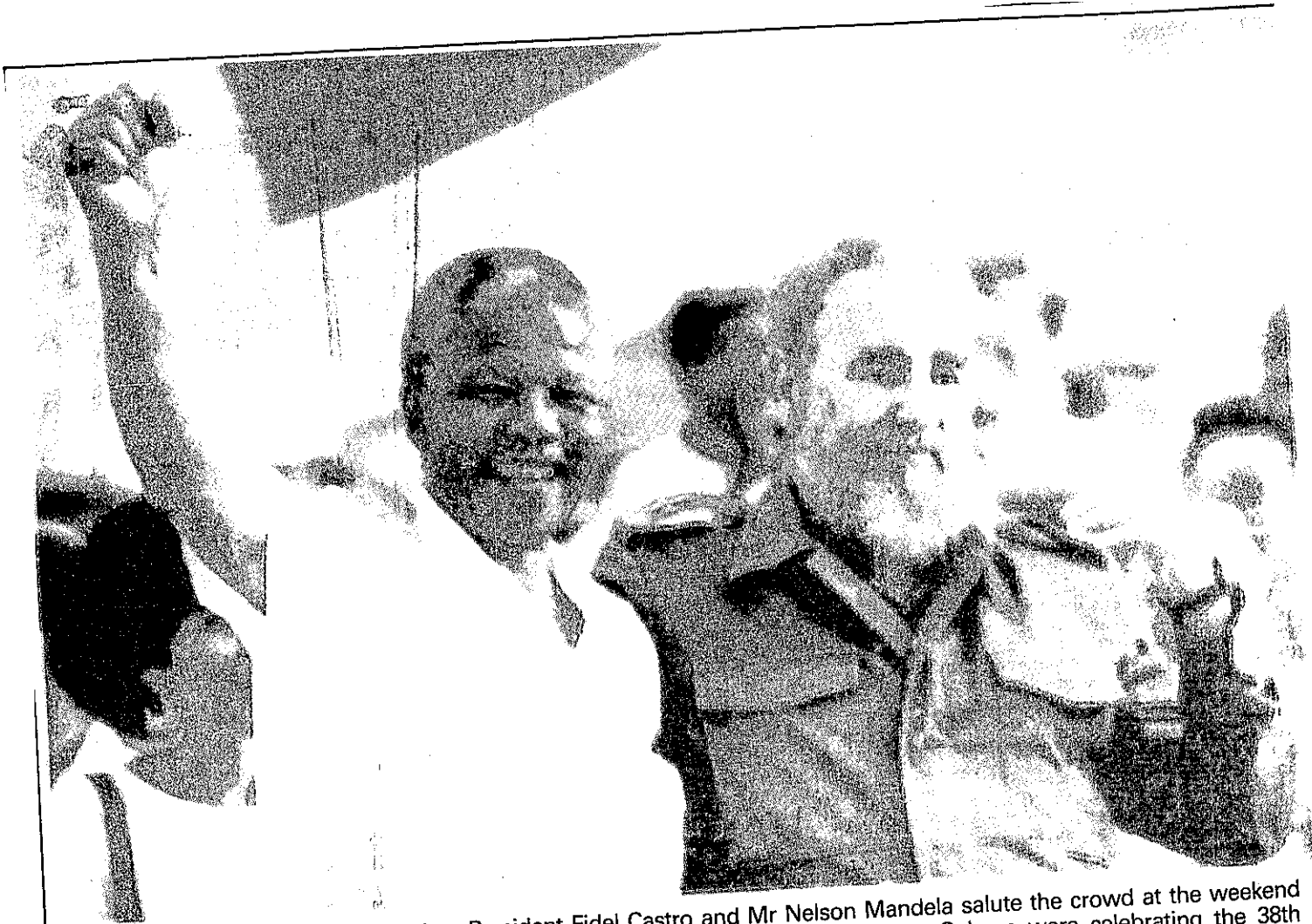
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is re-examining the cases of several hundred unrest prisoners to see whether they qualified for release as political prisoners, ANC legal affairs official Mr Penuell Maduna said yesterday.

Mr Maduna said the ANC still regarded the prisoner issue as one of the obstacles to negotiations but did not want negotiations to be further delayed by unrest cases that were found on closer scrutiny to be non-political.

He said the ANC was consulting church and community groups to find out whether certain specific crimes — among them several necklacings — could qualify as political because of the circumstances in which they were committed.

At the other end of the spectrum, lawyers appearing for 15 right-wing political prisoners, including mass murderer Barend Strydom, are guardedly hopeful about their release after a meeting with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee.



CASTRO AND MANDELA . . . Cuban President Fidel Castro and Mr Nelson Mandela salute the crowd at the weekend during the celebration of the "Day of Revolution" in Matanzas, east of Havana. Cubans were celebrating the 38th anniversary of the revolution.

Picture: AP

Mandela in Venezuela

CARACAS, Venezuela. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived here at the weekend with his wife Winnie and a 10-member delegation for a two-day visit.

Mr Mandela and his entourage were met by President Carlos Andres Perez.

Yesterday Mr Mandela travelled to Valencia, an industrial city 160km west of the capital, where he received an honorary doctoral degree. CT 29/7/91

PAC 'won't push out whites'

COFIMVABA, Transkei. — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday his organisation had no plans to "push whites into the sea", but would fight for the "repossession of the land".

Mr Makwetu was addressing hundreds of PAC supporters during a rally to welcome a freed commander of the organisation's military wing, Mr Enoch Zulu.

Mr Zulu was freed last month from Pollsmoor Prison, where he served less than five years of his 32-year sentence. He was convicted of terrorism in 1986.

Mr Makwetu told the rally that at the forthcoming 'patriotic front' conference, the PAC would urge participants that black people should fight for their land.

