

BLACK POLITICS

1991

SEPT.

OAU money rescues black unity meeting

S1 Times 11/9/91

11A

THE on-off patriotic front conference to seek unity among black liberation movements has been bailed out by a huge financial pledge from the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference, which is being arranged jointly by the ANC, PAC and Azapo, has been postponed twice because of lack of money and preparation.

Yesterday sources close to the organisers said the conference would now proceed later this month or early in October after the OAU pledged about

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

R700 000 towards the costs on Friday.

The organisers say that more money has been pledged by other countries sympathetic to the conference, such as Malaysia, Libya and Indonesia, as well as Western countries such as Canada, the United States and West Germany.

PAC Information and Publicity secretary Barney Desai confirmed the pledges yesterday but refused to give figures.

"I can say, however, that the OAU is giving us substantial material support. It would be undiplomatic to give further details. I can confirm Canada, the US and West Germany are also among our sponsors.

"There is no chance that the conference will be called off. We accept that we were a bit too optimistic with our previous proposed dates and we are still negotiating a mutually acceptable date."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that "logistical problems" were continuing to hamper efforts by the parties to agree on a date.

Although the organisers have consistently blamed the postponement on "logistical reasons" it has emerged that the real problem was funding.

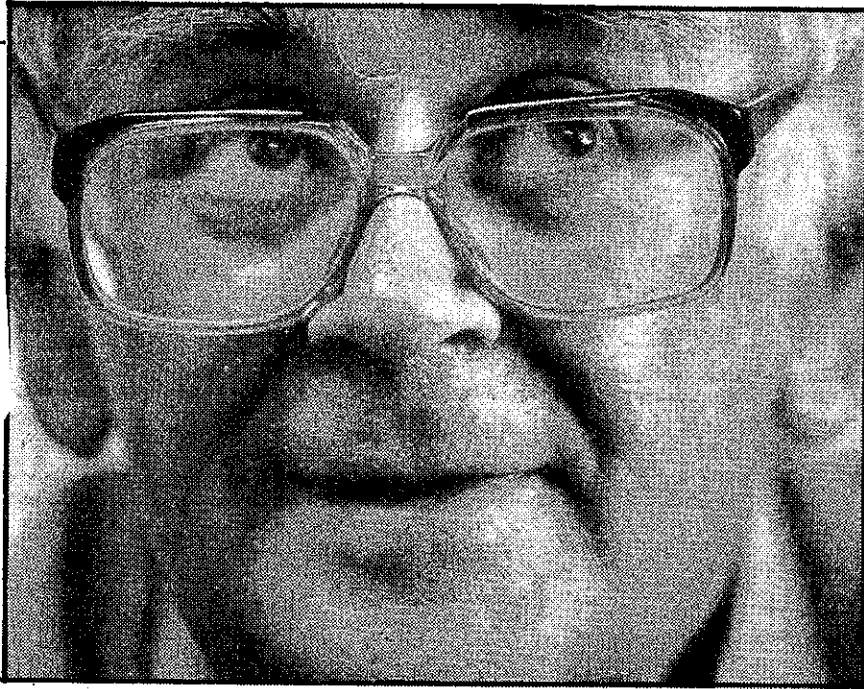
Refused

Although a provisional date of September 20-21 has been set, by this weekend no firm date or venue had been agreed on. Sources say the conference is more likely to take place towards the end of October.

It is also understood that Western countries were reluctant to be seen to sponsor a conference which excluded one of the main black parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Dr Buthelezi has refused to take part in the conference because it was "a ganging-up" of blacks against whites and was, therefore, "the politics of a decade ago".

The ANC/PAC/Azapo conference liaison committee meets at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg this weekend to try to reach consensus on a venue and date.



UNRUFFLED: Joe Slovo, unrepentant socialist

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

ANC to rule on Hani's SACP post

11A
STimes
11/9/91

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC's national executive committee will decide in October whether to release Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani to work full-time for the SACP.

The decision has been made more difficult because of MK's resolution at its conference in Venda that it will not release Mr Hani from his MK post.

Now a compromise is in the offing: Mr Hani moves to the SACP, but retains his links to MK.

However, the release of Mr Hani from his full-time position on the ANC's working committee is still expected to be opposed by some NEC members.

One working committee member said the ANC had to be responsive to its structures first and to its alliance partner second.

Looking

As MK had decided not to release Mr Hani, the ANC could not ignore this sentiment, he said.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo this week said the decision had to be taken by the NEC. Mr Slovo has been working full-time for the ANC for some time, hence the request for Mr Hani.

If the NEC decided it was important to retain the full-time services of Mr Hani, the SACP would not stand in the way, he said.

If this was the case, the SACP would find other people to take up full-time positions in the SACP.

"We are looking around, we will find people," he said.

The SACP would hold its first national conference early in December, Mr Slovo said.

The conference would, for the most part, be open and membership of the SACP would become public for the first time since its banning in 1950, he added.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Marx still points the way, says Slovo

S/Times 11/9/91

JOE SLOVO announced this week that he is fighting bone marrow cancer and says he will not take his illness — or the events in the Soviet Union — lying down.

"I am not dying and I hope to be alive for some time," he said in an interview this week.

Mr Slovo, while reluctant to talk about his health, was keen to express his hopes and confidence for socialism here.

Socialism in SA, said Mr Slovo, was not on the decline, despite recent events in the Soviet Union which have resulted in the restriction of the Communist Party in the country of its birth.

He said that while the SACP would learn from the mistakes in the Soviet Union, events there would not affect the SACP's commitment to socialism in SA.

"It is a vision that will never die. We will find a way of learning from experience to ensure the bringing about of a form of society in which people can live in equality, without poverty and squalor," he said.

EDYTH BULBRING talks to SA Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo before a regional party meeting today to discuss the implications of the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union

11A

"I think we are past the stage where what happens there (in the Soviet Union) is the determinant for what happens elsewhere.

"We have begun to establish ourselves. We are growing ... our popularity has not waned at all."

Mr Slovo said the SACP accepted and endorsed multi-party democracy and the principle of the market.

"We believe one of the key economic failures in the socialist world has been the elimination of the market as a measure of economic viability." The SACP's acceptance of this was not inconsistent with socialism, he said.

Socialism would succeed in SA as it was

the only way to eliminate the gap between rich and poor, to ensure that no person could live off the labour of another and to ensure an egalitarian society, Mr Slovo said.

Would the SACP retain the now widely discredited "communist" name?

"I don't believe a name is all that important. I think if a name is terribly important the one party that ought to change its name is the National Party. It has been responsible for more breaches of human rights than any other party in this country," he said.

The SACP had a proud history and record. Its popularity and support stemmed from its history as a communist party, Mr Slovo said.

The SACP did not intend to move away from Marxism as the party's inspirational ideology, which the SACP had applied to SA's realities, Mr Slovo said.

The mounting bad press communism was receiving would also not affect the SACP's alliance with the ANC.

"The alliance is as strong as it has ever been and until there is a parting of the ways on policy it is going to be there," said Mr Slovo.

The alliance was not a "Catholic marriage" and there was no difference between the SACP and the ANC on fundamental immediate questions. While there were differences on a longer-term perspective, this was not the issue of the day, he said.

Mr Slovo said he was responding well to treatment for his illness. While appearing tired and drained, he said he would not allow his illness to affect his work.

"I'm OK," he said.

ANC denial — 'no prisoners'

AP/19/91 (11A)

By ERIC NAKI

ANC president Nelson Mandela has denied that his organisation is holding prisoners anywhere in the world.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg this week after 16 former exiles met the ANC leadership to exchange views, Mandela said if the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited ANC detention cells in African states, they would find them empty.

"All people who were detained have been released," he said.

One of the 16, Rebeiro de Souza, denied turning against the ANC.

"I never turned against the organisation," he said.

"The ANC has done a lot of injustices against us but we must forget the past and work together."

De Souza said their differences would be resolved within the or-

ganisation itself.

The ANC leadership met the prisoners separately in two groups.

The first group of 11 were those who identified themselves with the organisation and agreed not to make negative statements about the ANC, while the other five continued to speak out publicly about ill-treatment in detention camps.

De Souza had initially also made claims of ill-treatment.

Mandela said differences with the 16 had been "ironed out" and the ANC had undertaken to investigate any complaints of torture, assault or ill-treatment while they had been in ANC cells.

The question of the men's security would be taken up with the government at top level.

"We will instruct our regions countrywide to accept them and reintegrate them into the community," Mandela said.

In another development, another member of the group, Gabri-

el Sethloke, distanced himself and his family from a letter published in *The Star* newspaper on Monday.

The letter was signed by the "Sethloke family" and accused the ANC of arresting Gabriel and labelling him an "enemy agent".

The letter said Sethloke was "suffering from migraine headaches due to their torture which is hidden from our people".

The letter also listed names of people still allegedly being held in Uganda.

Sethloke denied any link to the letter.

Umkonto WeSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said seven of the former prisoners had joined the Inkatha Freedom Party and two others became Askaris.

He said the ANC never admitted ill-treating its prisoners and dismissed reports that he himself ever tortured prisoners.

"I never lifted a hand to any prisoner while in exile," Hani said.



BACK IN THE FOLD . . . former ANC exile Gabriel Sethloke, next to Mandela, distanced himself from a letter critical of the ANC.

■ Pic: SIPHIWE MHLAMBI



FINDLAY

By SEKOLA SELLO

Talks hotting up on constitution

THE government, the ANC and the Democratic Party are moving closer to each other on proposed constitutional guidelines for a new South Africa.

This is despite the ANC's strong criticism of the National Party's proposed constitutional model which was unveiled this week and is expected to be adopted at a special federal congress of the NP in Bloemfontein this week.

The ANC fears the National Party's proposed constitutional guidelines, described as a master plan preceding non-racial rule, are a trap intended to make a future post-apartheid government weak and powerless.

The NP and the DP's proposed guidelines show similarities on a number of important aspects with the ANC's draft "constitutional principles" made public in April.

The differences between the ANC on the one hand and the NP/DP on the other are

narrowing and most could be ironed out when negotiations proper start.

While the NP and DP's constitutional models were thrashed out at party level, the ANC says it wants a constitution which will not be an "ANC document" but one with an input from all political players in the country.

The three parties already share several points of agreement. These are a constitutionally entrenched bill of rights, proportional representation, regular elections, an independent judiciary, universal suffrage, multi-partyism, decentralisation of certain government functions, and a two-tier parliament.

The ANC however says the issue of whether a future parliament should have one or two tiers must be resolved by the broad spectrum of the political

players.

While the three agree on some important issues, there are still many fundamental differences. The ANC opposes federalism while the NP and the DP support it.

The ANC is in favour of a strong, centralised government "to handle national tasks, and strong and effective regional government to deal with the tasks of the region".

ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus says the government's proposals are aimed at creating a future ANC government that will be "weak and powerless to bring about the necessary economic, social or structural changes".

The upshot of all this, says Niehaus, will be the retention of the status quo and white privilege.

A researcher with Wits University's Centre

for Policy Studies, Steve Friedman, says the government, by accepting important principles like universal adult franchise and non-racialism, has made an important shift from previous NP positions.

He agreed however that the NP wanted to form part of the government and protect white privileges.

Friedman says although the ANC is at the moment opposed to the NP's proposal for a multiracial cabinet, some senior ANC members support this as a temporary measure.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier the first post-apartheid government would most likely contain members of all political parties.

Once negotiations get into high gear and serious horsetrading begins,

compromises will be made on both sides and there will be greater convergence of ideas and positions, Friedman says.

Unisa law professor Prof Marinus Wiechers, also a constitutional expert, feels the NP's constitutional proposals create a basis from which a first coalition government could develop.

He said in a newspaper interview this week the NP's proposals constitute a co-operational model and the regional interests the NP wanted to entrench did not mean white domination.

"The new proposals are definitely no longer an apartheid model," he said. The proposals could be used as a basis for a first or interim constitution until a final constitution had been accepted.

A standing committee could revise the constitution every year and submit a final constitution after what could be five years.

The NP's idea of a collective presidency, consisting of three or more people, was a transitional model for a transitional phase, Wiechers said.

DP 1/18
CP news 1/9/91
1/18

Exile fights for women

11A
2558

By SOPHIE TEMA

MOTLALEPULA - known to most South Africans as June Chabaku - returned to South Africa recently from exile with a degree in theology, and as an even stronger advocate of women's rights.

Motlalepula (one who comes with the rain) went to the US in 1976 on an exchange programme and in August of that year won a scholarship to Lancaster Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania.

Since then she has been working with the Presbyterian Church as a missionary to the US. She was one of the first black women in the country to qualify as a priest.

She graduated in May 1979 and came on a visit to South Africa which was rudely interrupted by an unexpected call from the police.

Although she had not booked a ticket, Motlalepula took the next available flight to the US - without notifying her family and with only the clothes she was wearing.

Speaking from her Rockville home, with tears rolling down her cheeks, she related her hasty departure.

"When I got to the counter there was a queue and behind me

stood a man who was obviously booked on the flight. After handing the lady at the counter my airticket she checked on her list and said, 'but you have not been booked on the flight'.

"Just at that moment the man behind me collapsed and the woman at the counter immediately turned her attention to him."

While airport staff were attending to the man, who seemed to have been badly injured by the fall, the passengers were called to go on board the plane.

"I went with the other passengers and after the doors had closed the crew had no alternative but to offer me the seat of the man who could no longer proceed with the journey because he had died while people at the airport tried to revive him.

"When I arrived in America I had nowhere to go and there was no one to meet me. I remembered the psalm of the Israelite women captives in Babylon. How can you sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"

"I sang the Lord's song, and I prayed to him to be my refuge and my help and things worked out positively for me," Chabaku said.

Motlalepula is a Christian and speaks out against all injustices,

even if it is from the pulpit.

She says: "There are many people who have the false notion that to be a Christian is to be pious, sanctimonious, unquestioning.

"In fact, to be a Christian is to continue changing lives and structures of society. If you don't change people and structures, you are sinning."

Although a priest, she also does not overlook her convictions as a woman and recalled what it was like being a woman and black in South Africa.

"I am a woman and part of that global force of people who are despised, deprived, discriminated against, and yet form part of more than half of the world's population.

"The black woman bears the brunt of oppression in South Africa. I am concerned about the rights of women, the rights of children, and just as equally the rights of men. Because there can never be a community, there can never be a family, there can never be true freedom when any sector of humanity is not free.

"The Christian faith liberates women, but we have refused to be liberated," she said.



JUNE CHABAKU ... The Christian faith liberates women but we have refused to be liberated.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Women's peace project still on

By LULAMA LUTI

ALTHOUGH peace initiatives by women from different organisations suffered a setback when the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) pulled out last weekend, the month-long peace festivities planned by the women would go on.

The decision by the ANCWL came a week before the start of events aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation among the different community groupings.

The events will be co-ordinated by the Goodwill Foundation of South Africa.

President of the Inter-denominational Prayer Women's League (IPWL), Masechaba Mabaso - whose organisation will also be taking part - said the last-minute decision by the ANCWL would not hamper the proceedings, scheduled to start today.

Announcing the pull-out last week, ANCWL

president Getrude Shope said the invitation of president FW de Klerk's wife Marike as a guest speaker at the rally - to be held at the FNB stadium near Johannesburg - was a political statement and her organisation would not be part of that process.

Mabaso told City Press that De Klerk had been invited purely because she was a woman and a mother and that the initiative to promote peace would not have served its intended purpose if certain people were excluded.

"She (Marike) is part and parcel of the new South Africa that we are trying to build and her being chosen as a guest speaker was on the basis of her being a mother," said Mabaso.

Appealing to women to heed the call for peace, Mabaso said the need for unity surpassed ideological differences. It was time for South African women across the cultural

and political strata to forget their differences and work together.

"Because many people realise the need to make peace with one another, we have been inundated with calls from many organisations in support of the initiative.

"The whole country yearns for peace and we believe as mothers we can heal the septic wound that's been troubling our society," she said.

Organisations which will take part in the event include the South African Women's Bureau, Inkatha Women's Brigade, the Planned Parenthood Association, Women for South Africa and the IDPWL.

The highlight of the festivities will be a peace rally at the FNB stadium on September 28.

Wives of South African leaders and several leaders' wives from neighbouring countries like Namibia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana are expected to attend.

C/Pres

1/9/91

11A

~~2/9/91~~

Low water: today: 0117 1328; tomorrow: 0234 1515

YESTERDAY'S WATER TEMPERATURES

Sea Point: sea 13; pool 14,5
Newlands pool: closed
Long Street pool: 24

Springbok 15
Upington 14
Windhoek 10
Cape Town (yesterday 2pm) 19

For the latest weather information, ☎ 4 0881 and for advice on wind-speed/direction ☎ 56 1723 (Bloubergstrand) and ☎ 788 8226 (Muizenberg).

Shooting survivor pledges to identify friend's killers

11A
ART 2/9/91

UMTATA. — An ANC dissident whose colleague was gunned down in Umtata last year said he was prepared to identify the killers.

Mr Nicholas Dyasop said in a radio interview yesterday he was prepared to come to Transkei to identify the murderers of Mr Siphon Phungulwa, who died in a hail of bullets in the Ngangelizwe township.

The shooting took place about a week after Mr Dyasop and Mr Phungulwa returned from exile. They were part of the first group of exiled ANC dissidents to return to South Africa and make a scathing attack on some top ANC members after their detention in Lusaka and Angola.

Mr Dyasop said he was prepared to go to Transkei provided the homeland's police could guarantee his safety and that he be accompanied by members of the South African Police.

Transkei CID chief General L R Mankahla said he had already received a faxed message from Mr Dyasop expressing willingness to go to Transkei.

"We shall do everything in our power to see to his safety should he eventually come to Transkei," General Mankahla said.

He declined to comment on other conditions set by Mr Dyasop.

Although several shots were reportedly fired at him, Mr Dyasop was not injured — Sapa.

IFP agrees to talk to ANC

Star 2/9/91.
By Shareen Singh

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central executive committee agreed on Saturday to meet the ANC's national executive before the September 14 National Peace Convention.

The meeting would attempt to thrash out differences and normalise relations between the leadership of both organisations, the IFP said.

The IFP applauded President de Klerk's commitment to continue with the peace process "despite the accusations against him and the IFP" by the ANC.

An end to "killing talk" in political propaganda was fundamental to peace, the IFP said. "Killing talk" included references by the ANC and its allies to the IFP as stooges, puppets, traitors and enemies.

The IFP said it would insist that this type of rhetoric be prohibited by the convention.

A resolution adopted by the

IFP central executive warned other political organisations that the ANC's call for an all-party conference had the sole purpose of achieving its own political objective of establishing an interim government.

In order to expedite the process of change, the IFP resolved to call on President de Klerk to convene a multiparty conference. The IFP would seek consensus on the agenda of this conference through talks between itself, the ANC, NP and other political parties.

In a further resolution the IFP said it was appalled to learn of the Quatro camp atrocities from members who had survived these camps.

The IFP would request a comprehensive statement from the ANC informing South Africans of such camps in more detail rather than just stating that "these things happen and are to be regretted".

ANC comment could not be obtained at the time of going to press.

SACP jettisons the surplus baggage

age

Star 2/9/91 (11A)

THE South African Communist Party, caught in the ebb tide of international communism, is in danger of being left in shallow waters while its rivals ride the high tide to power.

Its reaction, as its draft manifesto shows, is to jettison its excess baggage.

Reading through the 24-page document — which is being circulated among SACP members for discussion before the party's critical annual congress in December — one is struck by the conspicuous absence of all reference to Lenin and Leninism.

The SACP — which describes itself as a Marxist-Leninist party in its 1989 programme "The Path to Power" — is ditching Leninism and its central notion: the dictatorship of proletariat.

"Socialism was meant to go beyond the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, not fall behind them. (It) was meant to greatly extend the frontiers of freedom, to embody and surpass classical civil liberties," the manifesto says.

SACP general-secretary Joe Slovo has played a pivotal role in leading the party's reappraisal of its doctrines and in emphasising its commitment to multiparty democracy (which not so long ago was contemptuously dismissed as bourgeois democracy).

In his seminal discussion paper, *Has Socialism Failed?*, Mr Slovo, writing in December 1989, led the dumping process, throwing Stalinism overboard and rejecting use of Lenin's concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an "anti-Leninist theory advanced in the name of Lenin".

PATRICK LAURENCE analyses the SACP's response to the crisis of communism.



Joe Slovo

But Mr Slovo went further: He hoisted a banner over the SACP proclaiming its commitment to "political pluralism" and declaring that it would seek to win the majority to its side in a "democratic contest for power".

In it he quoted Rosa Luxemburg's rejoinder to Lenin: "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, however numerous they may be, is not freedom at all."

Emphasised

Mr Slovo's commitment to multiparty democracy can be likened to the raising of a sail; the SACP hopes it will catch the breeze and carry the party out of the backwaters.

Mr Slovo's adjustments to SACP doctrine were re-emphasised at a seminar in New York in October 1990. There he presaged the return to Marxist roots — and the con-

comitant rejection of the abuse of power and the pollution of Marxist doctrine — which informs much of the SACP's draft manifesto.

Of the single-party state, he said: "(It) has virtually no pedigree or even mention in the classics of Marxism." The single-party regimes of Eastern Europe were, he reckoned, dictatorships.

What South Africa is witnessing is the emergence of a new variety of Afro-communism or Afro-Communism 2, with the SACP as its flagship.

Afro-communism 1, characterised by the old SACP — described by its political foes as one of the most staunchly Stalinist parties in the world — and the now-defunct Marxist-Leninist parties of Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia (whose failures are alluded to in the SACP draft manifesto as "artificial leaps into collectivism").

But Afro-communism 2, of which Mr Slovo and his comrades are pioneers, is much more closely modelled on Euro-communism, which emerged in Europe and which co-exists with rival forces seeking the support of the working class.

But, as the SACP drifts around waiting for the tide to change or for a wind to carry it into deeper waters, it has to sustain the morale of its members. There is a danger that many will jump ship.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has lost about a fifth of its 20 million members since the mid-1980s, and there are signs that desertion may become a problem in South Africa.

A highly placed member of the SACP has remarked to *The Star* that some members of the party have already begun to purge themselves.

Mystique

He was referring to members of the party who have either allowed their membership to lapse or who have positively dissociated themselves from the party. He has in mind former party stalwarts Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Aziz Pahad, all members of the ANC's national executive and thus of key importance to the SACP.

Add to that development another factor: some SACP members joined the party when its mystique was high and it was an honour to be asked to join; now, however, with the tide running against communism, there is a palpable diminution in their zeal.

But, the SACP draft manifesto makes clear, the situa-

tion is not entirely bleak: in South Africa it is capitalism, not socialism, that is in crisis. The manifesto delineates key elements of the crisis:

- Gross inequality. "The richest 5 percent of the population own 88 percent of all personal wealth."
- Economic stagnation and decline. "In the course of 1980s the population grew faster than the economy" and "average income fell about 1.7 percent a year."
- The stranglehold of monopolies. "By the mid-1980s 2.7 percent of enterprises controlled over 50 percent of our country's total turnover."
- Housing and education. "More African people now live in squatter camps than the total white population of our country... There are 3 million African children out of school and poverty forces 660 000 to quit school every year."

Extrapolating from these points, the manifesto says: "The capitalist class and its allies hope to reform the character of bourgeois rule in our country, the better to safeguard as much of the existing privileges as possible."

But, while it sees opportunities for itself in the crisis, the SACP has no intention of taking an "artificial leap into collectivism."

Its immediate objective is to work with its allies in the tripartite alliance — the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions — for the "national democratic transformation" of South Africa into a united non-racial, democratic and non-sexist country.

Nowhere is there a hint that the SACP should extract itself from the ANC stand as an independent force. □

ANC October deadline for Hani

PIETERSBURG. — The ANC NEC will decide in October whether Mr Chris Hani will leave the organisation and work full-time for the South African Communist Party. (11A) CT 2/9/91

Mr Hani said in an interview on Saturday if the ANC decided it was important to retain him full-time, the SACP would not stand in its way. — Sapa

Botha better than De Klerk - Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela says former State President PW Botha would have introduced more far-reaching changes and reforms than FW de Klerk.

Addressing a R150-a-head dinner of businessmen and dignitaries in Pietersburg on Saturday night, Mandela said when he met Botha for the first time, the latter was "a paragon of courtesy".

"If you were not a South African and did not know what was happening and you came into the room, you could not tell who was State President and who was prisoner," Mandela said to laughter from the audience.

Mandela said Botha's attitude when they met had surprised him because "the finger-wagging" President had first insisted that Mandela denounce violence, then that he would settle in the Trans-

Sowetan 2/9/91
By MATHATHA TSEDU

kei when released and later that he should denounce the Communist Party.

"I told him that he should not try to tell me how to fight him. When he accepted to meet me, I thought the meeting would be difficult for me."

Cheap

Mandela said it was a pity that Botha's career had been at its end when they met because "I sincerely believe that Botha would have brought more far-reaching changes than have been brought by De Klerk".

Mandela said De Klerk subscribed to the belief that black lives were cheap. He said he had called for the release of the three hunger-striking rightwingers because "these misguided

people say they killed on instruction and command of the police and army intelligence.

"What we are saying is

these people have information that could help even De Klerk if he is serious about a clean administration.

"Let them come out and say who in the police and army ranks authorised the killing. De Klerk is refusing."

Mandela said the ANC was committed to nationalising mines, banks and "monopoly industry". Those who disagreed

with the intention should indicate how the historical imbalance of the haves and have-nots could be redressed.

Date of patriotic front meeting still uncertain

THE much-delayed patriotic front conference would probably take place in late September or early October, ANC and PAC sources said at the weekend.

The conference, which will bring together the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu and other political movements, was initially scheduled to take place last week, but has since been put off twice.

ANC and PAC spokesmen at the weekend denied that the postponements were due to political differences between the

DARIUS SANAI

organisations involved. *B 10 am 2/9/91.*

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the parties were faced with an "administrative and logistical problem of co-ordinating dates with each other".

A senior PAC source said finding a suitable and available hall and hotel accommodation for the thousands of delegates was a problem.

Future rulers face very heavy burden

Soufan 2/9/91
A VISITING Israeli professor has warned that the majority of blacks will not be satisfied by a mere transfer of power.

At a two-day conference on "Conflicts and Negotiations" which ended on Friday, Professor Mottie Tamarkin of the University of Tel Aviv said that the masses would expect a future government to fulfil aspirations for material well-being, for freedom and for dignity.

The conference was organised by the Herbert Quandt Foundation of Germany and the Institute of Foreign and Comparative Law at the University of South Africa.

"Like their Zimbabwean counterparts, the black masses in South Africa did not rise and fight simply for the fulfilment of racial or national destiny," Tamarkin said.

"They were politicised and mobilised for the struggle through the exploitation, deprivation, oppression and indignities they have suffered under the apartheid regime."

Speakers at the conference supported peaceful negotiations as the only way of resolving the crisis in this country.

Tamarkin asked if the ANC had a viable alternative to a negotiated compromise. The world community of today, Tamarkin warned, would not subscribe to a strategy of mass mobilisation geared to bringing down the Government.

"But the greatest hope is perhaps that the ANC leadership must know as well that this alternative is simply too ghastly to contemplate," he said.

ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma, one of the speakers at the conference, said

By MONK



NKOMO

the outcome of negotiation should be a democratic order under a constitution that guarantees the rule of law and individual rights and freedoms.

"The ANC hopes that the outcome of the process of negotiation should be a new constitution which will underpin the envisaged constitutional and political order," he said.

"The new order, which will be predicated upon the fact that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, should guarantee that all South Africans, without regard to race, colour, sex, creed or origin, their fundamental human rights and basics freedoms."

Zuma reiterated the ANC's call for an interim government and a constitutional assembly, both of which he hoped would be agreed upon at an all-party congress.

Zuma, who conceded that the upsurge of violence in the country had complicated the negotiation process, suggested setting up a constitutional court to

ensure proper administration of justice.

"I urge and invite political organisations to join us in a broad discussion and search for democratic solutions," Zuma said.

"The challenge facing us all now is to build a democratic, constitutional, political, social and economic order. Together, let us grapple with it."

Another speaker, Mr Sean Cleary, managing director of Strategic Concepts (Pty) Ltd, said participants in negotiations should represent as wide a spectrum of citizens as possible.

"The Government, responsive to a widely perceived need, ought properly to create an opportunity and facilitate the provision of a forum for such negotiations, but ought not itself to participate in them.

"It cannot both lobby and rule nor advocate a case and simultaneously be in a position to decide on it," Cleary said.

The challenge in South Africa, he added, was to find ways of achieving national unity, purpose and loyalty in the prevailing cultural diversity.

"Language, culture and ancestry would remain important, but they alone could not build an inclusive and successful nation.

"On the other hand, any attempt to trample roughshod over the identity of any of the population in an attempt to force such groups to subsume their identities in a national amalgam, seems doomed to failure," Cleary said.

The fact that a peace accord had been successfully negotiated, albeit not yet finalised and signed by all interested parties, had profound implications for constitutional negotiations, said Cleary.

11A
Tamarkin warned South African leaders to look back and learn the lessons from the tragic mistakes and failures of a number of countries in Africa.

"A tremendous responsibility rests on the shoulders of the negotiating parties.

"They should bear in mind that whereas a negotiated settlement is a short-term objective, the resolution of the conflict is a long, open-ended process."

"It has to be long and gradual because South Africa does not possess the resources for a swift resolution.

"South Africa is not only poor in economic resources. Dignity and freedom are also scarce. The latter flow from the former."

Tamarkin added: "There is no dignity in abject, degenerating poverty and there is no state, unable to provide society with minimal material well-being, which can afford to grant them the freedom they desire".

This was the season for the pragmatists, for the political artists who were sensitive not only to the deep, genuine desires of the people, but also the limits of their power, he said.

"A new South Africa that will be able to improve the lot of the common people can only be built from the available economic, human, social and political building materials.

"A new South Africa that will be built on the basis of a new grand design will also be a new grand disaster."

If politics in general, and South African politics in particular, was the art of the possible, Tamarkin said, one could find sufficient ground or optimism.

"However," he said, "since it is not necessarily so, judgment has to be reserved."

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

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DP outlines plan for public service

Sowetan 2/9/91
THE Democratic Party has proposed the integration of structures of the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress into the public service.

In proposals it presented at the weekend, the DP also proposed the appointment of a "council of leaders" to advise President FW de Klerk while negotiations are under way.

It suggested the "council of leaders", comprising leaders of major political parties, be appointed by an all-party conference.

To preserve constitutional and legal continuity of government, the president should continue to exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution.

The president should act on the advice of the council in the manner that he does on the advice of the Cabinet.

The DP also proposes that each Minister acts on the advice of a multiparty Cabinet committee. - *Political Correspondent.*

SHOULD trade union movements officials hold leadership positions in political organisations?

If so, how will they manage to perform their duties in both organisations?

The answers to these questions were provided by two prominent trade union leaders during a debate organised by the South African Institute of Race Relations last week.

The debate, titled "Union Officials in Political Office - Cat Among The Pigeons?", produced interesting arguments on the subject.

Mr Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, president of the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal and chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association, and Mr Rob Lagrange, Transvaal regional secretary of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, shared their experience on the subject with about 200 members of the public who attended the debate.

Oppression

The discussions were mainly focussed on the feasibility of Cosatu officials holding office in political organisations.

This topic has caused much debate within Cosatu circles of late.

During Cosatu's national congress, workers gave their leaders the go-ahead to assume leadership positions in political organisations if "that meant work-

When two hats are better than one

South African 2/9/91



IKE MOTSAPI

By

He said: "When I was approached a couple of months ago to present this view on the two hats debate there was a lot more life in the issue than there may be now.

"But we believe the issue is not yet 'old hat' and is likely to develop new life as the political terrain continues.

"In practice it would appear this principle will increasingly be implemented.

"We have seen the recent resignations of comrades Cyril Ramaphosa and Sydney Mafumadi to take up full-time positions in the ANC.

Problems

"Certainly in relation to holding dual senior positions in the ANC and Cosatu, policy is likely to be strengthened.

"It remains to be seen what will happen when elections are held at the SACP conference in December.

"With practical examples of the difficulties of wearing two hats in senior positions before us, the debate was removed from the realm of abstraction

and now rooted in reality.

"This argument confronts the question of dual leadership with the issue of dual membership of organisations," he said.

Lagrange said it was only at the level of prominent leadership positions where problems of dual accountability "arise in a very public manner that one leadership hat should be chosen."

Racism

He said no restriction on individual's choice of political affiliations was suggested.

"What is particularly disappointing about the progress in the two hat debate is that the practical implications of acknowledging the structural independence of the alliance partners have not been followed through in addressing the dual leadership issue.

"The two issues are really part and parcel of the same debate," Lagrange added.

Mayekiso said: "Firstly we must be reminded of the fact that in this struggle for power to fight for a united, non-racial, non-

exist, democratic South Africa, which will get rid of racism and apartheid, we are all fighting from the premise that all should have food, shelter, protection and freedom through organs such as trade unions, civic organisations, political organisations and other political organisations which I regard as organs of civil society and of social movement."

He said because of that conviction he believed that those who are given the task of serving in leadership of many organisations that are working towards the same goal, should avail themselves and serve in them "as long as it is not double or multiple fulltime positions".

"As long as when carrying out the work of say Cosatu or representing Cosatu or any other organ mentioned, one's work is within the mandate of the body one is representing and the work is performed well there is no problem," Mayekiso added.

He said: "This ap-

proach is further encouraged by the fact that the trade unions, especially in South Africa at this stage, are the most experienced leadership of the liberation movement in the terrain of negotiations.

"The other important notion is that since there is an overlap of membership and since the leaders, vice versa, believe that the programmes and policies of all these organisations are the ones which will liberate the masses, it is

difficult then to put up artificial blocks.

"We believe the ANC must be biased to the majority of people, the working class, the poor and must carry out programmes and policies to fulfil the aspirations and needs mandated by them from the grassroots levels.

"The ANC can do this if it has the majority of its leadership from the working leaders," he argued.

Mayekiso warned people not to confuse trade unions with political parties.

"The absurd notion come from people who think that the trade unions can be unions and also be political parties and liberate South Africa.

"This is fallaciously dangerous and misleading because it is a dream that will never be fulfilled," he said.

The discussions were mainly focussed on the feasibility of Cosatu officials holding office in political organisations. This topic has caused much debate within Cosatu circles of late.

"As long as when carrying out the work of say Cosatu or representing Cosatu or any other organ mentioned, one's work is within the mandate of the body one is representing and the work is performed well there is no problem."

A long wait for Angela Davis to visit S Africa

BLACK American political activist Professor Angela Davis arrived in South Africa on Friday, saying she could never have imagined being in this country.

She is a guest of the ANC Women's League, the South African Communist Party and the Institute for Black Research.

Soon after her arrival, Davis said: "A few years ago I could never have imagined being here. All my political life we vowed we would not visit until South Africa was free."

On the question of

violence, she said: "I am in favour of peaceful struggle wherever possible. But I understand it is absolutely necessary when a people need to counter a military force through violent means."

Davis is to visit Durban, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth during her two-week stay.

Associated with black militants and the Black Panther Party, Davis was acquitted in 1972 of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges.

She is now a professor at San Francisco State University. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*



Angela Davis addressing guests at a welcoming party at ANC leader Nelson Mandela's home.

Inkatha to meet ANC

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee resolved at the weekend to meet the ANC's national executive before the national peace convention on September 14.

The decision to meet the ANC followed a message by telephone from the ANC on Friday confirming the ANC national executive committee's willingness to meet the IFP central committee to normalise relations.

Sowetan 2/9/91
"In the belief that normalised relations between the ANC NEC and the IFP CC will be crucial to the peace process, we are therefore of the opinion that the leadership of both parties should meet before the national peace convention on September 14 in an attempt to resolve outstanding matters on a bilateral basis," the IFP said.

Another resolution passed at the meeting called on President FW de Klerk to call a multiparty conference immediately,

in order to maintain the "momentum of change".

The IFP also called on all parties to "recognise that there is extreme danger in the ANC calling for an all-party conference in order to achieve its own party political objective of establishing an interim government".

However, the IFP said it would welcome a "pre-multiparty conference" between itself, the ANC and the National Party in order to discuss an agenda.



FW DE KLERK

On the funding issue the IFP said it had been unaware that the Government had funded two Inkatha rallies. - Sapa.

Botha better than De Klerk - Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela says former State President PW Botha would have introduced more far-reaching changes and reforms than FW de Klerk.

Addressing a R150-a-head dinner of businessmen and dignitaries in Pietersburg on Saturday night, Mandela said when he met Botha for the first time, the latter was "a paragon of courtesy".

"If you were not a South African and did not know what was happening and you came into the room, you could not tell who was State President and who was prisoner," Mandela said to laughter from the audience.

Mandela said Botha's attitude when they met had surprised him because "the finger-wagging" President had first insisted that Mandela denounce violence, then that he would settle in the Trans-

Sowetan 2/9/91
By MATHATHA
TSEDU

kei when released and later that he should denounce the Communist Party.

"I told him that he should not try to tell me how to fight him. When he accepted to meet me, I thought the meeting would be difficult for me."

Cheap

Mandela said it was a pity that Botha's career had been at its end when they met because "I sincerely believe that Botha would have brought more far-reaching changes than have been brought by De Klerk".

Mandela said De Klerk subscribed to the belief that black lives were cheap. He said he had called for the release of the three hunger-striking rightwingers because "these misguided"

people say they killed on instruction and command of the police and army intelligence.

"What we are saying is

these people have information that could help even De Klerk if he is serious about a clean administration.

"Let them come out and say who in the police and army ranks authorised the killing. De Klerk is refusing."

Mandela said the ANC was committed to nationalising mines, banks and "monopoly industry".

Those who disagreed

with the intention should indicate how the historical imbalance of the haves and have-nots could be redressed.

Winnie, 13 others
charged with ⁽¹¹⁾
resisting arrest ^{ARC 3/8/41}

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela and 13 co-accused have appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on charges of obstructing traffic and resisting arrest at a protest march on May 22.

Mrs Mandela and more than 200 ANC Women's League members were arrested after allegedly marching to John Vorster Square to show solidarity with jailed hunger strikers.

After a brief court appearance, Mrs Mandela was arrested again later that day while protesting on the corner of Rissik and Market streets.

Her case has been postponed to October 29 for trial.

'ANC, IFP unlikely to meet'

Star 3/9/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

No meeting was likely to be held between the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee and the ANC national executive committee before the September 14 National Peace Convention, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

That would be the first time the two organisations were likely to have direct contact.

He was responding to the IFP central committee's resolution in Ulundi on Saturday recommending a meeting with the ANC leadership before September 14 so that relations between the two organisations could be normalised.

11A
IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos told The Star yesterday that the ANC had committed itself to a meeting with the IFP central committee at a time when Alfred Nzo was still the organisation's general secretary.

She said it was not until last Friday that the ANC had telephoned the IFP to renew its commitment to that meeting.

The IFP leadership, Mrs Vos said, had merely acknowledged receipt of the message from the ANC and suggested that the meeting be held before the National Peace Convention.

When told of Mr Niehaus's response, she said the IFP would "wait to hear officially from the NEC in this regard".

SACP slates party ban in the USSR

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Star 3/9/91.

Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party has condemned as an erosion of democracy the banning of the Communist Party in some Soviet republics.

In a statement yesterday, the SACP challenged South African leaders who had condemned last month's abortive coup to denounce the suppression of the Soviet Communist Party.

Developments in the Soviet Union were discussed at a meeting of the SACP's Internal Leadership Group at the weekend, which focused on preparations for the party's annual congress in Soweto in December.

The SACP reiterated that it had a key role to play to "defend" socialism, and said it remained the most organised force to guarantee a democratic socialist system in SA.

The gentle freedom fighter

Star 3/9/91.

11A

A stranger meeting Clarence Mlamli Makwetu for the first time would never guess that he is the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, the most vocally radical of South Africa's opposition organisations.

Mr Makwetu is a quietly spoken man with a gentle, almost self-effacing manner. His demeanour and his sartorial tastes — he likes well-cut Western-style suits — suggest conservatism rather than radicalism, a black Tory rather than a black Jacobin.

But Mr Makwetu, who succeeded Zephania "The Lion of Azania" Mthopeng as president of the PAC, is a man of great determination. One of the original leaders of the PAC at its formation in 1958-59, Mr Makwetu has been jailed several times in his political career.

A distant relative of Nelson Mandela's — he and Mr Mandela are both related to the former Transkei leader, Kaiser Matanzima — Mr Makwetu, aged 63, has presided over the PAC since last December.

Two interrelated and important developments have taken place under his leadership: The PAC has held talks with the Azanian People's Organisation and the African

National Congress and forged closer working ties with both.

It is consistent with an objective which is central to Mr Makwetu's and the PAC's immediate political agenda: The formation of a patriotic front of all "liberation" forces. It is congruent, too, with the PAC's maxim: "Peace among the Africans, War against the enemy".

Speaking in the PAC's Johannesburg office, Mr Makwetu identifies the common points which emerged between the PAC and the Azapo during their recent talks. They concur on the need to form a patriotic front, to hold a nonracial election for a constituent assembly and to establish a transitional authority.

The formation of a patriotic front will advance the quest for liberation by uniting the major liberation organisations around a minimum set of demands. One demand will be the election of a constituent assembly to debate and draft a new constitution for South Africa.

While the PAC, Azapo and the ANC agree that the task of drawing up a new constitution should be entrusted to a constituent assembly, the PAC and Azapo support the notion of a "transitional

authority" rather than the ANC's call for an interim government.

Mr Makwetu explains the difference between transitional authority and interim government: The responsibilities of a transitional authority will be limited to organising elections for a constituent assembly and to ensuring that they will be free and fair, whereas the responsibilities of an interim government will be far wider.

The crucial difference, the PAC contends, is that the "liberation forces" will not become "co-managers of apartheid" under the transitional authority arrangement. The same, the PAC argues, cannot be said of the ANC's interim government idea.

One of the reasons for forming a patriotic front is to provide a forum where these differences can be resolved and a common platform hammered out.

Mr Makwetu remains hopeful that the postponed patriotic front conference — it was due to have taken place in a few days' time — will be held within a month. The causes of the delay are logistical and financial, not ideological, he says.

The PAC, while seeking maximum unity between "liberation

forces", is not equidistant from Azapo and the ANC. "Azapo is closer to us," Mr Makwetu says. There are, however, differences between the Azapo and the PAC.

Azapo's emphasis is on black solidarity whereas, he says, the PAC's is on the colour-blind concept of Africanism. The PAC's philosophy of Africanism, he adds, extends beyond the "aborigines" to all those people who are "prepared to abide by the rule of the majority".

Turning to differences with the ANC, Mr Makwetu focuses on the land issue: The PAC remains unhappy with the Freedom Charter which states that the land belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

"We believe that we have been robbed of our land," he says. "It should be restored to the original owners. At the moment nearly all the land belongs to whites."

South Africa's aborigines have been dispossessed by white settlers, he reckons. His statement appears to contradict his earlier insistence that the PAC's philosophy of Africanism is colour-blind. He denies that there is an inconsistency.

Nearly all the whites who own the land are not Africans, not because their skins are white but be-

cause they are not prepared to accept the black majority as their brothers in Africa.

Asked about white communists in the ANC — whom the ANC has long praised for their early acknowledgement of the right of blacks to equality and their willingness to fight and die for it — Mr Makwetu replies: "Our main worry is that they seem to use the mother body to carry them ... We would like to see them stand on their own."

The PAC has not raised the communist issue with the ANC during recent discussions, he says. But Mr Makwetu, who was a prisoner on Robben Island with Mr Mandela, recalls discussing it with the ANC leader in prison. "We raised it on the island but he said it was a non-negotiable. So it ended there."

The PAC and Azapo have so far rejected all overtures from the De Klerk administration to come to the negotiating table. They have not even engaged in "talks about talks". But, in a significant admission, Mr Makwetu acknowledges that the PAC's stance may change after the patriotic front conference.

"We were never opposed to negotiations in principle," he says.

"There is nothing stopping us from talking to the regime. But it is a national issue, not a private issue between the PAC and the present government. That is why we are clamouring for the patriotic front."

The issue of negotiations will be discussed at length at the patriotic front conference, he adds. "If the regime is prepared to consider

the question of a constituent assembly, then we are prepared to sit down with it and look at the modalities of establishing one."

Elections for a constituent assembly will in all probability bring the PAC into direct competition with the ANC. Mr Makwetu admits that the PAC has very little money compared to the ANC — "We have absolutely nothing"

— but he is hopeful that it will do well.

The PAC, Mr Makwetu believes, can regain the initiative it held for a few months before and after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960. "Nobody can say it is impossible. In 1960 we didn't have a single branch in the Free State. We had

only one in the Transkei and six in the Cape. Today we have numerous branches in all these areas ... We remain optimistic that we will win the battle." □

Winnie, 13 ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ others in court

CT 31/2/51
JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela and 13 co-accused appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of obstructing traffic and resisting arrest during a protest march on May 22.

Mrs Mandela and more than 200 African National Congress Women's League members were arrested after marching to John Vorster Square to show solidarity with jailed hunger strikers. She made a brief court appearance immediately.

She was arrested again later that day while protesting on the corner of Rissik and Market Streets, once again in support of the strikers.

The case has been postponed to October 29 for trial. — Sapa

PAC to ^(11A)
outline
policy

Sowetan 3/9/91

By XOLANI
MAKWEDINI

THE Pan Africanist Congress will host a dinner on September 10 - not on September 1 as reported yesterday - at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg to explain its economic policy.

PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and chief economist Mr Siphoshe Shabalala will speak at the dinner.

Those interested in attending the occasion can make bookings through Mr Bonginkosi Mhlanga at (011) 836-0407/0442.

ANC to press FW for reprieve

We were state agents, trio tells Mandela

11A
B/Dam
3/9/91

ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to urge President F W de Klerk today to grant indemnity to three right-wing hunger strikers who yesterday told him state intelligence units had instructed them to commit acts of terror.

After meeting the prisoners briefly in Pretoria's HF Verwoerd Hospital, Mandela said he had told them the ANC would do everything in its power to have them indemnified.

He said the three had told him they had important information implicating themselves and others in Military Intelligence (MI) and the National Intelligence Service (NIS) operations.

MI and the NIS had apparently instructed them to commit "some of their heinous crimes", Mandela said. Orde Boerevolk chief of staff Leonard Veenendal confirmed yesterday that Henry Martin had been a member of MI and that Adrian Maritz had worked for the NIS.



● CORNELIUS

JONATHON REES

Mandela said the ANC was gravely concerned about their plight.

Orde Boerevolk members Martin, 49, Maritz, 43, and Lood van Schalkwyk, 53, are awaiting trial on charges of murder and attempted murder and have vowed to starve to death if not indemnified.

Mandela said the hunger strikers had recognised him and been excited by his visit. Their lawyer Wim Cornelius said that after struggling to wake Martin from a stupor, the prisoner had held Mandela's hand throughout their conversation, clasped his jacket to pull him closer and told him he was a gentleman.

Cornelius described the visit as the most humanitarian gesture he had seen.

Mandela said state involvement in right-wing acts had to be exposed, adding that the hunger strikers had "very valuable information".

The Justice Department said last night the men would not have to be indemnified for them to give evidence before the proposed Commission on Public Violence. They could ask to give evidence to the commission if their information was not connected with their court case. Such evidence could not be used against them.

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SACP slams party suspension

CT 3/9/91

THE suspension of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an erosion of democratic principles and should be condemned in the strongest terms, the South African Communist Party said yesterday.

It also reaffirmed its position that the attempted coup in the Soviet Union was unconstitutional.

In a statement issued after a meeting of its internal leadership group over the weekend, it said it believed that at the heart of the crisis in the Soviet Union had been a "parting of ways between democ-

racy and socialism.

"This has largely affected democratic activity there.

"Mikhail Gorbachev tried to democratise society without democratising the tools with which to achieve that.

"Because the process was also top-down it alienated the masses. The working people, in particular, were not given enough democratic scope as independent actors.

"It is a further erosion of the democratic principle that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been suspended and indeed banned in some republics.

"We condemn this in the strongest terms and challenge those in our country who raised their voices the loudest in condemnation of the coup to do likewise now against the suppression of the CPSU.

"In this crisis, our people, in declaring their solidarity, should re-

member the contribution to our revolution that the comrades of the CPSU and the people of the Soviet Union made."

The SACP had a key role to defend socialism and it remained "the most organised force to guarantee a democratic socialist system for South Africa."

The leadership group had considered preparations for the party's congress, which will take place in the first week of December in

Soweto.

It had also discussed the draft peace accord and "again committed ourselves to the search for lasting peace in our motherland, giving our representatives to the peace initiative the necessary mandate to help the process along until it reaches fruition.

"Within our ranks, the democratic principle was once more reaffirmed as our guiding light."

It now had an organising committee which was working on a programme to accelerate party building and reports received at the meeting indicated steady growth of the party, the SACP said.

11A 130/11 27 319191

ANC slams govt's R1bn plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's plan to allocate R1 billion for socio-economic development was criticised by the ANC yesterday because it was drawn up without consultation with the people it was supposed to help.

A statement from the organisation here said the plan was "motivated by good intentions". However, it was a "unilateral attempt by the government to decide what is best for the people without any meaningful consultation or participation".

The ANC said it believed the govern-

ment was going to use the money to "bolster unrepresentative black and white local authorities".

The ANC statement echoed earlier criticism by Cosatu that the plan would aid "discredited" local authorities.

The government was also accused of trying to "throw money at the problem" without a "well-thought-out strategic plan for development drawn up through a democratic process".

"This ad hoc allocation of R1bn will fast evaporate because it is not part of such a

rationally planned process. It will not make a meaningful impact on the existing socio-economic crisis."

The ANC said the initiative should have been discussed with communities that are supposed to benefit as this would increase their capacity to do things for themselves.

"This initiative is another top-down process of development that sees its main task as delivering a product to the people, and undermines communities rather than empowers them," the ANC said. — Sapa

Facing the odds

Sowetan 3/9/91 (118)

Chabaku shows full devotion to cause



MOTLALEPULA CHABAKU

IF THERE is a course to be carried out and Motlalepula Chabaku agrees with its principles, be sure of her full involvement and total devotion to it even when the odds are stacked against her.

Fifteen years of exile and first-hand accounts of historic events that stand out in the black political struggle tell of this former Soweto schoolteacher and community worker's commitment to the fight for black liberation.

Chabaku was one of the organisers of the celebrated march that put women on South Africa's political calendar and the boycott that saw the discontinuation of tramlines in Johannesburg.

She was present at the two-day Kliptown conference where the Freedom Charter, for which she collected signatures, was adopted and she remembers vividly the day at the Orlando Communal Hall that marked the split of the ANC and the formation of the PAC.

"My objective is to encourage blacks, especially women, to claim their rightful places in the world and never let anything stop them from what they want to be," Chabaku said.

"I will always strive for equal opportunities, among men and women and people of different races.

"I personally have never aspired to be equal to men. They are not my standard because like me, society does not allow them to be human enough.

By SIZA KOOMA

Born in Western Township and now based in North Carolina, United States of America, where she works as a church minister, Chabaku's life has been characterised by what other people can call rebellion.

She and a group of other teachers formed a private school in 1955 in protest against the introduction of Bantu Education.

She abandoned the teaching profession when the department refused to recognise two diplomas she had obtained from a British university.

"A white woman who had obtained one diploma in the same course, speech and drama, was given a raise when she came back. They would not recognise my achievement because I was black," she said.

While the teaching profession was still lamenting her departure she was making strides in the Johannesburg City Council and revolutionising local youth clubs.

She takes credit for fostering ethnic pride in the clubs by introducing other ethnic dances at a time when Zulu traditional dance was the only dance taught.

Ethically proud

"At that time blacks were becoming ethnically proud and nationally conscious.

"We were copying African styles of dress. German print and traditional Xhosa outfits were popular among dressmakers.

Chabaku left the country in 1976 on a ministry scholarship to the United States of America. Why ministry?

"I used to challenge churches and ministers on their stance towards the situation in the country. I was concerned that religion was used to convince people about injustice.

"They were made to hope for a world to come instead of being taught how to improve the present one. The scholarship was meant to help me acquire ministerial background," she said.

"I never gave up the struggle, I believe that people can never change their commitment but they can change their strategies as change demands.

"I came back to make a personal assessment of the situation and decide whether I would be effective inside the country where my roots are or outside where I would be able to counteract the propaganda and provide the latest information about the struggle in South Africa," the one time national secretary of the ANC Women's League under Lillian Ngoyi, said

Chabaku now lives in North Carolina where she serves three United Methodist Churches. She holds three degrees, one in divinity and two in education, all obtained in the States.

She describes herself as a mission interpreter and believes that the church has avoided real issues in interpreting the Bible.

Botswana Civil Aviation Minister Rowan Cronje said yesterday it would not have been unusual for a Ugandan transport plane to have loaded goods at Mmabatho Airport. But he was unable to confirm whether a Boeing 707 bound for Eastern Europe had in fact landed at the airport in the past two weeks.

SACP hits at Soviet move

TIM COHEN

THE SACP yesterday called on SA groups that voiced anger at the recent Soviet coup attempt to also condemn the subsequent suppression of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. *3/19/91*

Following a meeting of the SACP internal leadership group at the weekend, the party criticised President Mikhail Gorbachev for "alienating the masses" with an attempt at imposing democratisation from the top.

While reaffirming the SACP's view that that coup attempt was unconstitu-

tional, the statement said "we believe that at the heart of the crisis in that country has been the parting of ways between democracy and socialism".

The SACP declared that it still had a "key role" in SA, particularly to "guarantee a democratic socialist system". *(SACP) (IIA)*

An SACP spokesman said yesterday the party had experienced a surge in membership and now had about 15 000 members.

The SACP statement also gave support to the peace accord and said the party was giving its representatives the necessary mandate to help the process.

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R1bn upliftment plan is undemocratic — ANC

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC yesterday sharply criticised government's plan to spend R1bn from the sale of oil reserves on socio-economic projects, saying the plan was undemocratic and had little impact on existing inequalities.

AN ANC statement echoed earlier criticism by Cosatu that the funds' allocation would bolster "discredited" black local authorities.

"It is a unilateral attempt by government to decide what is best for the people without any meaningful consultation or participation by the people who have been denied access to these basic services.

"In our view, it is planned to use the funds to bolster an earlier unpopular and unilateral government initiative, the Interim Measures on Local Government Act." This Act tried to bolster unrepresentative black and white local authorities, and these funds would support an attempt to consolidate their position.

Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers announced last week that R1bn realised from the sale of strategic oil reserves would be spent on a range of socio-economic projects which would create 59 000 jobs.



● DE VILLIERS

The ANC statement said: "The ANC and others have, over the last year, called for the establishment of a well-thought-out strategic plan for development drawn up through a democratic process and that will contribute to a systematic and sustainable path of development.

"This ad hoc location of R1bn will fast evaporate, because it is not part

of such a rationally planned process. It will not make a meaningful impact on the existing socio-economic crisis."

The statement said: "We need to use our limited resources to maximum effect, and not to buy political credibility."

The ANC said excluded communities should control the development processes.

"This will generate within these communities increased institutional, technical and participatory capacity, contribute to making them less dependent and increase their capacity to do things for themselves.

"This initiative is another top-down process of development that sees its main task as delivering a product to the people, and undermines communities rather than empowers them.

"The reality at the moment is that we have on the one hand disempowered, suffering communities, and on the other an array of government and independent development agencies that control the resources and operate in an unrepresentative and unco-ordinated manner."

It said: "What is important is to establish mechanisms that bring the two into democratic policy and implementing mechanisms to address the crucial problems we face."

Increased productivity 'essential for growth'

BID day 319191 VERA VON LIERES

ECONOMIC growth and its effect on job creation and economic empowerment was a precondition for a new political dispensation, Public Enterprises and Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers said last night.

De Villiers told the National Productivity Institute's awards banquet that the continued improvement of productivity remained a safe and undeniable route to economic success.

"I am a firm believer in the importance — no — the imperative of improving productivity if we would like to see SA grow, develop, make progress and overcome the difficult problems facing us."

De Villiers also hailed recent agreements between labour organisations and management, which partly linked wage increases to increases in productivity.

Increasing productivity would strengthen SA's competitiveness in international trade and commerce. This would boost exports and reduce imports, strengthen the balance of payments and contribute to greater exchange rate stability. It would also assist in reducing input costs and in further improving the competitive position of SA producers.

"Increases in productivity are therefore one of the most important means of combating inflation . . ."

The quest for improved productivity in SA had unfortunately been associated with calls for substituting capital for labour, De Villiers said.

It was a concern that was understandable, particularly as in the past productivity increases had been achieved by producing an almost constant output while employing less labour. The resulting increase in the output per worker was not the kind of productivity increase that should be promoted in SA.

"An increase in productivity should entail an increase in both production and inputs, with output increasing at a faster rate than input," he said.

● See Pages 14-18

Durban rightwing hunger strikers taken to hospital

11A

DURBAN. — Two Durban rightwing hunger strikers on their 17th day of fasting on Wednesday have been admitted to Westville hospital, according to a close friend and official sources.

Mr Das van Wyk said Orde Boerevolk members Mr Piet Botha and Mr Adriaan Smuts, being held for their alleged role in the KwaMashu bus massacre last year in which seven people died, were admitted to hospital on Monday night.

They were "weak and deteriorating daily" and both had lost about 10 percent bodyweight, he said.

A Department of Correctional Services spokesman confirmed the men had been admitted to hospital.

Mr Van Wyk said he was having difficulty arranging visits and had been told to liaise through the police in Durban.

Mr Van Wyk added that as far as he was concerned his two close friends would distance themselves from Monday's visit by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to the three fasting rightwingers in Pretoria.

The Durban hunger strikers were detained in Richards Bay a week after the Kwamashu shooting in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and are expected to appear in court later this month.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member Mr Eugene Marais was sentenced to death in April after he was found guilty of killing seven people travelling on the bus on October 17 last year.

The men are demanding indemnity as political prisoners. — Sapa.

ARCT 4/9/91

THE proposal by the ANC and its allies advocating an interim government, since it was mooted early this year, has not found favour with the Pan Africanist Congress.

Not only were we concerned about being co-opted into the apartheid system but, as a secondary issue, we were unclear who would appoint this interim government.

We are convinced the proposers of an interim government have not thought the matters out and have become even more emotionally attached to the proposition with the exposure of the regime's funding of Inkatha.

We have always asserted that the regime could not be trusted and were therefore less rattled than those who spoke of "the man of integrity".

At our joint meeting with the ANC in Harare we agreed to differ on the question of an interim government but nevertheless both parties resolved to "workshop" the issue of monitoring to ensure that the election of a Constituent Assembly is fair, free and just.

In the meantime, on August 9 and 10, the PAC met Azapo and the BCMA at Kadoma, in Zimbabwe.

Our joint executive noted that a transitional authority was essential to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly were free and just and that the regime could not oversee the transitional

Transfer of power needs legitimacy

NA Cr 4/9/91



PAC Viewpoint
by **BARNEY DESAI**

period, and resolved that the transitional authority should have the following features:

- (i) The transitional authority must have a limited duration.
- (ii) The transitional authority must have its mandate clearly defined.
- (iii) In the establishment of the transitional authority it must be ensured that the national liberation movements and other organisations are not co-opted as co-managers of apartheid.
- (iv) Such a transitional authority must not implement existing apartheid legislation.

Our joint executive also called

for the quarantine of the armed forces of the regime, including the security forces.

The composition of the transitional authority must be agreed on by the liberation movements and endorsed by the international community. The PAC envisages some kind of international presence to monitor the election process.

Clearly our proposals are in line with our conviction that the transfer of power ought only to occur in circumstances where there is legitimate authority acting on a democratic mandate.

We abjure rule by decree which has been the hallmark of colonial conquest and racial domination.

We believe we can reach agreement with the ANC on transitional arrangements at the Patriotic Front conference due later this month.

□ *Barney Desai is national publicity secretary of the PAC.*

ANC probe into torture charges

1A CT4/9/91

Political Staff

THE ANC yesterday announced the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate allegations made by former detainees in its camps in Africa.

The detainees have alleged they were tortured, assaulted, starved and held in crowded cells with no ventilation.

The first group of former detainees to return to South Africa from Kenya, with the aid of the South African Council of Churches, also said they could name 60 ANC men who were executed or tortured to death.

Although Mr Nelson Mandela said last year that it was "unfortunately" true that some people had been tortured in camps in Angola in the 1980s, this was against ANC policy and those responsible had been dismissed from their positions.

The ANC also adopted a code of conduct about the treatment of detainees at its conference in Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985.

However, some former detainees al-

leged that assaults and torture continued after this date.

The ANC statement yesterday stated: "In accordance with our undertakings, the African National Congress has appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate all complaints, grievances and allegations made by and in connection with the former detainees who have recently returned to South Africa.

"The commissioners are Louis Skweyiya, who heads the commission, Charles Nupen and Brigitte Mabandla.

"This commission will be afforded the full co-operation of the ANC."

Mr Skweyiya was the first black advocate to be appointed senior counsel at the Bar.

Mr Nupen, a former president of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the head of the group of people who monitored the elections at the ANC conference in July, is director of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa, and Ms Mabandla is a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.

Azayo call on black groups

THE Azanian Youth Organisation has condemned the national peace initiative and called for an urgent consultative conference of all the liberation movements as a forerunner to the formation of a patriotic front. *Sovetan 4/9/91*

Azayo resolved at its first national council meeting in Durban at the weekend that the peace initiative was already disadvantaged because of the presence of the Government as one of the drafters of the peace accord.

"Noting that the escalation of violence affecting the black oppressed community is planned and sponsored by the racist regime and its agents and lackeys, we urge the liberation movements to realise the urgency with which the continued loss of black lives demands their collective commitment to resolve this endemic violence," Azayo president Thami Mcerwa said.

He said Azayo regretted that through "unnecessary politicising, posturing and one-upmanship" the liberation movements were denying themselves a chance to collectively address the violence.

Azayo also condemned "political hegemony" which, it said, manifested itself in inter-organisational violence, as being reactionary, unproductive and undermining free political participation and tolerance.

tion was definitely not
ts that the Ugandan gov-
yesterday that the cargo
in Yugoslavia with 19
on board picked up the
ister Ruhakana Rugunda
ent yesterday the plane

Bophuthatswana, where it picked up 19
tons of arms and ammunition.

The plane returned briefly to Entebbe on
Friday evening with cargo described as
"general cargo — technical equipment."

The plane left Entebbe for Ljubljana,
Slovenia, but was forced to land at Yugos-
lavia's Zagreb Airport on Saturday and
held after the arms were discovered.

hulz

Skweyiya heads ANC probe

Own Correspondent

61 Dec 4 1991 (11A)

DURBAN — Advocate Thembile Louis Skweyiya of Durban was appointed by the ANC yesterday to head an inquiry into all complaints and grievances of people who were detained in ANC prison camps.

The ANC said Skweyiya would chair the hearings with the assistance of mediator Charles Nupen and ANC legal department senior member Brigitte Mabandla.

The ANC said the commission had been appointed "in accordance with our undertakings" and would have the organisation's full co-operation.

Four detainees recently made numerous allegations in Durban about torture, abuse and maltreatment at camps in Angola, Zambia and Uganda.

ORTH
ABOUT,
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ANC rejection of Nat plan can be overcome, says FW

Star 5/19/91
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — President de Klerk believes the National Party and the ANC will still find common ground in negotiations — in spite of the ANC's immediate and total rejection of the NP's new power-sharing constitutional plan unveiled in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The plan — which contains no racial provisions but gives wide powers to minority political parties and extra voting powers to property owners and ratepayers — was unanimously endorsed by 1 200 delegates to the NP's special federal congress.

It will now go to the party's four provincial congresses for official ratification, starting with the NP congress in Durban today.

The plan was given a standing ovation by the federal congress, where for the first time in the NP's history coloured party members contributed to the debate.

One of the sharpest criticisms came from one of them — the Rev Andrew Julius, former Labour Party Minister in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

He said the proposal to create neighbourhood councils to represent suburbs —



Still confident . . . Mr de Klerk answers questions.

with powers to set local residential norms and standards — would be seen as entrenching group areas.

In its reaction, the ANC warned that the proposals would make the country ungovernable, were a recipe for disaster, would paralyse democratic government and

were designed to deny a future South African government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

It accused the NP of attempting to create a weak parliament and executive, which would be hamstrung by the requirement that broad consensus among small interest groups had to be reached.

"They (the proposals) are no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto, designed to prevent effective government by a majority party."

The NP suggested mechanisms that would ensure whites retained "the accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle", the ANC said.

The Conservative Party said the NP plan was a recipe for revolution.

"One man, one vote offers no protection to minorities — it means black domination and white oppression," CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said.

Responding at a press conference in Bloemfontein to the ANC's firm rejection of the plan, Mr de Klerk said he never expected the ANC to accept it as it "absolutely militated" against the ANC's

● To Page 2

Govt, ANC can still agree — FW

Star 5/19/91
● From Page 1

idea of a strong, centralised government.

But he believed the NP and the ANC would find common ground as they had in all negotiations so far.

Mr de Klerk said he rejected the ANC's charge that the plan was an effort to entrench white rights.

The proposal had been "absolutely stripped" of any racial discrimination.

Mr de Klerk stressed that the NP was pliable and that the plan was not its final negotiation document. But he dismissed suggestions that the

plan was just a starting position for negotiation.

It was an honest statement of party policy. "We haven't built in any fat which we can afford to give away," he said.

The NP's negotiating partners should not expect it to easily move away from the plan.

Mr de Klerk said the prospects of an early multiparty conference (MPC) were good.

If agreement could be reached on the difficult problem of violence, there was no reason why an accord could not be achieved on the MPC.

● Nats' plan — Page 19

A recipe for disaster, says ANC

FW refuses to budge on interim govt

Blom 5/9/91.

BLOEMFONTEIN — The NP and government would not succumb to ANC pressure — they rejected an interim government out of hand, President F W de Klerk told the NP federal congress to rousing applause yesterday.

The NP would also muster all the power at its disposal to prevent the adoption of a new constitution which militated against the values of its proposed model, adopted by the congress yesterday.

The congress also recommended that the provincial congresses adopt the model.

De Klerk said the ANC was trying to "steamroller the NP at the moment, especially on the issue of an interim government".

The party would not give in to pressure. "Government by decree through an interim government in a constitutional vacuum is totally unacceptable," he said.

Last month De Klerk, urging parties to start negotiations, offered that the formation of an interim government could be the first item on the agenda. But yesterday he said the continuation of government according to the constitution was "not negotiable". The NP was not opposed to transitional arrangements, but "we are not prepared to suspend the constitution".

De Klerk lauded the NP model as the only workable option for SA, overtly stripped of "any racial basis and of discrimination and (giving) full expression to the principle of free association".

The plan envisages a three-tier government in which full legislative and execu-

BILLY PADDOCK

tive functions and authority are conferred on central government and regional and local authorities with their own tax base, and there is almost full devolution of power and autonomy to second- and third-tier authorities.

It proposes a presidential collegiate of three to five that must reach decisions by consensus, no matter what proportion of the vote the individual's party received. It proposes a two-House system of Parliament, with the first House constituted through proportional representation and the second — with veto power over legislation — through equal regional representation.

It also proposes an extra vote for property owners, lessees and ratepayers at

● See Pages 4 and 5

local authority level. It allows for neighbourhood councils to set norms and standards.

De Klerk said support for the NP model meant balance, realism and a proven and civilised value system.

"In our defence of these values, we shall not waver. The NP has the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which will militate against these values. We will not hesitate to use that ability. We will use the power we have to prevent the rape of the country's values," he said.

He said the NP had won the last election and it would determine the next constitu-

□ To Page 2

F W 5/9/91.
tion. While it did not want to force through a new constitution, unless the NP agreed to the new constitution's proposals they would be unworkable, he said.

The ANC yesterday rejected the NP model as a recipe for disaster. It said the model entrenched white privilege, would make the country ungovernable and would paralyse democratic government.

De Klerk said he expected the ANC to reject the NP model because the model was against centralism and the winner-takes-all philosophy.

However, he still firmly believed that the two parties could find common ground for negotiations as they had in the past.

Multiparty negotiations were still on the cards in the near future, especially if the September 14 peace convention was successful.

From Page 1
He said the model was not a blueprint but a framework to take to negotiations.

He rejected criticism that the proposals on municipal franchise had racist overtones or that the principle of universal franchise was violated. He said the NP had no hidden agenda on the question of minority rights.

The NP had devised the plan of an executive collegiate because it was convinced the concentration of power in the hands of a single person was the one factor bedevilling the co-operation so badly needed.

He said the NP had never asked for a mandate to hand over power to the ANC or anybody else, and was not even considering this. Negotiations were the only route to a just and democratic dispensation.

MK, SADF merger thought is absurd

THOSE who advocate the merits of an integrated SADF/MK defence force have seemingly ignored reality.

Such a force would be unworkable since totally desperate elements would be forced into an artificial mold.

The very notion of integrating vastly inferior manpower, drawn almost exclusively from former terrorists and their sympathisers and which has pitifully little proper military training, with a highly-professional corps of officers

and men who deservedly enjoy renown around the world, is patently absurd, no matter what the new South Africa might demand politically.

While it might be true that conventional and even threats against South Africa have diminished, we can ill afford to permit our military preparedness to degenerate on most fronts.

Seasoned officers and soldiers, many of whom have over the years been trained extensively in command and control as well as operational procedures,

may be extremely unlikely or willing to serve with or under indiscriminately promoted senior Johnny-come-latelys.

It does not require a particularly honed discernment to guess what the new South African defence force will thus look like in a few years time.

If we take into consideration Chris Hani's announcement that Uganda will, among others more or less like it, be responsible for retraining ANC/MK cadres, how will such a "shield" behind that which

remains of "democracy" be permitted to "develop" in years to come?

How it will eventually function, can probably be gauged by the many examples to hand to the north of us.

The question is, will this exercise help to guarantee democracy or is it not far more likely that a future rag-tag ANC/SACP dominated defence force will be anything but democratically orientated?

R FICHTE,
Pretoria

Sowetan 5/9/91

(11A)

You must be

joking,

Sowetan 5/9/91

FW

Liberation movements blast plans

President FW de Klerk during the National Party federal congress yesterday in Bloemfontein urges support for a proposed constitution that would give the vote to blacks.

Teargas: Ministers sued for R1,4-m

By MONK NKOMO

THE Ministers of Defence and Law and Order are being sued for R1,4 million by Mamelodi residents who were injured when security forces allegedly fired teargas into the local stadium last year.

A total of 122 residents have served summonses on both Ministers, claiming they were injured last July when security forces blocked the main gates at HM Pitje Stadium and fired teargas into a crowd attending a public meeting.

A test case involving one of the plaintiffs, Mr Jeremia Tlou, is scheduled to be heard in the Pretoria

To Page 2

THE country's liberation movements were not impressed with the National Party's constitutional proposals announced at its Federal Congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

The African National Congress warned that the proposals would make South Africa ungovernable, were a recipe for disaster, would paralyse democratic government and were designed to deny a future South African government the power to "truly liberate the country from the misery that apartheid has wrought".

The Pan Africanist Congress said the proposals were an attempt to perpetuate minority privileges. It said the NP plan was "basically the transference of the struggle from race to class".

Self-determination would not be possible "where one House of Parliament operates on one-person-one-vote, and a second House emasculates it by diffusing power unequally".

Retired Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said from London yesterday he will launch a

To Page 2

ANC, PAC reject Nats' proposals

11A

Sowetan 5/9/91

From Page 1

from London yesterday he will launch a new anti-apartheid campaign in Britain today in reaction to the NP's constitutional proposals.

The ANC also said the NP's proposals were an attempt to create a weak Parliament and executive which would be hamstrung by the requirement that broad consensus among small interest groups had to be reached.

"They (the proposals) are no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto, designed to prevent effective government by a majority party."

The ANC wanted a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South Africa, with a Bill of Rights to protect rights and freedoms of all citizens.

The PAC said "basic freedoms cannot be shackled by privileged vetoes".

"We reject Mr de Klerk's proposals and renew our call for a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution."

The ANC also favoured elections, held on the basis of proportional representation, so that the new Parliament would be as inclusive as possible.

"It is cause for concern that the Nationalist Party proposals are available only through the Press, as this is a matter of vital importance to all South Africans.

"This debate should be open so that the people of the country not only know what is happening, but also participate in the process."

The NP proposals also did not indicate what their Bill of Rights would contain.

"Yet, to ensure checks and balances, they propose mechanisms that will be unique to South Africa, ensuring that whites retain the accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle."

IFP is ^{11A} gearing up for a ^{Sowetan} show of power ^{5/9/91}
- Louw

Sowetan
Correspondent

Casualties

The former Rand Daily Mail editor says there are also unconfirmed reports of IFP supporters plotting attacks on townships "traditionally known as ANC territory", such as Phola Park on the East Rand which suffered heavy casualties last year.

The IFP, whose central committee at the weekend recommended a meeting with the ANC national executive committee before the NPC on September 14 "to normalise relations between them", dismissed Louw's allegations as "absolutely rubbish and totally counter-productive to the peace process".

Direct contact

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party will attend the NPC despite the ANC's refusal to hold a meeting with it before September 14.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus said this week no meeting will be held between the NEC and the IFP's central committee before the peace summit. The first time the two organisations will have direct contact, he said, will be at the summit itself.

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is gearing itself for "a show of strength" with the ANC in an attempt to strengthen its position at the National Peace Convention on September 14, according to former newspaper editor Raymond Louw.

Writing in the latest issue of his *Southern Africa Report*, Louw says relations between the IFP and the ANC are "close to breaking point again" despite the historic peace talks which recently took place between the two groups and the Government.

Tension

Louw says while the tension is developing on several fronts, there are three major issues of concern.

These are "unprovoked attacks by Inkatha supporters on communities in areas like the eastern Transvaal, a barrage of verbal attacks on the ANC by the Inkatha Youth Brigade at its annual conference last week, and attempts by elements in the IFP to discredit the ANC by adopting a recently returned group of exiles who are disillusioned with the movement".

SEPT 11 1991

ANC is angered by NP plan

By Rehana Rossouw
Bloemfontein

ANY constitution that compels consensus and thwarts democracy will be unworkable, the ANC warned on Wednesday in strong comments on the National Party's proposals for governing South Africa.