①①A er 29/7/91

ANC 'to keep its ally'

THE alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party (SACP) would not be broken until liberation had been achieved in South Africa, ANC national executive member Mr Dullah Omar said at the weekend.

Speaking in the city at a meeting marking the 70th anniversary of the SACP, Mr Omar said the need for the alliance was greater than ever.

He also criticised the government for the secret funding of Inkatha and other political organisations, and called for the establishment of an interim government. — Sapa

(11A) CT 29/7/91

PAC and Azapo reject consumer boycott

A row has broken out between the PAC and Azapo and the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance over a consumer boycott due to begin today.

Azapo and the PAC said yesterday they

Star 29/7/91
would not support the boycott because they had not been consulted before leaflets were distributed in the PWV region yesterday calling for the boycott to begin today.

At the meeting it had

been agreed that no press statements or leaflets would be issued until all parties had reached an agreement.

Mr Duna claimed the ANC alliance had reneged on that agreement.

Govt denies giving in to interim rule

Star 29/7/91
By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

Senior Government sources last night dismissed suggestions that the Inkatha funds scandal had forced the Government to give in to ANC demands for an interim government.

"Practically speaking, an interim government means abolishing the present Government and replacing it with a new one, and that's not acceptable," one said.

The sources said that even the idea of outside groups being given a joint say in the control of the security forces was still "very sensitive" and had probably not been discussed.

Representatives of the Government, ANC and Inkatha, meeting under the auspices of the joint church/business peace initiative, had come close to agreement last week on a code of conduct for security forces.

But this was not the same as overall responsibility for the security forces. The participants in the joint church/business initiative were also discussing the possibility of independent monitoring of peace agreements.

However, this would also not necessarily entail joint

control of security forces. The sources stressed that the possibility of joint control of the security forces could only be discussed at the multiparty conference which the Government hopes will take place as soon as possible.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu said yesterday the secret funding scandal had seriously endangered the negotiation process.

After an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of the secret funding, the three organisations said: "The latest revelations underline the fact that the present Government cannot supervise the process of transition.

"We call on all South Africans of whatever political persuasion to unite behind the call for an interim government of national unity."

At the emergency meeting, the SACP and Cosatu also backed the earlier demands by the ANC for President de Klerk to prove his sincerity in negotiations by taking decisive action on the funding scandal.

The Democratic Party has hardened its position by calling for a government of unity.

● More reports — Page 2

Commitment to negotiations questioned

Star 29/7/91
VALENCIA (Venezuela) — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday questioned the Government's commitment to talks with the ANC.

Referring to the Government's funding of Inkatha, he told a packed auditorium that he was not sure he could trust the administration of President de Klerk.

"Pretoria's conduct shows that much needs to be done before we can trust its intentions and rely on its commitment to co-operating with us in the struggle to eliminate that crime... apartheid."

He accused the Government of fuelling the rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha while at the same time publicly committing it to negotiations with the ANC.

He blamed the Government for the current wave of violence but added that South Africans "have the capacity, we have the patience, we have the morale to destroy apartheid in our lifetime".

In Cuba at the weekend, he reiterated the ANC's demand for an interim government. "What we have been saying all along, that the Government cannot be a player and referee at the same time, has been fully corroborated." — Sapa-Reuters.

'We'll share control'

Sowetan 29/7/91. (17A)

Government 'yes' to ANC demand for transitional arrangement

Too hot for comfort



Anything to beat the late winter chill. . . A Dobsonville, Soweto, youngster was caught by Sowetan photographer Sello Motsepe making fire to escape yesterday's cold weather. However, the cold was not the worst of his fears as he fled from his fire immediately after the picture was taken.

THE Government will agree to the ANC demand for a transitional or interim arrangement during constitutional negotiations, but will stop short of "co-opting" people.

A senior Government source yesterday confirmed this following renewed calls for a "transitional arrangement" in the wake of the "Inkathagate" scandal.

Crisis

It was revealed that secret State funds had been channeled to the Inkatha Freedom Party through the security police.

The crisis has also renewed calls for the resignation or dismissal of at least Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, who said last week during a television debate that he was considering his position.

The possibility of Vlok handing in his resignation during today's

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Security Council - a Cabinet committee - meeting has been strengthened by additional information on Inkathagate scandal. It was revealed by the Press a little over a week ago that Vlok had not been entirely honest about the use of State funds.

Commenting on the issue of a transitional arrangement during constitutional negotiations,

made in Parliament earlier this year.


"Negotiating partners outside of the Government would have a say inside Parliament, but what would be unacceptable would be a form of co-option," Meyer said.

Meyer stressed that the ideal platform to create a transitional arrangement would be an all-party conference or a multi-party conference and this should be held as soon as

● To Page 2



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Powersharing gets the nod

Sowetan 29/7/91

● From Page 1

possible.

What has emerged over recent months is that relative consensus on the agenda for an multi-party conference has been reached during preliminary discussions between the Government and ANC officials.

Three issues were raised as priorities for an multi-party conference to make decisions on: What the exact forum for real negotiations would be; the principles on which a new constitution would be based; what kind of transitional arrangement would be established.

However, before an multi-party conference or all-party conference can start or be planned, the ANC, Azapo and the PAC must enter into a patriotic front late next month. There they will, under a single banner, plan a strategy to confront the Government. No decision is expected to be made on the multi-party conference before then.

While the Inkatha funding crisis has been

seen as a setback for the actual process of negotiations, it is also being regarded as a grand opportunity for the Government to "open up" its closets to public scrutiny and allow hard-core talks to begin.

A key element of this "opening up" would be to provide the public with a full account of where and how public money has been secretly spent over the past few years.

Response

De Klerk will tomorrow announce the Government's official response to the Inkatha funding scandal which has sunk the State President's personal credibility around the world and at home.