"It is this very approach that has caused the tragic conflict in a country like Lebanon," said a detailed press statement on the NP's constitutional plans.

According to the ANC, the proposals — discussed at the NP's federal congress in Bloemfontein this week — would allow whites to retain "the

accumulated privileges of apartheid under the guise of constitutional principle."

The tone of the ANC statement leaves little doubt that the organisation will refuse to compromise on the NP's proposals when the two sides eventually put their cases across the negotiating table.

Accusing the NP of "no less than an attempt to disguise an effective minority veto", the ANC rejected the plans as a bid to prevent effective government by a majority party.

"The proposals will paralyse democratic government by, amongst other things, locating the levers of power within a rotating multi-party presidency and a multi-party cabinet, operating on the basis of

consensus," it said.

While coalition governments were normally formed voluntarily, the South African government now wanted to make this a constitutional principle.

"We find it unacceptable to have a second house, constituted in a totally undemocratic manner, with the power to block legislation.

"The proposal means that the majority in the lower house will be able to draft and pass legislation, but minorities in the upper house will be able to veto it, making a mockery of the democratic process.

The ANC said that the provision for each region to have equal numbers of representatives in the upper house was loaded against areas where

Africans were in the majority.

The NP upper house scheme also mean, for example, that if the ANC received 70 percent of the vote in the PWV region, all other parties that won 10 percent of the vote would have equal representation to the ANC in that region's representation.

Also coming under fire from the ANC was the NP's division of the country into the nine autonomous regions.

This was "a continuation of the process of fragmentation that has been the hallmark of Nat policy since 1948," it said.

Concluded the ANC: "Disparities between rich and poor regions will be entrenched, and the device will prevent national reconstruction."

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SUGGESTIONS

Delays and differences dog Patriotic Front conference

DELAYS have not deterred opposition groups from meeting at a Patriotic Front conference, but the three major players still differ on who should be invited.

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) argues that homeland leaders can join the forthcoming Patriotic Front Conference only if they publicly denounce the apartheid structures on which they are based, and agree to the

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demand for a constituent assembly. Publicity secretary Strini Moodley said this week that homelands "should first announce in public that they are no longer part of the racist structures," before they can join in the conference.

He added that these government-created structures needed to accept the idea of "a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one person, one vote."

Assistant general secretary of the Pan

Africanist Congress (PAC), Carter Seleke, described the PAC's stand as being that "all parties and people who subscribe to the idea of a constituent assembly are welcome to attend and participate in the conference."

In his view Inkatha had disqualified itself at its recent congress at which it denounced the concept of a constituent assembly. African National Congress (ANC) spokesperson, Saki Maco-

zoma, said that "all parties and people who are committed to, and support the policies and demands for a democratic society," would be welcome to attend. Moodley said the issues to be discussed at the conference would range from devising a strategy "to overthrow the De Klerk regime", the implementation of a constituent assembly and the question of constitutional negotiations with the government.

11A

Regional Vat-attack body launches

By Mono Badela and Thoraya Pandey

A REGIONAL body to fight against VAT emerged from a local summit called by Cosatu and the ANC, held in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The summit attended by political, labour, education, welfare, business and medical organisations supported Cosatu's call for the suspension of VAT until proper negotiations with organisations representing those most affected by VAT were held.

Representatives of the Democratic Party agreed with the call, but could not commit themselves as they had no mandate.

The summit identified mass action as one of its central tasks.

Following a meeting earlier this week

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between the government and the national community-based VAT Coordinating Committee, Mr Bernie Fanaroff, chairperson of the committee, said the implementation of VAT could be delayed if sufficient pressure was applied.

A joint working committee comprising experts from both sides emerged from the meeting to investigate the implementation of VAT.

Fanaroff emphasised that the agreement reached in no way suggested a backing down on the part of the committee.

"Our objections and demands regarding the implementation of Vat still stand," he said.

Fanaroff added, "we know it is difficult for the minister to change his mind and realise he will not back down without pressure."

Cosatu General Secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said: "We are being informed

by various sources that it appears even the Department of Inland Revenue was not fully prepared for the implementation of VAT at the end of September."

A spokesperson for the Western Cape regional body said national negotiations on VAT could only be informed and effective through participation at grassroots level.

He said the body formed would meet on Friday where proposals for mass action would emerge.

"Cosatu and Nactu have already agreed on joint worker action which will be effected after Friday's meeting and broad guidelines were given to the body in the summit," said the spokesperson.

Asked why organisations had responded this late to the VAT issue, the spokesperson said recommendations had been sent to VATCOM, but were ignored.

Policeman's cap sparks off war of words

South S[9] - 11/9/91
POLICE and ANC spokespersons differed on Wednesday over the origin of a police camouflage cap found near the scene of Tuesday night's clash in Khayelitsha's Site B.

At a press conference, ANC Regional Secretary Amos Lengisi said 30 people, blacks and whites, who were driven to the scene in a Datsun car and a bakkie, had fired shots and set alight shacks at DM block.

He said one of the 'comrades' had

seized a camouflage cap from one of the attackers, a white man.

The man escaped after the attackers fired a volley at the residents before fleeing into the bushes.

The cap bore the label H J Hendricks, Durban.

Spent bullet cartridges and a five-litre petrol canister found near the scene of the carnage were also displayed by the ANC.

"We are putting the blame on the

police and the government. We are convinced that people who are trained and paid by the system are doing what it wants them to do," Lengisi said.

Police spokesperson Major Gys Boonzaaier said the camouflage cap was lost when the police officer chased a suspect.

Boonzaaier said the police were investigating the incidents and invited the public or the ANC to come forward if they had any evidence.

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busy month for conferences in Cape Town, so we might have to plan the conference for November. Or perhaps we will have to look at holding the conference in Durban. Or maybe Johannesburg."

He says that though most organisations are based in Johannesburg, they wanted to hold the conference elsewhere, Cape Town being the preference.

Apparently, political organisations are keen for Johannesburg not to be entrenched as the political heart of SA, with little activity (or money spent) elsewhere. The fact that having the conference in Johannesburg would save on transport costs does not seem to be important.

"The problem is the venue," says Ebrahim. "We want the conference to take place in a hotel so delegates can all stay at the same place." The lavish plans for a venue take little account of narrow budgets. Shortly before the Organisation for African Unity last week donated R500 000 for the conference, the organisers were lamenting their lack of funds.

Fifty organisations are expected to attend, with six delegates from each. Some of the groups on a list of 50 might be hard-pressed to muster six members, let alone six delegates. But should minor organisations enjoy the same representation as, say, the ANC or Cosatu? What about the overlap between the memberships of various organisations — especially the ANC, Cosatu and the Communist Party?

Barney Desai, publicity secretary of the PAC (co-hosts of the conference with Azapo and the ANC), notes that the conference will primarily involve organisations "of the oppressed, to foster unity and enter negotiations as a united body." Desai says that, theoretically, the Black Sash could attend if it committed itself beforehand to the principle of a constituent assembly. The PAC has briefed the Democratic Party on the conference — but the DP was not invited.

Organisations that will attend include Azapo and fringe leftwing groups; union federations Cosatu and Nactu; sports bodies Sacos and Nocsa; cultural bodies such as the Congress of SA Writers; and churches, including the SA Council of Churches. Talks are presently under way with the huge Zionist Christian Church, which, apart from inviting former State President P W Botha to one of its enormous rallies some years ago, has shied clear of political activity. Community organisations are also expected to attend.

Issues to be discussed include the nature of transitional authorities, an interim government, violence, attitudes to multi-party talks and "possibly a programme of action to make sure demands are met," Desai says.

With venues mostly booked for year-end conferences and Christmas functions, perhaps the organisers need to do their bit for negotiations — and inflation. A university hall or civic venue would be less plush but just as suitable for talks.

A little planning ahead might help. ■

NEGOTIATIONS Fm 6/9/91

Africa time again 11A

The conference to discuss a "patriotic front" between liberation and anti-apartheid groups for constitutional negotiations has been postponed — again.

It was originally mooted by the ANC conference last December and scheduled for April this year. But the ANC and PAC only met to discuss the possibility of such a front in April. August was the next deadline for the conference.

By late July, the conference had been rescheduled to the last week of August, then the first week of September, then the second week of September. Now Ebrahim Ebrahim, one of the organisers and an ANC national executive member, says the organising committee hopes it can be held in October.

But it could be November — the month in which multi-party talks might begin, according to State President F W de Klerk. And the liberation groups have said they are not prepared to go into multi-party talks until the patriotic front conference has been held.

Ebrahim says October "appears to be a

Soviets expel ANC students

About 100 ANC members are among students from African countries being expelled from the Soviet Union, according to one exile who is studying at Lumumba University in Moscow.

In a telephone call to relatives in Johannesburg, the ANC member (who would not give his name) said the students were told by Soviet authorities last Saturday that they would have to leave the country by November 9. *Star 6/9/91*

No reasons were given.

Most of the ANC cadres are students at a Soviet military academy. Others are studying politics, law and medicine at various institutions.

Not informed

Other African countries affected by the expulsions are Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania and Congo.

The source said the affected people had been enjoying the protection of the Communist Party.

He speculated that the dissolution of the Communist Party was behind the move.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation had not been informed of the pending expulsions.

"We will comment as soon as our representative in the Soviet Union gives us the information." — Sapa.

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THE ETHIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Bartlett slates ANC, SACP

Political Staff

6/9/91

11A

DURBAN — Communist elements within the ANC are bedevilling progress in South Africa and are guilty of abhorrent political actions, including murder, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Natal leader of the National Party, George Bartlett, said yesterday.

He took a hard line against the "ANC-SACP Marxist alliance" in his opening address at the NP Natal congress in Durban.

Mr Bartlett said that with the normalisation of political activity last year, which allowed formerly banned organisations such as the ANC and SACP to operate freely, there had been a deterioration of the accepted democratic Western standards of political behaviour across the spectrum from Left to Right.

"Since the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, we have seen the classic Marxist strategy in

action," he said.

"While claiming to be fighting for democracy and for the liberation of the impoverished masses, and the economic empowerment of the oppressed blacks, this ANC-SACP Marxist alliance constantly calls for mass action, labour stayaways and strikes, consumer boycotts, educational boycotts.

"This is all under-scored by threats against those who don't comply, coupled with threats of a return to the armed struggle.

Assassinated

"And underlying all these demands, protests and boycotts there is the insidious element of political murder," the Minister added.

Mr Bartlett said the NP had had to put up with constant criticism from the ANC-SACP alliance over Inkathagate and alleged claims of Government hit squads, while in the past few years more than 160 Inkatha leaders and office bearers had been politically assassinated with over 1 000 Inkatha mem-

bers being brutally murdered.

"This abhorrent political action has got to stop.

"It is typical of communist parties around the world to eliminate the leaders of their political opponents.

"I believe the time has come for the spotlight of the media and of public opinion to be focused on the ANC-SACP alliance's covert actions in Africa."

Mr Bartlett said the NP wanted to build a great new, fair, just and free South Africa and was prepared to join hands with any political party that shared this objective, including "true black nationalists, but this National Party will have nothing to do with communists".

Mr Bartlett called on the true African nationalists within the ANC not to allow themselves to continue to be the pawns of the hardline communists in their midst.

He also said the NP wanted nothing to do with the excesses and thuggery of the AWB and its far-Right comrades.



George Bartlett . . . communist elements in ANC bedevilling progress in SA.

Week to *Sowetan* honour *6/9/77* Biko (11A)

The death of Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko is being marked by a week-long programme organised by Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement.

A statement by Azapo yesterday said the programme starting Friday includes film shows, seminars and commemoration services.

The activities will run until September 12 and will take place throughout the country.

Biko, founder of Black Consciousness, died in police custody on September 12 1977. - *Sapa*.

Patriotic office opens

11A
Seleke
6/19/91

THE ANC, PAC and Azapo moved a step closer towards a formal alliance yesterday when a "Patriotic Front" office opened in a downtown hotel.

Two delegates each from the ANC, PAC and Azapo are manning the office, laying the groundwork for a conference whose date is yet to be negotiated.

A meeting will be held next Tuesday between the three organisations in an effort to set a date.

Azapo projects coordinator Mr Lybon Mabašo said the liaison committee of the three movements was looking at a date "towards the end of this month, perhaps early next month".

Regarding speculation that the ANC wanted to postpone the conference indefinitely, Mabašo said this was not the case.

"The ANC believes the

conference must be properly organised and not just a showcase," he said.

Assistant general secretary of the PAC Mr Carter Seleke would not comment on the speculation.

None of the ANC spokesmen were available for comment yesterday.

Mr Mosebyane Malatsi of the National Preparation Committee for the United/Patriotic Front Conference said the committee was not concerned with policy matters, but with technical aspects.

Operational

"Our immediate task is to ensure that the machinery is in full gear to prepare for the conference," he said, adding that the office was "already operational".

A substantial sum of money was donated by overseas countries for the holding of the conference.

However, the idea of a patriotic front has been re-

jected by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the recent Inkatha Freedom Party congress in Ulundi, Buthelezi said the concept was 10 years out of date and that it was "pointless to gang up on whites".

There is also disagreement over the status of some homeland leaders vis-à-vis a patriotic front. The ANC is known to favour the inclusion of homeland leaders such as Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa, but both the PAC and Azapo reject their presence because of their view that the homelands are a creation of apartheid.

A compromise over this thorny issue could be reached next week if the ANC accepts a proposal that homeland leaders attend the conference as part of the ANC delegation and not in their own right. - Sapa.

Taxis to increase fares

THE outgoing chairman of the Transvaal Taxi Association, Mr Paradise Mahlangu, says due to the recent increase in the petrol price and the introduction of VAT later this month, his association will be compelled to increase fares.

Addressing his association's AGM on Wednesday, he said the proposed increases would first have to be discussed with commuter and civic organisations before implementation. *Sowetan*

Mahlangu said his association would form a crisis committee which would look into highjacking, theft and the involvement of taxis in accidents. *6/9/91*

Three nabbed in shootout

THREE men suspected of being involved in two separate shooting incidents in Vereeniging were arrested on Wednesday and two firearms were confiscated, police report.

Police liaison officer Captain Ida van Zweel on Wednesday said the three had been arrested after a shootout at the Morning-side Taxi Rank in Union Street, about 10.45am, in which a taxi was damaged.

Van Zweel said Mr Joseph Mashaile (35) of Sebokeng was repairing his taxi at the rank when he saw two groups of people. A shot was fired, hitting his vehicle. Mashaile was not injured.

Constable

In a separate incident a municipal constable from Parys left the toilets at the taxi rank about 2.30pm on Wednesday when he noticed three men behind

him, one armed with a firearm.

They called the constable as he ran off and then fired four shots at him. Three more shots were fired at him as the three men followed after him. The constable escaped uninjured.

The CID unit arrested the three men and confiscated a 9mm pistol and a 0.38 special revolver. *Sapa.*

PAC wants Malefo back *11A*

THE Mamelodi branch of the Pan Africanist Congress is calling for the immediate reinstatement of the publicity secretary of the Mamelodi Civic Association, Pasty Malefo. *Sowetan*

It urged the MCA to either reinstate Malefo, who was sacked two weeks ago, or the MCA executive committee should resign en bloc. *6/9/91*

Own Correspondent

Malefo, who had his electricity switched off and his property attached by council attorneys, was fired by the MCA at a public meeting on August 25 for having paid rent to release his property.

The statement said the reason for his dismissal was unacceptable to the PAC.

Protect the kids - PAC calls for:

Parent power!

Sowetan 6/9/91

11A

Talkback Topic

WHAT do you think of the PAC's suggestion for "parent militias" in schools to protect pupils and enable them to deal with their exams?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation. The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show on medium-wave 576KHz.

THE PAC has suggested establishing "parent militias" as part of a plan of immediate action to help students pass imminent exams.

In response to the education crisis, the organisation yesterday announced an "all-in-learning" campaign to restore stability in schools and cultivate an environment of learning. The campaign will be unveiled at a

By MZIMASI NGUDLE

joint meeting of the national working committees of the PAC, ANC and Azapo on September 10.

Later on the same day, PAC president Clarence Makwetu will answer questions on the education crisis during a phone-in on Radio 702.

The PAC attributes the crisis to gangs of youths, acting on their own, who call

● To Page 2

● From Page 1

for class boycotts in the name of the liberation struggle. *Sowetan*

"We therefore appeal to our teachers and students to hold fire with all other campaigns that may disrupt education as examinations are near and re-evaluate the strategies we have used so far," PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said.

"The PAC therefore proposes the formation of parents' militias to be manned by unemployed parents at schools during school hours to ensure that schools are kept free of disruption during the day. 6/9/91

"The parents' militias will provide the necessary environment and protection for learning to take place.

"These militias will be appointed by parents' committees which will be elected according to democratic procedures," Alexander said.

The PAC felt that many of the campaigns involving students should be taken over by parents to allow students time to learn.

"The formation of parents' committees will then culminate with the formation of a national parents organisation which will be mass-based and non-sectarian.

"In this way parents, principals and teachers shall once more assume their proper place as our representatives in the upbringing of our children".

Domestics may get union rights

B10cy 6/9/91.

DURBAN — The National Manpower Commission had recommended that domestic workers be allowed full unionisation rights and government was seriously considering this, Manpower Minister Eli Louw said yesterday.

Responding to questions from housewives at the NP Natal congress, he said the commission, which he had asked to investigate the matter, had recommended that domestic workers be incorporated under the Labour Relations Act and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act with certain amendments.

This would allow domestic workers access to legal recourse in cases of unfair dismissals, and to other rights organised labour had won for workers in other sectors.

Contracts between domestics and their employers fell under common law and were enforceable only in the ordinary law courts. There was no recourse to the industrial court.

The commission had also recommended that the principles of the Unemployment Insurance Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act be applied to domestic workers. A committee should be established to investi-

BILLY PADDOCK

gate the practical implications. He said the commission found that no consensus could be reached on the possible inclusion of domestic workers under the ambit of the Wage Act, or alternatively, whether minimum wages should be dealt with only according to guidelines drafted by the Wage Board.

Louw said he wanted to allay the fears of the housewives, who expressed concern about their workers embarking on collective action. Should domestics be included under the Acts in any form his department would initiate extensive programmes to inform them and the domestics.

"In the labour field you do not deal with ordinary commercial articles but with people, an employee in your service with a home and a family and, in many cases, also miserably poor," he said. A way around the fears was to deal fairly with domestics "on the shopfloor".

Government could provide only the guidelines within which labour relations were conducted but it was up to employers and their workers to ensure fairness, equity, productivity and labour peace, he said.



Cosatu members and farmworkers protested outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. They were demanding greater protection for farmworkers. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'Time to focus on communism'

Own Correspondent (11A)

TRUE African nationalists within the ANC would have to decide whether they would continue to allow themselves to be pawns of hardline communists in the ANC/SACP alliance, Natal leader of the NP George Bartlett said when he officially opened the province's congress in Durban yesterday.

Bartlett said the time had come for the spotlight of the media and of public opinion to be focused on the ANC/SACP alliance's covert actions in SA. B10cy 6/9/91.

He said people were reading daily of one former communist-dominated country after another throwing off the yoke of oppression and "political thuggery" by ousting the Communist Party from their countries.

"Yet here in SA we have people who should know better, including some highly placed in the media, reacting to the ANC/SACP alliance as if communism had suddenly undergone a metamorphosis and transformed itself into a lily white and saintly community service organisation," he said.

There were likely to be former communists in the ranks of the ANC/SACP alliance who, like their former comrades in the Soviet Union, had changed their minds and now rejected communism, he said.

If this was so, they should stand up and say so publicly for all to hear.

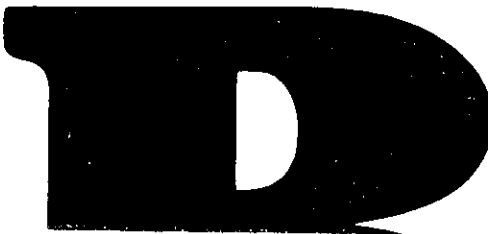
Clase moots compulsory fees plan for pupils

DURBAN — Compulsory tuition fees for pupils could soon be introduced, own affairs Education and Culture Minister Pieter Clase said yesterday. "You think". It would mean that anyone not paying the tuition fees could be sued in a court of law.

A senior NP source said afterwards that it was a complex situation which had financial as well as political implications.

He told delegates at the Natal NP congress the law provided for the institution of compulsory tuition fees as opposed to school fees which were largely voluntary. If compulsory tuition fees had to be introduced, a way of softening the blow could be to have personal tax adjustments. Something would have to be done, he said.

This, he said, could happen "sooner than — Sapa.



The more things change, the more they remain the same

W/Mant 6/9-12/9/91.

It may take 50 years for the workers' movement to regroup, and socialists must wait for the next upsurge, says Dr Baruch Hirson. **DREW FORREST** interviewed the Marxist historian in Johannesburg during a brief return from his 18-year exile

FOR things to remain the same, they must change." The ringing quote, from the novel *The Leopard* sums up South Africa's current political travail for exiled Marxist historian and former convicted saboteur Baruch Hirson.

Back in South Africa after 18 years in England, where he lectured and now writes in retirement, 69-year-old Hirson sees "irreversible change, but no transformation" in the lives of South Africans.

"Black faces on Wits campus, a black SRC president, Mandela appearing on every second TV show — it's amazing. For individuals, things may be very different, but not for the masses. The huge socio-economic problems remain."

A Trotskyist trade union organiser in the 1940s and later on the left of the African National Congress-linked Congress of Democrats, Hirson turned to sabotage out of disillusionment with congress politics. "It was a bum movement which wasn't really prepared to struggle."

In 1964 he was sentenced to nine years in jail for sabotage as a member of the tiny, largely white African Resistance Movement (ARM), leaving South Africa with his family five days after his release.

Hirson has no links with Trotskyist organisations, seeing them as irredeemably tainted by "the Stalinist belief in a tightly controlled vanguard movement". But a broad Trotskyist perspective permeates his critique of the ANC and its allies.

"South African capital will allow change so as to retain control, and the ANC and the South African Communist Party will be its willing partners," he comments.

A majority rule government, probably dominated by the ANC, is inevitable, he believes, and with it will come opportunities for an African elite. But for most South Africans, conditions will be largely untouched.

He is sharply critical of the ANC's failure to develop a coherent socio-economic programme during its 30 years of exile. "What is it going to do about schooling, about the fantastic problem of an illiterate population in a modern technological society? Why hasn't it tackled the issue of Aids? What is it going to do about the mines? I can find no policy statement ..."

As the popular movement was defeated in 1986 and there is no question of a return to guerrilla war — "talk about reviving the military struggle is absurd; there was never a struggle in the first place" — the ANC must negotiate with the government, Hirson believes.

But he also holds the movement is failing to press democratic demands with sufficient vigour. "Indemnity for exiles, for ex-



Marxist historian Baruch Hirson

Photo: Kevin Carter

ample, is an absurdity."

His view of the SACP is two-edged: on the one hand, it had "carried" and "formed the backbone" of the congress movement and, through its international contacts, secured the aid and training essential for armed struggle. But, he insists, the party "remains Stalinist through and through".

"Months before the Berlin Wall fell, the SACP was praising the successes of East Europe. It must stop perverting history, must spell out how it sees socialism being realised — it certainly won't be through the free market — it must square up to what went wrong in the Soviet Union."

Indeed, he sees the "Russian connection" as a pervasive and pernicious influence on the leadership of the movement. "When Tsarism fell, Jews were said to have danced in the streets of Johannesburg. Some are still dancing to the same tune."

Hirson's fears of an authoritarian future in South Africa are heightened, he says, by the ANC's failure to come clean on Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers allegedly tortured, defamed as South African agents and still held in Tanzanian jails after the camps mutiny.

① 11A
Their release and reinstatement has been a crusade of a journal he helps produce, *Searchlight SA*.

"We've made more progress through the British Foreign Office than through the ANC," he says. "Pallo Jordan says everyone has been freed, but we're still getting letters from people in jail."

"Only if there is an impartial inquiry, with public findings to which the leadership binds itself, will I believe it's capable of democratic practice."

He adds: "When it can't admit the problems with Winnie Mandela, who supports Saddam Hussein, when Nelson praises Arap Moi, the Soviets and Cuba — what kind of movement have we got?"

Hirson concedes the working class movement is in disarray worldwide, but is adamant that under capitalism, no solution can be found to South Africa's woes.

"It may take 50 years to overcome the setbacks, but if it doesn't happen, the world will be in a fearful mess. It will lurch from crisis to crisis, depression to depression, conflict to conflict."

There were two key problems: the absence of forces in South Africa capable of working a socialist transformation and South Africa's isolation in a hostile world, even if such a thing were possible.

"Socialism collapsed in countries like Cuba and Yugoslavia because they were islands in a capitalist sea. Obviously it can't start everywhere at the same time — but it must start in an advanced society which can trigger change elsewhere."

Although the local union movement is enormously more powerful than in his organising days, he doubts it will be a vehicle for socialism, as it is "now slipping under the thumb of the congress movement and becoming bureaucratised."

"Unions can only exist if the state incorporates them; come national liberation the pressures not to rock the boat will be overwhelming."

Can existing Trotskyist movements chart the path to a socialist order? "God help us!" Hirson scoffs, adding that all such groupings are too close to the nationalist movement to constitute independent tendencies. The right course, he says, is to analyse and develop Marxist theory in anticipation of the next worker upsurge.

"When Marx found that European workers had stopped struggling, he went back to the British Museum — it was the best thing he ever did."

"I know of very few South African Marxists of stature, and most are white. We need black Marxists who understand the people's situation and can apply theory to find a way out of it."

The ARM saboteurs of the 1960s had erred by thinking they could make the revolution. "We can only be there when revolution comes," Hirson concluded. "We should not be passive — there must constant attempts to get to workers, to organise them — but although it means biting our nails, we'll have to wait."

● A three-day conference on Marxism will be held this weekend at the University of Western Cape

CURRENT ISSUES



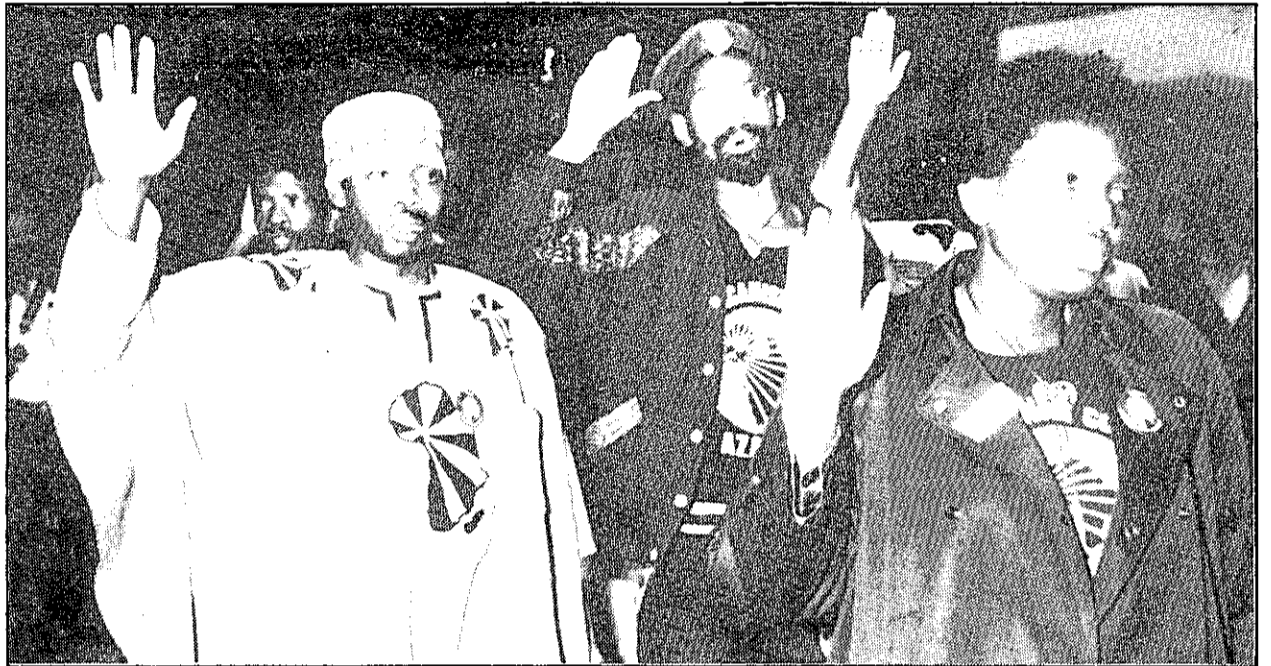
The PAC on the Constituent

Assembly

N/Nation (Learning) (N) 6/9 - 12/9/91

11A

During the last period, we have run a series on the history of constituent assemblies, as well as the ANC's position on the Constituent Assembly. You might also have read a readers response to this series. This week, we continue the debate by giving you the Pan African Congress position on the Constituent Assembly.



The formulation of a clear demand for a Constituent Assembly (CA) arises from the need of the masses to clearly spell out the mechanism for introducing the transitional phase from oppression and exploitation to a just and egalitarian society. It is not a plea to the ruling class, but it encapsulates in theoretically clear terms the aspirations of the masses. The election for a Constituent Assembly is not the final product of the new society, but merely sets in motion a new order by democratically elected and accountable leaders. It affords the opportunity for the "general will" of the masses to be determined and to prevail in society. This is what real democracy is all about.

The assumptions of a Constituent Assembly

A CA demand is based on the assumption that the current government is illegitimate and that another government is needed. It assumes that the Constitution of the country is illegitimate and unacceptable and that it needs to be scrapped. This is the main reason why the settler-colonialists cannot agree to the demand for a Constituent Assembly as it believes itself to be legitimate. It believes that it should be recognised by the liberation movement and that the current legislative procedures should be the channel for introducing "new" legislation. The illegitimate regime believes that demands should be directed at it for consideration and not to a new government. The opportunist petty-bourgeois leadership of a section of the national liberation movement exposes its opportunism brilliantly by giving legitimacy to the settler-colonialists through collaboration and calling for a Constituent Assembly! The sincere call for a CA must go hand in hand with the principle of non-collaboration!

The demand for a CA is further based on the assumption (no, fact) that the system is undemocratic and that democracy, as normally understood, can only take place in a new political dispensation under a new government. Nobody has the right to speak on behalf of the masses unless he or she has been elected. This too

is unacceptable to the ruling class as it wants its puppets to play an important role in future on the basis of mere claims of support.

PAC Proposals on the Mechanisms

The PAC proposes that elections for a CA take place on the basis of one-person-one-vote in a unitary state on a common voters roll and to a single tier Assembly by all Azanians 18 years of age and older.

There shall be 265 seats in the Constituent Assembly. Voting shall take place on the basis of proportional representivity. This means that at the end of the election the total national individual votes will be counted to determine the winner. In effect it will mean the masses will vote for an organisation and not individuals in demarcated residential areas. The residential areas are racially divided and any election based on these will be racialistic even if it is not the intention. This evil can only be avoided by proportional representivity.

Seats in the CA will be allocated according to the proportional strength of the elected parties. For example, the party with 40% of the total national individual votes will get 40% of the 265 seats in the CA. It is up to that party to decide who its representatives will be. Once seats in the CA have been allocated proportionally, the appointment of 20 constitutional experts will take place. These will be appointed by the parties in the CA on the basis of proportional strength. Again, for

example the party with 50% of the seats will appoint 50% of the Constitutional experts. The functions of the constitutional experts are to assist with the debate on the new Constitution. Once the new Constitution has been adopted the term of office of the experts will then expire. The next elections will then take place according to the new Constitution and not necessarily on the basis of the first election of the CA.

The Demand for a Constituent Assembly and Ideology

The current negotiations are taking place within the context of the ideology of the ruling class. The National Party wants to share power with credible leaders of the oppressed. In effect this means joint government and compromises of the genuine aspirations of the dispossessed African majority. It means making ideological and other concessions to the ruling classes.

A CA is the only democratic option which would allow the liberation movement maintenance of its revolutionary ideology, perspective and programme. State political power is more than just the government. It includes the security forces, prisons, laws, courts, the government and the State organs of propaganda. The Constituent Assembly does not immediately grant one full State political power, but it places one in a position to move more swiftly towards full assumption of State political power wielded in the interest of the starving and toiling masses.

Current negotiations are intended to 'share' the government only.

Full state political power is out, as is full consent of the governed. For this reason the current negotiations must be firmly rejected and the demand for a Constituent Assembly as the only democratic option must be promoted.

Who implements a Constituent Assembly

The racist South African settler ruling class has made it clear that it is against a Constituent Assembly. It is only the masses who can implement a CA in the context of struggle. The demand for a CA therefore must go hand in hand with the intensification of the struggle on all fronts. The demand for a CA is further based on the recognition that there are many liberatory forces operating in the country and that they are entitled to promote their ideas freely, both alongside each other and competitively.

When the joint effort of all liberatory forces have overthrown settler colonialism, the CA will provide the mechanism for them to seek representivity of the masses, either in an alliance or separately.

The role of the masses in the Constituent Assembly

The masses will not only elect the representatives to the CA through their party structures, but they will also have an opportunity to discuss the proposed new constitution within their parties before and during its debate in the CA.

This is markedly different from the behind-the-scenes deals the government is currently involved in with opportunist elements.

The Constituent Assembly and PAC policy

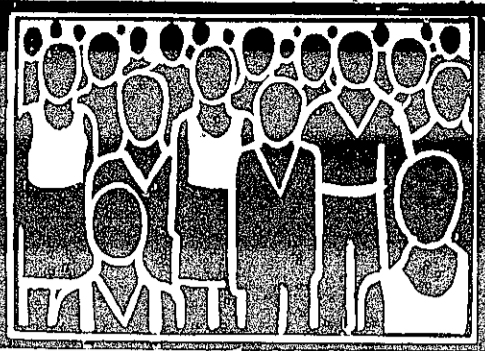
The demand for a Constituent Assembly does not introduce a shift in PAC policy. The CA provides a mechanism for destroying white domination which is in line with the second aim of the PAC.



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MATRIC HISTORY

History Revision

Preparing for the examination!

A series of articles on History revision for Standard 10 scholars will appear over the next eight weeks. These articles will outline the most important essay-type questions on key sections of the syllabus. Read these articles in conjunction with the articles which have appeared on the Matric History page of the Learning Nation throughout the year.

It is most important that you understand how the examination paper will be set. Examiners sometimes change the style of the paper but the following mark allocations remain the same.

The National Senior Certificate Examination

Two examination papers, one on general history and one on South African history, must be written. These examinations are written on different days.

Higher Grade scholars:

Essay-type questions: Two questions at 75 marks each must be answered. = 150
 Non-essay type questions = 50
 Total = 200 marks
 Paper 1: General History Topics = 200 marks
 Paper 2: South African History = 200 marks
 Total = 400 marks

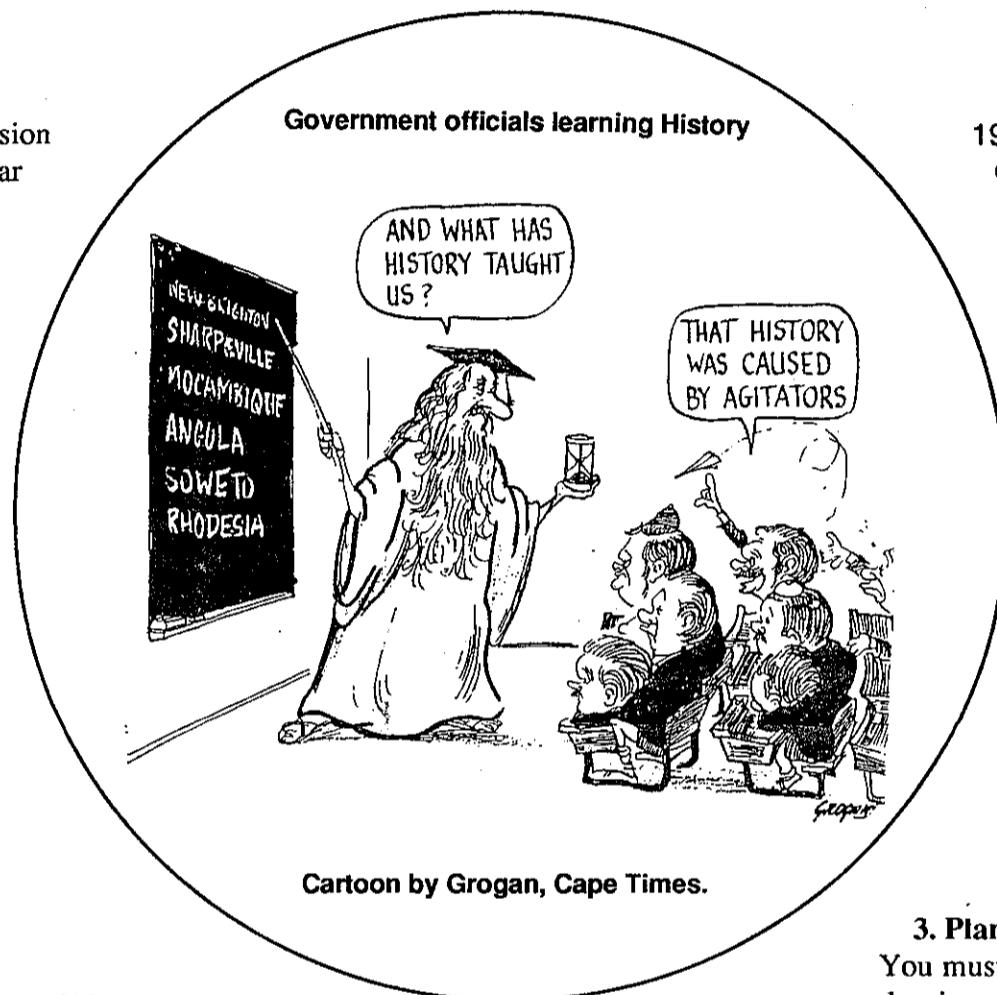
Standard Grade scholars:

Essay-type questions:
 Two questions at 50 marks each must be answered = 100
 Non-essay type questions = 50
 Total = 150 marks
 Paper 1: General History = 150 marks
 Paper 2: South African History = 150 marks
 Total = 300 marks

How to write an essay

Examiners want to see that essays are planned and written in a logical way. Many scholars might know the facts, i.e. dates and events, but be unable to write them down in a structured or

Government officials learning History



Cartoon by Grogan, Cape Times.

1936 to 1939.

- Discuss the foreign policy of Hitler from 1936 to 1939.
- List the countries affected by Hitler's foreign policy between 1936 and 1939 and state how other countries responded to it.

The words **examine, explain, discuss, list** and **state** are the instructions to be followed. If an examiner only wishes you to 'list' and 'explain', she/he is asking you to present the facts in an orderly way whereas the words 'critically discuss' or 'examine', require the scholar to present both sides of the argument.

3. Planning the essay

You must use your knowledge on the topic and write your ideas in some kind of order so that the examiner will be able to follow and understand your viewpoint. Often, if dates are given, it is wise for you to write in chronological order, in which one year follows the next. For example, if you are asked to examine Hitler's foreign policy from 1936 to 1939, you should start with the events of 1936, followed by those of 1937, etcetera.

Always write in paragraph form. One line should be left blank after each paragraph. Try to avoid grammatical and spelling mistakes. Do not write off the point. The examiner is not interested in Hitler's birth and background if the question relates to his foreign policy. **No marks are given for irrelevant information even if it is factually correct.**

Do not give your own opinion unless it is factually substantiated. It is no good writing that Hitler was racist unless you also explain the concepts of the 'Aryan race' and 'herrenvolk'.

4. The conclusion

The conclusion is the summary of the points made and discussed in your essay and states the result of this discussion. In the essay on Hitler's foreign policy, you should summarise the Nazi invasion of European countries between 1936 and 1939 and conclude by stating how these events led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Your conclusion should be short.

ordered way. The following ideas are only given to assist you in writing essays. However, if you are pleased with your own style, do not change it.

1. Understand the question set

Many scholars fail the examination because they have not read the question carefully. For example:

- Question: Explain the foreign policy pursued by Adolf Hitler between 1936 and 1939. (75)

Many students make a mistake by focusing on the words 'foreign policy' and write all the facts they know on Hitler's foreign policy from the invasion of the Rhineland in 1936 to the eventual invasion of Poland in 1939. A scholar who does this has written off the point and nearly two pages of his/her examination paper will be crossed out and labelled irrelevant. Therefore, if the question clearly states the starting point, do not waste time on background information.

Before selecting a particular essay question, you should ask yourself whether you have enough knowledge on the topic to write three to four pages on it; select facts which are relevant to the question set and follow the instructions given.

2. Instructions

Essay topics are always given with an instruction!

Here are some examples of instructions:

- Critically examine the foreign policy of Adolf Hitler from 1936 to 1939.
- Explain the foreign policy of Hitler from

Rightwing fears have to be answered, says Mandela

ARC 7/19/91

Weekend Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela says attempts have to be made to accommodate South Africa's rightwing regardless of how repugnant the ANC finds its beliefs and actions.

The African National Congress president was speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand after receiving an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.

He said those on the extreme right formed a part of South Africa's present and future.

"We do not want them to remain in the future South Africa as a Renamo-type force. Let us try to reach these people now and assure them they have nothing to fear from majority rule, nothing to fear if the ANC becomes the future government of this country, nothing to fear from black people and from equality."

This was a task the ANC as an organisation committed to creating a South Africa a home for all had to undertake, Dr Mandela said.

He was awarded his LID by the university's chancellor, Dr Mike Rosholt. The three-hour ceremony was marked by political slogans and songs clashing with orchestral and choral music.

Mr Mandela said the National Party's constitutional proposals tabled at Bloemfontein by President De Klerk were a recipe for governmental paralysis and were simply aimed at preventing majority rule from having any meaning.



THE GRADUATE: Mr Nelson Mandela at yesterday's Wits graduation ceremony

He said the NP's blueprint was aimed at ensuring accumulated privileges of white minority rule remained inviolate.

"The proposals are a recipe for continued conflict. They are proposals that, if advanced seriously, can only retard progress toward a negotiated solution."

He dismissed the proposals as a cynical exercise designed under fancy constitutional language to dupe South Africans.



CONGRATULATIONS: Eyvind Finsen, president of the Convocation at the University of the Witwatersrand, who hoods all graduates, puts the seal on Nelson Mandela's latest honour. ● Photograph: ALF KUMALO

Mandela reaches out to reassure the Right

ATTEMPTS had to be made to accommodate South Africa's right wing, regardless of how repugnant the African National Congress found its beliefs and actions, Nelson Mandela said last night.

The ANC president, speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand after receiving an honorary doctor of laws degree, said the extreme Right formed a part of South Africa's present and future.

"We do not want them to remain in the future South Africa as a Renamo-type force.

"Let us try to reach these people now and assure them that they have nothing to fear from majority rule; nothing to fear if the ANC becomes the future government of this country; nothing to fear from black people and from equality."

This was a task which the ANC, as an organisation committed to creating a South Africa which would be a home for all who lived in it, had to undertake, Mr Mandela said.

Star 4/9/91

PHIL MOLEFE and SAPA

(11A)

The ceremony was a blend of politics and solemn academic tradition.

Mr Mandela was awarded his LLD by the university's chancellor, Dr Mike Rosholt. The three-hour ceremony was marked by political slogans and songs interspersed with orchestral and choral music.

● See Pages 2, 6 and 10.

The university broke its 60-year-old tradition of hosting graduations in the Great Hall to honour "one of South Africa's greatest sons".

Thousands of well-wishers stood in silence as the academic procession moved on to the west campus's Skeen Stadium to witness Mr Mandela receiving one more doctoral award to add to more than 50 others from universities worldwide.

The university's orchestra, under the baton of Professor Walter Mony, added to the solemnity of the occasion with a rendi-

tion of the traditional graduation song, "Gaudeamus Igitur".

Conductor George Mxandana's choir sang African traditional songs composed by Professor Mzilikazi kaKumalo — much to the delight of the mixed audience, comprising academic staff, students and political activists.

In his speech, Mr Mandela said the National Party's constitutional proposals tabled in Bloemfontein by President de Klerk were a recipe for governmental paralysis and were simply aimed at preventing majority rule from having any meaning.

He said the NP's blueprint was aimed at ensuring that accumulated privileges of white minority rule remained inviolate.

"The NP proposals are a recipe for continued conflict, they are a set of proposals that, if seriously advanced, can only retard progress towards a negotiated solution."

He dismissed the proposals as a cynical exercise designed under fancy constitutional language to dupe South Africans.

SA economy ⁴⁹ CT 7/9/91

'set to grow'

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — A growth phase in the economy is at hand after the recession, the Minister of Economic Co-Ordination, Dr Dawie de Villiers, told the National Party congress yesterday.

He said there were "sound reasons for accepting that the lowest turning point in the current recession has been reached".

Dr De Villiers said that over the past few months the recession had been at its worst and even consumer spending had levelled off.

"The indicators show that the next growth phase is at hand. The expectation is that a growth rate of one or two percent next year is realistic."

Poverty

However, this was "totally insufficient" to address the high rate of unemployment in South Africa and it was critical that "much higher" growth rate was achieved.

Dr De Villiers called on all political parties in South Africa to support "growth first" policies to save the country from economic disaster and poverty, and to wrestle with other political questions separately.

"Without adequate economic growth, the ability of politicians of all persuasions to deliver the goods they envisaged will be non-existent and this spells disaster for the future," he said.

However, he acknowledged that a large part of the blame for the stagnating economy lay with poor government policies and economic strategies of the past.

Natal Nats back 'framework'

DURBAN. — The Natal National Party congress yesterday voted in favour of the new constitutional proposals, with only two delegates asking questions.

A resolution put to the congress by Natal NP leader and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr George Bartlett proposed that the plan be accepted as a framework for negotiations and the leadership be requested to continue developing and refining it.

It was unanimously accepted and enthusiastically applauded.

Dr De Villiers said that among the most important reasons hampering the ability of the South African economy to perform have been the sustained high levels of spending and massive investments by parastatal corporations without showing an acceptable return on capital.

"That era is now history. It is vital that the same mistakes should not be repeated."

Dr De Villiers said the institution of a negotiated democratic constitution without the "desperately needed economic growth" was a "recipe for disaster".

"The fact of the matter is that if our economy does not perform and develop and grow, little will be attained in terms of the political and constitutional objectives sought after by the different political parties," he said.

"Regardless of the importance

of negotiations and political agreements — and they are important — the future of our country depends on the ability of the economy to produce the goods, create jobs and establish a foundation for a new South Africa."

Dr De Villiers said there was no such thing as a quick fix in creating jobs, promoting exports and creating wealth.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, told the congress that South Africa's fund-raising drive in Europe was going well in spite of ANC resistance.

Mr Du Plessis predicted that the country's economy, battered in recent years by sanctions and lack of access to international finance, was approaching a new period of growth.

The ANC has called on international investors to snub South Africa's fund-raising efforts.

New funds

Reuters reports that the government recently said exploratory talks were under way with Germany's Deutsche Bank AG on replacement of a R330-million bond issue maturing later this year.

Finance Department Director-General Mr Gerhard Croesser said the government may take up R83 to R165 million of new funds in addition to rolling over the maturing bond.

The rollover and the new funding issue, which would be the country's first since foreign banks froze new credit in 1985, were a prelude to further fund-raising abroad, Mr Croesser said.

Why ANC rejects NP plan

THE African National Congress wants a two-house parliament for post-apartheid South Africa, but rejects President FW de Klerk's proposals for a powerful second chamber based on race or culture, foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"It's not the notion of a two-chamber parliament that is in dispute, it's how these two houses relate," Mr Mbeki told reporters at a Non-Aligned Movement conference in Accra.

"The problem is that in terms of these proposals the second chamber, which would be weighted in

S. Time 8/9/91.
Sunday Times Reporter
Accra

racial terms, would have the effect of denying majority rule."

President De Klerk this week put forward a draft constitution that would give blacks a vote for the first time in more than 40 years, but would deny them outright power.

He proposed a parliament composed of a democratically elected first house and a second house made up of an equal number of seats from each of nine regions.

The second house could veto laws proposed by the

first house and would have special powers to protect minorities. (IA)

ANC officials said the regional groups in the second chamber were intended to represent different ethnic or cultural groups. (SEA)

Mr Mbeki said the ANC's constitutional committee recommended a two-chamber system free of racial or cultural criteria.

"We can't accept a system which seems to give the right to vote to every person and then establishes institutions which make that capacity ineffectual," he said.

● Two former Labour

Party members who defected to the National Party have expressed fears that the NP's constitutional proposals might contain a hidden agenda to retain white group areas and, therefore, apartheid in disguise.

The leader of the 36 Nationalist MPs in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Rabie, said yesterday he had nothing against the maintenance of proper norms and standards.

However, if this was abused to retain white areas it would be "a fatal mistake that could scuttle all the goodwill the NP has built up so far".

Front dream closer

A FORMAL alliance between the ANC, PAC and Azapo moved a step closer to reality on Thursday when a "Patriotic Front" office was opened in a Johannesburg hotel.

Two delegates each from ANC, PAC and Azapo will man the office and lay the ground work for the conference. (11A)

The three organisations will hold a meeting this week to finalise a date for the conference. (11A)

Mosebyane Mofatsi, of the National Preparation Committee for the United/Patriotic Front Conference, said the committee was not concerned with policy matters, but with technical aspects.

A substantial sum of money was donated by other countries for the conference.

However, the concept of a patriotic front has been rejected by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

There is also disagreement between the three organisations over the status of some homeland leaders in a patriotic front. — Sapa



HONOURED ... Mandela at Wits after receiving an honorary doctorate. ■ Pic: SIPHIWE MHLAMBI

Dr Mandela, I presume

By LULAMA LUTI

ANC president Nelson Mandela was awarded an honorary doctorate in law in a colourful ceremony at Wits University in Johannesburg on Friday.

Among dignitaries who attended the ceremony were Wits academics, senior ANC members and former KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.

In his address after receiving the doctorate from Chancellor Dr AM Rosholt, Mandela dismissed the government's constitutional proposals as a cynical exercise couched in fancy constitutional language to dupe South Africans.

CIPNEY 8/9/91.

"On closer examination we see that they are not speaking of the people governing. They actually have in mind a scheme to prevent the will of the people from being realised through democratic government.

"They propose a system that will entrench minority privileges by ensuring that any majority party is powerless to make significant social changes, powerless to remove minority privileges and in many ways powerless to rule," said Mandela.

Referring to his call for the release of three rightwing hunger strikers in Pretoria's HF Verwoerd Hospital this week, Mandela said the move was part

of a need to cater for the long-term interests of the country as a whole.

"The other reasons are that we do not want any more unnecessary deaths in a country where lives, albeit mainly black lives, are very cheap. The second reason is that the ANC wants to create a basis for future reconciliation in a democratic state.

"No matter how repugnant we find the beliefs and actions of the extreme right, they form part of the South Africa of the present and the future. We do not want them to remain in the future South Africa as a Renamo-type force," he said.

Mandela also paid tribute to the late

Ruth First, who was killed by a letter bomb in Mozambique in 1982, and Wits academic and human rights fighter Dr David Webster, who was killed in 1989.

"These two patriots had to die because there are some people in this country who find the idea of human freedom repulsive. They gave their lives so that others could live in freedom," said Mandela.

After his address, Mandela received a standing ovation from the audience. They were then entertained by Imilonji ka Ntu choir who sang a song written for the occasion by choral music teacher Professor Mzilikazi Khumalo.

Students heal rift

CP Correspondent

Chap 8/9/91 (NA) (32)

IT was more than 20 years ago that Steve Biko led a group of students in the famous "walk-out" from a meeting of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

The wheel comes full circle this weekend when students launch a new, non-racial students' organisation to mark the reunification of Nusas and the South African National Students' Congress (Sansco).

In a symbolic gesture, the launch will take place in the Great Hall at Grahamstown's Rhodes University where the "walk-out" took place in 1969. Steve Biko, together with the ANC's Barney Pityana, led the action in protest against what they regarded as domination of the student body by whites.

The group also felt that Nusas did

not, at that time, cater for the needs of black students and was not active in broader national political issues. Biko and his group formed the South African Student Organisation (Saso) which was banned in October 1979.

The first tentative moves towards student unity were made five years ago when Sansco, Nusas and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) established an alliance because they regarded themselves as non-racial student movements.

A campaign against the SADF invasion of the University of the North in 1989 provided the final impetus for the formation of a joint student body.

Nusas president Steve Silver said it was out of this joint action that the idea to merge the two bodies arose. - ANA

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



ROCKY MALEBANA-METSING

Rocky for ANC rally

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

elphen 8/9/91

EXILED Bophuthatswana opposition leader Rocky Malebana-Metsing will address one of the biggest ANC rallies yet in Huhudi township near Vryburg today.

The venue is just a few kilometres from Bop where the Progressive People's Party leader is the country's most wanted man following an abortive coup attempt in February 1988.

ANC chairperson of the northern Cape region, Ruth Mompoti, said Metsing slipped quietly into South Africa recently and he is staying somewhere in Johannesburg.

Malebana-Metsing will share the platform with

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa at the rally.

Asked if Metsing did not fear being arrested or harmed by Bop police agents, Mompoti said he faced the same risk in South Africa.

Metsing was held briefly when he flew into South Africa at Jan Smuts Airport to attend the ANC's national conference in Durban in July.

He was freed hours later after he had appeared in court pending an application by Bophuthatswana Government for his extradition to the homeland. However, he later flew out of the country after the homeland authorities withdrew the application.

The R50 000 reward for Metsing's apprehension still stands.

11A



RAYMOND SUTTNER, ANC head of Political Education and NEC member, assesses the National Party's constitutional proposals presented in Bloemfontein recently.



UNDER FIRE . . . The De Klerk government is making a mistake if it thinks it has the power to permanently impose values on the South African people, says the ANC's Raymond Suttner.

WHAT should one look for in constitutional proposals in a period described as a transition away from apartheid and towards democracy?

One seeks the complete removal of racial discrimination and mechanisms for giving effect to the will of the majority — subject to safeguards for individual rights. One also seeks a constitution which would allow for a democratically-elected government to address national grievances in all areas of social life.

Such proposals should also embrace goals that are broadly acceptable to other potential negotiating partners. These are, in short, the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The Nationalist Party declares itself committed to meeting these objectives and providing a model for participatory democracy. But what democracy there is in its constitutional proposals, is completely undermined by the ludicrous range of checks and balances that are used to limit this democracy.

At the national level, the proposals envisage a two-chamber parliament, the first house elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and with proportional representation — broadly the same as what

Marginalising the majority

C/PRESS 8/9/91

11A

But there are other checks on the will of the majority that are wholly unacceptable.

The first objectionable feature is the structure of the second house, which is comprised of representatives of nine regions. Irrespective of their size or population, each of these regions has equal representation. This immediately loads decision-making against an area like the PWV, where Africans are the overwhelming majority.

This device does not satisfy the NP in their insatiable desire to deny real power to a democratic government. Each party that receives 10 percent of the vote is entitled to an equal number of seats in the region's repre-

state power.

To avoid this "tyranny", the presidency must be made lame. Consequently, the NP proposes a rotating presidency comprising three to five of the major parties, each holding office for one year at a time. Decisions are made by consensus. They appoint a cabinet to carry out their policies.

A motion of no confidence can only be passed in the entire presidential grouping and not in any individual. The overwhelming majority of parliamentarians may consider the role of one of the members of this executive college unacceptable, and contrary to national interests. They cannot get rid of this person unless they also get rid of all the other

But consensus is not always possible to achieve. What type of consensus can one achieve between those wanting equality and those wanting to retain privileges?

The process of splintering central state power continues at every level of government. At the regional level, a similar version of NP "powersharing" between the majority party and all other major parties is envisaged.

What is more, the proposals entrench power in regions. These powers may not be taken away by the central government.

An ANC preliminary discussion document noted that, if powers were devolved in a federal system, it would make it impossible for a future par-

ty to be a step forward. But the rest of the proposals negate this progress by entrenching existing residential patterns and favouring property owners, who may get more than one vote.

Likewise, the establishment of "neighbourhood committees" does not have the homely connotation one might wish. In short, it is the maintenance of group area arrangements under a new guise.

Our support for the principle of proportional representation is based on our desire to see both representative democracy and the inclusion of all interests.

This does not suffice for the Nationalist Party. Much is made of the need

the Nationalist Party has moved from seeking constitutional protection for group privileges towards building alliances.

But what the constitutional proposals show is a return to constitutional devices. This surely indicates a sense on the part of the NP that their support among blacks, especially Africans, must be insufficient to struggle for their position on the political terrain alone. It tells us something of their true estimation of Inkatha's strength as a political actor and ally.

There is an assumption, made by both today's Nationalist Party and the Democratic Party, that there is something inherently undesirable about power and that one needs

vote. They want the vote for what the vote can do. They want the vote to lead a better life. If the vote does not provide this, arguments about the inclusion of all interested parties in government and the dangers of power will not stop the country from becoming ungovernable.

Having presented the NP's set of proposals to the public, De Klerk threatens us: "The

National Party has the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which will militate against these values. We will not hesitate to use that ability."

What are the values De Klerk commits himself to?

There will be no actual transfer of power to a democratic government and impotence of a majority party.

■ "Sharing of power" between forces representing diverse interests, and commanding widely differing degrees of political support, will be enforced. The support that a party commands is nullified, the majority is outweighed by the minority. In short, the minority rules. The people do not govern!

■ A majority government will not be able to address the question of social construction, to ensure better housing, education etc, where the minority parties oppose this.

■ South Africa will be broken up into autonomous regions, weakening the central government and its capacity to tackle its social tasks nationally.

■ Property holders will be favoured, thus entrenching their capacity to resist change.

What is the capacity that De Klerk wishes to deploy against us? It is the power to determine unilaterally that certain things are not on the negotiating table, even where these are universally-ac-

cepted democratic principles.

But De Klerk is making a mistake if he thinks he has the power to permanently impose these infamous values on the South African people.

He is one person representing one million white voters. We are many, many more. Our power will not be stopped by illegal financing, state-endorsed violence or any other force that may be deployed against the cause of freedom.

De Klerk says he wants peace, but there will not be peace without democracy. The national interest demands that there be rule by the majority without any constitutional shams designed to assure permanent life to apartheid privileges.

The national interest also demands that an Interim Government of National Unity be formed so that there can be freedom of political activity — and that no party can threaten, as De Klerk does, to determine the content of negotiations.

individual rights. One also seeks a constitution which would allow for a democratically-elected government to address national grievances in all areas of social life.

Such proposals should also embrace goals that are broadly acceptable to other potential negotiating partners. These are, in short, the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The Nationalist Party declares itself committed to meeting these objectives and providing a model for participatory democracy. But what democracy there is in its constitutional proposals, is completely undermined by the ludicrous range of checks and balances that are used to limit this democracy.

At the national level, the proposals envisage a two-chamber parliament, the first house elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and with proportional representation broadly the same as what the ANC advocates.

The impact South Africa's first democratic election would have is immediately undermined by a number of devices aimed at limiting the power of the majority party or organisation.

In the first place, there are those that we accept in principle, that is, the protection of certain interests in a Bill of Rights, though what is contained in such a Bill would obviously be the subject of negotiations.

the majority

But there are other checks on the will of the majority that are wholly unacceptable.

The first objectionable feature is the structure of the second house, which is comprised of representatives of nine regions. Irrespective of their size or population, each of these regions has equal representation. This immediately loads decision-making against an area like the PWV, where Africans are the overwhelming majority.

This device does not satisfy the NP in their insatiable desire to deny real power to a democratic government. Each party that receives 10 per cent of the vote is entitled to an equal number of seats in the region's representation.

In other words, if the ANC get 60 per cent of the vote, it would get equal representation with three organisations which get little more than 10 per cent of the vote.

The result of this constitutional sophistry is that the party with majority support becomes a minority in the second house.

Even this does not satisfy the new-found converts of democracy in their objective to limit

state power.

To avoid this "tyranny", the presidency must be made lame. Consequently, the NP proposes a rotating presidency comprising three to five of the major parties, each holding office for one year at a time. Decisions are made by consensus. They appoint a cabinet to carry out their policies.

A motion of no confidence can only be passed in the entire presidential grouping and not in any individual. The overwhelming majority of parliamentarians may consider the role of one of the members of this executive college unacceptable, and contrary to national interests. They cannot get rid of this person unless they also get rid of all the other members, who may have performed in an exemplary manner.

This is clearly a recipe for paralysis.

The ANC and possibly a grouping including the Conservative Party will have to rule through consensus.

Rule by consensus is an attractive suggestion. Indeed, the ANC is trying to achieve a broad consensus over the type of South Africa that should replace the present social order.

But consensus is not always possible to achieve. What type of consensus can one achieve between those wanting equality and those wanting to retain privileges?

The process of splintering central state power continues at every level of government. At the regional level, a similar version of NP "powersharing" between the majority party and all other major parties is envisaged.

What is more, the proposals entrench power in regions. These powers may not be taken away by the central government.

An ANC preliminary discussion document noted that, if powers were devolved in a federal system, it would make it impossible for a future parliament to implement a policy of reconstruction. It would also make social and economic transformation impossible. It would affect the contents of a Bill of Rights. Social and economic rights, environmental rights etc. would be in jeopardy.

With regard to local government, the ANC acknowledged that the provisions to redraw municipal boundaries to ensure non-racial local government with one administration and one tax base

are a step forward. But the rest of the proposals negate this progress by entrenching existing residential patterns and favouring property owners, who may get more than one vote.

Likewise, the establishment of "neighbourhood committees" does not have the homely connotation one might wish. In short, it is the maintenance of group area arrangements under a new guise.

Our support for the principle of proportional representation is based on our desire to see both representative democracy and the inclusion of all interests.

This does not suffice for the Nationalist Party. Much is made of the need to include every interested party and ensure that no party is left out of government.

But where in the world are parties compelled to enter into coalitions with other parties, especially ones that may represent diametrically different interests?

Some people ask whether we are surprised by the NP proposals. Personally, I am surprised in that it is something of a regression.

It has been argued that

the Nationalist Party has moved from seeking constitutional protection for group privileges towards building alliances.

But what the constitutional proposals show is a return to constitutional devices. This surely indicates a sense on the part of the NP that their support among blacks, especially Africans, must be insufficient to struggle for their position on the political terrain alone. It tells us something of their true estimation of Inkatha's strength as a political actor and ally.

There is an assumption, made by both today's Nationalist Party and the Democratic Party, that there is something inherently "undesirable" about power and that one needs to curb it.

We support a justiciable Bill of Rights, because we do not want to see the abuses of the South African past or that of other countries repeated.

But power is necessary to make the attainment of political freedom more than an empty shell, to address all the social questions that have to be resolved to make peace lasting.

It is very shortsighted to assume that blacks will settle for a meaningless

vote. They want the vote for what the vote can do. They want the vote to lead a better life. If the vote does not provide this, arguments about the inclusion of all interested parties in government and the dangers of power will not stop the country from becoming ungovernable.

Having presented the NP's set of proposals to the public, De Klerk threatens us: "The

Nation capacity adopted which will not that at What Klerk to? The transfer of democracy and imperial

Azapo to mark ^{11A}

Biko anniversary

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff *SKW 9/9/91*

The Azanian People's Organisation has lined up a host of activities to mark the 14th anniversary of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko's death.

Mr Biko, the founding father of the philosophy of Black Consciousness, died in police custody in Pretoria on September 12 1977. He had been driven, naked, in a jeep from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria.

Azapo national organiser Fundile Mafongosi said his organisation had declared September 6-12 Black Consciousness Week.

During this week, various activities had been planned to commemorate the death of Mr Biko, who had "sacrificed his life for the total liberation of black people in Azania".

Some of the activities during the week included videos and films, seminars, workshops and commemoration services.

Mr Mafongosi said these activities would be held throughout the country in the evenings.

Cape Times, Monday, Sep

Talks now hinge on Patriotic Front

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

(11A) CT9/9/91

THE timing and nature of the long-awaited all-party conference marking the start of negotiation now hinges largely on the Patriotic Front conference.

The leadership of both the National Party and the ANC have expressed the hope that negotiations for a new constitution will get under way soon — but both agree that the much-delayed Patriotic Front conference involving about 50 liberation and anti-apartheid organisations will have to take place first.

And the outcome of the PF conference — called in a bid to forge a common approach among disadvantaged groups to negotiations with government — could also play a significant role in the tone and the content of an all-party conference.

Both President F W de Klerk and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe acknowledged last week that the timing and tenor of negotiations could be influenced by what they see as the ANC's bid to use the PF conference to get opposition groupings to "gang up" on the ruling NP.

The PF conference has been postponed several times and the joint organisers — the ANC, PAC

and Azapo — are now hoping that the event can be staged early next month.

Despite these difficulties, Mr De Klerk remains optimistic.

He told both the NP's federal congress in Bloemfontein and the party Natal congress in Durban last week: "After two years of hard work, we are on the threshold of negotiations for a new constitution."

He noted that "a great deal of progress" had recently been made among various parties as a result of the church- and business-led initiative aimed at curbing violence and intimidation.

ANC still stands accused

DETENTION without trial, interrogation under torture, the disappearance of political opponents . . .

It could be a litany of ANC charges against South Africa's white rulers, but this time the accusations are levelled against the anti-apartheid movement itself.

Thirty-two former prisoners of the movement returned to South Africa in August, saying ANC jailers were no better than their counterparts in Pretoria.

"They brought false charges against me that I was a spy for the South African police," said one of the group, Mr Patrick Dlongwana.

"They forced confessions out of me with torture."

The prisoners were held in African states by the ANC during the 30 years it spent as an outlawed movement waging guerilla warfare from exile against white minority rule in South Africa.

President FW de Klerk last year launched reforms to end apartheid and include the newly legitimised ANC and other black groups in the drafting of a new nonracial constitution.

Sowetan 9/9/91
The International Committee of the Red Cross first tried to investigate conditions in ANC prisons 15 years ago, but the anti-apartheid movement refused access.

The ANC agreed to allow an ICRC probe only after releasing the 32 prisoners, who it said were the last in its custody.

The Red Cross said it wanted to verify that the ANC had no more prisoners and would discuss the cases of about 50 people alleged to have gone missing in ANC custody.

"If the Red Cross wants to visit the empty prisons, they're free to do so," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said.

Together with senior aides, including his wife Winnie, Mandela met 17 of the 32 in an effort to defuse criticism of the movement.

He promised all their complaints would be investigated and said measures would be taken to protect them against retribution.

The former prisoners include Mr Gabriel Sethloke, whose family wrote a letter to *The Star* naming several people alleged to have disappeared while in ANC custody.

"I'm afraid of this so-called new South Afri-

ca," the letter writer said. "We are going to have a government of crooks."

According to Dlongwana and others released from ANC detention, their experiences were similar to those of anti-apartheid activists who fell foul of the South African Government.

Dlongwana (32) said he first ran into trouble with the ANC in his hometown of Port Elizabeth because his sympathies were with the rival Pan Africanist Congress.

A petrol bomb attack on his home killed his mother.

"I went to Lusaka in 1986 to meet senior ANC officials and sort out my problems," he said. "But they accused me of being a spy and interrogated me under torture."

He said that, after months in detention, an ANC tribunal sentenced him to 15 years hard labour on the basis of confessions extracted under torture.

Most of his time in detention was spent doing hard labour in Quatro camp in Angola.

"We had to crush stones because prison guards said that's what Nelson Mandela was doing on Robben Island," said Dlongwana,

who describes himself as a playwright.

"The ANC destroyed me politically, mentally and physically," he said. "I used to be active politically, but after what the ANC did to me I want nothing more to do with politics."

He said his health had been ruined by two hunger strikes he launched to protest at prison conditions and by beatings from ANC guards. One beating had given him epileptic fits, he said.

"Sometimes in Quatro I thought it would be better to be in a South African jail."

Four other men released with him made similar allegations of wrongful imprisonment and ill-treatment against the ANC.

Most of the 32 promised the ANC they would keep silent about their experiences as part of attempts at reconciliation.

One of them, Mr Jose Ribeiro de Souza, said he had made the promise to ensure his own safety. He said he had received threatening phone calls since returning to South Africa.

Allegations of ANC maltreatment of detainees first emerged last year when some escaped from prison camps.

The detainees, some of whom were being punished for a mutiny, said they had been beaten and locked in metal transport containers in the sun.

Mandela acknowledged at the time that some guards had been guilty of excesses but said steps had been taken to halt abuses.

The ANC, which describes the 32 men who returned in August as notorious agents, says all prisoners in its custody have been accounted for. - Sapa-Reuter

Strike talks continue (13)

UNION and management officials at De Beers' Jwaneng mine, Botswana, continued talks at the weekend to try to resolve a five-day strike sparked by protests over the difference between Botswana artisans' wages and those received by expatriate artisans.

B/D
9/9/71

SA got more than R600m aid in 1990

(11A) TIM COHEN

MORE than R600m in aid reached SA last year, excluding funding given to political parties, an article in the International Affairs Bulletin suggests.

The ANC and Swapo received R142m each in 1989 from the Swedish government alone. And the ANC would probably get that amount for several years, says the article, written by Alan Whiteside from Natal University's Economic Research Unit.

The largest individual bilateral donor listed in the article is the US, which provided R80m in 1986/87 for education, human rights and black private enterprise development.

Bilateral (or single country) donors gave some R229m in 1990, of which the European Development Fund, which is attached to the EC, provided R42m.

Multilateral aid (from agencies representing more than one country or group), which is currently comparatively small, will increase dramatically beginning next year and increase steadily until about 1997 peaking at about R500m. *B/Dan 9/9/91*

Whiteside concludes that the flow of aid to SA is much greater than is generally realised.

In addition, the aid given to SA is very different from aid given to most countries as it has political rather than developmental goals.

(11A)
Black pupils urged to learn

9/9/91

By SELLO MOTLHABAKWE

THE Azanian Students Movement has called on pupils to drop demands which blocked educational and black progress.

Speaking at The Black Consciousness Week held in honour of Steve Bantu Biko in Mphatlalatsane Hall in Sebokeng on Saturday, an Azasm representative said:

"There are organisations among whom are intellectuals and liberals who mislead our people and frustrate unity."

Azanian People's Organisation executive member Mr Lybon Mabasa said: "Had Biko not been killed, there would not have been a February 2 and cheap talk of a new South Africa".

The service was attended by about 200 people. Several speakers sketched Biko's history as an activist and the political, cultural and student movements founded on his ideas.

2000-9-91

'Militias long overdue'

Sowetan 9/9/91
THE PAC's suggested parent militias were long overdue, according to callers to the *Sowetan/Radio Metro* Talkback show at the weekend.

Parents and teachers alike supported the idea, suggested by the PAC as part of a plan to help students pass upcoming examinations.

The PAC has attributed the education crisis to boycott calls by gangs of youths in the name of the liberation struggle.

Douglas, a teacher from Mamelodi, said parent militias were long overdue.

He said pupils were being used for political purposes and urged parents to get involved in the education of their children.

Peter from Vaal said if teachers were not doing their duty, parents

(IA)
would have to get together to discuss what measures to take.

"Parents should also ensure that appropriate steps are taken to revive the culture of learning and restore

discipline in schools," Peter said.

Makanda from Mamelodi said pupils were intimidated by small groups of pupils who were disrupting schooling.

"If parents could stand up, the situation could be resolved and schooling could revert to normality," Makanda said.

"I fully supported the move. It's time that parents were involved in the education of their children and should ensure that proper discipline is in place."



Pressure mounts on ANC from own allies

11A
Sowetan 9/9/91

THE ANC came under pressure this week to get under way with multiparty talks and a Patriotic Front congress.

In Government circles and among the ANC's Patriotic Front partners, suspicion is mounting that the ANC has embarked on delaying actions.

Pressure on the movement is set to grow, possibly to the point of a show-down on Tuesday, when PF allies will demand the ANC's firm commitment to a date for a founding congress for the front.

Repeated postponement of the congress, agreed to at a Harare meeting with the PAC and Azapo earlier this year, has been blamed on the ANC.

Excuse

The latest excuse, related to a shortage of funds, has been resolved with substantial foreign funding but there is still no sign of ANC agreement to a date.

This has led to suspicions, reinforced by information received from senior ANC officials this week, that the ANC is trying to go it alone in dealing with the Government, ostensibly to get agreement on an interim government.

Since the "Inkathagate" scandal, the ANC had become overconfident and eager to "grab for power," one source said.

The perception that the ANC had dismissed the front was given further impetus by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela himself when he declared the front was "irrelevant to the speed of negotiations".

The Government has also seen the PF postponements as a deliberate tactic to delay a multiparty conference. NP negotiators expressed serious concern this week.

Delay

Senior ANC officials countered that internal divisions in the PAC and Azapo on negotiating with the Government was causing the delay. These internal squabbles had to be settled, preferably in favour of negotiations, before the Patriotic Front conference could go ahead, the officials said.

PAC and Azapo sources emphatically denied there were such rifts within their organisations.

They said it was possible, even probable, that the ANC did not like their opposition to an interim government.

They were convinced the ANC was skirting their opposition to it by perpetual postponement of the PF congress while continuing to press for an ANC-dominated interim government.

The National Party leadership flatly rejected an interim government this week.

- Sapa.

Winnie Mandela gets her job back as head of ANC's social welfare department

(11A) ARG 10/9/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, has been reinstated as head of the ANC's welfare department.

Mrs Mandela, a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), was relieved of her position more than a month ago when she and Mr Mandela were abroad. The job was given to senior ANC and South African Communist Party member Miss Cheryl Carolus without any explanation.

However, in the meantime Mrs Mandela has continued in her job, holding meetings with returning exiles and former ANC prisoners in her capacity as head of the welfare department.

At a press conference here yesterday ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa announced that Mrs Mandela had been re-appointed head of the social welfare department and Miss Carolus had been appointed head of the human resources and health departments.

Mrs Mandela's initial appointment as head of the welfare department last year, at a time when she was facing a trial on the "Stompie Seipei affair", was greeted by widespread criticism inside and outside ANC circles.

Her appointment, supported by then ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, was slated by pro-ANC social workers who sent a delegation to the organisation's then NEC, asking for the appointment to be reconsidered.

Mr Mandela rallied around his wife, saying she would be the first to resign her position if she was found guilty as charged in a court of law.

ANC treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi will "assume ultimate responsibility" for welfare work to the organisation's 26-member National Working Committee (NWC), according to Mr Ramaphosa.