The Government has said it is serious about the present crisis, especially because it provided evidence for the allegation that the police was collaborating with the IFP in the violence in black communities.

Azapo hits out at ANC

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called upon the ANC and the KwaNdebele government to stop "harassing" its members and workers affiliated to the National Council of Trade Unions.

A resolution passed at Azapo's Northern Transvaal regional council, held at Botlokwa near Pietersburg on Saturday, stated that members and workers affiliated to Nactu were being assaulted and forced out of jobs by crowds of ANC and Intando ye Sizwe members, who accused them of being members of Imbhokodo.

Homeless

Deploring the actions in which two families in Valsfontein were left homeless after their houses were burnt down, Azapo called on the ANC leadership and Mr James Mahlangu, KwaNdebele chief minister, and the leader of the Intando ye Sizwe party, to halt the activities before further blood was shed.

Speaking to *Sowetan* after the council, regional publicity director Mr Khangale Makhado said a delegation of regional and national leaders of the organisation would visit the area this week to assess the situation.

Neither the ANC nor the KwaNdebele authorities could be reached for comment yesterday.

11/9/91
Sowetan
29/7/91

Ramodike starts group that clones Azapo aims, objectives

Sowetan 29/7/91.
By MATHATHA TSEDU

LEBOWA Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike has formed an organisation known as the United Peoples Front, whose aims and objectives are almost similar to those of the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The UPF has been distributing membership cards to elderly people at pension payout points, according to pensioners spoken to.

The pensioners say they were told the cards should be produced at pension payouts, while those without the cards run the risk of losing their pensions.

The UPF says it aims "to conscientise, politicise and mobilise the people towards a non-ethnic United States of Africa".

Azapo documents say it aims "to conscientise, politicise and mobilise black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for their legitimate rights".

Word for word

Other aims and objectives, save for where Azapo speaks of Azania, are the same word for word.

Responding to enquiries yesterday, UPF chairman Mr Makwatanyana Moroamoche, Lebowa's Minister of Justice, said the organisation was formed in March but had not yet been launched.

He said membership was "swelling", with signed up members numbering between 40 000 and 50 000.

He said the UPF had "good relationships" with the liberation movements.

Moroamoche laughed when asked about the similarity of goals with those of Azapo. "The similarity proves similar political feelings," he said.

Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadameng said it was interesting that Ramodike, who has a very close working relationship with the ANC, had chosen Azapo's aims and objectives.

Resign

"If it reflects a shift in perspective, a growth in political understanding of the political problem in this country and the need on his part to join Azapo, he should be informed that the proper thing is to first resign from the State machinery and then apply for membership," Nkadameng said.

The UPF has been a subject of whispers since Ramodike summoned school principals to the Chuene Resort two months ago and told them to join. One principal said Ramodike had told them the UPF had the blessing of the ANC leadership.

However, ANC regional media spokesman in the region, Mr Stan Motimle, yesterday distanced the ANC from the UPF, saying no one in the region was aware of a such approval.

Coalition is the only solution - political expert

IIA
Sowetan
29/7/91

THE only possible solution to the "Inkathagate" scandal is the immediate formation of a coalition government involving all interested parties including the Government and all liberation movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

This is the view of political scientist and expert on white politics, Professor Willem Kleynhans.

In an interview with *Sowetan* yesterday, Kleynhans said disclosures of Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party had ruined the Government's effort of bringing about a new South Africa.

"The Government is responsible for this mess. And the negative effects are 100 percent more than what the Information Scandal did to South Africa some years back. The damage is irreparable," he said.

Conference

The time-table which President FW de Klerk had for a multiparty conference to pave the way for the drawing up of a new constitution had been upset and relations between the Government/Inkatha and the ANC had been "bedeviled" by the recent disclosures, said Kleynhans.

He added: "The only possible solution to this mess is for the leaders of all interested groups, including the Government, ANC, PAC, SACP, DP and Inkatha to come together and form a caretaker govern-

FOCUS

By MONK



NKOMO

ment. The CP will not agree to this coalition government.

"All these organisations must now have a say in the running of the country. They must share the responsibility and help uproot all covert operations and freeze the use of secret funds.

"This might help resolve the crisis."

Kleynhans said the Government was 100 percent to blame for secretly funding the IFP and blamed the authorities for ruining chances of the formation of black political parties which could be instrumental to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic society in South Africa.

The political scientist said he

expected the Government to play down the scandal and say, among other things, that the secret funding was to facilitate negotiations.

Asked if Cabinet Ministers, Mr Adriaan Vlok or General Magnus Malan, would resign as a result of the secret funding and allegations of security force involvement in attacks on black civilians, Kleynhans said the Government had a history of undemocratic principles.

"In societies where democracy was a norm, those responsible would quit. But I know. This Government will not do the honourable thing to sack Ministers responsible for the mess. The Cabinet is going to remain intact."

Iceberg

Kleynhans warned that the recent disclosures could be a tip of the iceberg and said more scandals could follow.

The drawing up of a new constitution, said Kleynhans, was now totally out of the question.

"There is not a slightest chance that the new constitution will be ready by 1994 when elections will be held."

The present constitution would still be in place despite De Klerk's promise recently that blacks would be included in the next election of a new government, said Kleynhans.

"I am despondent and more of a prophet of doom than ever before. We are on the threshold of a bloody confrontation. I am



PRESIDENT DE KLERK

pessimistic. I fear for the worst," the Afrikaner professor added.

Kleynhans accused the Government of having delivered "a mortal blow" to the IFP's efforts to start a political party - a vital instrument towards the formation of a stable government.

"This is a vehicle needed whereby blacks would have a say in the decision-making processes in this country. All efforts by the IFP have been ruined by the Government.

"The US and British governments will realise that they were naive to believe De Klerk when he told them recently that he had an answer to South Africa's problems.