Mrs Mandela is not a member of the NWC, and Mr Ramaphosa said there were not enough NWC members to head each one of the ANC's departments. The appointment of non-NWC members as head of departments was, therefore, "really just a case of convenience".

Mandela scuttles conference optimism

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has poured cold water on the government's optimism that a multi-party conference may be held as early as October.

At a media briefing, Mr Mandela said he wished he could share Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen's optimism about the speedy start to constitutional negotiations.

"Whether there will be talks this year regarding the all-party conference will depend on a number of things. It is extremely difficult for us to say with certainty that talks will start this year. They may or may not."

Mr Mandela said talks on a new dispensation remained suspended "for the time being", since the government had complied "significantly" with only one of seven demands made by the ANC in April.

That was the removal of former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan from their portfolios.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed the organisation's continuing internal restructuring process and the appointment of executive members to head several departments.

He said that Mrs Winnie Mandela had been appointed head of the welfare department and Mrs Frene Ginwala head of research. Mrs Mandela would report to the National Executive Committee and Miss Ginwala to the treasurer-general's office.

The only member of the NEC not to have been allocated a department was Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani. His position would be decided next month when the NEC met to discuss the South African Communist Party's request that he be allowed to work for the party.

Winnie gets position back as head of ANC welfare

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Winnie Mandela has been reinstated as head of the ANC's welfare department, it was announced at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mrs Mandela, a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), was relieved of her position more than a month ago when she and Mr Mandela were abroad. The job was given to senior ANC and South African Communist Party member Cheryl Carolus without explanation.

In the meantime, Mrs Mandela has continued in her job, holding meetings with returning exiles and former ANC prisoners as head of the welfare department.

At the media briefing yesterday, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa announced that Mrs Mandela had been reappointed, and Miss Carolus had been appointed head of the human resources and health departments.

Mrs Mandela's initial appointment as head of the welfare department last year, at a time when she was on trial in the Stompie Seipei case, was greeted by widespread criticism inside and outside ANC circles.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi will "assume ultimate responsibility" for welfare work to the organisation's 26-member National Working Committee (NWC), according to Mr Ramaphosa.

Mrs Mandela is not a member of the NWC, and Mr Ramaphosa said there were not enough NWC members to head each one of the ANC's departments. The appointment of non-NWC members as head of departments was, therefore, "really just a case of convenience".

● ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday poured cold water on the Government's optimism that a multiparty conference on the country's constitutional future might be held as early as next month.

At a media briefing in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said: "Whether there will be talks this year will depend on a number of things."

ANC gives Winnie back her job

(11A)

CTP/191

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs. Winnie Mandela has been reinstated as head of the African National Congress's Welfare Department after it was recently announced she had been replaced.

The ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, made the new announcement at a press conference here yesterday.

It was announced more than a month ago — while ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife were abroad — that Mrs Mandela had been replaced by senior ANC and SA Communist Party member Ms Cheryl Carolus.

Mr Ramaphosa said Ms Carolus had now been appointed head of the departments of Human Resources and Health.

The ANC treasurer-general, Mr Thomas Nkobi, would "assume ultimate responsibility" to the organisation's 26-member national working committee for welfare work.

"But, that department on its own will continue being headed by Comrade Winnie Mandela."

Mr Ramaphosa also announced that ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma was now a member of the organisation's Negotiations Commission.

One other person, a woman still to be chosen, will also be joining the commission which is headed by Mr Mandela.

Patriotic front parties meet

119 10/9/91
TIM COHEN

HIGH-level delegations from the ANC, PAC and Azapo meet in Johannesburg today to finalise arrangements for the much-postponed patriotic front conference, expected to take place early next month.

The conference, which will probably draw about 500 delegates from 40 organisations, was due to take place last week.

The repeated postponements have drawn criticism from government, which has accused the groups of trying to stall negotiations by delaying the conference.

At a news conference yesterday, Nelson Mandela said the ANC was not dragging its heels. It was not essential that the patriotic front conference take place before multi-party talks could be held.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley said today's meeting would decide when the conference would be held, who would attend and what the agenda would be.

The meeting would be attended by about 10 leaders from each of the three main political groups, he said. His organisation would be pushing for equal representation for the main groups, while the other organisations would each have about a quarter the voting strength of one of the three.

Moodley said Azapo and the PAC had agreed on a set of criteria for attendance, which included a stipulation that the organisations involved should be "organisations of the oppressed", have a national character and support a constituent assembly. They were therefore against the inclusion of the DP, since it did not comply with the first and last criteria.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday he expected the meeting to reach finality on all the main issues.



ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in the foreground, and ANC president Nelson Mandela at yesterday's media briefing. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela rules out early start to talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday cooled speculation that multiparty negotiations could start as early as next month.

He told a news conference that Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen was being optimistic when he said talks were imminent.

"He (Viljoen) is basing his optimism on informal talks government had with the ANC prior to our suspending constitutional talks in April," Mandela said.

He said government had not met all the ANC's demands set out in its ultimatum. *8/Day 10/9/97*

"The only compliance so far has been the removal of Ministers (Magnus) Malan and (Adriaan) Vlok from their respective portfolios (Defence and Law and Order)."

Stopping township violence was the main issue, he said.

"Constitutional talks are still suspended for the time being," he said, denying reports that secret talks were going on between government and the ANC.

Mandela 'cool' on early talks

ct 10/9/91

(114)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday cooled speculation that multi-party negotiations would start as early as next month.

Speaking at a press conference, he said Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen was being very optimistic when he said the talks were imminent.

"I wish I can be also. He (Dr Viljoen) is basing his optimism on informal talks the government had with the ANC prior to our suspending constitutional talks in April."

Mr Mandela said the multi-party constitutional talks were dependent on a number of things and the government had as yet not met all the ANC's demands set out in its ultimatum. Stopping violence was the main issue at that stage.

No deadline for ANC students

CT 10/19/81
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC yesterday denied that about 100 of its members studying at institutions in the Soviet Union had been given a deadline to leave the country by November 9. (11) (3)

"Nothing could be further from the truth. Students involved in study courses have been given assurances that they can complete their courses," the ANC's Moscow representative Mr Temba Thabethe said.

Now SACP attacks Gorbachev

11A
CT 10/9/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party has done an about-turn on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and now says he seems to be far more concerned with preserving his presidency "at whatever price" than with rescuing socialism.

It has also attacked the "outpouring of chauvinistic and petty bourgeois nationalisms" in the smaller republics of the Soviet Union and increasingly in the Russian Republic itself.

Shortly before President Gorbachev was restored to power after the abortive coup and before it was known that it would fail, the SACP sent him messages of support and condemned the coup as unconstitutional.

However, in an analysis of the situation in the Soviet Union by the SACP's Internal Leadership Group, which is to be published in the party journal, *Umsebenzi*, on Thursday, Mr Gorbachev and the Russian president, Mr Boris Yeltsin, are strongly criticised.

The group says the SACP supported Mr Gorbachev's attempts to democratise and restructure socialism in the Soviet Union.

"However, these attempts have had their own weaknesses and limitations.

"In the first place, Gorbachev tried to democratise society, without paying sufficient attention to democratising

the instruments for carrying out his policy (the state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union)."

Another feature of Mr Gorbachev's reforms had been their ad hoc character and while restructuring was essential, the process had been one of zig-zags, says the group.

"Some of this ad hoc zig-zagging has also been apparent in Gorbachev's stand since the coup.

"In the early hours after his return to Moscow he spoke of a socialist renewal. But since then, very little had been heard of the word 'socialism'.

"Gorbachev has seemed to be far more concerned with preserving his presidency, at whatever price, than with rescuing the socialist project."

The CPSU had a massive membership of 15 million yet it failed to bring its members out in decisive action, either against the coup or even in favour of it, says the group.

It is clear that the CPSU is internally divided and paralysed, it adds.

However, the group condemns "absolutely" the anti-democratic banning of the party in many republics as well as its unconstitutional and summary suspension by Mr Gorbachev.

"The SACP also notes the deafening silence on this question from the side of all those local voices, all 'the champions of multi-party democracy' who condemned (correctly), the illegality of the coup."

Gorbachev hanging onto his job ^{11A} SACP

B/Doc 10/9/91
 SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev seems to be more concerned with hanging on to his job "at whatever price" than with rescuing socialism, the SA Communist Party has said in a detailed reaction to last month's failed coup.

With the break-up of the union of 15 republics under way, the SACP warns against the domination of smaller republics by the "great Russian chauvinism which (Boris) Yeltsin is already fanning".

The analysis, by the internal leadership group of the SACP, appears in the September edition of Umsebenzi, the party's official organ, which will be published on Thursday.

Despite the seriousness of the crisis facing communism, there is no need for a "dramatic U-turn" by the SACP, says the article.

The free market system Yeltsin and others are promising will not benefit the majority.

The problem with Gorbachev's perestroika reform process is it has been a revolution from above instead of from below.

The once all-powerful Soviet Communist Party was criticised by its SA counterpart.

"It said and did nothing — either against the coup, or even in favour of the coup. It was absent as a political force in the crucial hours after the crumbling of the coup as well. It is clear that the CPSU was internally divided and paralysed."

However, "having noted the massive failure

of the CPSU, at the same time we condemn absolutely the anti-democratic banning of the party in many republics, and its unconstitutional and summary suspension by Gorbachev.

"As general secretary, Gorbachev had no power to unilaterally suspend the party. That right belongs to the party congress alone."

Gorbachev's reforms have lacked an overall coherence. "While restructuring was essential, the process has been one of zig-zags."

This has also been evident in the Soviet leader's stand since the coup failed.

"In the early hours after his return to Moscow, he spoke of a socialist renewal. But since then, very little has been heard of the word socialism.

"Gorbachev has seemed to be far more concerned with preserving his presidency, at whatever price, than with rescuing the socialist project," the SACP charges.

Its criticisms, however, in no way underrate the enormous difficulties facing Gorbachev, nor are they a justification for the illegal coup which has derailed the process of socialist reconstruction even more, says the analysis.

The essential cause of the crisis was still "the separation of socialism and democracy".

The analysis concludes: "Sooner or later, we are confident that socialist forces and working people will regroup to defend what is left of their revolution, to learn from errors, and to advance once more." — Sapa.

City council threat to rate defaulters

TANIA LEVY

JOHANNESBURG ratepayers thinking of refusing to pay sharply higher rates bills should think again.

They could have their property sold by the city council at a public auction.

Johannesburg deputy city treasurer Lucas Opperman said last week that the council was legally entitled to sell property in execution to get the money for unpaid assessment rates.

He said the council would issue a summons before proceeding along this route.

Opperman said the council had seldom had to take action against people refusing to pay rates. And it did not expect a boycott of payments following the recent increases in rates. *B/Doc 10/9/91*

Many ratepayers were outraged by the substantial increase in assessment rates reflected in the July accounts.

But Opperman said there had been fewer complaints after ratepayers received their August accounts, which also reflected the 10% decreases in electricity charges.

The rates hikes came after a municipal revaluation of all Johannesburg properties. The value of many properties has been increased substantially and assessment rates have gone up by as much as 200% in some cases.

Opperman said ratepayers now had no avenues to appeal against increases. He pointed out that they could have attended public hearings on the valuation roll earlier this year, before the roll was approved.

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October ^(11th)
dates set ¹⁹⁹¹

for Patriotic Front talks

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE often-postponed Patriotic Front conference organised by three liberation movements will be held in Durban from October 24 to 27.

The conference, organised by the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, is the first attempt to bridge the ideological divide between the political groups.

At the end of deliberations organisers hope to have "a united response to the country's constitutional problems and a call for the transfer of power to the people," said PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai.

Asked if the Durban conference would delay government plans to hold a multi-party conference, Mr Desai said: "I don't know — that is for them to say. But it may well do."

The final dates for the conference were set at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his PAC and Azapo counterparts Mr Clarence Makwetu and Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe.

Afterwards the joint preparatory committee, headed by PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, ANC member Mr Ibrahim Ishmail Ibrahim and the Rev Joe Seoka of Azapo, said: "The meeting was cordial and frank and dealt with a wide range of issues, substantive and preparatory, relating to the process leading to the transfer of power and democratisation of our country as well as the formation of a Patriotic Front."

Doubts over negotiations

11A


Sowetan 11/9/91

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress doubts that a multi-party conference can start in the near future have caused confusion among government negotiators.

Government members will probably seek clarification on the remarks on Monday of the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who said he did not share the optimism of constitutional development minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen about a speedy start to constitutional negotiations.

Mandela said it was unlikely that multiparty talks would be convened this year because the ANC's

suspension of constitutional talks with the Government was still in place.

"Whether there will be talks this year regarding the all-party conference will depend on a number of things. It is extremely difficult for us to say with certainty that talks will start this year. It may or it may not."

When Viljoen spoke of informal talks between the Government and the ANC, he was probably referring to talks which took place before the suspension of constitu-

tional discussions in April.

He said the Government had complied with only one of the ANC's seven demands so far: the removal of the former Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defence from their portfolios.

Mandela said the patriotic front conference would take place after the signing of the peace accord and before the multi-party conference. The reason for its postponement was "purely logistical" - not because of differences of opinion.

A meeting between the conveners of the patriotic front conference - ANC, PAC and Azapo - was due

to take place yesterday to finalise arrangements.

Viljoen said in reaction today that he could only refer to earlier comments by the ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who said a multiparty conference could start by mid-September.

Mandela said the historic peace accord, to be signed on Saturday, had a better chance of succeeding than previous bilateral peace agreements between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He said the ANC would definitely sign the accord.

ay September 11 1991

October *Sowetan* (11A) launch 11/9/91 for Front

**Political
Correspondent**

A PATRIOTIC Front will be launched in Durban between October 25 to 27, the convenors - the ANC, PAC and Azapo - said in a statement yesterday.

The announcement followed a day's heated discussion at a Johannesburg hotel by delegates of the three organisations.

This is the third time the date has been changed and the second time for the venue.

The launch was initially scheduled for Cape Town on August 22 and 23.

It was later changed to September 6. The idea of a Patriotic Front was first mooted in November last year at a meeting in Harare between the ANC and PAC.

Since the Harare meeting, Azapo has been given full co-organiser status after it protested against being "given" lesser status.

The Front will bring together about 500 delegates from many political, church and business-organisations.

It is understood that a committee will be formed during the talks to find a way to approach the Government in discussions with it.

Patriotic front meeting set for next month

ANC, PAC and Azapo leaders yesterday agreed a conference to launch a patriotic front would definitely go ahead in Durban on October 25 to 27.

The meeting of the patriotic front's national working committee was led by the presidents of the three organisations and was "cordial and frank", a joint statement said.

Participants said afterwards that discussion was continuing about which organisations would be invited to the conference.

There was therefore no final decision on parties such as the DP, the Labour Party and homeland political parties.

It was agreed that the conference would take decisions by consensus, main-

TIM COHEN

ly because the aim of the conference was to establish joint minimum demands.

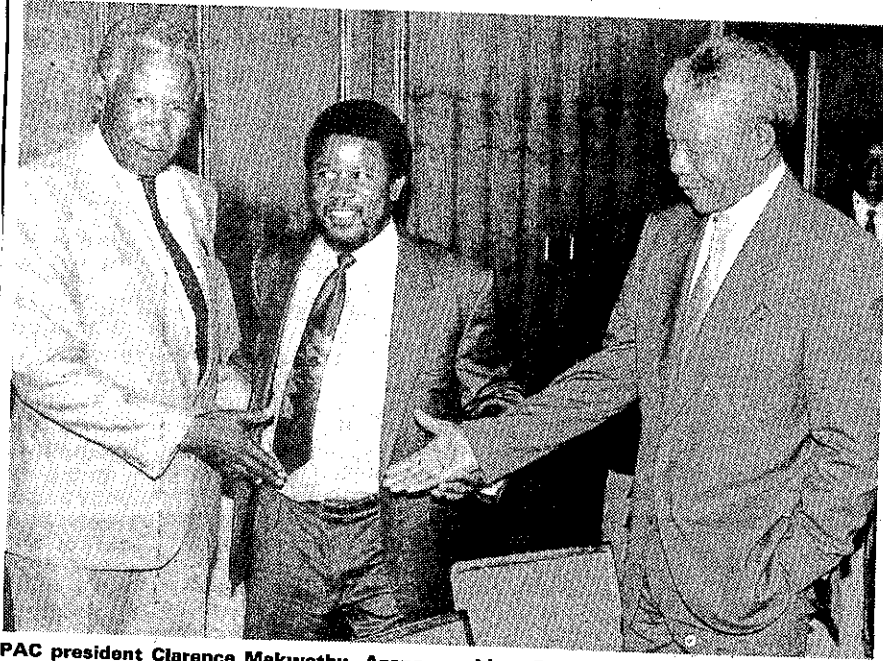
However, it was proposed that the three main political groups would have 24 delegates each, the two main union groupings (Cosatu and Nactu) 20 each and other political groups six each.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai described the meet-

ing as "very positive" and said everything would now proceed according to plan.

Azapo representative Steven Peter said guiding principles to decide who would be invited were discussed yesterday.

Among the principles suggested were that the organisations involved should have a history of non-collaboration, should represent "the oppressed" and support the concept of a constituent assembly.



PAC president Clarence Makwethu, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and ANC president Nelson Mandela at a meeting yesterday at which details of a patriotic front were discussed.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Winnie ^(11A)
CT 11/9/91
'was never
removed'

Political Staff

THE ANC went out of its way yesterday to say that Mrs Winnie Mandela had never been removed from her post as head of its department of social welfare.

"Comrade Winnie Mandela has not been reinstated, as she was never removed, and it is the channel of accountability and responsibility to the national working committee that has been streamlined," it said.

It was the ANC's considered view that stories that she had been reinstated were "a gross misrepresentation of the actual process and structure of the ANC".

The statement said that, in terms of the restructuring announced earlier this week, Ms Cheryl Carolus remained head of health and human resources. — Sapa

IDT gave R1,5bn to 150 projects

CT 11/9/91

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Independent Development Trust (IDT) had allocated R1,48 billion to 150 projects during the first 12 months of its existence, its executive director, Mr Jan Steyn, said yesterday.

The trust, which began operations in August 1990 with a R2 billion grant from the government, had also earned R332 million in interest and capital growth, a yield of 17,8%, by the end of June this year, Mr Steyn said in the IDT's first report.

A subsidiary company, IDT Finance Corporation, had been launched to address the need to finance houses and it had secured the first tranche of R120 million from eight institutions.

The IDT aimed to raise R500 million from the private sector

for low-cost housing with a new instrument called Collateralised Housing Investment Paper (Chips), which had been developed with UAL Merchant Bank.

However, Mr Steyn said: "I must confess to some disappointment at the reluctance of private enterprise to think imaginatively in developing and exploiting opportunities to participate in activities which do, perhaps, carry extra risk but which are nevertheless defensible and, in a longer-term evaluation, most certainly in the national, and business's own, interest."

Remarkable

But he expressed his appreciation to particularly the Private Sector Initiative to which leading companies had contributed some R550 million.

Mr Steyn said the IDT had

achieved some remarkable results in its first year.

"In the fractured and often violent environment in which we have had to operate, our support base has grown.

Although the IDT's objectives were to break the cycle of poverty and promote self-reliance, it wished to do that through existing agencies, not do it themselves.

The trust's operations had to be structured in such a way that those who benefitted had a sense of ownership of the achievements.

"As a term, community participation is both little understood and much abused."

The pressure on the trust to select projects and invest funds was immense but it was determined not to be injudicious or indiscriminate in making its investments, Mr Steyn said.

Closing the black divide

11A REC 12/9/91

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THREE liberation movements bound together only by their determination to end apartheid may sink the differences dividing them when they hold their Patriotic Front conference next month.

The meeting, from October 24 to 27, has been organised by the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Churches and trade unions are among other organisations invited to attend.

The movements are divided about talks with the government and their vision of a new South Africa.

The ANC, the biggest and oldest of the three, has had exploratory talks about removing obstacles to negotiations but the PAC and Azapo have refused contact with government.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in August that a temporary all-party administration was indisputable.

He pressed his demands for a government of national unity to run the country during constitutional negotiations while

opening the 30th annual conference of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Venda.

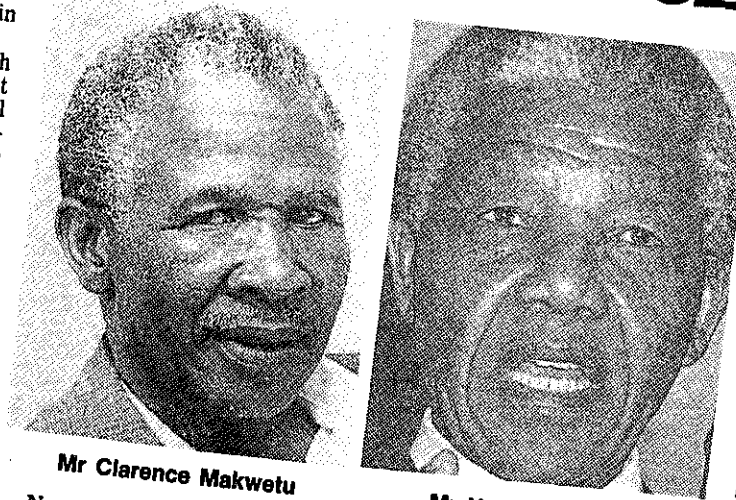
The demand was in line with the ANC's call for a constituent assembly based on a non-racial election as the only accountable and democratic structure for the creation of a new constitution.

He said — in Durban the same month — that the core of the democracy for which the ANC struggled was one-person-one-vote in a unitary state, but it also recognised the need for checks and balances.

He added it was important for all South Africans to "develop their roots in this African soil" and for whites not to think of themselves as Europeans first.

He said: "We want to ensure that there will be no wish to flee, that there will be genuine mutual respect in a country that we will all be able to consider our home."

In this united, democratic, non-sexist and non-racial home, all South Africans would have single citizenship and nationality and common loyalty to a united country, according to the ANC Constitutional Principles.



Mr Clarence Makwetu

Mr Nelson Mandela

Non-negotiables are demands for one-person-one-vote, the liberation of women, the protection of fundamental human rights, and majority rule.

The ANC also favours a mixed economy and one education department.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander has rejected the idea of an interim government because it would not be democratically elected.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai said the movement fa-

voured an interim authority to oversee free and fair elections for a constituent assembly which would draw up a new constitution.

The PAC adheres to the UN General Assembly Declaration on apartheid, which says it co-authored with the ANC, and which says:

- South Africa shall become a united, non-racial and democratic state;

- All citizens shall enjoy common and equal citizenship

and nationality regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; and

- All citizens will enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedom and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched bill of rights.

Like the ANC, the PAC stands firmly for majority rule.

In July, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the organisation would not push whites into the sea, but would fight for repossession of the land.

Azapo is against what it calls collaboration with the regime and its allies and political instruments.

Formed in 1979, Azapo's minimum demand is for the "reconquest of all our lands and its resources".

Azapo believes "a future Azania should be a unitary state based on the democratic principles of scientific socialism".

The organisation wants every adult to have a vote on a common voters' role.

Azapo favours free and compulsory education, state provision of adequate and decent housing and a just legal system.

PAC
still
supports
socialism

some files
12/9/91

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its commitment to a socialist economy.

The PAC's chief economist, Dr Siphoshe Shabalala, told a fundraising event in Johannesburg that Africans should be involved in the mainstream of the economy.

On the issue of the disintegration of socialism in Eastern Europe, he said the PAC's view was that the problem had not been the economics of socialism but the politics of socialism.

"There the rule by an elite that resulted in the complete marginalisation of the people," he said.

The Communist Party was the minority organisation in those countries but it had been in control of the state machinery and economic activities.

The key element of the PAC's economic policy was to distribute wealth, power, control and influence among the Africans. - Sapa

Mystery men harassed us, say ANC members

Political Staff (11A)

Star 12/9/91

The ANC has claimed that national executive committee member Gill Marcus and a colleague were harassed by mystery men in a bright yellow minibus this week.

According to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Ms Marcus and Nat Serache arrived at the entrance to the block of flats in Berea, Johannesburg, where she lives at about 6.45 pm on Tuesday to find the minibus parked near the entrance.

He said Ms Marcus entered the building and Mr Serache walked down the street where he "came across an armed man signalling to others sitting in the minibus".

The man allegedly took out a pistol and cocked it as Mr Serache approached.

The ANC said the people in the minibus came out of the vehicle and ran towards Mr Serache who, pretending to have a weapon, distracted his would-be attackers and ran away as the men gave chase.

Mr Serache telephoned Ms Marcus "to advise her of the seriousness of the situation".

According to Mr Ramaphosa, when policemen from the Hillbrow police station arrived, "they were extremely abusive, said they had come to investigate an armed robbery, and left, refusing to give their names or identity numbers".

Approached for comment yesterday, a police spokesman said he was not aware of the incident. He would investigate and come back to The Star.

WHEN police arrested Steve Biko in Port Elizabeth on August 18 1977, which led to his gruesome and lonely death, he was on his way from setting up meetings in Cape Town to discuss a front of all liberation movements.

Today, 14 years after his death, the main black political organisations in the country - the ANC, Azapo and PAC - are gearing for a meeting in Durban to set up the Patriotic Front.

The imminent formation of this Front was an ideal which Biko lived and worked so hard for before he was killed in detention on September 12.

And, on the anniversary of his death, questions are being asked about where Biko would have stood on many issues - such as the negotiations, relationships with collaborators in the bantustans and tricameral institutions and on the Front itself.

Death

Speaking on the unity of organisations, Biko said in a videotaped interview a few months before his death:

"I would like to see the ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement deciding to form one liberation group. It is only, I think, when black people are so dedicated and so united in their cause that we can effect the greatest results."

Biko at 32 years of age was in 1977 the principal leader of the BCM, which was made up of a number of organisations such as the South African Students Organisation, the Black Peoples Convention and the Black Community Programmes, among others.

Walkout

A founder-president of Saso after leading a walk-out of black students from a conference of the predominantly-white National Union of South African Students, Biko believed in the philosophy of black consciousness which gave blacks the opportunity to determine their own agendas without white input.

The movement he founded and led until his death has survived liberal attacks and State harassment and bannings.

After the banning of BCM organisations soon after his death, the BCM re-

Fourteen years after Biko's death it's a case of . . .

Back to the Front



Steve Biko - 14 years later his dream was realised

surfaced with the Azanian Peoples Organisation as the main flag-bearer inside the country and the BCM of Azania and its armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army operating from outside.

Some of his closest confidantes at the time, such as exiled Harry Nengwekhulu and Peter Jones, confirm

that when he was arrested and killed, Biko had been involved for three years in an initiative to bring the ANC, PAC and the BCM together.

Biko had met representatives of various organisations, including the ANC and Robert Sobukwe of the PAC to discuss this.

The Front being organ-

ised today by the three movements differs from the one perceived by Biko. While the three will be the main partners, groups operating in the tricameral and bantustans are likely to be part of the Front.

The ANC has been out wooing some bantustan leaders, a factor that has led to differences between the

organisers.

Biko warned against association with people taking an active role in formations of the present Government, such as bantustan leaders.

He said that in the eyes of the BCM, bantustan leaders stand condemned. "You cannot pursue the aspirations of black people from a platform which is meant for the oppression of black people."

Bantustan leaders were "participants in the white man's game of holding back the aspirations of the black people. We do not feel it is possible in any way to turn such a platform to useful work.

"We believe the first principle step by any black political leader is to destroy such a platform without giving it any form of respectability.

"So, in a sense, people like (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi, (Kaizer) Matanzima, (Lucas) Mangope are participants at the expense of the black man.

"They are leading black people to a divided struggle - to speak as Zulus, as Xhosas, as Pedis.

"We in the Black Consciousness Movement speak as one combined whole, directing ourselves to a common enemy and we reject anyone who wishes to destroy that unity."

Tribalistic

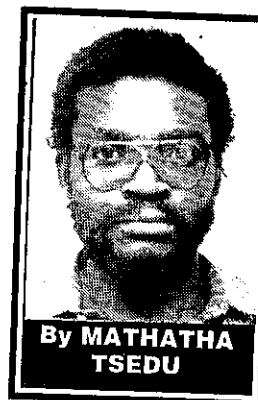
"We are of the view that we should operate as one united whole towards the attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania. Therefore entrenchment of tribalistic, racialistic or any sectional outlook is abhorred by us.

"We hate it and we seek to destroy it.

"It is for this reason that we cannot see any form of coalition with any of the bantustan leaders, even the so-called best of them like Buthelezi because they destroy themselves by virtue of the kind of arguments one has put up," Biko said.

It is an outlook and interpretation that sounds very relevant today as Azapo, the PAC and the ANC wrestle with the participation of the Holomisas and Mopelis of our times in the Front.

Biko saw the future economy of South Africa as based on socialism. He said this country had "such an ill-distribution of wealth that any form of political freedom which does not



By MATHATHA TSEDU

touch on the proper distribution of wealth will be meaningless.

"The whites have locked up within a small minority of themselves the greater portion of the country's wealth.

"If we have a mere change of face in those governing, what is likely to happen is that black people will continue to be poor and you will see a few blacks filtering through into the so-called bourgeoisie.

"So for meaningful change to appear, there needs to be an attempt at reorganising the whole economic pattern and economic policies in this country," he said.

Biko's death, the 46th since the introduction of detention without trial, led to a worldwide outcry that

had not been heard before.

The evidence of torture and maltreatment that came out during the inquest was to lead to a softening of the police approach to torture.

Food for detainees improved, visits to doctors were allowed and an inspector of detainees was appointed to see to their welfare.

Biko had not had any of these as he lay naked and handcuffed on a concrete floor with head wounds which slowly dragged him to his lonely death.

His death led to improvements in conditions for black detainees. But he had, in his life and his death, also become the symbol of resistance.

Potent

As Roger Omond says in his book, *Steve Biko and Apartheid*: "His name is still a potent force throughout the world.

"He was undoubtedly one of the most important political figures to emerge in South Africa and will be remembered long after most of the white politicians are forgotten.

"He and the Black Consciousness Movement gave back to blacks, particularly Africans, both pride and hope."

Bid to kill ANC executives

Sowetan 12/9/91

11A

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

TWO top ANC officials have survived what the organisation calls an assassination attempt.

Ms Gill Marcus, a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and Mr Nat Serache of the ANC's department of information and publicity spotted men staking out Marcus's flat in Berea on Tuesday night.

Serache said when he and Marcus arrived at

the flat a bright yellow minibus was parked at the entrance of the apartment block where Marcus lives.

Marcus said the lock of the front door to the building had been "tampered with".

Serache walked down the road and saw an armed man standing on the stairs of an adjacent building. He was signalling the men in

the minibus, according to an ANC statement.

"As he (Serache) approached him, the man pulled out a pistol and cocked it. The other men left the minibus and began to run towards him.

"Nat Serache, pretending to have a weapon, was able to distract his would-be attackers and managed to escape. He was chased

for some blocks, but managed to phone comrade Gill to advise her of the seriousness of the situation," the ANC said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the assassination attempt was part of the greater onslaught against the ANC and was aimed at thwarting the signing of Saturday's peace accord.

He said: "Within this seemingly random violence against the communi-

ties, there is a consistent pattern of attack and elimination of ANC and community activists.

"It is increasingly clear the purpose of this horrific violence is to create a climate in which signing the peace accord appears futile.

"The death toll mounts hourly and the situation has become extremely volatile.

"The ANC unequivocally condemns the attempt to assassinate Gill Marcus

and Nat Serache. Comrades Barbara Hogan and Saki Macozoma, both members of the NEC, and comrade Gill were aware of being kept under surveillance for some time.

"Such acts of naked terrorism will, if not stopped immediately, set in motion cycles of violence that will be uncontrollable," Ramaphosa said of the attempted assassination.

Government, ANC hold secret talks

Sowetan
12/9/91

THE Government and the ANC this week met in secret and indications are that this will be the way talks would be conducted in the foreseeable future.

A joint statement was issued at the end of Tuesday night's meeting. It said only that President FW de Klerk had met ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and that both had been accompanied by senior members of their respective parties.

The statement said the two had met to discuss "various issues of mutual interest".

These issues included the nagging issue of political prisoners, the current spate of violence and issues flowing from the Pretoria Minute and related agreements.

11A
Political Correspondent

Reliable sources yesterday said the secretive nature of this week's meeting was expected to be the routine over the next few months.

The reasons given for the secretiveness was that there was enormous pressure on Mandela and De Klerk for a speedy resolution of the country's problems.

A turning point can be expected after the launch of a Patriotic Front late in October with the possible announcement of formal contact towards discussions on the shape and forum of constitutional negotiations.

Leading Umkhonto cadre to recruit for communists

South 12/91 - 18/9/91 (11A)

By Mono Badela

THE former Western Cape regional commander of the Operation Vula initiative of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr Charles Nqakula, has been appointed to head the South African Communist Party (SACP) organising committee.

Nqakula left South Africa in 1984, when he was acting president of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa.

He returned to the country heavily disguised to head Operation Vula in the Cape. His disguise proved so successful that neither his former close associates nor the security police could recognise him.

"I can now reveal that I went to SOUTH's offices and the comrades there, including (former editor) Moegsien Williams, failed to recognise me," he said this week.

Nqakula's new position, however, does not require a disguise. What it entails is putting together a programme to ensure the growth of the SACP. His appointment was confirmed recently at a meeting of the party's Internal Leadership Group.

Nqakula is not perturbed by the misfortunes suffered by communist parties in other parts of the world.

"It has become clear that many

communist parties are looking to us for leadership," he said.

Nqakula said there were many people who wanted to believe that the SACP was not going to survive the recent events in the Soviet Union.

"But we in the SACP have been alert to the crisis in the Soviet Union for about three years," he said.

He is confident that the SACP will survive. It was receiving overwhelming support from workers and the "struggling masses", he said.

Nqakula said party membership now stood at 15 000 paid-up members. He hopes to double this number by the party's national congress in December. In one month alone — July to August — 4 000 members had joined.

The party had shed its old image of being an exclusive club catering in the main for intellectuals, he said.

"The majority of our members come from the working class. Some are found in mine compounds, in rural areas and some are urban workers."

Nqakula was banned in 1982 and later declared a prohibited immigrant. After entering South Africa without a visa, he was arrested but jumped bail and fled to Lesotho.

He skipped the country early in 1984 following the harassment of people he was operating with in ANC underground structures.

He was elected to the regional political council (RPC) of the ANC and



Charles Nqakula

was in charge of underground work in the Cape Province and Orange Free State. He received military training in Angola and the Soviet Union.

Later he trained in the former German Democratic Republic to prepare himself to infiltrate the country for Operation Vula.

After being deployed as commander of Operation Vula in the Western Cape, Nqakula was charged with creating conditions for the infiltration into the country of high-ranking ANC leaders. He surfaced a few days before the ANC national conference in Durban in July.

SACP

tables new manifesto

South 12/9/-18/9/91

South African communists are debating a draft manifesto to be tabled in December at their first legal congress in South Africa in 40 years. **REHANA ROSSOUW** took a look at the document before its public launch: (11A)

A STEADFAST commitment to the ideals of socialism does not mean sailing against the tide, according to the South African Communist Party (SACP). The party argues in its draft manifesto titled "Building Workers' Power for Democratic Change" that, if applied correctly, socialism could be far superior to the present system in South Africa.

Although the manifesto was drafted before the attempted coup in the Soviet Union and the virtual end of the communist system worldwide, the SACP remains confident that it can sell socialism as a viable option.

However, in a major departure from previous SACP thinking, the party commits itself to participating in negotiations for a transfer of power.

Former SACP policy was wedded to the idea of a revolutionary seizure of power — a notion overtaken by political events in the country since February last year.

The immediate objective of the party, the manifesto says, is to support the goal of its allies — the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — of national democratic transformation.

This suggests that the paths of the ANC and the SACP will run parallel for far longer than it takes to bring a democratic South Africa into being, and virtually ensures that the SACP will not contest an election.

"The SACP recognises the ANC as the formation best able to lead the entire national democratic revolution.

"Throughout the process of negotiations for a new constitution, in the eventual one-person, one-vote elections and in the longer process of national democratic transformation the SACP will work to maintain and broaden the unity of all democratic forces," the manifesto says.

However, the party says it is not enough merely to commit itself to the general objectives of national democratic change. The depth and quality of the changes are critical.

"In South African conditions the process of national democratic transition is the most direct line of advance to socialism.

"For the SACP the national democratic revolution is not a delaying tactic or a sidetrack from our longer-term socialist objectives ... it represents the most direct route to socialism." But socialism is not immediately on the agenda of the party, the manifesto says.

The SACP concedes that in the aftermath of transition, there will be a mixed economy in which the capitalist sector will continue to occupy a significant place.

The post-apartheid society should not just be a political democracy, the manifesto argues, but should also see a widening of economic democracy with popular control over economic planning, production and distribution.

There is no contradiction between the basic aims and objectives of national liberation and socialism, it says.

The national democratic goals of full political empowerment of people, the unification of the country and the overcoming of large-scale social, cultural and economic deprivation cannot be realised without socialism, the manifesto argues.

Socialism is a long transitional period between capitalism and full communism, the SACP maintains.

The democratic socialism the party envisages will involve a multi-party democracy, a justiciable bill of rights, an independent judiciary, the basic freedoms of speech, association and worship, press freedom and full citizenship rights.

THE DEMOCRATIC socialism for which the SACP stands will return socialism to its true and original vocation as envisaged by Marx, Engels and many other great socialist pioneers," the manifesto says.

"Socialism was meant to greatly extend the frontiers of freedom, to embody and surpass the classical liberal civil liberties."

The party also elaborates on its belief that democratic socialism should mean the empowerment of people, not only through representative democracy but also through a series of participatory democratic organs.

The economy would be placed under public ownership and control, designed to change the relations of production and distribution.

Democratic participation is seen as compatible with various forms of ownership of the means of production, the manifesto states, including state, municipal, collective, co-operative and family-owned enterprises.

State ownership — or nationalisation — is neither sufficient nor necessarily always the only or most effective form of socialist ownership, according to the manifesto.

"The model of socialism that we develop in a future South Africa will be our own South African model, evolved from our own conditions," the manifesto says.

HOW WILL A DEMOCRATIC South Africa integrate the various cultural backgrounds which have been divided by apartheid for the past four decades? This was the major preoccupation of writers and academics attending the recent Zimbabwe International Book Fair writers' workshop held in Harare recently.

The South African delegation included Wally Serote of the African National Congress (ANC) Department of Arts and Culture; the ANC cultural representative in London, writer Mandla Langa; and the professor of Afrikaans at Rhodes University, Etienne van Heerden.

South African delegates felt all democratic cultural movements in South Africa should unite across political divides to form the basis of an organisation with a national cultural character.

Serote said that the cultural wings of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and other anti-apartheid organisations had already started to forge a common cultural force.

Structures already in place for a non-sectarian culture have been discussing the strengthening of a democratic cultural expression. However, this structure leaves out Afrikaans and

English culture, as well as bodies such as the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Participants felt that in South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, black culture has been marginalised.

African writers ponder on SA cultural puzzle

11A 2064/50
South (Southside) 12/91-18/9/91.

How to integrate the various strands of South African culture preoccupied writers from all over Africa at a recent workshop in Zimbabwe.

TAMBAYI MUCHUKUCHI reports:

Michere Mugo from Kenya said people living in the townships and on farms had been forced to abandon their cultural expression in oral and written literature, song, dance and

drama, and made to swallow Western culture as superior.

Van Heerden said Afrikaner myths should be demystified by empowering the people with relevant knowledge. He pointed out that more than 50 percent of the South African population are illiterate. Authorities had withdrawn the most liberating force of all — the power to read and write, he said.

Participants strongly recommended that liberation movements and intellectuals should begin to consult people with a view to formulating a language policy.

The view was that people have a right to their mother tongue, to develop it, to create in it. Money is needed for workshops, publishing, research, language laboratories and official recognition of languages other than English and Afrikaans.

According to Van Heerden, there is still a need to fight the official censorship which created a culture of silence. Black cultural activists, writers, students and journalists have for too long been swept away, arrested, barred or driven into exile.

Gender also featured prominently in democratisation, the workshop noted. The emancipation of women, especially black women, has been slowed down by African tradition and cross-class male chauvinism. — AIA





WHAT'S UP DOC? ANC president Nelson Mandela last week received his third honorary doctorate. Mandela received the degree at the University of the Witwatersrand where he was capped by Wits chancellor Mr Mike Rosholt

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

New office a sign of things to come?

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

11A
South 12/9-18/9/91

THE ANC, PAC and Azapo moved a step closer towards a formal alliance this week by opening a "Patriotic Front" office here in a downtown Holiday Inn.

Two delegates each from the ANC, PAC and Azapo are manning the office, laying the groundwork for a conference to be held in Durban from October 25 to 27.

Mr Mosebyane Malatsi of the National Preparatory Committee for the United/Patriotic Front Conference said the committee was not concerned with policy matters, but with technical aspects.

"Our immediate task is to ensure that the machinery is in full gear to prepare for the conference," he said,

adding that the office was "already operational".

The money for the conference has been donated by the Organisation of African Unity, according to Mr Stanley Mabizela, deputy director of the ANCs Department of International Affairs. This week the three liberatory movements agreed on the date of the conference.

The three presidents of the organisations, Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Clarence Makwethu and Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of the ANC, PAC and Azapo respectively were present at this week's meeting when the date of the conference was decided upon.

No finality has been reached on which organisations should be invited. The aim of the Durban conference is to establish joint minimum demands, officials say.

The three main political organisations will have 24 delegates each, the two main trade union federations, Cosatu and Nactu, 20 each and other political groupings six each.

Slug slug, n. a heavy, lazy fellow: a land-mollusc with shell

2 SOUTH, SEPT 12 TO SEPT 18 1991

Sebina sure Kaunda will stay in charge

11A 360

South 12/9-18/9/91

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

THOMAS LETLALO — better known as Tom Sebina, Zambia-based voice of the African National Congress (ANC) in exile — is back home, convinced that President Kenneth Kaunda will retain his power base in Zambia's first multi-party elections next month.

Sebina refused to predict which of the many contesting parties would win the elections but was optimistic that Kaunda would remain Zambia's head of state. As a matter of protocol, he declined to discuss the politics of Zambia, except to observe that the campaign for the elections scheduled for October 31 was in full swing.

"All political parties are holding rallies. Kaunda himself is addressing rallies throughout the country. The enthusiasm is so overwhelming that ordinary street-level people can be seen arguing their party manifestos on street corners and in bars."

Sebina said it seemed to him that every Zambian was keen that the transition from a one-party to a multi-

party system should be peaceful.

Asked about the stance of Zambian political parties towards South Africa, Sebina said: "They all express support for the ANC and support the struggle in South Africa."

"But there are elements in the opposition parties who say relations with Pretoria should change, as they perceive the so-called changes in South Africa to be irreversible. This is especially the case with the question of sanctions. There are people who say sanctions should be done away with."

Sebina said valuable lessons had been learned by those who had spent long years in exile in Africa. The vital question was how to avoid repeating the mistakes that had been made elsewhere on the continent.

SOUTH spoke to Sebina at his Dube Village home in Soweto early this week. It was his first interview inside the country since he left 27 years ago at the age of 27.

"It has been always my conviction that one day I would go back home. So my return at the weekend has been the fulfillment of that conviction," he said.

The last senior ANC official to leave Zambia, Sebina does not regret the

time he spent in exile — except for the fact that both his parents died while he was there.

"I don't regret at all. It was a conscious decision, an important one to have been taken by an activist at the time," he said.

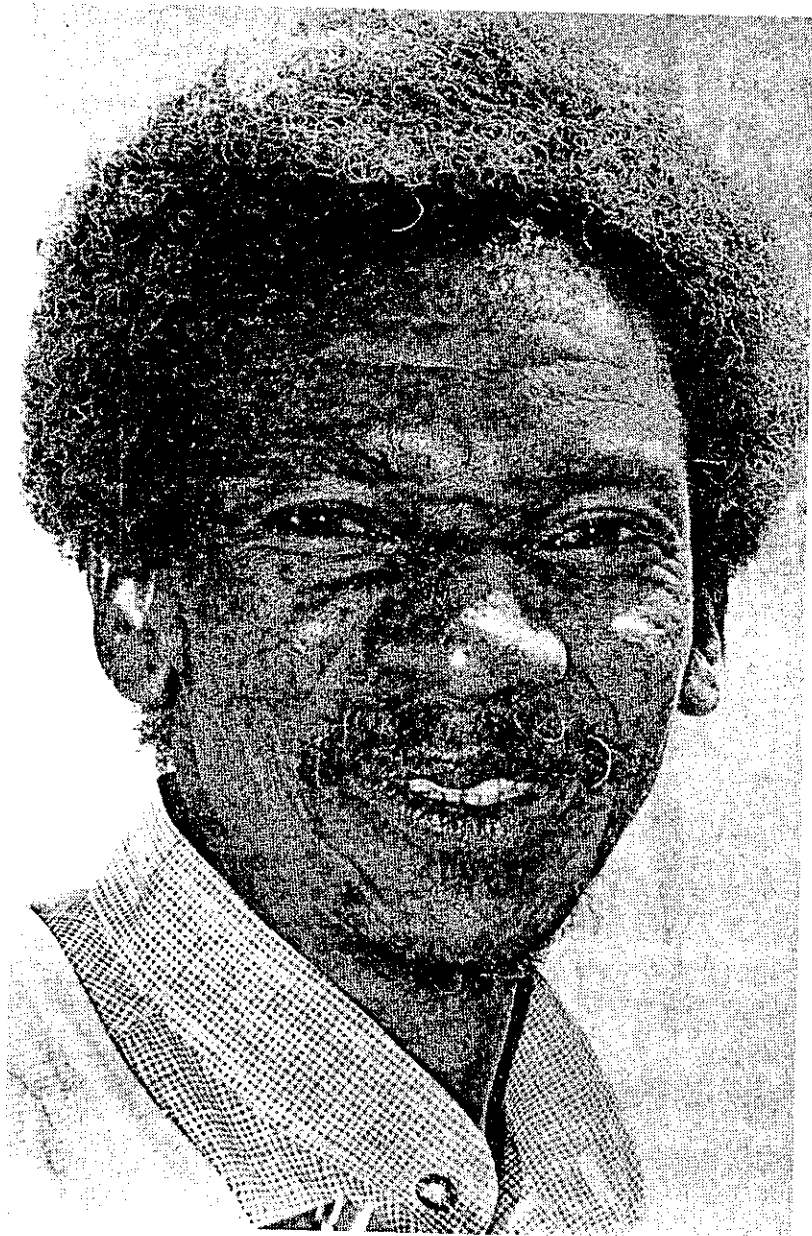
"I was thrust into this whole thing really," Sebina says of his role as ANC spokesperson. "As you know, most of the leaders were banned and couldn't be quoted back home. I happened to be the only person who was not on the (banned) list."

Sebina skipped the country in August 1964, going to Dar-es-Salaam via Botswana and then embarking for the Soviet Union for military training.

He went to Lusaka in 1967 and joined the movement's department of information and publicity, helping to produce the ANC publication "Mayibuye".

In 1970 Sebina was sent to Czechoslovakia for a year's training in journalism. From there he joined the ANC's Radio Freedom in Tanzania.

In 1973 he was posted to Dakar, the Senegalese capital, as the movement's representative. He stayed there for eight years before returning to Lusaka in 1980.



TOM SEBINA: Returned to South Africa after 27 years in exile



Human rights activist Davis is gentler but as angry as ever

South 12/9-18/9/91.

11A

THE UNITED STATES Communist Party (USCP) reflects male supremacy, says human rights activist and party member Angela Davis.

There is a kind of ingrained male leadership, as in the South African Communist Party (SACP), she adds. It was only constant challenging by women in the US party that led to the election in 1968 of Charlene Mitchell as the party's first black woman presidential candidate.

A number of Mitchell's colleagues in the USCP were hesitant to work for her because she was a woman and more particularly a black woman.

"But at that stage the American feminist movement was just beginning to express itself so we improvised and challenged them all the time," says Davis. Today the tables are turned. Mitchell — now the president of the National Alliance Against Racism — as a male secretary.

How has the demise of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe affected the American Communist Party?

"If we examine what happened there we will find that there was not only a lack of democracy — political, economic and social — but also a lack of attention to the private spheres that have been traditionally excluded from political discourse," says Davis.

"I say this because it is clear to us as we move forward in the US that we

must acknowledge the political character of the traditional oppression that women have suffered.

"If we are going to maintain that socialism is on the agenda we must recognise the need to understand the degree to which the psychology of the individual intercepts with society. This lack of respect for the individual and the lack of democracy were definite downfalls of the systems that recently collapsed."

But Davis, coming from an "advanced capitalist state", adds that capitalism is only triumphant by default. "In America it is clear that vast wealth is in the hands of a few and when this happens there is increased poverty.

"I will not accept that the downfall of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union means the historical supremacy of capitalism. I can show people who think this is so the consequences of capitalism in places like Harlem, Soweto and Khayelitsha."

Davis' solidarity work for her "brothers and sisters" in South Africa, the cause of women, Native Americans and America's drug-ridden, unemployed and imprisoned youth has its roots in a passionate concern.



Angela Davis

"Some 25 percent of black males are in prison in America — more than the number of black mates in universities — because they don't have opportunities for jobs or education. I don't know if it's possible to create a united movement to solve these problems."

But she lashes out at the presumption of superiority on the part of African Americans who feel their First World experience gives them the right to come back and reshape Africa.

Clad in a purple leather jacket for a tour of Cape Town's townships with the Women's League of the African National Congress (ANC), the tall slender Davis looks remarkably more gentle than the 1960s pictures of her wild Afro hair and anti-establishment snarl. Then she was the most wanted woman on the CIA list, accused of kidnapping and murder as a member of the militant Black Panthers.

Now Davis has echoed Nelson Mandela's call for the indemnity of right-wing hunger strikers in South Africa, a stance incongruous with that of her student past.

She is quite frank about the differences between current complexities compared to what appeared in the past to be the straightforward issues.

"In my nostalgic moments I yearn for the simplicity of the 1960s when we knew who our enemies were and everything was literally black and white. Now when we organise a rally about the war in the Persian Gulf, we must have a variety of speakers — an anti-apartheid activist, a gay rights activist and an environmentalist. It's far more complex, but it's wonderful that we understand now the interrelated-

ness of these issues."

At present Davis and the National Alliance Against Racism are trying to create a broad movement in America that weaves together a consciousness of racist violence, anti-semitic violence, violence against women and anti-gay violence. They are also involved in campaigns against the death penalty.

The movement is noted for its multicultural identity which insists on acknowledgement of differences.

"While we insist upon unity and togetherness, at the same time we insist upon the recognition of people's cultural differences, ethnic and historical differences," Davis says.

Davis and her colleague Charlene Mitchell have been visiting trouble-spots in Soweto and Khayelitsha on a fact-finding mission for the Alliance so that they can inform the American public about South Africa.

Besides campaigning for sanctions against South Africa, the Alliance is involved in a campaign to guarantee implementation of an anti-genocide law in America, Davis reveals.

But Davis is most passionate about the strengthened links between Native Americans and African Americans which Nelson Mandela inspired when he was in America.

"Native Americans assisted Africans to escape slavery. There's also a great deal of common ancestry. In this period we are trying to cement ties between African Americans and indigenous Americans. Nelson Mandela's speech inspired solidarity between the two groups."

THE IMPENDING BREAK-UP of the Soviet Union and the attempt to restore capitalism that will certainly follow is a tragedy for all genuine socialists who drew inspiration from the tradition of the 1917 Russian Revolution. In response to this developing counter-revolution, Comrade Joe Slovo maintains that there are "no implications" for the South African Communist Party (SACP). A similar view was expressed by Brian Bunting of the SACP in a recent issue of SOUTH. This is dishonest.

Brian Bunting is a leading theorist long associated with Stalinist policies in the Soviet Union. His father, SP Bunting, was expelled from the SACP in the 1930s and only "rehabilitated" in 1989.

The SACP misrepresented the reason for his expulsion as Bunting's "white chauvinist" attitudes. The real reason was that he rejected the Stalinist "Native Republic" slogan — a forerunner of the theory of "colonialism of a special type". These ideas result in the subordination of the struggle of the working class for democracy and socialism to the struggle of all classes for democracy under capitalism.

The SACP has no adequate explanation of the hatred of the Russian people for the leaders of the Soviet Communist Party. If the SACP had really broken with Stalinism it would long since have called for a complete revolution to remove the Stalinist bureaucracy, including Gorbachev, from power in the Soviet Union.

Because of its links with the Soviet bureaucracy, to which Bunting refers in his article, the SACP was unable to call for the implementation of the guidelines set out by Marx and Lenin to combat bureaucracy and ensure democracy in a workers' state:

- All officials to be elected with the right of recall;
- All officials to receive the average wage of skilled workers;
- Rotation of official posts;
- No standing army but an armed people.

And, we would add:

- The right to form political parties and to press freedom.

If these policies had been followed, socialism could have been reconstructed in the Soviet Union. Instead, clinging to power at all costs, the discredited communist bureaucrats — known to Russians as the mafia — have opened the floodgates for the restoration of capitalism.

As in the rest of Eastern Europe, this will not be easy and we should brace ourselves for a surge of nationalism and possibly civil war.

Workers and youth who look to the SACP have to be told the truth: that the rejection of the Soviet Communist Party is also a rejection of the theories and ideas that form the basis of SACP policies in South Africa.

Genuine socialists take seriously the idea that the working class must lead the struggle for national liberation, attracting other layers of society to follow it.

The working class leads not by compromising, but by putting up an uncompromising fight for a 40-hour week and a national minimum wage; against short time, retrenchments and unemployment; for housing for all; for its right to armed self-defence against attacks from the state and bosses — and ultimately for state power itself.

'A rejection of the Soviet Communist Party is also a rejection of the theories and ideas that form the basis of SACP policies.'

This programme of struggle is in reality completely alien to the SACP. Its programme stems directly from the false Stalinist-inspired policies of "alliance of all classes" which in reality means the subordination of the working class to the big bosses.

These policies have been the graveyard of revolutionary struggle from China in 1927 and Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s and Nicaragua in the 1980s, to name but a few.

With the likely development of a drawn-out counter-revolution to restore capitalism in Russia, youth and workers in South Africa will demand a full explanation of events. The future of any socialist movement will depend on being able to supply it.

Brian Bunting's call for us to "have faith in a socialist solution for South Africa" is hypocritical. The socialist cause in South Africa has been damaged because the leaders of the SACP have had faith, not in socialism and the struggle of the working class, but in Stalinism and the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy, whether in the shape of Brezhnev or Gorbachev.

To retain their credibility socialists will have to fight for socialist policies now, not in some later democratic "stage", as Stalinism has always falsely maintained.

We cannot afford the illusion that what is happening in the Soviet Union does not relate directly to the struggle of the 30 million working-class South Africans for democracy and socialism.



The world has been riveted by recent events in the Soviet Union. **TONY KARON**, freelance journalist, and **JACK LEWIS**, an ANC member and supporter of the Marxist Workers' Tendency, offer different views of the implications for South Africa:

Myth or model? Lenin's Russian revolution

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SOVIETS SAY NO: 'Down with the junta' reads the placard



COMMUNISM IN Eastern Europe has dissolved or is dissolving. So is the USSR as we have known it. Whatever China will be like when the last of the Long March generation is dead, it will have little to do with Lenin and less with Marx. Outside the former regions of 'real socialism', there are probably not more than three communist parties with genuine mass support ...

"We are seeing, not the crisis of a type of movement, regime and economy, but its end. Those of us who believed that the October Revolution was the gate to the future of world history have been shown to be wrong."

Thus wrote veteran British communist Eric Hobsbawm in October 1990. Here in South Africa, the faithful have been a little slower on the uptake.

The theologians of the South African Communist Party (SACP) assure us that there is no need to "lose faith" in the socialist objective. Pious Trotskyists claim ultimate vindication for the man they call "the Prophet" (without any sense of irony), and offer bite-size remedies so simple they could be written on to prayer-cards.

The bottom line appears to be faith.

The SACP tells us the problem in the Soviet Union was that socialism "became detached" from democracy, under Stalin, or before-Stalin-but-not-under-Lenin. The Trotskyists pinpoint the problem as originating with Stalin's "perversion of the October revolution".

For both, however, the October revolution itself is sacrosanct. "The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living," as Marx put it. Hence their inability to grasp the reality of socialism's collapse.

The legacy of the 1917 revolution was hardly democratic. From the very outset it was effectively about rule by the party.

There was no question, for Lenin, Stalin, or Trotsky, of giving "the masses" the right to vote against the profound and traumatic social changes which the intellectuals in charge of the party deemed necessary on the basis of their "scientific" world view.

They had seen a vision of capitalism in collapse, and sought through mass-scale social engineering to create a humane alternative. The "masses", of course, were mostly not "conscious" of their role in this historical drama, and were probably too imbued with the "false consciousness" of "bourgeois ideology" to be trusted to make political choices in accordance with their "objective class interests".

They needed a "vanguard" party to guide them. Such a party, by declaring its ideology a "science", would act as midwife to "deliver" the socialist foetus which had supposedly grown in the womb of capitalism (the imagery is Engels', not my own).

By elevating its vision to a "science", this vanguard was able to rationalise massive human suffering and deprivation as the birth-pangs of an inevitable, happier, new era of human history.

For Stalinists and Trotskyists, this is common ground. Their messianic faith in the October revolution is unshaken, while those whose interests it was meant to realise are dancing on its grave.

The retort that "capitalism has failed" is facile.

The competition between the social systems was not a beauty contest or a tussle for the moral high ground. It was about political and economic survivability. And socialism ran out of steam.

A planned economy has always been fundamental to the definition of socialism. The planned economy failed, not simply because of the absence of democracy, but because it was inherently flawed.

Traditionally, market forces were to socialism what Mickey Mouse was to Darwin's theory of evolution. Yet the collapse of the planned economy led communists to rewrite the book, presenting a profound departure as a continuity.

Thus, for the SACP, Gorbachev was not restoring capitalism but "perfecting socialism". Renovations in heaven.

Capitalism has survived Marxism. It has lurched from crisis to crisis, leaving millions in poverty and squalor. But it has survived.

It is within the context of that reality that the poverty and squalor in which the majority of South Africans live will have to be addressed.

A developmentally orientated social democratic pragmatism does not guarantee radical short-term changes, or even happy endings. But it is more rooted in the realities of 1991 than the faith of the "Octoberists".

'The legacy of the 1917 revolution was hardly democratic. There was no question for Lenin, Stalin or Trotsky of letting the masses vote against the changes.'

Blemishes magnified in mirror

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WHILE Russian workers toppled the statue of Lenin and the West gloated over the death of socialism in Eastern Europe, 300 devotees gathered at the University of the Western Cape last weekend to rekindle the flame, score points, smash icons and exercise their dialectical dexterity. **HEATHER ROBERTSON** reports: (11A)

THE INTENTION was to hold up a mirror to the left in South Africa, according to Andrew Nash, a convener of the Marxist Theory Seminar at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) which organised the conference. The Marxist theory Seminar was established at UWC in 1988 to encourage staff and students to engage in theoretical debate and research.

An outsider observing the three days of verbal fisticuffs at the conference would have found it difficult to gauge whether the enemy of the working class is capitalism, reformists, revisionists, theory over praxis, God, perestroika, intellectuals or the working class themselves.

Who are they really, these South African disciples of the Victorian prophets of historical materialism?

They are young, cock-sure and sharp-tongued members of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) who have survived the icedick of Stalinism to pursue the one-stage revolution.

They are Wosa's spare rib, the International Socialists of South Africa (Issa), which tore itself from the parent body so that factionalism could revail (Issa broke away from Wosa because Wosa rejected the Issa view on factions).

They are equally cock-sure comrades from the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Com-

munist Party (SACP), desperately trying to shed the shackles of Stalinism and the post-coup perestroika.

They are geriatric exiles and idealistic intellectuals armed with shaky theory and praxis, reeling from the collapse of socialism, but still trying to transform the world order and shift the balance of power into the hands of the working class.

A keynote address by Colin Bundy acknowledged the despair in socialist ranks but also pointed to the uniqueness of the South African situation, where "the basic balance of forces is less favourable to capitalists and more towards the working class".

HE ALSO emphasised the need for Marxists to align themselves with other human rights lobbies such as feminists, ecological groups and anti-militarists, as was the case in Europe.

Bundy summed up the three major responses to the crisis in socialism:

- Anti-Stalinist bravado — the notion that these regimes in the Eastern bloc had not been socialist but Stalinist;
- Post-Stalinist fatalism — the stance of those who previously expressed loyalty to communism and perestroika but have become latter day converts to bourgeois democracy;
- Rearguard realism — the position of those who are prepared to take a deep breath, defend the gains, acknowledge the reality of defeat, and regroup.

The fiery tone of the conference was



set by Baruch Hirson, who stressed the reality of the collapse of the morale and confidence of socialists in Europe.

"I saw on TV the collapse of socialism as a system. The system some of us thought was irreversible, which was going to be a completely revolutionary society, was shown to be a hollow facade," he said.

"In England there's a feeling that the bottom has fallen out — it's going to take 50 years to rebuild it. The workers have turned away from the left because we have no fresh thinking. There's despair in the rest of Europe.

The problem lies in that we try to do too much."

Hirson also criticised what he said were similarities between the ANC/SACP alliance and the communist parties in the Eastern bloc.

"The ANC/SACP have picked up the methods of Stalinism and the KGB and in the process conducted themselves in a way indistinguishable from the CP throughout Eastern Europe," he said.

Citing the case of the 1984 mutiny of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres, some of whom were interrogated, tor-

tured and killed, Hirson said: "I can guarantee that most of them were not spies or agents of the state and these methods probably still continue."

Hillel Ticktin also seized the opportunity to bash the last communist outpost. "Even as a marginal person coming from Glasgow, it was hard to believe that I was in South Africa and not in Moscow," he said. "People are afraid to speak out, to do what Marxists fight to do. There's a view that the ANC is doing a deal with capitalism but people are afraid to spell it out."

"I'm afraid that three years hence this conference won't be able to take place. I'm afraid that dissidents will be regarded as counter-revolutionary."

Worker representatives at the conference were critical of the academics.

PREGS GOVENDER of the Workers' College accused them of dehumanising the working class with their constant references to "an amorphous mass waiting to be moulded not by the coming of Christ but by Marxists".

Roger Etkin of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) said it seemed that intellectuals were asking the working class to evaluate their work. But there were few union representatives at the conference.

"You cannot take forward the socialist struggle if theory and practice are so divided. We need to improve the relationship between intellectuals and workers," he said.

The question was whether intellectuals could learn to speak English so that people could understand them.

A Municipal Workers' Union delegate spoke for many when he announced that he could relate to very little of the discourse.

"What you have been saying about the working class is far-fetched in reality. Workers are interested in how we can improve our condition, it's not this high-level language that will convince us, it's what happens in practice. Give us guidance. Don't confuse us."

Inkatha recruits whites only in Western Cape

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INKATHA has recruited only white members in the Cape this year. The only black member who joined has not been seen for months. Two senior members in the region admitted recently that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) barely exists in the region, blaming widespread intimidation for the organisation's weaknesses.

However, while slamming the African National Congress (ANC) for making it impossible for the IFP to operate in the region, neither official could recall any incidents of intimidation.

Inkatha officials seem reluctant to use membership counts to determine the organisation's strength in the Peninsula, but from all accounts, there seem to be few new recruits.

The organisation's official charged with recruiting in the region, Mr George Shuttleworth, said only one black member had joined the IFP this year, while "40 to 60" membership forms for whites had been sent to Ulundi.

"The only new African member we signed up this year lived in Khayelitsha, but I haven't been able to contact him for months," Shuttleworth said.

"We have only recruited whites this year."

Inkatha has six branches in the Peninsula and two in Stellenbosch. However, the parameters of the branches are wide. The Langa branch, with about 50 members, includes Langa, Sea Point, Camps Bay, Hout Bay, Wynberg and Kenilworth.

The IFP has no regional executive structure and the branches never hold joint meetings.

"The branches are underground, the members are scared to operate openly

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is struggling to shake off its identity as a Natal organisation with a Zulu membership. In the Western Cape, the organisation seems to have made little, if any, headway, reports **REHANA ROSSOUW**:



STRONG PRESENCE: Inkatha in the Transvaal presents a different profile

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

because of the fear of intimidation," Shuttleworth said.

"Although we are restricted to only three areas in the townships we have received strong vibes that we will have problems recruiting elsewhere."

Shuttleworth said that because of "gross intimidation", there were only about 100 active Inkatha members in the Western Cape.

However, he believed there was "political space" for Inkatha in the

region. The chairperson of Inkatha's Langa branch, Mrs Martha Lecoko, agreed that the IFP did not have much of a presence in the Western Cape.

"The majority of the people support the ANC, particularly in the townships," she said.

"The ANC does not like Inkatha. They don't like the Chief (Buthelezi)." Lecoko said she had to "hide away" to be safe.

She never wore her Inkatha uniform

and badges in public or at work.

"At work, only another white lady and I are Inkatha members. All the Africans are ANC members and we can never say anything to them. I don't want them saying anything to me either."

"I'm sure that if I wore my uniform and my badge they will kill me. No, none of them has ever said they will kill me, but I'm sure they will."

Lecoko said last year she was ap-

proached by activists in Langa who said they wanted to speak to her about her membership of the IFP.

"I said let's sit down and talk. I have the right to join an organisation I like and you have the right to join the organisation you like. I told them I'd die Inkatha. From then, I've never been bothered again."

She said the Langa branch of the IFP had 132 members a few years ago. At present only about 50 members are left in the area.

"We are too scared to hold meetings. I just visit the members every year and collect their fees. They have to pay a R3 joining fee and R2 every month," she said.

"We haven't been recruiting at all this year and I haven't met any of the members in the other branches."

She said members were not expected to do any work for the organisation. They attend national conferences, with more than 30 members from the Western Cape attending the last conference at Ulundi.

At the conference last year, she highlighted their difficulties in the Western Cape and was told by members of the central committee that she should not call any meetings in the area.

Lecoko admitted, though, that there had never been any physical attacks on Inkatha members in the Western Cape from ANC members or people belonging to any other organisation.

"There have only been threats but I don't know anyone who has been threatened."

Shuttleworth said there was no doubt in his mind that the IFP was at war with the ANC.

"When I see an ANC person, I regard that person as my enemy," he said.

'Arranged between me and Ulundi'

INKATHA's leading light in the Western Cape, retired civil engineer Mr George Shuttleworth, peppers his conversation with the phrase "Chief Buthelezi and I discussed this issue, and he agrees with me that ..."

Trying to figure out Shuttleworth's role in the organisation is difficult. He says senior officials in Ulundi regard him as the "de facto" head in the Western Cape.

The most senior member of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the Cape, central committee member Mr Chris Mbeka, refused to be interviewed by SOUTH.

Recently, Shuttleworth hosted an Inkatha press conference where he said he spoke "for Mbeka".

"This was arranged between me and Ulundi. I assist him with secretarial work — if he needs letters sent off, I draft them," Shuttleworth said.

"I have also been designated by the executive of Inkatha as a member of the transitional commission responsible for recruiting in the Cape."

Shuttleworth said he joined Inkatha in March 1988. A former member of the Cape Democrats, who were aligned with the United Democratic Front (UDF), he believes there is no inconsistency in his decision to switch his allegiance to Inkatha.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is weak in the Western Cape. Its structure, insofar as it exists, is quite different from anywhere else in the country, **REHANA ROSSOUW** discovered when she spoke to IFP member George Shuttleworth:

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"To my mind, Inkatha and the Cape Democrats fall into the same category," he said.

"Chief Buthelezi and I discussed this and we both agree that Inkatha has integrity, democracy and capability. Cape Democrats was the same.

"Take Chris Mbeka, for instance. He is an extremely competent man. For years he served on a committee controlled by the African National Congress (ANC).

"Although we are an organisation of workers and peasants we do have outstanding people."

Shuttleworth said he did not believe that Inkatha officials in Ulundi treated Mbeka with the respect he deserved.

"They should work through him if they need information about the Cape. Instead, they work through me. I have a sort of de facto position in the Western Cape.

"Mbeka is a sort of a leader in the



IFP MAN: Shuttleworth

Western Cape, I am just an ordinary member. Mbeka should be attending meetings, but he has never attended a central committee meeting.

"I think over time the people in Ulundi forgot that he was a member of the central committee. I keep having to remind them. This is not their fault, it is our fault because we are so weak in the Western Cape."

Shuttleworth said he had warned Inkatha officials often not to "make the same mistake" as the UDF.

He believes the reason for the "failure" of the UDF was "too many whites and too much money".

"The last thing we want in Inkatha is that all the whites joining the organisation want to come in at the top," Shuttleworth said.

"But it's not easy being a white person in an organisation. If you come in at the bottom, the people just promote you higher."

"I keep pointing this out to my friends in Inkatha, we stand the same risk."

Shuttleworth said he had enjoyed being in the Cape Democrats and only left when a cabal in the organisation attacked him.

Former Cape Democrats executive member Ms Amy Thornton denied this claim.

She said Shuttleworth had been prepared to devote a lot of time and energy to a political organisation, but that some members had felt that his personality put people off.

"We then reached the point where we had to ask him to absent himself from a sub-committee meeting. This led to him charging both the chairperson and vice-chair of Cape Democrats for defamation to the tune of R50 000."

The case was later dropped. Thornton said that as far as she was concerned, there were no similarities between Cape Democrats and the IFP.

"I'm sure that AWB members also regard their organisation as an organisation of integrity. AWB members are also very dedicated to their organisation," she said.

"But I am happy that George Shuttleworth has found an organisation into which he can channel his enormous energy."

ANC staff form 'union' to keep their bosses alert

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Workers at the ANC head office in Johannesburg have taken the organisation's advanced labour policy to heart: they have formed a staff association to protect their rights and keep their bosses on their toes.

But the association does not foresee that it will ever have to flex its muscle by threatening a go-slow or a strike.

Explains office bearer Ms Sue Rabkin: "This is not a trade union because we are not dealing with a hostile or conflict situation with management. We are working hand-in-hand with the secretary-general's office to formulate grievance and disciplinary procedures and to outline working conditions and salaries."

But secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa this week fondly referred to "our own trade union" joking that he had hardly switched jobs from National Union of Mineworkers' secretary-general to ANC secretary-general before the 375 head office workers were mobilised.

Membership was free and voluntary, and might be broadened to include employees at regional and branch structures, said Ms Rabkin.

Excluded from membership are elected National Executive Committee members and the appointed heads of departments.

Even ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela may not join the association which, says Ms Rabkin, "started at beginning of the year as part of the process of building an internal organisational democracy under new conditions".

Stanley Uys writes on the knee-jerk rejection in the UK of NP proposals

It's worth giving peace a chance

star 13/9/91

PRESIDENT de Klerk's grand constitutional plan flared up briefly in the media in London last week, and then faded quietly, almost without trace.

Two reasons, mainly, explain why this historic document has received such superficial treatment here (with some exceptions). One is that the media's eyes are riveted on Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The other is that the circle of people who understand what is happening in South Africa seems to shrink by the month. Events simply are moving too fast and becoming too complex.

Much of the reaction, even at some of the higher levels of television and radio, was knee-jerk. Once the ANC had given the cue that Mr de Klerk's plan was a "recipe for disaster", the anti-Pretoria brigade set off in full cry. But even some of Pretoria's sympathisers clearly were confused — they supported the plan without knowing just why.

On the whole, the quality press accorded the plan thoughtful treatment. The Guardian, the Times and one or two others also were perceptive enough to recognise (as The Guardian put it) that "this can only be his (Mr de Klerk's) opening bid in a long process of tough negotiations".

But the way in which so much of the media slipped into the knee-jerk reaction that Mr de Klerk's plan is just another bit of boere verneukery (boer trickery) was depressing. What these knee-jerks (to coin a phrase) are doing is to take their cue from the ANC's rhetoric, without understanding that behind this rhetoric lies another, more flexible, ANC.

Perhaps the aspect of South Africa that impressed me most during a recent visit was the quality of thinking, at all levels, that is being put into working out the country's future. South Africa would not have advanced to where it is if a great deal of brain-power had not been expended in the quest for the kind of solutions that are being offered today, by both the Government and the ANC.

I have just been re-reading that remarkable book by Slabbert and Welsh, "South Africa's Options", which although it was published in 1979 could have been written today. If you want a guide to

some of the thinking behind Mr de Klerk's plan, I commend the book to you. It leads you through the maze of options and choices that have become the currency of the contemporary debate.

Hardly anything of these years of scholarship, nor indeed of what the Government has done since February 2 1990, is recognised by the knee-jerks. The casual way in which they accept every upset in the negotiations process as terminal, and consign the lads to the barricades again, is faintly nauseating. They, of course, will not be at those barricades.

The ANC has its own knee-jerks, too. On radio the other night, Raymond Suttner (introduced as an "ANC spokesperson"), was telling listeners that Mr de Klerk's plan is not acceptable as a negotiating document. Really, Mr Suttner? If a plan is unacceptable in the form in which it has been presented, does this also mean the ANC will not even allow the Government to place it on the conference table? And vice-versa? End of story?

Some Marxist academics have little to crow about over their contribution to political thought in South Africa. The intellectual damage they have caused will no doubt be recorded one day: the intolerance they have encouraged, the no-entry signs they have placed over certain areas like ethnicity, uncritical acceptance of the tablets as handed down by the Soviet Union and "socialists" everywhere — all this will return to haunt them one day.

What is it about so many analysts that they seem to prefer war to peace — that they search so assiduously through every silver lining for the dark cloud, as they are doing in South Africa today, and despatch the comrades to the barricades so joyfully?

Is it asking too much of them to pick up the Slabbert-Welsh book and read only the words on the front cover, which are: "A democratic South Africa: Is it possible? ... It would not only be one of the major feats of political engineering in the modern world, it would also stand as a beacon to numerous other societies that are wracked by racial and ethnic conflict ... Is this not a challenge worth accepting?" □

Azapo denied BCM assets ^{11A}

PIETERSBURG — Police in Pretoria have refused to return to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) assets seized when BCM formations were banned in 1977. *Blouay*

Don Nkadimeng, the Azanian People's Organisation secretary general, said Azapo had written to the Commissioner of Police in July requesting the State return property seized in raids between September 1974 and December 1984.

A response from police dated September 2 said the confiscations "occurred in accordance with legislation empowering such actions".