"I wonder what they are saying now," said Kleynhans.

Commitment
to negotiations
questioned

star 29/7/91 (11A)

VALENCIA (Venezuela) —
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same time, has been fully
corroborated." — Sapa-
Reuter.

Nationalisation: 'ANC will move case by case'

11/000 30/7/91

11A

ANC economics head Max Sisulu has defended nationalisation as a platform of ANC economic policy and said the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe had "no value" when applied to SA.

In an interview published in the July 5 edition of the French financial daily *La Tribune de l'Expansion*, Sisulu said: "(Nationalisation) would mainly concern public services like roads, water, electricity and hospitals. We would look at the rest on a case-by-case basis."

Sisulu's remarks go against recent pronouncements by ANC leaders indicating a move away from nationalisation as a viable alternative to capitalism.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a July 18 interview with *The Star* that the ANC was not dogmatically attached to nationalisation or state intervention and that it had "perhaps overstressed" these issues in the past.

ROBERT GENTLE

Sisulu said the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe had "no value" when applied to SA.

"The fact is that decades of apartheid have brought SA blacks nothing but poverty and injustice. We don't have to take any lessons from any one."

Springboard

Asked how the ANC would finance its economic programme, Sisulu spoke of an initial allocation of budgetary resources in order to unblock funds rapidly.

He singled out areas like "apartheid administered" education and defence as examples where this would be possible.

The SA economy was in "full decline", he said, with GDP falling at about 2% a year in the last few years. Unemployment was running at 40%

while 7-million blacks were without shelter.

The ANC believed that the solution to the problems of poverty and inequality lay in a redistribution of resources, revenues and power, and the restructuring of the economy.

Sisulu dismissed the notion that the informal sector could serve as a springboard for economic development, calling it a "survival economy" which contributed little to GDP.

Asked whether the SA financial markets should be restructured, Sisulu answered: "Absolutely. A reform of the financial markets is necessary so that investment goes into economic development, not speculation as is the case now."

Similarly, foreign investments — which had done nothing more than reinforce apartheid — should be regulated, he said.

While foreign investment was important, it was "insufficient" to relaunch the economy.

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ANC youths
deny murder
of Azapo man

SUSAN RUSSELL (11A)

TWO ANC members who allegedly took part in killing an Azapo opponent at a Bekkersdal shebeen last year pleaded not guilty to murder in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Jacob Seoka, 27, and Alfred Soxokashe, 21, are accused of murdering Mbuyiselo Norman Montshiwa on March 17 last year.

According to the indictment, Montshiwa was murdered at a time of political unrest when the ANC was calling for a school stayaway which was not supported by Azapo.

It is alleged Seoka and Soxokashe were part of a group which went looking for Montshiwa with the intention of killing him.

Soxokashe, Seoka and another member of their group allegedly attacked Montshiwa with pangas, a knife and an iron bar when they found him.

Nine days later Montshiwa died in hospital from his injuries.

The trial continues before Mr Justice du Plessis and two assessors.

AWB official
found guilty

A MEMBER of the AWB, and two other men, were sentenced in the Bloemfontein Regional Court yesterday to fines of R2 000 or 12 months' imprisonment each for assault.

AWB Free State leader Dirk Ackerman of Brandfort; Kobie Ackerman of Senekal; and Jan van Niekerk, also of Brandfort, assaulted Volksblad photographer Marius de Waal last February. — Sapa.

ANC and allies call for protest boycott (11A)

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) have called for an immediate boycott of white-owned businesses in the PWV region in response to the government slush fund scandal.

The boycott, which came into effect yesterday, is aimed at all white-owned businesses in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Soweto, the East Rand and the far East Rand.

The alliance of the three organisations said the boycott would be monitored "without enforcement and policing", and reviewed periodically.

The statement said the call for the boycott was sparked by the recent disclosure of "clandestine funding of IFP and Uwusa by the security police".

An unofficial PAC spokesman said representatives of his organisation had met ANC PWV branch officials yesterday morning to discuss "the need to engage in a certain programme" in response to the Inkatha funding disclosures. But as yet the PAC had not backed the boycott call.

A number of shoppers canvassed yesterday said they were not aware of the boycott. *Bibany 30/7/91*

The alliance is demanding the resignation of government, the immediate establishment of a transitional authority and an elected constituent assembly, the release of all political prisoners, the return of exiles, and an end to electricity cuts and worker retrenchments.

WVOT 3742 30 11/19/79

Boycott of white business called

11A
Star 30/7/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The PWV region of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday called for a consumer boycott of "all white shops in general and big business in particular" as a protest against the Government's secret funding for Inkatha and the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

In a statement the alliance of the three organisations announced a consumer boycott to be reviewed "after a week, and periodically thereafter".

The boycott, which will affect business in the PWV region, took effect yesterday.

The statement said the ANC and its allies would "closely monitor developments without enforcement and policing".

The alliance said the exposure of clandestine Government funding for the Inkatha Freedom Party and Uwusa had "brought the Government's credibility to an all-time low" and sharply highlighted the need for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

Pretoria could no longer be trusted to manage the transition to democracy, it said.

Meanwhile, a consultative meeting between the ANC, the

Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and the governments of Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele yesterday supported the alliance's calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The meeting also called for the immediate sacking of Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Defence Magnus Malan; the establishment of a multiparty commission of inquiry to investigate Government involvement in violence as well as "the secret funding of political activity"; the "visible and public" dismantling of the SAP and SADF special counter-insurgency forces; and the freezing of Government secret slush funds, which had to be opened to public scrutiny.

Some of the demands made included:

- All members of the security forces and other State employees who wished "to come clean on these covert operations" must be guaranteed immunity from prosecution.
- All security force personnel implicated in violence by past commissions of inquiry must be prosecuted.
- The Government must pay reparations to victims of "State-sponsored violence".