Azapo's letter to the SAP said properties confiscated included the Zanempilo Clinic, near King William's Town, which is believed to have had more than R1.5m in the bank. *13/9/91*

The letter, believed to be the first claim of its kind, said Azapo was "successor in title" to BCM formations.

—Sapa.

2000 2000 11A

BILLY PADDOCK

Late-night work on peace accord

THE national peace accord preparatory committee and various working groups were working flat out yesterday to finalise the document for signing tomorrow.

A source close to the talks said the parties had worked late into Wednesday night to reach agreement on a code of conduct for the SADF and on the sensitive issue of lethal weapons at political gatherings.

Apparently there were numerous amendments to a draft document that had been put forward by Inkatha, the ANC and government,

after they had consulted their constituencies.

Meanwhile the PAC and Azapo have said they will not sign the peace accord or parts of it because it "legitimises the SADF and SAP".

Sapa reports PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said his organisation would, however, be present at the convention where the other parties will be signing the accord, as a token of its rejection of the township violence.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu would present the meeting with a

written pledge that the organisation would do all it could to end violence.

The PAC had decided not to sign the accord because, among other things, it gave legitimacy to the SAP and SA Defence Force and the NP government; co-opted the "liberation movement into the oppressive system"; "demobilised the oppressed" before they had achieved the ballot; and suspended the armed struggle in a backdoor manner. Azapo might sign its own peace declaration, information secretary Strini Moodley said.

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'Reshuffling' in ANC raises serious leadership questions

AFRICAN National Congress National Working Committee member Cheryl Carolus was this week relieved of the organisation's Social Welfare portfolio, and Winnie Mandela has been "reinstated" as the department's head.

But was this change part of the ANC's organisational rationalisation, as the movement claims, or is it a manoeuvre resulting from the fact that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was unhappy that his wife's position was altered while the couple were travelling the Caribbean and Spain last month?

The "reshuffling" in the ranks of the ANC raises troubling questions about the power that Nelson Mandela wields to revise decisions already taken by the NWC, the organisation's senior decision-making body.

MARK GEVISSER examines the recent 'reshuffling' by the ANC and Nelson Mandela's role in these decisions. (114)

Following the reports about the portfolio changes, the ANC stated categorically that "Winnie Mandela has not been reinstated, as she was never removed". She has always been the head of Social Welfare. But, because she was not on the NWC, the portfolio and final responsibility was given to Carolus, who was made responsible simultaneously for Health and Human Resources.

All that has happened now, says the ANC, is that a new "channel of responsibility" has been established: because Social Welfare is more a

"service" department than a "policy" one, its portfolio-holder on the NWC is no longer Carolus but Thomas Nkobi, treasurer-general.

"As part of our rationalisation," explained ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, "it was decided to make Social Welfare the direct responsibility of the treasury. With all the returning exiles, and with the massive displacement that has accompanied township violence, Social Welfare urgently needs money to do its job. And so by making treasury directly responsible for the department, we speed up the process of making money available for Social Welfare."

Certainly, the Social Welfare Department is in dire need of funds, but then aren't all ANC departments? And why does Carolus keep Health and Human Resources, which remain "policy" departments, but relinquish Social Welfare?

One speculation is that by initially making Winnie Mandela accountable to Carolus, the NWC was hoping to phase out one of its most problematic and controversial public figures. When the Mandelas got wind of this upon their return and protested, the result was a compromise which put Winnie under the control of a less-threatening Nkobi.

The social work profession, which has previously publicly voiced its dissatisfaction with Winnie Mandela's appointment, is particularly concerned with the reshuffle. "We have to formulate a social welfare policy for South Africa," said a social worker who is a member of the ANC. "But now, because of what seems to be political machination with Winnie at the centre, Social Welfare is relegated to the realm of a 'service' department. It's appalling. Where are the ANC's priorities?"

At the same time as it announced that Carolus would no longer hold the Social Welfare portfolio, the ANC also announced that deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, who had previously been withdrawn from the negotiations committee, was to be reinstated.

"The initial rationale for taking Zuma off the negotiating team," explained Niehaus, "was that, as Cyril Ramaphosa was heading the negotiating team, Zuma would be more valuable, in his capacity as deputy secretary-general, as the full-time organiser of the movement."

But, he continued, "in a series of subsequent meetings, it was decided that Zuma must remain as one of the negotiators, as he had been the ANC's principal in all the decisions around the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes".

But what role did Mandela, a strong supporter of Zuma, play in these "subsequent meetings"? And why, while Mandela was out of the country, was Zuma initially dropped?

The British publication *Front File* wrote in August that there was something of a "communist coup" while Mandela was away, pointing to the fact that Thabo Mbeki was replaced as chief negotiator by Ramaphosa, and that of the three other negotiators appointed by the NWC two were SACP officials: Joe Slovo and Mohammed Valli Moosa. The *Front File* report has been correctly dismissed as "over-the-top red-baiting nonsense".

While ANC leaders point out that there is nothing incorrect in Mandela, the organisation's president, asking the NWC to reconsider its decisions, the reshuffles — and Mandela's role in them — clearly point to the fact that leadership is-



Happy birthday ... Ou Makal is the first San born in the Ceres area in 250 years. Her mother, Fvthii Kruiber, is a member of the Kruiber clan which settled on the Kaggera

SA Marxists take a step back to the future

QUIETLY — and somewhat ironically — history was made last weekend in Cape Town when Marxists from across the country gathered for South Africa's first conference on Marxist theory.

Organised by the University of Western Cape, the conference was set the task of assessing the state of Marxist theory and practice in South Africa and of debating "the way forward". "We wanted to look at the prospects of further developing a Marxist tradition that is intellectually coherent and politically relevant," explained conference organiser Andrew Nash, a philosophy professor at UWC.

After flourishing on liberal campuses for at least 15 years, Marxist theory has entered what some fear might be a terminal crisis. The retreat of South African intellectuals and academics has perhaps been more discreet than elsewhere in the world, but it is equal-

w/mail

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ly concerted. Only a handful of those who had brought Marxism into South African academia attended. And, even more notably absent, was the South African Communist Party.

According to the organisers, invitations had been sent repeatedly to the SACP head office since last October, but no formal response was received. Nash says the closest the party came to a response was an indication by a top official that the SACP "did not want to offer anything unless it was good".

Not surprisingly, rumours of a boycott hovered around the event. The sudden withdrawal from the programme of visiting American communist Angela Davis served only to fuel this speculation.

"The conference was purported to be about Marxist theory, but it was really a conference of activists," Centre for Social and Development Studies ana-

At the first conference on Marxist theory ever held in this country, the South African Communist Party was notably absent — highlighting one of the darkest fears of the left wing. By **HEIN MARAIS**

lyst Mike Morris commented afterwards. "In that context, the absence of the SACP was bizarre."

Most of the 300 participants were young, ardent activists and intellectuals, many belonging to various detachments of the Trotskyist left — Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, International Socialists of South Africa, Marxist Workers' Tendency.

"Crisis, what crisis?" seemed to be

their war cry.

As the days filled with discussion on topics ranging from "Nationalism and ethnicity" to "Is there a future for class struggle?", it became clear that many came with axes to grind.

SACP and ANC-bashing was at a premium and it was left to the likes of Mike Morris — hardly a candidate for a fan club of either organisation — to come to their defence.

Three days of labyrinthine explorations of Marxism and jousting for hegemony revealed deep divisions — between those trying to employ the tradition to seek new and viable solutions to the South African crisis, those still shadowed by the past, and those clinging to the purity of standardised visions.

University of the Witwatersrand sociology lecturer Eddie Webster issued a pointed appraisal of the state of South African Marxism.

"Very little rethinking of Marxism is

taking place ... We have not managed to indigenise Marxism in our country," he said.

South African Marxism had made no significant theoretical contribution to Marxist thought, he added.

While socialism retains an appeal among many South Africans as a panacea to the ills wrought by apartheid, its content remained undefined. "The one crucial question we did not debate here," National Union of Metalworkers educational officer Roger Etkind chided, "is what is socialism?"

Glasgow University's Hillel Ticktin voiced perhaps the darkest fear of the left: "I'm very afraid that three years hence this conference might not be able to take place, for the same reason that it didn't take place three years ago — that we'll face a situation where dissidence becomes condemned as counter-revolutionary."

● At the time of going to press the SACP was not available for comment.

Unfortunates in the path of a war

W/Man 13/9 - 19/9/91
DON'T be misled by the title: this is not a book about Abraham Esau, who ran a cell for British intelligence during the Anglo-Boer war. He rates one chapter. This is a social study of the changes wrought upon the black and coloured population of the Cape during and after the South African War of 1899-1902.

This was not a "white man's" war. Africans and coloureds fought with both sides in that conflict, sometimes reluctantly, at others meritoriously.

British and Afrikaner needed the Africans, for transport drivers, runners, scouts, spies. The war disrupted everything, and for a person with nothing it could only be advantageous. Africans took off in thousands to reap the benefits of military service. Armed, mounted, they did sterling service beside their compatriots on both sides of the conflict.

They also suffered. An African scout for the British, if caught by the Boers, was lucky to be shot outright. He was invariably flogged first.

The indigenous people across whom the war is fought are always the first casualties, either in life or possessions, and the last to recover. Bill Nasson here gives an account, not of the strategies of the war, but of the effects of it on the unfortunate people living in its path.

This story is horrifying in the brutality and senseless killing involved, but no more so than

11/9
ABRAHAM ESAU'S WAR: A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899-1902 by Bill Nasson (David Philip, R39,95)

any other war. The revered General Jan Smuts and most other Boer commanders are called to account. But the slaughter is not the point of the narrative; social change is. Rural peasants became nomadic; pass laws were introduced; the ripened crops of Boer farmers rotted in the fields while their labourers groomed horses for the military.

The author writes a semi-convincing account: details such as the number of oxen, wagons and personnel to transport war matériel is indisputably accurate. When he gets to the Esau story, the narrative is dominated by "oral tradition says ..."

We must expect more of these side-lights on history. The broad sweep of events has been recorded to death; now historians go after the smaller fish, personal diaries and accounts of a single engagement — or as here, the social upheavals caused by internal strife.

It's a fine book, sometimes tedious, but here are the roots of Afrikaner Nationalism — not a gift from God, but carelessness on the part of imperial England.

Colln Crapper

PAC plans to attend ^(11a) signing of peace accord

AUG 14/9/91
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress will attend the signing of the peace accord where it will pledge today "to spare no effort, brave all obstacles and tirelessly work for peace among our people", senior PAC sources said.

The PAC is not a signatory to the accord reached between government, African National Congress, and Inkatha Freedom Party.

But its concern that the death toll in the violence would lead to disastrous consequences if not stopped was instrumental in persuading it to attend today's ceremony.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu is expected to welcome the principles of peace enunciated in the peace accord as a progressive act, and that the PAC was prepared to liaise with the National Peace Committee, which is a non-statutory body.

This position is not in conflict with the PAC's policy of non-collaboration with structures of the regime.

A source said: "Mr Makwetu will probably announce in his statement that our slogan of 'peace among Africans', the undisputable evidence that we are not involved in the wanton violence, together with our efforts to facilitate peace is testimony to our position as peace-makers."

Mr Makwetu would announce that the PAC, despite not being a signatory to the peace accord, would pledge "to spare no effort, brave all obstacles and tirelessly work for peace among our people".

UK 'could train ANC military'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Britain could provide military training to the ANC at some time in the future, a Foreign Office spokeswoman said yesterday.

The spokeswoman confirmed a report in yesterday's London Evening Standard that the possibility may already have been discussed informally by the ANC and British embassy officials in Pretoria.

However, she ruled out any such development in the near future because South Africa remains subject to international military sanctions.

But it was possible Britain might accept an invitation to provide military co-operation once those sanctions had been lifted.

How a guru with a matric plans to fix the economy

By **NORMAN WEST**
Political Reporter

FORMER detainee Trevor Manuel, newly-appointed chief of the ANC's Economic Planning Division, is not an economist.

But he says you don't need to have a PhD in economics to realise that the government has made a mess of South Africa's economy.

What Mr Manuel believes he does have is "the common touch". That, he says, is the best qualification for the job.

His mission is to correct the imbalance of economic plans devised by theorists and bureaucrats to suit the rich, but which largely ignore the "real needs" of the people.

The ANC would want a "people's economy", he says, with maximum participation by the masses in decisions on future econom-

ic trends.

The ANC believes economics are not so much about rands and cents and percentage points, "but about people and their needs and what they can and cannot afford".

Although Mr Manuel's highest academic qualification is matric, he says he has an "understanding" of economics. The broad approach of his department will be to dealing with the "real" expectations of people — not the theories of bureaucrats.

These expectations include access to land, housing and jobs.

His aim, therefore, is to introduce a "people's approach" rather than a "technical" one.

In terms of this, he feels qualified for the ANC job because of his "grassroots experience" of the basic needs of the people. But he acknowledges that the expertise of others better

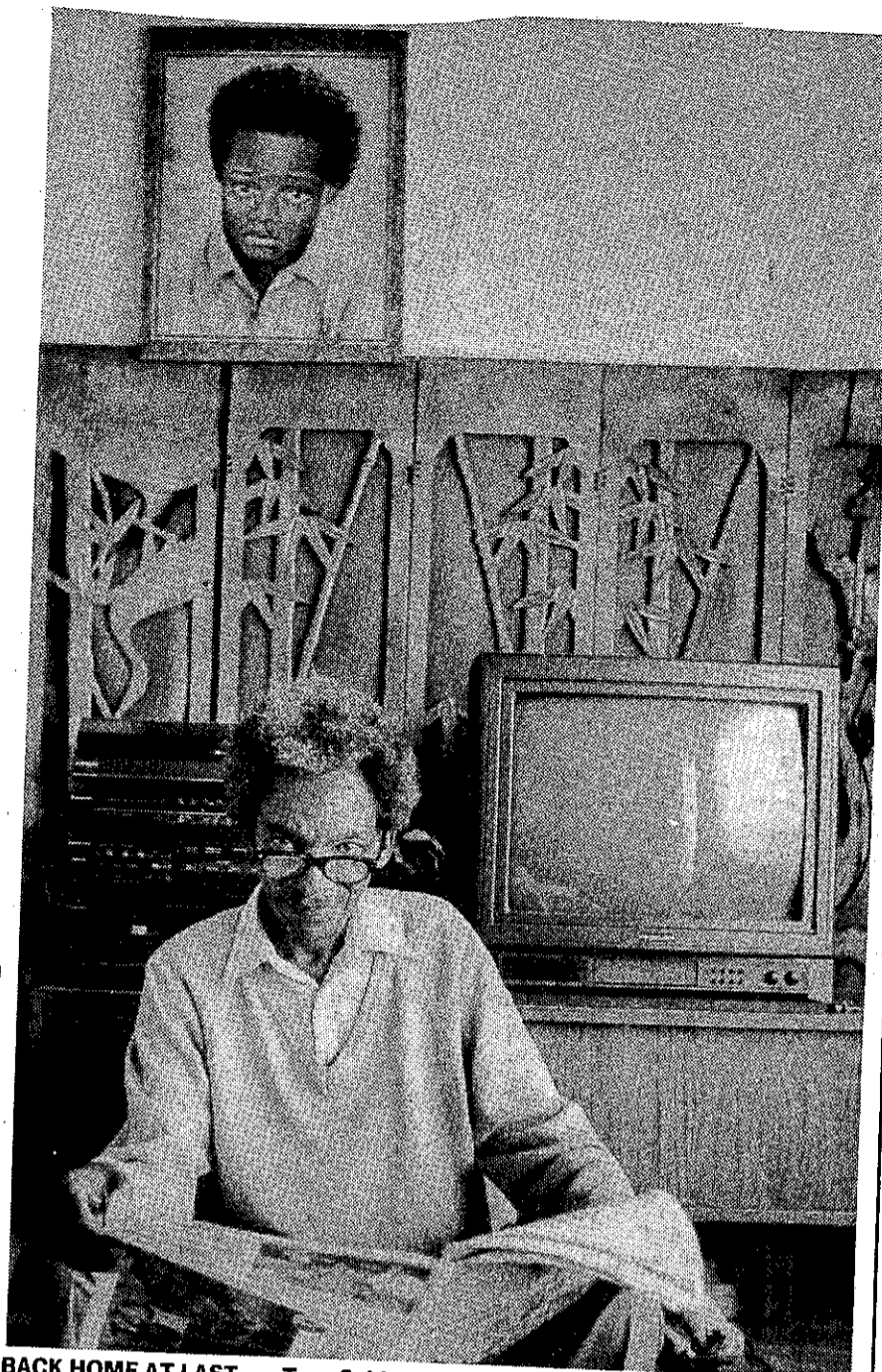
qualified must be harnessed to make information about economic issues more accessible to the public, and to generate participation in analysing these issues.

He says the ANC remains committed to a mixed economy, to fighting unemployment and to redistribution of wealth.

Born in Kensington, Cape Town, Trevor Manuel matriculated from the Harold Cressy High School in 1973, worked for a construction company, attended the Peninsula Technikon and obtained a diploma as a civil engineering technician.

He was detained in October 1985 because of his UDF activities. Although released a month later, he was banned and kept under virtual house arrest until 1986.

He is married and has two young children.



BACK HOME AT LAST... Tom Sebina in the house where he spent most of his youth
Picture: DAVID SANDISON

ANC's 'Voice' silently returns after 27 years

SI Times 15/9/91 11A

The "Voice of the ANC" is back.

Long-serving ANC spokesman Tom Sebina slipped quietly through customs at Jan Smuts Airport this week.

Mr Sebina fled South Africa by crawling under a border fence in Bechuanaland 27 years ago and has been living in Tanzania.

While ANC watchers around the world are long familiar with his voice — he kept the world informed about the organisation from ANC headquarters in Lusaka over the past 10 years — his face remained a mystery to many.

In fact, so little known are his features that he strolled unnoticed through the airport last Sunday and into the arms of a waiting friend after alighting from one of the last charter flights bringing ANC exiles back from Lusaka.

And he has remained largely unnoticed in the green four-roomed Soweto house where he spent much of his youth.

He did not get a "rah rah" welcome from old comrades, nor did he venture into the "fancy new" ANC building in downtown Johannesburg, choosing rather to spend his first week with his brothers and sisters.

Even his old neighbours did not recognise the slightly built 54-year-old.

"I was 27 when I left. Now the neighbours confuse me with my dead father," crackled the famous voice.

His return after nearly three decades had been emotionally wrenching, he said.

"Both my parents died while I was away. I have spent the last 27 years thinking that I would come home. No matter where I was I always felt a foreigner.

"By last week I wanted to leave Zambia. Not because I didn't enjoy it, but because most of the exiles had gone.

"A few years ago you could not walk more than 500m without bumping into an ANC member. Now you can go for more than two hours, from one end of Lusaka to

the other, without seeing one," he said. "There were about 100 of us on the plane when I flew out. I doubt there are enough left in Lusaka to make another plane load."

The bulk of the remaining exiles — about 2 000 — were in Tanzania, with a few hundred in Uganda, he said.

The joy at seeing family — about 15 people crowded into his Soweto house on Monday — had, he said, been marred by the violence wracking the country.

"It is very distressing. I left South Africa in the warm summer months and there were always people out in the streets late in the evenings. But now everyone is barricaded inside their houses by 6 or 7pm.

"My friends who come to see me are scared if they don't go home before dark. We went to Naledi the other night, and the streets were deserted. I hope the situation will change."

Mr Sebina made his first foray from Soweto into Johannesburg on Friday in the company of the Sunday Times. Like a small boy in a sweet shop he could not stop looking around.

"Is that Baragwanath," he asked. "It used to be single-story barracks."

Casspirs, he noted, had replaced the old Bedfords.

"Where are we now? This is all new," he announced.

"The Brixton Tower," he cried as the Hillbrow Tower came into view.

Will the "Voice" continue to speak for the ANC now that it has an established information department?

"I don't know. I never elected to do the job, I was thrust into it when everyone else was banned. I was certainly not seeking fame or notoriety. I will be happy to do whatever job the ANC has for me."

Dawn Barkhuizen

Setback for early start to talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE prospects for an early start to constitutional negotiations suffered a setback last night with the announcement that the launch of a Patriotic Front (PF) of liberation movements would now only take place in late October.

The much-postponed PF conference, called to forge a common strategy towards the government at the negotiation table, will now be held in Durban from October 25-27, a joint ANC, PAC and Azapo statement announced.

The lapsing of earlier target dates has led to charges by the government that the liberation organisations were dragging their heels on negotiations and "ganging up" against the National Party.

President F W de Klerk and NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last week that the timing for an all-party conference marking the start of negotiations depended on when the PF conference was held and whether opposition groupings were able to achieve unity.

Statement

The delegations were led by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe.

A statement issued in Johannesburg by the Joint Preparatory Committee said:

"The meeting was cordial and frank and dealt with a wide range of issues, both substantive and preparatory, relating to the process leading to the transfer of power and democratisation of our country as well as the formation of a Patriotic Front."

● Meanwhile, a joint statement issued by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance following a leadership meeting yesterday condemned "in the strongest terms" the latest outbreak of violence, fully endorsed the church- and business-sponsored peace process and expressed "general support" for the draft Peace Accord.

Azapo, its affiliates and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania commemorated Biko Week between September 6 and 12.

Unlike in the past, there were no massive crowds and media coverage was muted.

Since BCM founding father Steve Bantu Biko died in police custody on September 12, 1977, the movement has had mixed fortunes.

City Press spoke to Azapo's political education head MOLATLHEGI OA THLALE about the present position of Azapo and the relevance of BC.

CITY PRESS: There was a time when BC occupied centre stage in South African politics. This seems to be no longer the case. What could be the cause of this?

AZAPO: Today it is fashionable to talk about centre-stage as some kind of pedestal where organisations of the oppressed and exploited black masses are judged.

The centre-stage of today derives its meaning from one's involvement in quasi-negotiations with the racist regime. Unfortunately, the BCM does not subscribe to this stage.

CP: Externally, BCMA has not made much headway in terms of being recognised as a liberation movement by the OAU or the UN... Why?

BCM has never gone out of its way to seek the recognition of people other than those whose aspirations it

Where would Steve have stood today?

sought to articulate. To us, recognition by our people is of paramount importance.

However, it is true that the OAU does not see us as a legitimate component of the broad liberation movement.

This notwithstanding, member countries of the OAU have had dealings with the BCM for years and there is tacit recognition from that institution.

CP: You have lost some of your senior members, particularly those in exile, primarily to the ANC. What could have led to this?

AZAPO: Of the people elected to senior positions by our membership prior to going into exile, we can only remember Barney Pityana. However, there are activists who joined the PAC and ANC from our ranks. In this scenario, the likes of Thenjiwe Mthintso, Wally Serote, and others, joined the ANC. These people rose within the ranks of the ANC to occupy senior positions.

We commend them and wish them the best of luck in their portfolios.

This is where the dynamism of this organisation lies: it does not threaten or necklace people for defecting to other organisations.

The BCM united people across the entire political spectrum in the late 60s and 70s. Naturally, when new movements surfaced in the early 80s, some people then moved back

to their first political homes.

CP: Some of these members - I don't necessarily mean Pityana, Serote or Mthintso - claim BC has outlived its usefulness?

AZAPO: A link has to be made with what BC on its own sought to achieve and still seeks to achieve on behalf of the oppressed and exploited masses. BC wanted:

- Repossession of the land
- Black majority rule
- Self-determination and independence of the Azanian people
- A non-exploitative economic system, and
- Total liberation of the oppressed.

BC adherents held that people ruled by fear and psychological oppression could not free themselves. To some extent, psychological freedom has been achieved, though there are still millions of our people who are oppressed that way.

As for physical oppression, De Klerk is still in charge of the regime. BC's answer to that is he must relinquish power and transfer it to the oppressed; quarantine the security forces and restrict them to their barracks.

As to the mechanism, BC proposed a Constituent Assembly as early as 1982, far ahead of the present euphoria about a Constituent Assembly.

CP: Is there still a need for the continued existence of BC?

AZAPO: The answer here is an emphatic yes. To buttress this point, one needs to quote Biko in his book *I Write What I Like, Frank Talk* (p.30).

"BC seeks to foster positivity in the outlook of the black people to their problems..."

"It works on the knowledge that 'white hatred' is negative, though understandable.

"It seeks to channel the pent-up forces of the angry black masses to meaningful and directional opposition, basing the entire struggle on realities of the situation.

"It wants to ensure a singularity of purpose in the minds of the black people to make possible total involvement of the masses in a struggle essentially theirs."

CP: What are Azapo's major points of difference with the PAC and ANC.

AZAPO: BC emphasised not merely race as a decisive factor in the struggle against white supremacy; it also stresses the inter-racial links preserving and enhancing the given racist reality.

Thus, class as well as race occupied a privileged position in the BCM analysis of the South African social formation.

In this sense, the BCM departed from the purely racial attitude and strategy of Africanism.

Being African was not, and still is not, a sufficient condition to qualify

as a black. To be black implied a determined antagonism to racial capitalism and the political will to eradicate it.

This is a major difference between BC and the PAC. As for the ANC, the position is much clearer. The multiracialist outlook of the ANC is a non-starter as far as BC is concerned. This is because multiracialism is building imaginary and unrealistic bridges which distort the South African reality.

CP: There has been talk, particularly among some ANC supporters, that if Biko were still alive, chances are that he would most likely have joined the ANC?

AZAPO: Biko stated days before his death that he would like to see the ANC, PAC and the BCM deciding to form one liberation group.

This clearly shows Biko did not see BCM as a transient movement and makes nonsense of claims he could have joined the ANC or PAC.

CP: What do you think is the future of Azapo?

AZAPO: Azapo is looking forward to a time when our country has been transformed into the anti racist, democratic state of Azania. We are also looking at a situation where as a political organisation we will be chosen by our people to govern the country.



STEVE BIKO ... Would he have joined the ANC or PAC had he been alive today - or would he have striven for wider unity between movements?

The ANC and NP need to govern together to develop consensus, writes Herman Giliomee

Building blocks of democracy

Star 16/9/91

~~10/11~~ 11A

THE best kept secret of the National Party's constitutional proposals is that they are suggestions for structuring an interim form of rule, not a final constitution. It is during this interim period, which could last to the end of this decade, that the conditions will have to be created for a workable democratic system in South Africa.

Behind the NP's political strategy lies the recognition of some fundamental realities. South Africa, as a developing society, lacks virtually all the requirements for a democracy, which have been spelled out by authorities on the subject such as Samuel Huntington, Juan Linz, Larry Diamond and Seymour Martin Lipset.

There is no widely shared sense of national identity, more than half the adult population is functionally illiterate, the inequality of income between the richest 10 percent and poorest 50 percent of the population is among the highest in the world, and there are not two major parties of roughly equal strength who are committed to fighting each other constitutionally.

To this one can add the lack of a civil society (free press, trade unions, churches and other voluntary organisations) which has a racially overlapping membership and enjoys a large measure of autonomy from the existing political parties.

But if it is true that no one — if a choice were available — would have suggested a fully fledged democracy for South Africa, it is also true that South Africa does not have the option of pursuing an undemocratic alternative.

The second reality is that we live in a unique phase in world history where there is a common commitment to democracy among all the states that count today. They will insist that any government in South Africa, whether it be NP or ANC controlled, be democratic if it wishes to tap the financial and technological resources of the US, Europe and Japan. And without that, no significant economic growth is possible.

The third reality is that in divided societies like ours only the power-sharing variant of democracy has worked. The NP has

based its proposals on that reality, but there is also another reality that it should face up to. This is that power-sharing is much more likely to succeed where it is the product of the political process, and specifically electoral outcomes, than where it is dictated by a constitutional formula (as the NP proposals do).

Critics who oppose the NP proposals because they are deemed to be a recipe for paralysis are not necessarily wrong. However, the question is whether a country as unripe for democracy as South Africa can risk a form of democracy which could polarise and radicalise the entire polity.

South Africa over the next seven to nine years needs to construct the genuine building blocks for a democracy. First of all we need at least two parties strong enough to replace each other as the government of the day. A democracy functions well only if today's opposition could become tomorrow's government. As that wise scholar Edi Kédourie has remarked: If the majority and the minority are perpetual, then government ceases to have a media-

tory function and becomes an instrument of perpetual oppression of the minority by the majority.

This is the reason why the NP and the ANC need to realise that it is in their own separate and joint interests to have a strong adversary. Both movements need to make themselves attractive to the widest possible range of voters. For the ANC this means breaking its link with the Communist Party; for the NP it entails dropping its insistence on neighbourhood committees and an extra vote for property owners and rent- and ratepayers. The NP needs to heed the warning of its new coloured members that these proposals will greatly reduce its electoral appeal to people who are not white.

South Africa secondly needs an uncontroversial method for ensuring that a large party is not simply left out of government, which can happen under the West German system which the ANC proposes. It is not advisable to have a constitutional formula dictating this, as the NP wants. The very first thing the All Party Conference needs to do is investigate the

Venezuelan example where a separate pact was successfully concluded by the major parties before the first democratic election. They agreed to share power for at least the next decade.

Thirdly, the NP and the ANC need to enter government together in order to develop consensus about policy. There exists a quaint belief among some political commentators such as Ken Owen of the Sunday Times that constitutional devices and the constraints of common law are sufficient to ensure the successful development of democracy. As Robert Dahl, one of the greatest living authorities on democracy has remarked, these constitutional rules are trivial when compared to non-constitutional rules and practices.

And the most important of these is a consensus about how to address the major problems confronting society. As Dahl puts it: With such a consensus the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within a broad area of basic agreement.

It is only in governing together that the NP and ANC may develop such a policy consensus.

Finally, the interim period should be used to devolve substantial power to the regions, and by doing this allow the federal units of South Africa to take shape. Although the ANC is unhappy about this, the evidence from other divided societies is

overwhelmingly that the more decentralised a society, the greater its ability to cope with ethnic heterogeneity. Spain and Belgium are among the most recent examples of this trend.

A democracy will only come about in South Africa if it is allowed to grow into one. If the main building blocks can be put in place over the short to medium term, a surprisingly healthy

and vigorous democracy could be constructed by the turn of the century. The alternative is a dreary one-party state from which nearly all countries now want to escape. □

Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.

HIOPIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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ANC: No mass action

ARG 16/9/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signalled after the National Peace Convention that his organisation was retaining its hardline sanctions stance but would suspend mass action.

Mr Mandela told a press conference after the convention that the ANC had called for sanctions to achieve the "dismantling of apartheid in all its forms" and to "get the vote extended to all South Africans".

In spite of various reforms, neither of these objectives had been reached.

If an "atmosphere of mutual trust" between the government and the ANC was achieved, the lifting of sanctions would be considered, but the government would have to commit itself unequivocally to a constitution that would not discriminate against anybody.

The ANC has rejected the recent National Party constitutional proposals as an attempt to retain white privilege.

Mr Mandela said that "if the accord works well there will be no question of mass action".

The ANC believed in negotiation, but would consider returning to mass action if it could make no headway.

Mr Mandela said he rejected the concept of a troika leadership after negotiations, because it would leave many important organisations out of the decision-making process.

President F W de Klerk said the NP did not advocate a troika leadership. Its constitutional proposal for a three-to-five-man executive council to lead the country was intended to move the country away from the winner-takes-all system.

Chief Buthelezi said that if one of the three had not signed the accord it "would have not been worth the paper it was written on".

ANC culture ban reversal hailed



ET 16/9/91

JOHANNESBURG. — South African show business impresarios and cultural and sporting figures have hailed the ANC's decision to reverse its hard-line approach on contacts with the Commonwealth of Nations.

They called it a significant breakthrough for multilateral communications.

Mr Gora Kadodia, who was one of several South Africans to pioneer cultural ties with India, welcomed the move as a positive acknowledgement.

He is bringing to South Africa Amir and Salman Khan, among a company of leading stage and screen artists, for the Chamakte Sitare concerts this month.

The president of the 1860 Indian Settlers' Association, Mr Krish Gokal,

said he wished to express his association's gratitude to the ANC for easing the sanctions.

He was also thankful to the ANC for facilitating what he termed a new era of sports and cultural contact that would launch South Africa into international participation in these arenas.

The ANC's decision was conveyed to the Commonwealth's Conference of Foreign Ministers meeting in New Delhi this week.

However, the entry of Indian visitors would still require the approval of the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, Dr Kisten Rajoo, in terms of his standpoint preceding the Mangeshkar show. — Sapa

Most groups welcome pact Now for the business ■ ■ ■

Sowetan 16/9/91

~~A~~ 11A



President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela offer to shake hands with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthefezi after the three gathered to sign a peace pact in a bid to end violence on the Reef that has claimed the lives of hundreds of people over the past few weeks.

NOW it's down to business.

South Africa's leaders on Saturday placed peace and reconciliation before their respective parties and signed an accord that is being hailed as the first step towards a negotiated settlement.

The leadership of almost 30 parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political and trade union organisations with their signatures endorsed peace.

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Azapo abstained. While both organisations made sterling contributions towards Saturday's convention, their refusal to endorse the docu-

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Unity the only key to peace, says Azasco

Sowetan 16/9/91

11A

By MATHATHA
TSEDU and Sapa

THE violence in black townships will not end despite peace accords, because black disunity created avenues in which enemy agents could operate.

This was said by deputy president of the Azanian Students Convention Mr Vusi Hlongwa at the weekend.

He was addressing Azasco's first national conference at Medunsa near Pretoria. Hlongwa said the violence was being orchestrated by a "third force" operating with the approval of the Government.

"It is a strategy to induce political apathy by the regime so that our people can just follow anyone who looks like he

can bring peace, but only when black people are united can the agents be exposed," he said.

Hlongwa said it was for this reason that Azasco supported the decision to form a Patriotic Front of liberation movements to bring about unity among blacks.

Azasco was still committed to the formation of alliances with other student organisations. However, his organisation was against disruptions of classes which served only

to entrench the inferior condition of black students.

The congress started on Friday night with the first Steve Biko/Muntu Myeza memorial lecture delivered by Azapo's political education secretary, Mr Molathlegi Tihale.

Family members of the late Myeza, including his widow Mrs Thandi Myeza, attended the lecture.

There was loud applause when messages of support from the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania were read.

Stayaway call went unheard

JOHANNESBURG. — A two-day stayaway called by Cosatu, the ANC PWV region and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, (Cast) was widely ignored by township residents yesterday.

Officials of Spoornet and Putco both said their passenger loads were normal and a spokesman for Benoni Chamber of Commerce said it was an ordinary day in the East Rand town. — Sapa

Resolution on army issues 'close'

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were close to resolving a number of issues relating to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, sources said yesterday.

The sources, close to the negotiations of the liaison committee set up after the D F Malan meeting early this year, said the issues of cadre infiltration and arms caches were close to being resolved.

At the weekend President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela said the bilateral talks between government and the ANC on these issues were progressing well. At the signing of the national peace accord on Saturday, Mandela said Umkhonto was not going to be disbanded. The D F Malan Minute and talks flowing

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from that and the Pretoria Minute took it out of the ambit of the accord, he said.

It is understood Mandela was pressing ahead with decisions taken at the Umkhonto conference last month, when Umkhonto reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations on incorporation into a new SADF. (S) (M) (S)

Government sources said yesterday a distinction had to be drawn between Umkhonto and its activities. The D F Malan Minute and the negotiations of the liaison committee were concerned with the activities of an army — training, infiltration and weapons accumulation inside the country.

Azapo, PAC ^(11A) get ^{Sowetan} support ^{17/9/91}

By SONTI MASEKO

BOTH the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress, who chose not to sign the Peace Accord on Saturday, were supported in their decision on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday.

Mphikeleli from Diepkloof, Soweto, told DJ Tim Modise that Azapo and the PAC were not violent organisations.

"I believe that the Government is capable of stopping the violence. Without this I do not think the Peace Accord will work," he said.

Representatives of the organisations, Mr Strini Moodley of Azapo and Mr Barney Desai of the PAC, said they did not sign the accord because it would have gone against their principle of not participating in Government structures.



Rightwing organisations, who also refused to sign, could not be reached to air their views on the programme, Modise said.

"The document gives too much power to the police and the South African Defence Force," Moodley said.

"It is not African fighting African. There is a sinister dark force operating and the Peace Accord does not even mention that," said Desai.

Both organisations said, however, that they supported peace efforts and would continue working for peace.

AMERICAN business and the ANC are due to meet at Notre Dame University early next month. Thabo Mbeki, who will head the ANC delegation, has reportedly joked that the businessmen will be there "to teach us about the free market". A more accurate rendering of Mbeki's metaphor would be that the teachers will be trying to find out whether the pupils are educable and worth their time and investment.

Aside from indications that the ANC may use the occasion to shift its ground on sanctions — by this stage a largely symbolic gesture — the conference preliminaries are not altogether encouraging.

In the wake of Inkatha and last weekend's peace accords notwithstanding, the ANC has indicated that Inkatha should not be invited. The organisers — who include Father Oliver Williams, Notre Dame's deputy provost and members of the Industry Support Unit Inc, an advisory group set up by the old Sullivan Code companies — appear divided on how to respond.

SA marginal to US

Some believe that while US business can talk to Inkatha whenever it wishes, the time has come to have a serious discussion with South Africa's putative next government. Others contend that Inkatha must somehow be accommodated, either through a non-aligned representative such as Oscar Dhlomo or as the result of a quiet agreement between the organisations themselves. Inkatha itself seems to be gearing for a fight.