Homeland leaders line up for patriotic front

Bhaca 30/7/91
(11A)

LEADERS of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the ANC, PAC and Azapo in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were "no obstacles" to the formation of a patriotic front between the ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after yesterday's meeting that many obstacles to forming the front had been overcome.

A statement after the meeting condemned government for "destabilising homeland governments that they consider

DARIUS SANAI

to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

Ramaphosa said yesterday's "emergency" meeting was called mainly to discuss the "Inkathagate" disclosures.

The ANC delegation, headed by national chairman Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Walter Sisulu.

The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government".

He said discussions were continuing between a PAC-ANC committee and representatives from other independent states, including Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

He said there was a possibility that the Labour Party would also agree to attend next month's conference.

Average life of 800 years . . . but will this diseased baobab tree in the northern Transvaal last that long? The bark has turned almost completely black.

Police raided us PAC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
star 30/7/91

Police raided houses of Pan Africanist Congress members in Kagiso on Friday, the organisation has alleged.

It said homes raided included that of PAC national executive council member Mike Matsobane.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday that Mr Matsobane's home was raided by about 20 armed police at about 2 am on Friday. He added that Mr

Matsobane's home had been attacked twice last year with hand grenades, "but so far no body has been arrested".

About 10 other houses of PAC members in Kagiso were allegedly raided on Friday. Telephone lines to other PAC members had been cut, Mr Alexander said. He urged police to stop harassing PAC leaders.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said he knew nothing about the raids.

Harried SA communists turn 70

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

EXACTLY 70 years ago today, just four years after the bloody toppling of the last Tsar, one of South Africa's most controversial political groups emerged in fighting spirit from an historic convention at the Cape Town City Hall.

It was widely scorned as *bolshy*, and so it was.

The fledgling South African Communist Party embraced all 21 points of the Third International in Moscow and declared a "revolutionary policy to break down the capitalist state and substitute a peasants' and workers' republic".

This pithy brief made the SACP South Africa's most hated, and hounded, party. In the decades that followed, communists were harried by successive administrations, but proved remarkably doughty.

It is probably inconceivable to most readers today that the SACP was once actually represented in parliament, that it had an office on the third floor of Lloyd's Building at 58 Burg Street, and that it was a party among parties before South Africa's emergent democracy was overwhelmed by the National Party. The small, tightly knit organisation that emerged on July 30 1921 was a coalescence of the International Socialist League, the Cape Communist Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Durban Marxian Club and the Jewish Socialist Society. Its first chairman was C B Tyler, with William Andrews and Sidney Bunting as secretary and treasurer. (Interestingly, in 1922, Andrews was elected a member of the International and stayed in Moscow for the next two years.)

Head quartered in Johannesburg (41a Fox Street, ultimately) the party had branches in Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth, drawing support from a motley collection of mostly white workers at first — tramwaymen, miners and seamstresses among them, and many Afrikaners — and then, in the mid-1920s, black workers.

The natural shift in orientation from the struggle for socialism to the struggle for democracy and enfranchisement of blacks saw the birth of the alliance with the African National Congress and, inevitably, brought the Reds into conflict with the South African establishment.

Not that the party was without internal strife: In 1927, Moscow dictates generated friction, a dispute ensued and a number of key figures were expelled. Some returned later. Sectarianism and dogmatism were afflictions of the 1930s and later.

But the far greater threat to the party was from the outside.

The SACP is proud of its record commitment, in South Africa, to non-racialism, but it was this rather than the chilling visage of Stalinism or the alarming, if distant, prospect of Marxist economic policy, that made communism the *bete noire* of Union politics.

It is adequately reflected in a pamphlet written in 1943

by Eric Louw, later Foreign Minister, on "The Communist Danger".

He records with barely concealed horror: "At meetings of the Communist Party, white, black and brown persons sit together. At socials they drink tea together and at dances, the black native whirls with his arms around the waste of a white girl, and what follows?"

It became clear the central charge against communism was that it undermined traditional race attitudes.

In a speech to parliament in 1948, Dr Nico Diedrichs said the "doctrine of liberalism that stands for equal rights for all civilised human beings is almost the same as the ideal of communism".

Having defined the threat in South African, racial terms, it was just a matter of time before the young NP government reached for the Statute Book to get the source of the threat by the throat: The Suppression of Communism Bill was brought before parliament in 1950.

Historian Eric Walker records that it was "rushed through in a mere 30 hours by ruthless use of the guillotine and became law on the last day of the session".

In fact, there was at this time an official communist MP, Mr Sam Kahn, elected in the 1948 poll by blacks in the Cape as their representative.

The NP's Draconian Act, however, altered the scene drastically. Just days before it became law, the Communist Party dissolved itself by resolution. This was dramatically announced in parliament by Sam Kahn.

On June 22 1950, the secretary of the Johannesburg branch announced: "All the party offices have been closed — Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth — the equipment sold, debts paid, and we are going out with a clean slate."

But this was a classic case of the end of the beginning, rather than the beginning of the end.

Minister of Justice Mr C R Swart provided for himself, and his successors, the authority to compile of list of "named" former members and supporters of the Communist Party, through which certain restrictions could be imposed. Within a year the list was 600 names long.

Named people were forced to resign from certain organisations and were banned from attending certain gatherings.

In May 1951, Sam Kahn and Fred Carneson, a communist Provincial Councillor, were told they had been found by a select committee to be communists and their membership of parliament and the provincial council was terminated.

Also in May 1951, the well-known socialist newspaper The Guardian was banned. A week later, the same staff brought out a new paper called Clarion. Over the next 12 years, the newspaper was repeatedly banned, but re-emerged every time — first as People's World, then Advance, then New Age and finally, until 1963, as Spark.

(11A) ARGUS 30/7/91

Kahn's removal from parliament was not the end of the communist presence there.

In the 1952 election, Brian Bunting, son of founder Sidney Bunting, polled 4 123 black votes to take Kahn's seat as the black people's representative for the Western Cape.

A year later, he was also "named" and ejected.

A year after that, in 1954, the seat was up for grabs again.

In stepped Rachel Alexandrovich — Latvian born trade unionist Ray Alexander, now back in Cape Town after 25 years in exile.

She emerged as a surprise candidate for the 1954 election, beating candidates from the Liberal Party and the South African Christian Coalition. A legal technicality prevented the government from stopping her standing as a candidate.

She was duly elected on April 27, but within 20 minutes of the announcement, was twice refused entry to parliament by special branch detectives.

In her first attempt she got as far as the steps of parliament before being grabbed by the arm and led outside the gates. The next time she did not get beyond the gates.

That evening, the Speaker announced she was not "competent" to be an MP and that the seat was again vacant.

Ray Alexander had been a member of parliament for four hours and 15 minutes. Possibly a record, and certainly a potent symbol of Nationalist hegemony.

The dark years of South African communism loomed. The party submerged, remaining, for the most part, a murky underground operation.

In 1964 — a year after the present leader Mr Joe Slovo went into exile — the then leader of the underground Communist Party Johannesburg advocate Mr Bram Fischer QC was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to life imprisonment. He died in jail.

Observers believed this severely weakened the party, but it remained a strong force in the steadily intensifying resistance to apartheid.

In the 1980s, Mr Slovo was credited with the operational strategy of the ANC's armed campaign and was labeled "public enemy number one" by the authorities.

Today, the SACP is very much alive and, contrary to the trend elsewhere in the world, is probably more popular than it has ever been.

It has secured a powerful and influential position in both the ANC and the trade unions and its members are among the most skilled and disciplined in the broad extra-parliamentary movement.

What is clear is that it is still recovering from the harassment it has endured for more than half its 70 years.

One of the chief consequences of this chronicle of suppression is the SACP's obsession with secrecy.

Another, undoubtedly, is a politically enviable capacity for survival.

CUBA IS our second home," Winnie Mandela enthused in Havana on Friday. "We feel we have always belonged here."

Her husband, the ANC president, waxed, if anything, more lyrical. The Cuban revolution, he opined, was "a source of inspiration for all freedom-loving people". For good measure, he then took a swipe at the "vicious imperialist-orchestrated campaign to destroy the (revolution's) impressive gains". Is it any wonder that the US Congress is loath to contribute to the ANC's coffers?

Unlike the majority of the island's population, the couple presumably did not have to queue for basic food-stuffs and simple essentials like soap and matches in the course of their three-day sojourn as Fidel Castro's honoured guests. Nor, in their air-conditioned limousine, would they have had to worry about the strict fuel rationing that has obliged most Cubans to travel by foot or bicycle. Impressive gains, indeed.

If the Mandelas were not struck by the sullen emptiness of the streets as they were shown around old Havana behind a phalanx of plainclothed security men, they may at least have noticed an imposing fortress across the harbour mouth. It is called La Cabana. One can only hope their enthusiasm was based on ignorance of what went on there in the years after Castro seized power in 1959.

Armando Valladares knows. La Cabana is where he was taken in January 1961. He was 23 years old and would spend almost as many years behind its walls and in a variety of concentration camps.

Valladares had had a job in the Ministry of Communications in the early days of the revolution. This was a period, as the SACP's Jeremy Cronin reminds us in the May issue of *Work in Progress*, when Castro was portraying his July 26 movement as a "patriotic front embracing a diversity of forces" with an agenda that was "neither communist nor capitalist".

Castro soon peeled off his democratic mask. Valladares' best friend in the ministry was fired for making anti-Marxist statements. His own offence came shortly thereafter as Castro's propaganda machine was preparing the country for the final shift to Stalinism. Posters sprang up all over the island declaring: "If Fi-

Mandela turns a blind eye to Cuban repression

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30/7/91

SIMON BARBER in Washington

del is a communist, then put me on the list. He's got the right idea." Valladares was asked by his superiors to sign a card bearing this slogan. He refused. Several weeks later, he woke up with the muzzle of a sub-machinegun pressed to his temple.

For Valladares, a young idealist and poet who had welcomed the overthrow of the Batista regime, this was the start of an ordeal which, with respect, makes Mandela's look somewhat mild by comparison and which ended only when France's socialist president Francois Mitterand prevailed on Castro to release him in 1982. One might venture a guess that his book, *Beyond All Hope*, in which he describes what he saw and suffered in the Cuban gulag, was not on the Mandelas' nightstand as they prepared for their latest journey.

Had it been, and were he a truly honourable man, Mandela might perhaps have gazed upon La Cabana and recoiled. He might have heard the screams, the ragged rifle fire and the dry cracks of the coups de grace that echoed across the harbour every evening in the early Sixties as the revolution ate thousands upon thousands of its own in the fortress moat.

Or he might have conjured up Clodomiro Miranda, former commander of Castro's army, his destroyed legs seething with maggots, being dragged to the place of execution and crying, with all the breath left in him, "Down with communism!", before being ripped apart by bullets.

For Valladares such scenes were only the beginning. He was tried, but



□ Mandela and Castro at Cuba's Day of the Revolution celebrations.

unlike Mandela had no benefit of counsel. The sole evidence brought against him was that he had "many connections with priests" and had been to a Catholic school. For this, he was convicted as "an enemy of the revolution" who had committed "crimes of public destruction and sabotage".

The rest of the book is not for the squeamish. Valladares describes how friends and fellow prisoners were reduced to Auschwitz-like ghosts, forcibly submerged in pools of human and animal faeces, smashed to death in forced-labour

fields and quarries; how women were beaten and degraded, men mutilated by having their genitals shot away, or their fingers hacked off with a machete — all in the name of political re-education.

But there was worse even than that. By the early Seventies, Valladares and others who refused to crack found themselves subjected to forms of biological and psychological experimentation matched only by the likes of Josef Mengele.

Assisted by doctors and psychologists from the East bloc, Castro's jailers tried to develop a systematic method of forcing recalcitrants to recant. At a camp called Boniato, a series of tiny "black out" cells were built. In these prisoners would be held for months at a time, forced to lie festering in their own filth while their diet was carefully manipulated to test the effects on the human will of various wasting diseases. At intervals, victims would be hauled out for medical examinations.

This is no fantasy. It has been corroborated by scores of other survivors and is accepted by many of the very same groups — Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, for example — to whom the ANC itself looks to verify its own claims against Pretoria. Furthermore, the obscenity goes on.

Human rights activists inside Cuba, newly released prisoners and the families of those still held — all of whom speak out at considerable risk to themselves — continue to report midnight arrests, torture, beatings and extra-judicial killings. The

society of the Cuban people to build socialism".

Last year, the wife of an imprisoned activist said she had been told by her local committee for the defence of the revolution (entities analogous to the ANC's township defence units) that she would be sent to a psychiatric ward and her child committed to an orphanage unless her husband stopped complaining.

Jose Antonio Sanz got more than a warning. Arrested for selling mangoes, he was killed in police custody and his body taken to a hospital where a pathologist pronounced he had hanged himself. A second physician brought in by the family found that he had in fact died as the result of multiple blows skilfully delivered to avoid marking the corpse. Sounds familiar. doesn't it?

Of the survivors and of the friends and families of the dead, Mandela had this to say last week: "Who are they to call for the observance of human rights by Cuba? They kept quiet for 42 years when human rights were being attacked in SA . . . Who are they to teach us about human rights?"

Politics may be an expedient business but morality is not. Morality means recognising evil wherever it is present, whether it is in the apartheid state, an ANC camp, a township kangaroo court or in the totalitarian hell that is Cuba. But the Mandelas and the ANC would rather turn a blind eye, even on those who have suffered everything they have and more besides.

President F W de Klerk, however much his credibility may have been stained by Inkathagate, has at least made some effort to recognise the wickedness of his government's past. The ANC has not even begun to examine its conscience. Its leaders accept medals from Castro and money and human rights awards from Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. Its rank and file cheers the representative of Iraq's Saddam Hussein, an unrepentant butcher of his own population.

If that is the moral compass the movement sails by, who can trust it when it talks of democracy and a mixed economy and the preservation of individual rights? Castro offered just the same pitch when he took power.

Govt should first quit - callers

Sowetan 30/7/91

THE National Party Government cannot form an interim government alone but "progressive" liberation movements should meet the Government after it had resigned to decide on the issue.

Callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show discussed the issue with DJ Tim Modise yesterday.

Thami Mcerwa of Soweto said an interim government should not

consist of either the government or the liberation movements of a particular country.

"A neutral and impartial party will be nominated to manage the country's affairs while a new constitution is being discussed.

"The Government must resign and as a political party sit down with liberation movements to decide on the new constitution," he

said.

Shandu from Tembisa supported him. He said the all-party conference proposed by the Government would give the "homeland puppets" a say in the issue.

He, however, said organisations like the PAC and Azapo who are not keen on the interim government should give the ANC's call a chance.

Christopher of Soweto said liberation movements



should together with the Government form an interim government and should be voted in by the whole population.

Joe from Tembisa suggested the OAU and United Nations should oversee the transition which would be discussed by the PAC, ANC and Azapo while excluding Inkatha.

Peter from Kagiso said he did not understand why the ANC had to push for an interim government while other liberation movements were having reservations about it.

He suggested they all get together in a consultative conference to reach consensus and work on the finer details of the issue.

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General Ronnie
Barbapapa

Homeland leaders to join front

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of four self-governing and independent homelands yesterday indicated they planned to join the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation in a patriotic front of anti-apartheid groups.

High-ranking officials from Transkei, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele agreed after meeting ANC leaders yesterday that there were "no obstacles" to the formation of a patriotic front between the

ANC and ruling political groups in their territories.

The ANC and PAC called for a patriotic front in April. This was endorsed by Azapo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders and a launch conference will be held in Cape Town next month.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said an "emergency" meeting was called yesterday, mainly to discuss the Inkatha scandal disclosures.

A statement after the meeting condemned the government for "destabilising

homeland governments that they consider to be progressive and anti-apartheid".

The ANC delegation, headed by chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, included deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

The PAC previously opposed the participation of homeland and self-governing territory leaders in the front.

But PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said yesterday the organisation had "no objection to their involvement as long as they turn their backs on the past and agree to calls for an interim government."

Mandela thanks Mexico

MEXICO CITY. — Mr Nelson Mandela thanked Mexico for its support of the ANC and the fight against apartheid yesterday when he arrived in Mexico City for a three-day visit.

He praised Mexico, which has no diplomatic nor economic relations with South Africa, for its "consistent support".

Mr Mandela will meet President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Foreign Minister Mr Fernando Solana and the head of the National Human Rights Commission during his stay.

Throughout his Latin American tour, Mr Mandela has been urging governments not to drop sanctions against South Africa. The dismantling of apartheid laws, he has said, is not the same thing as dismantling apartheid.

Mr Mandela will end his tour in Brazil. — Sapa-AP

Keep party politics and development apart

Bl/day 31/7/91

XOLELA MANGCU

~~2001~~ 11A ~~11A~~

THE roles and functions of many anti-apartheid organisations have had to be redefined in the wake of political changes in SA.

These organisations — including Cosatu and the Kagiso Trust — are transforming themselves from mass protest groups into more development-orientated structures. Their debate has centred largely on the extent to which they can constitute themselves as groups independent of party political affiliation in a less politicised, development orientated civil society.

To what extent can this goal be achieved? It will be extremely difficult. Firstly, in an overpoliticised society such as ours a depoliticised civil society is out of the question. This was recently illustrated on a TV programme on depoliticising the provision of services to townships.

When civic leader Moses Mayekiso described Eskom and RSCs as possible neutral suppliers of services to Soweto he opened himself to criticism from engineering consultant Gordon Sibiyi for being nar-

ive about the political foundations of these institutions. The call for a depoliticised civil society should be tempered by the reality of SA's history as a country based on the most obnoxious of political principles.

The advantages of an apolitical civil society would ideally lie in the ability to dispassionately and equally represent all the various interests of society in the advancement of a common national interest. However, in a society characterised by gross inequalities, ideological detachment is hard to come by.

Secondly, there are loyalties and commitments that have taken years to cultivate. Despite apparent shifts in the relationship between civic associations and overtly political groupings, ideological sympathies will not simply disappear. Leaders are likely to operate consciously or unconsciously according to their ideological predispositions.

Hence the equivocation by civic leaders when the question of neutrality is broached: "At each turn when a major political organisation takes a

position that is closest to the hearts of the people, then the civic association should not apologise for proclaiming its support for that party

....
"It is difficult to say, at this point in time, what the role of the civic would be in a post-apartheid SA because we have projected in the Freedom Charter what sort of SA we want." (Popo Molefe, ANC NEC member and former UDF leader).

This shows Molefe's implicit ideological bias. Can one speak of a political civil society as if blacks in particular were a monolithic political entity? Is this not tantamount to dragging venerable development projects into the minefield that makes up black political life today?

The opportunity costs of pursuing an elusive apolitical civil society will be in the time lost in promoting a culture of tolerance instead. A tol-

erant society is a more workable proposition. This will require visible attempts by political figures to nurture a spirit of solidarity in the community. This is probably a well-worn call, but the fortunes of communities depends on it being heeded.

And the euphoria surrounding civil society also has to be tempered by a realism about what non-governmental or community-based organisations can and cannot achieve in the development field. The advantage of these organisations lies in their proximity to local issues. Local public organisations create the institutional capacity for planning and implementing small-scale activities that make up development.

If development is to become part of the daily routine, then it must consist of ideas, tools and activities that fit into the lives of individuals, families and community groups. Through local public organisations people define needs, organise activities and mobilise resources. This introduces the possibilities for decentralised bottom-up democratic,

pluralistic planning.

Although political sophistication and maturity will be indispensable when dealing with the hidden agendas of government officials, civic leaders should not allow politics to overshadow the technical issues that have to be addressed in tackling development problems such as land and housing. While it may be naive to see an apolitical civil society as achievable, it would be equally naive for civics to make resolution of development problems the exclusive preserve of "comrades" who do not possess the necessary know-how.

Emerging civic leaders should therefore be mature enough to strike the balance between the political and technical aspects of development. The limited professional expertise in the black community should be pooled without expecting these professionals to jump on the bandwagons of political parties.

□ Mangcu is an urban development specialist with the Development Bank of SA. The views expressed are his own.

IFP praise, but PAC and Azapo remain unconvinced

By Jacqueline Myburgh
Paula Fray and Sapa

The Inkatha Freedom Party last night praised the State President for his candour in regard to covert State funding, while the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) said it was convinced the Government was still plotting against its "enemies".

The ANC's National Working Committee met yesterday to

discuss the issue, and will release a statement today.

IFP central committee member Musa Myeni reiterated his party's alarm that some Ministers had clandestinely given money to one of the top officials in the party, but urged all South Africans to put the events of the past two weeks behind them.

He hoped the ANC would also realise the importance of getting negotiations under way. "They also have a lot of worms and skeletons, but if we were to

take them out now, we would never move forward."

The PAC said it continued to view the Government as completely tainted by corruption.

"We do not accept that the SAP and SADF are not heavily implicated in the violence that has swept our country."

It called into question Mr de Klerk's aim to appoint an advisory committee, drawn from the private sector, to assist him with analyses of secret projects.

Azapo president Pandelani

Nefolovhodwe said Mr de Klerk had not distanced himself from the actions of the police and the security forces.

"The fact that Mr de Klerk mentioned the question of review of legislation in respect to the control of secret projects does in fact prove that secret funds were up to this stage not being controlled properly."

He said Azapo did not doubt the Government was still "planning" against what it called "enemies" — including Azapo.

ANC, IFP join in bid to raise cash

Sowetan 31/7/91

By POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will join Government in an initiative that could see large-scale European investment in South Africa in the near future.

Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen will at a one-day conference in Frankfurt, Germany, on October 8, declare "the New South Africa Open for Business."

Reform

The conference is arranged by the London-based Business International (BI) in collaboration with Standard Bank of South Africa.

Business International publicised the conference in the powerful British magazine *The Economist*, and the organisation's Ms Tracy Clarkson yesterday confirmed that it was being held in an attempt to find answers to some of the pertinent questions in the South African political scenario.

The conference is also

on the progressive repeal of European Community and other country's sanctions against Pretoria.

Senior South African business people will also attend the conference,

Clarkson said.

However, before investors can come to South Africa, BI believes that "companies will need to answer to some very difficult questions."



Sibongile Sithole who will represent Orlando West Extension during the Hair Line Miss Soweto 91 pageant at the Standard Bank Arena in Johannesburg on Friday. Sibongile will be among 30 other finalists contesting the prestigious title. Music during the contest will be provided by Dr Vic and the Rasta Rebels.

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