If their interest is securing American investment, it would behoove both sides to come to an arrangement. Inkatha

No occasion for political play as ANC meets US business leaders

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Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

will lose face only if, having publicly banged its fists, the conference goes ahead without it, as almost certainly it will. On the other hand, by exploiting this, the ANC will negate the purpose of the whole exercise: assuring US capital that the "new South Africa" will be a worthwhile bet.

The chairmen and senior executives of some of America's largest corporations are going to Notre Dame in search of the ANC's better angels, but they will not find them if the movement maintains an intolerant and antagonistic stance towards a party which, whatever its deficiencies, does at least espouse market-friendly policies.

Having convinced

most of the outside world that it will form, at minimum, the core of SA's next government, the ANC has already acquired not only a high degree of responsibility for the country's future, but, far more important, no little power to decide what the future shall look like.

To bar Inkatha from the conference would be a profoundly irresponsible use of that power, for it would send a signal to the businessmen of the richest nation on earth that South Africa is simply not a rational candidate for their dollars. This in turn would represent a bitter betrayal of those the ANC claims to represent.

That the ANC wishes to present its case at

Notre Dame and may even be ready to call off the sanctioneers, presumably indicates that it acknowledges the need for foreign investment. If that is the case, it must also understand just how marginal an opportunity SA presents to foreign and in particular, US capital — not only when compared to opportunities elsewhere, but in absolute terms as well.

Violence hurdle

Apart from de facto prohibition on SA's access to the IMF, America's residual sanctions are among the least of the US business community's concerns. What is holding them up is SA itself.

Heading the list of disincentives is violence, both in and of itself and as a symptom of broader political and economic instability. Several US companies that have weathered a decade's worth of sanctions and other pressure to disinvest recently told the Investor Responsibility Research Centre that

continued civil unrest was the one thing that could still force them to leave. One might add that the persistence of killing despite the signing of the national peace accord will only make matters worse. To outsiders it will signify anarchy.

It is in this context that the ANC's wish to exclude Inkatha from the conference is perhaps most foolish. Rightly or wrongly, the mayhem is seen to be rooted in the contest for power between the ANC and its rivals. The more the ANC comes across as a movement bent on political monopoly, the less confidence the rest of the world will have that SA will ever be at peace with itself. The lessons of Mozambique have been learnt: the monster of Renamo was created first by Frelimo's own monopolistic aspirations. Its exploitation by SA and others came second.

Getting over the violence hurdle is surely the most important task the ANC faces if it sincerely wishes to attract American investors, but it is by no means the only one. As the IRRC suggests in its new report, *US Business in Post-sanctions SA: The Road Ahead*, SA is going to have a tough time attracting real US investment under the most tranquil of circumstances.

Cheap labour

One of the several dozen executives, consultants and investment managers IRRC interviewed summed the situation up succinctly: "Peace is not enough. You could solve the political situation and companies would still not go in if the ANC's policies scared them."

The best thing SA has going for it in American

eyes, IRRC suggests, is "an excellent financial infrastructure" — a sound banking system, a stock exchange that facilitates access to capital and investment relations one interviewee said "we would want to see everywhere in Africa". If any of that, especially the Companies Act, is seriously tampered with, SA will lose what IRRC calls "a competition around the world to offer the best incentives".

By any standard, the IRRC finds, SA is already well down in a field that includes Eastern Europe, a Latin America that is moving out of debt crisis towards increasingly sound economic management, as well as Southeast Asia and the Pacific Rim. Even India looked better than SA to some of the centre's interviewees.

SA has a desperate shortage not just of skilled labour, but of workers who can read and write. Training costs will therefore be abnormally high, so, in all likelihood, will wages as companies are forced to compete for what little skilled labour there is.

Many underdeveloped countries with similar problems have benefited by encouraging foreign corporations to establish assembly facilities to take advantage of their cheap labour. Mexico's *maquiladoras* are a classic example. But SA is not even in a position to do this. It is simply too far from markets for the finished goods and its domestic and regional ones are still too tiny. One executive told IRRC that in market terms "South Africa is still a small fraction of Italy and their per capita income is zilch".

As things stand, the study suggests, American companies are likely to limit their involvement in SA to sales operations, franchising and other non-equity relationships in hopes that the black consumer market will take off, but which, in the meantime, will limit their exposure should things go wrong.

Investment in people, infrastructure and manufacturing capacity — the long-term kind SA really needs — will be dependent on South Africans convincing Americans that there is a long-term peace and that its rewards will be commensurate with those that can be had elsewhere.

Since it demands to be seen as SA's next government and has been largely successful in having that demand

met, it is up to the ANC to persuade investors the future is going to work. Playing politics at the very moment it is about to make its case to the captains of US industry is not the recommended approach.

Convincing US

workers who can read and write. Training costs will therefore be abnormally high, so, in all likelihood, will wages as companies are forced to compete for what little skilled labour there is.

MK here to stay - ANC

THE ANC will not disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

It is not a private army, the movement has said.

"MK is a national army. Its position is governed by agreements reached between the ANC and Government in the DF Malan Accord and not by the National Peace Initiative," Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC's department of information and publicity said yesterday.

One of the essential parts of the accord bars political organisations from having their own private armies.

President FW de Klerk said on

Sowetan 17/9/91
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

television on Sunday night that MK should be disbanded because its continued existence "was not in the spirit of the peace accord" which was signed in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The ANC's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said at a Press conference after the signing of the accord that, despite the ban on private armies, his organisation would not disband MK as it did not fall within the framework of Saturday's accord.

The future of MK, Mandela said,

was the subject of bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC. This was why Saturday's gathering did not deal specifically with MK.

De Klerk agreed with Mandela and said that a basic agreement was in place which prevented MK from undertaking certain actions.

Statements by De Klerk on Sunday night were described by other ANC sources as "tangential" and "provocative".

A senior ANC source said that after signing the peace accord "quite happily" on Saturday, De Klerk chose to bring up the MK issue.

"This was typical of the Government to start nitpicking in public about its differences with the ANC.

"The accord can work towards peace, but it cannot stop the political games and the name-calling," the source said.

The continued existence of MK was also scorned by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi was reported to have said on Saturday that the clause in the peace accord which dealt with private armies was "meaningless" if it did not include MK.

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MK will not be dissolved, says Hani

Star 18/9/91

Political Staff ~~11A~~ (11A)

The ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was not a private army and would not be dismantled, MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday.

His remarks are likely to continue tensions between the Government and the ANC.

Reacting to a statement by President de Klerk that MK was contrary to the spirit of the peace accord signed on Saturday, Mr Hani said calls for the dismantling of Umkhonto we Sizwe were attempts to marginalise it.

"We will not be dismantled, and we will not be marginalised.

"The arms caches belong to us and we will not surrender them to an undemocratically elected government."

Umkhonto we Sizwe would consider discussing with an interim government the handing over of these caches.

Mr Hani said MK was not a private army but the liberators of the oppressed, and could therefore not be construed as a private army.

The ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe subscribed to the principle that no political armies should exist in a democratic society, but South Africa was not a democratic country, he said.

In terms of the D F Malan agreement reached between the ANC and the Government in February, the movement agreed that no political armies should exist.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's statement, Mr Hani said: "I am concerned about him pursuing that line of thinking."

He added that "the issue of MK" was a subject of ongoing negotiations in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan agreement with the Government.

"We know that nothing has been finalised, but we also know there are binding agreements. We are still sticking to the suspension of military operations and related activities."

Contrary to the Government, the ANC argues that "related activities" did not refer to recruitment and training.

In terms of the D F Malan agreement, both sides agreed there would be no attacks by means of armaments, firearms, explosive or incendiary devices, infiltration of men and materiel, the creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action, and training inside South Africa.

Mr Hani said these activities were clearly defined and centred on MK not infiltrating men and materiel as long as the agreement was in place.

MK's activities were the subject of discussions by a joint ANC/Government working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute and by a liaison committee (established after the D F Malan agreement) to ensure the implementation of the agreement.

Mr Hani said MK was clearly not part of the peace accord, but a bilateral issue with the Government.

"I can't see why MK is being dragged in. We have in all frankness not been involved in acts of violence because we are bound by the Pretoria Minute.

"Furthermore, even the D F Malan agreement does not say MK should be dismantled."

The joint working group agreed that because Umkhonto we Sizwe was no longer an unlawful organisation, membership was not in violation of any of the provisions of Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute, and the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute as a whole.

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe was a lawful organisation which had to reorganise itself since its unbanning.

Jan 18/1991.

Sisulu to be guest of New York mayor

By Hugh Robertson
Washington Bureau (11A)

WASHINGTON — The deputy president of the ANC, Walter Sisulu, will be guest of honour at a R280-a-head dinner hosted by New York mayor David Dinkins on September 30 to mark the 25th anniversary of the Africa Fund.

Since its formation in 1966, the Africa Fund has raised money to finance public campaigns in the United States and elsewhere for the release of political prisoners and for the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

It has worked closely with the ANC and with Mr Sisulu and ANC president Nelson Mandela, and has had regular contact with the presidents of Frontline states.

MK ^{11A} staying alive or going into limbo?

THE national peace accord has focused attention on the ANC's underground Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) army, and raised questions about its future.

Even before the ink had dried on the signatures of the contracting parties to the accord, President de Klerk was pressing for the dissolution of MK in its present form as a guerilla army.

Its continued existence was contrary to the spirit of the accord, Mr de Klerk said on television at the weekend.

The relevant clause in the accord reads: "No private armies shall be allowed or formed."

A qualifying clause defines a private army as one which is formed on the basis of party or political affiliation.

The pertinent clause was different in an earlier draft. It said simply: "No private armies shall be formed."

The words "allowed or" were inserted in the final version, reportedly at the insistence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, to extend the prohibition to MK.

As a guerilla army which existed before the peace accord was drawn up, MK — which was made legal with the ANC and SACP after President de Klerk's speech on February 2 1990 — was not affected by the ban on private armies in the first draft.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has, however, not made the same deduction as Mr de Klerk about the need to disband MK.

"We have no intention of dissolving MK, either now or in the future," he said at a news conference after signing the accord. "It is a matter which is under discussion between the ANC and the Government. We are discussing it in a spirit of reconciliation."

At the same conference, Mr de Klerk drew attention to earlier bilateral agreements between the ANC and his administration, insisting that the peace accord supplemented rather than repaced them.

Three bilateral agreements are involved: the Groote Schuur Minute of May 1990, the Pretoria Minute of August last year, and the D F Malan Agreement of February 1991.

In the Groote Schuur Minute, the ANC and the De Klerk administration undertook to end

Star 18/9/91.

PATRICK LAURENCE
looks at the future of Umkhonto we Sizwe in light of the national peace accord.

the "climate of violence and intimidation", and to undertake a process of peaceful negotiations.

At the Pretoria Minute the ANC agreed to suspend its "armed struggle and related activities" as part of a quid pro quo for the freeing of political prisoners and the return of exiles by April 30 1991.

The months after the signing of the Pretoria Minute were characterised by haggling between the ANC and the authorities over the meaning of the three words: "and relative activities".

There were serious differences of interpretation over whether the ANC's agreement to suspend "armed struggle and related activities" merely meant a cessation of a direct act of war, or whether it precluded the ANC from recruiting and training guerillas or smuggling weapons into South Africa on assumption that the suspended war might have to be resumed at a later stage.

These differences were largely, but not completely, settled at a meeting at D F Malan Airport in February. The interpretation which was agreed on represented, in large measure, a victory for Mr de Klerk's insistence that the Pretoria Minute bound the ANC to more than a mere moratorium of overt acts of warfare by MK guerillas.

The ANC representatives

concurred that the Pretoria Minute meant: An end to the infiltration of men and materiel into South Africa; a halt to the building of underground structures; a proscription on statements inciting violence and on threats of armed action; and a prohibition of the training of guerillas in South Africa.

Looking back at the bilateral agreements at Groote Schuur, Pretoria and D F Malan Airport, one overall conclusion can be drawn: MK was in the process of being transformed from a guerilla army into an ancillary political force under the aegis of the ANC.

That process was, however, disrupted by the intensification of the township violence and the ANC's suspension in April 1991 of constitutional discussions with the De Klerk administration.

The national peace accord has put the process back on the rails and the demilitarisation of MK is once again on the agenda under the heading: No private political armies.

Whether the process will be completed depends on the discussions referred to by Mr Mandela, and on whether Chief Buthelezi's IFP can be prevailed upon to abandon its proclaimed right to carry "cultural weapons", a phrase which includes spears and knobkerries.

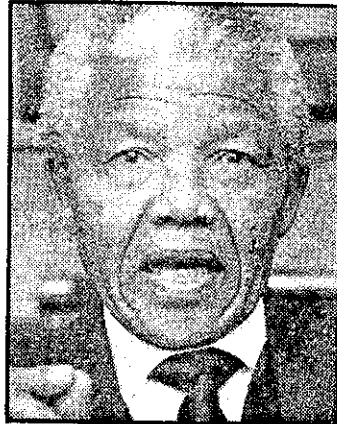
Assuming that the weapons issue is resolved — the peace accord bans the carrying of weapons to, from or at political meetings — the metamorphosis of MK into a political auxiliary of the ANC seems likely in the short term.

One of its main functions will be look after the welfare needs of the returning or unemployed MK soldiers.

In the longer run, MK, or elements of it, may coalesce with the SADF and the armies of the four nominally independent black homelands, to form a defence force for the emerging new South Africa.

In the interim, some trained MK fighters may serve in self-protection units. The units, unlike private armies, are allowed under the peace accord.

They differ in three important respects from the prohibited private armies: their members may carry only licensed arms; they must not be recruited from one political party only; and they must liaise with the police. □



No intention of dissolving MK . . . Nelson Mandela.

ANC army suspends recruitment

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CT 18/9/91

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe had suspended recruitment because of insufficient resources, MK commander Mr Tokoyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Mr Sexwale said the decision, which is contrary to a resolution taken at the ANC's July congress, was not a result of discussions between government and the ANC.

He said the decision was taken purely for practical reasons. MK had many hundreds of applicants, but lacked the resources to incorporate them.

MK leaders have often insisted that they would continue recruitment drives.

Last month, MK commander Mr Joe Modise announced expanded operations.

The government has argued that MK recruitment should cease in line with the Pretoria Minute, in terms of which the ANC agreed to suspend "armed actions and related activities".

The dispute was partly resolved by the D F Malan accord this year, where the parties agreed this meant the ANC would not infiltrate men or material, and would not create underground structures.

The D F Malan accord did not mention recruitment, Mr Sexwale said.

He said the training of MK cadres would continue, and would be improved.

The ANC yesterday said it would not agree to its armed wing being integrated into the SADF until there had been considerable progress in negotiations.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the "integration process is very much linked up with how quickly the all-party conference and negotiations get going".

He said MK would have to be part of a new SADF "based on democratic principles". It would not be "swallowed" into the present defence force.

Mr Niehaus's comments follow remarks by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend's National Peace Convention. Mr Mandela said MK would not be dismantled now or in the future, but talks were going on with the government and an announcement could be expected soon.

Yesterday a Defence Ministry spokesman said that in terms of agreements, MK could not engage in military activities or operate as a private army.

The continued existence of MK has become a sore point between IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi said after the weekend peace convention that Mr Mandela's flat refusal to consider dismantling MK gave force to those who felt the Accord would not work.

Umkhonto stops recruiting

Today 18/9/91

THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe had suspended recruitment because of insufficient resources, Umkhonto commander Tokoyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Sexwale said the decision, which is contrary to a resolution taken at the ANC's July congress, was not a result of discussions between government and the ANC.

He said the decision was taken purely for practical reasons. Umkhonto had many hundreds of applicants but lacked the resources to incorporate them.

Umkhonto leaders have often insisted that they would continue recruitment drives.

Most recently, at a conference last month, Umkhonto commander Joe Modise announced an expanded operations plan.

Government has argued that recruitment of Umkhonto members should end in

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TIM COHEN

line with the Pretoria Minute, in terms of which the ANC agreed to suspend "armed actions . . . and related activities".

The dispute was partially resolved by the D F Malan accord this year where the parties agreed this meant the ANC would not infiltrate men or materiel and would not create underground structures.

The D F Malan accord specifically did not mention recruitment, Sexwale said.

He said the training of Umkhonto cadres would continue and would be improved.

He said Umkhonto's decision was not related to discussions of the ANC/government working groups. Nor had Umkhonto given any undertakings in this regard to President F W de Klerk during discussions before the signing of the peace accord.

Australia poised to lift 'first level' of sanctions

CANBERRA — Australia is set to lift the first level of sanctions against SA, a spokesman for Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said yesterday.

Australia would support such a vote at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting next month in Harare, he said.

Australia includes in the first phase cultural and scientific exchanges, direct air links and visa restrictions.

"The idea would be to lift the first phase at the Harare meeting, but then there would be some conditions on the other phases after that," the spokesman said.

A statement following a weekend meeting in New Delhi of the Commonwealth committee of foreign ministers noted that there had been significant developments in SA since the committee's last meeting in February 1991.

However it said sanctions had played a role in bringing change and the committee was "acutely conscious of the remaining difficulties".

Financial sanctions, including lending, should be lifted only when agreement was reached on a new democratic constitution.

Other economic sanctions including trade and investment measures should be lifted when transitional mechanisms had been agreed which would enable all parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations," the statement said.

Meanwhile, a leading Australian business group is planning to send a delegation to SA to investigate trade opportunities in the "post-sanctions era", it was announced in Sydney.

Confederation of Australian Industry members will arrive on a 10-day visit on November 22 for talks with business and political leaders, executive director Chris Mackay said.

The delegation would not be bringing "order books", because the exercise was essentially a long-term one, he added.

"We are talking about going there to do our homework, not establishing activities and offices next week."

Australian trade unions called the visit premature.

The United Mineworkers' Federation said it was sceptical about the "opportunistic" approach.

Trade between SA and Australia is worth about R250m a year. — Sapa-Reuter.

UIF pays out record R803m in benefits

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Unemployment Insurance Fund paid out a record R803m in benefits in the first eight months of the year — a 50% increase on the R553m payout for January-August last year.

The payment of more than R100m a month is by far the highest in the fund's 45-year history.

Unemployment insurance commissioner Jack Scheepers said the fund received an average of 64 000 new applications in each of the eight months.

This was 20% more than the 53 000 new applications received last year.

Individual payouts amounted to a record 1,5-million, compared to 1,2-million during the same period last year.

However, Scheepers said the overall picture during the past eight months seemed to point to a "sideways movement" in the demand for aid.

However, despite the increased demand for funds, income was still ahead of expenditure. Including interest on reserves of R1,27bn (R1bn at this time last year), income was about R110m a month.

Scheepers said the fund had 5,8-million employee members and 173 000 employer members.

AT FOUR o'clock on what passes for a winter's morning in Durban the question hit like a head butt.

The 50 newly elected executive members of the ANC had just strolled onto the stage. People as diverse as the support the ANC hopes to attract in a future election: a priest, a Zulu prince, women's leaders, lawyers, guerrillas, workers, teachers, poets, a failed coup leader...

Out of that bouncy spectacle of refreshed pride and unity of purpose the question rose: what holds the ANC together, and what are the tensions that may shudder it loose?

ANC president Nelson Mandela's fond references to the organisation as a "broad church" disclose much more than a knack for cliché. The ANC enfold a dizzyingly disparate collection of backgrounds, cultures, lifestyles, classes, ideologies and interests. Its success in maintaining this unity since the late 1950s marks a rare achievement.

For University of the Western Cape history professor Colin Bundy, that which binds together the organisation is the white minority rule that its non-racial philosophy seeks to transcend. Underpinning that is the power of nationalism, especially that of African nationalism.

Since the early 1950s, says Bundy, ANC history "has been a remarkably successful exercise in coalition-building". It succeeded because the organisation was able persuasively to stress common, overarching interests while blunting and even suppressing differences.

But nimble and timely strategies alone do not explain the enduring loyalties that have seen the organisation through some grim and forlorn periods.

Says former UDF leader and monarch of Johannesburg, Faried Esack: "History is the answer. When the ANC talks about a tradition of resistance, it's not a cliché."

Like all other liberation movements, the ANC has translated that heritage into symbols. Perhaps the most potent among them is the toyi-toyi. But the toyi-toyi is also a signal that the loyalties which make up ANC unity span several generations

Political progress may undo the glue unifying the ANC

HEIN MARAIS

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and contain simmering tensions. Popular history talks of two generations, the Rivonia and the Soweto generations. "I think there's also a third generation, that of the 1980s open struggle," Bundy suggests. He calls it the Young Lions generation. Perhaps Toyi-Toyi generation better conveys its frayed patience and militancy.

A description by the American analyst Marina Ottaway captures this generation gap well: "Mandela watches his young followers singing and toyi-toying with the benign and bemused smile of an indulgent grandfather. But he is stern and authoritarian when he addresses them, preaching discipline and obedience to the NEC and exhorting them to return to school."

The underbelly of ANC unity is a grim streak of authoritarianism. Its extreme forms will become better known as accounts of the Umlkhonto we Sizwe (MK) camp mutinies multiply in the months ahead. But already supporters are familiar with its more "mundane" patterns. The stifling interventions by the leadership during the women's quota debate at the July conference was a tame reminder of the methods by which unity has been preserved: stern discipline and the closing of ranks.

The unified image which emerged from the July conference was not

squeaky clean. It followed a shadowy manoeuvre which effectively sidelined the standard-bearer of the toyi-toyi generation, the Youth League's Peter Mokaba. Spy or no spy, Mokaba leads a constituency which is potentially the most delinquent member of the ANC family. Its tolerance for compromise is low. It represents a muscular and organised threat of dissent — a weak seam.

"We are still steeped in a culture of repression," says Esack, "which means we must still close ranks and present a unified face — which, of course, is a lie." The cause of this knee jerk is a misreading of the phase SA has entered. "It says nothing has really changed, and if nothing has changed then we still need cohesion above all."

SA does not lack journalists willing to catapult their imaginations into the outer reaches of political reality. But some of them correctly recognise that the ANC is locked into a process of change which will be littered with compromises that can only sharpen tensions between its various constituencies.

The politics of appeasement — the dominant voice within the ANC — is very much a 1940s and '50s tradition

negotiations, the confusing (and, itself, bewildered) jaller of fascist "volksgenote"....

The weakest seam of ANC unity seems to run at that level. "The organisation is absolutely clear about what it's against," says Bundy, "but it's only at a rhetorical level that it's clear about what it favours."

To some extent, that kind of vagueness comes "naturally" to liberation movements in general. Crystal-clear policies and programmes tend to open divisions. But can the ANC still afford the luxury of misty visions? As Mike Morris of the Centre for Social and Development Studies argues, that legacy leaves it "often correctly criticising and rejecting government initiatives, but without offering a coherent set of alternative policies". The signals this sends to the average supporter are not reassuring.

The result, as distressed grassroots activists complain, is that the government has a field day: it sets the agenda by proposing alternatives and the ANC is left trying to kick them over. The government appears forward-looking, the ANC looks like a grumpy nag. The irony is tragic. A "coherent set of policies", however, requires a leap, to take an example, from the alluring promise that "there shall be houses, security and comfort" to the chilling realities of a policy blueprint. The leap means that a unity riveted in place by a potent set of symbols, an impressive history of oppositional struggle, a seductive string of principles and a heavy-handed tradition of discipline is in danger of fracturing.

Which brings us back to that July morning in Durban. There stood Chris Hani, lost in the theatrics of militancy, beside him, Thabo Mbeki, suave and subdued, like he would rather be straightening his tie. The alleged hawk and the self-confessed dove, the paradoxes stood cheek by jowl on the stage. Insurrectionaries and negotiators, communists and social democrats, workers and chauffeur power-brokers, pen-pushers and guerrillas, Young Lions and teddy bears.

"The paradoxical wily can hold only if you share a common demon," says Esack. Until now, that demon has been the "regime". The demon has now mutated into a variety of public identities. There is the kindlier, gentler conciliator, the "open-minded" rebounder, the grimace behind the baton-charge and tear gas cloud, the hooded appearance of the death squad, the fatbally presence of development funds and local level

Without that leap, the real new SA thousands of citizens have lived and died for could well disappear beneath a heap of hesitations. With it, though, comes a dulled mystique and a deflating awakening to the limits of victory.

That reshaping process will be traumatic. Its consequences will depend on the ANC's ability to harness the vigorous appeal nationalism and the nation-building project continues to hold for the majority of South Africans.

Marais is acting editor of New Era. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition.

MK not private army callers

SOWETAN REPORTER

CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday supported the ANC's contention that its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was not a private army.

The callers said MK was a national army and, therefore, should not be disbanded.

Sowetan 18/9/91
Peace Accord

They told DJ Tim Modise that MK had nothing to do with the Peace Accord.

"It is very disappointing.

"They are provoking the ANC and I do not think we will achieve peace that way," said one caller.

"There is no way MK will be disbanded before there is liberation in SA," said Moses from Rockville.



He said that while people were allowed to march in the streets with dangerous weapons, MK was immobilised and did not contribute to the violence in the townships.

Lorraine from Meadowlands and Kid from Tokoza disagreed.

She said the organisations should all join the SADF instead of criticising it.

Kid said the ANC was making excuses by refusing to disband the MK.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said earlier in the programme there was an understanding that MK fell outside the definition of private armies and State President FW de Klerk did not oppose this at the signing of the accord.

Niehaus said MK would "most definitely not be disbanded, not now and not in the future.

"It has been making an effective contribution to the peace process and it will

Journalists, Azapo meet

11A

Sowetan 18/9/91

SENIOR black journalists and editors yesterday met with officials of the Azanian Peoples Organisation in Johannesburg.

The role of the media and black advancement in the industry were discussed.

"Azapo endorsed the principle of a free media and free speech. Both parties agreed the media had the right to inform the public, to uphold the principles of honesty and accuracy and to highlight disparities in society in the tradition of true democracy," said a joint statement issued after the talks.

But Azapo noted that while black journalists had the right to criticise, they had to subject themselves to balanced criticism from political organisations.

Last month the journalists met a senior delegation of the ANC which committed itself to upholding freedom of the media.

They meet with the PAC in Johannesburg today. - Sapa

ANC-Cosatu bond being strained, says expert

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

TENSION and suspicion are straining the bond between the ANC and Cosatu, says labour expert Dr Duncan Innes.

This emerged during the ANC and Cosatu congresses earlier this year, he told a labour seminar in the city.

He believed the ANC and Cosatu were "suspicious" of each other. The ANC wanted to keep a distance from the trade union federation.

Analysing changes in the alliance among the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, Dr Innes said it was significant that only two Cosatu leaders — Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Cosatu's assistant general secretary — were elected to ANC posts from many key union candidates.

This suggested the ANC wanted to keep its distance from Cosatu "because it found the Cosatu leaders too militant".

It was also significant that Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mafumadi had both had to resign from their union posts.

This "indicated that it was not Cosatu who got them placed in ANC leadership posts for its own benefit, but that the ANC poached them".

Dr Innes said that at the Cosatu congress, anger about the ANC having dislodged it from the political spectrum was reflected in two resolutions.

In the first, the congress expressed support for the tripartite alliance with the ANC and SACP, but was "mostly critical of it".

Among others, there was unease about the ANC's lack of consultation with its partners.

The second resolution, on the "two hats" debate (whether union leaders should have positions in the ANC and in Cosatu), the congress laid down that nobody should have more than one full-time paid post in either organisation.

"Therefore Ramaphosa and Mafumadi had to move."

Dr Innes said there were three different factions in Cosatu on the alliance relationship.

One fully supported the alliance, accepting the ANC's leadership. The second distrusted the ANC, pointing to liberation movements that had come to power in Africa, forcing union federations to deal only with union matters. This faction wanted to turn to the SACP for support.

He said the third faction saw the ANC and SACP as a common enemy and was trying to build a partnership with employers.

Dr Innes said there was no disagreement between Cosatu and the ANC on the steps to a new South Africa, but on socio-political content of the new order.

● Innes on violence, page 8

Mandela says the *taal* is African and quite safe, reports Political Editor Shaun

Allaying anxiety about

Steur 19/9/91.

11A



SOON after Nelson Mandela's release there emerged a story — possibly but not probably apocryphal — about an exchange between the ANC leader and his erstwhile fellow-prisoner, Ahmed Kathrada. Within earshot of Kathrada, Mandela had been practising (with evident relish) his Afrikaans. Asked what he thought of the performance, the typically forthright Kathrada remarked that Mandela spoke the *taal* with a "strong Xhosa accent".

Mandela was crestfallen, so the story goes, and has been somewhat nervous about his forays into Afrikaans ever since.

Mandela's attitude towards the language has been, for the past 18 months at least, a persistent subplot in the unfolding South African drama. It first surfaced with the rumour, on the day of his release from Victor Verster Prison, that he intended to speak a few sentences in Afrikaans as a pre-emptive reconciliatory gesture. In the

event he did not, but the ANC president has done so on several occasions since — most memorably at the time of the Grooten Schuur Minute, and again at last weekend's National Peace Convention.

Besides the obvious political capital to be gained from such exhibitions of multilingualism, one can't help feeling that Mandela has a genuine fondness for the language. Among South Africa's top politicians, he pays unusual attention to the language question — suffice it to say that President de Klerk has not been noted for his public utterances in Xhosa, Zulu or other local tongues.

Mandela's conciliatory attitude is evident in perhaps his most comprehensive statement on the matter to date, published in the latest edition of the Cape-based journal *New Era*. He views the language as an "unfortunate casualty" of ideology, particularly as a result of its central role in the Soweto uprising of 1976.

It is "understandable that (Afrikaans-speakers) should be concerned about the future of Afrikaans", he writes, "because it has a history of being identified with apartheid and repression. Orders for the breaking up of our meetings, interrogation in detention and racial insults are often in Afrikaans." He might have added that Afrikaans is also the language of the prison warders — who might, incidentally, have played no small role in fostering Mandela's own command of the language.

But, he insists, "language has no inherent repressive character — any language can be the vehicle of racist insults and repression, but it can also be the carrier of the message of hope and liberation." Mandela notes that "Afrikaans has developed and grown out of the diversity of cultures in South Africa. Its vocabulary is a rich mixture of Dutch, French, English, Malaysian and African words. The first people who used it were the slaves in the Cape.

"We recognise it as a truly African language, and we are glad that the character of Afrikaans is increasingly being reasserted. Afrikaans is again becoming the anti-colonial language of liberation and hope that it was."

Mandela says it is a matter of "sadness that the most well-known Afrikaans word throughout the world is 'apartheid'. We hope that Afrikaans will soon be able to discard all the exclusivist, Afrikaner-nationalist and racist baggage that it has been burdened with, and take on its rightful place as one of the many languages of our people in a free and democratic society. Therein lies its hope and future growth."

The ANC leader says his organisation is acutely aware of fears among (white) Afrikaners that their culture will be "swamped" and, although he believes such fears to be groundless, he nevertheless accepts that they are real. "We can assure them that, as much as we will not accept any

entrenchment of group privileges in a new constitution, we will also resist anything that may impede the right of any group to use and develop its culture and language.

"The greatest mistake Afrikaners can make is to demand special status and protection for Afrikaans. Afrikaans is a strong and vibrant language that needs no protection. It is a product of our cultural diversity and can only prosper by becoming part of that again. Laws cannot protect a culture and language: the growing number of South Africans who love and speak Afrikaans will do so."

Mandela is also at pains to note that Afrikaans is not the exclusively white language of its international image. "For many of our people Afrikaans is the first language that they learned from their mothers and fathers. It is the language in which they best express their deepest emotions. It is the language in which they conduct the meetings of their community organisations and ANC

Johnson

Afrikaans

branches."

Interestingly, Mandela and the ANC are taken to task — albeit obliquely — in the same edition of *New Era* by poet and University of the Western Cape lecturer Hein Willemsse. "Mandela has spoken and the future of Afrikaans has been secured," writes Willemsse sardonically. "But we have to call into question the assumptions behind such an approach."

"While it is an understandable strategy to appease Afrikaner fears, by continually stressing the linkage between Afrikaners and Afrikaans, progressive organisations are perpetuating the myth cultivated by Afrikaner nationalism that Afrikaners are the 'possessors' of Afrikaans ... Black Afrikaans-speaking people's considerable role in the development of history has been cut from the official history of the language."

In spite of historical exclusion, he argues, "Black Afrikaans-speaking people have also striven for their liberation — in that language". □

MK denies 'no recruitment' (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Ukhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing, yesterday denied news reports saying it had suspended recruitment because of insufficient resources.

27 19/9/91

MK described the reports as "not correct", adding that in accordance with the Pretoria Minute and other agreements, the military wing did not recruit members for training inside South Africa.

"However, we do continue to recruit members for training outside SA. These members are continuing with training and upgrading their skills." — Sapa

Mandela to open congress

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela is to open the ANC's Western Cape regional congress on Saturday, September 28. (17) 02191919

The two-day regional congress is the second in the Western Cape since the ANC was unbanned on February 2 last year.

No agenda has been released, but the congress will undoubtedly focus on the violence in Khayelitsha and elsewhere, the peace accord and the negotiation process.

ANC urges all to discuss SA future

Sowetan

19/9/91

~~19/9/91~~

11A

ALL South Africans had to take part in the process of change, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking on negotiations and the road ahead, he said the ANC was trying to create a situation conducive to allowing all South Africans discuss their future.

The process of removing obstacles to negotiations had been very difficult as the ANC and the Government had entered into a bargaining process before legal guarantees offered by a new constitution were in place, Zuma said.

The absence of legal guarantees was part of the reason why the ANC had not disbanded its

Umkhonto we Sizwe military wing.

On violence, Zuma said people in the security establishment had enjoyed a licence to do what they wanted, including "killing people and making them disappear", in the days of the "total onslaught".

Now the Government had changed its mind and individual soldiers and po-

licemen were expected to change.

They had a few skeletons in their cupboards from the days of the "total onslaught" and this made it difficult for the Government to deal with them, he added.

Regarding the road ahead, he said the ANC felt it had first to take part in the Patriotic Front conference

so delegates could "agree on broader issues and for everybody to understand where we are in this process of moving forward".

Afterwards, an all-party conference would discuss how to draw up a new constitution and an interim government to help manage the process of moving forward.

All parties, irrespective of their size, had to participate. If any parties were left out, they would be justified in fighting, and "we do not want that situation".

Zuma said he was not in a position to say when the all-party conference would take place.

"There is a feeling that the conference should take place this year. I cannot put a date on it."

The major issue was power, he said. The ANC was keen to hear other arguments, but favoured a constituent assembly of elected people to draw up a new constitution. - *South African Press Association.*

Hopes rise for all-party talks

End in sight to clash over ANC's army

B10aw
19/9/91

ALAN FINE

THE dispute between government and the ANC over the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is set to be resolved soon through a system of control over armaments and, possibly, by subjecting any MK "self-defence" activities to multiparty control.

A source close to the ANC said yesterday this issue and the question of cultural weapons were the only remaining barriers to the convening of an all-party conference — which could still take place this year.

The source said the cultural weapons issue would have to be resolved by President F W de Klerk when he issued a proclamation to clarify this "fudged" part of the national peace accord.

He said the ANC — and particularly its president Nelson Mandela — was especially concerned about the matter. This concern had been aggravated by the armed Inkatha demonstration on Saturday at the peace convention.

The working committee on armed action, established in terms of the Pretoria Minute — is likely to settle on a deal whereby the ANC supplies to government the serial numbers of all weapons cached inside the country.

This arrangement would enable government to track down the origin of these weapons if their use for unlawful purposes was detected.

De Klerk and ANC officials said recently the committee was making good progress.

The source said it was possible the code of conduct to govern the SADF's activities — at present being negotiated to supplement the peace accord — or something similar could be made to apply to MK.

A further possibility, in so far as MK personnel would be used in community self-defence structures, would be to put them under the authority of the multiparty local and regional dispute resolution committees established by the peace accord.

At this stage, the source said, there was no question of MK disbanding or handing over its weapons to the state. The eventual integration of MK and the state security forces would be part of the negotiation process.

He said the peace convention had served as a useful model for an all-party conference and there were now readymade solutions to organisational problems, like representation, that might otherwise have arisen.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in Durban yesterday the ANC's commitment to negotiations was resolute and, if all went according to plan, an all-party conference might get under way before the end of the year, Sapa reports.

Speaking at an Idasa forum, Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted to "get moving" to restore stability in the country and added that an all-party conference before the year-end would be a "Christmas present" to all South Africans.

The first phase leading to negotiations had come with the signing of the peace accord, Ramaphosa said.

The next phase would be a patriotic front conference which the ANC hoped to hold in October, following which the organisation would be poised for the all-party conference.

ANC 'to promote economic growth'

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DURBAN. — An ANC government would not sacrifice economic growth for ideology in a new South Africa, and would ensure growth through a mixed economy, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

In a wide-ranging address at a breakfast organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), he said the ANC would strive for a mixed economy with some state intervention.

Mr Ramaphosa pointed out that even US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen had said a new South African government would be unable to correct the country's imbalances without state intervention.

Mr Ramaphosa also said the ANC wanted to "get moving" to restore stability in the country, adding that an all-party congress before the year-end would be a "Christmas present" to all South Africans.

Last weekend's peace accord "signified the birth of a nation", Mr Ramaphosa said. But the accord's "litmus test" would be on the ground, among the people who had to make sure it worked.

He said the demand for an interim government was urgent, as President F W de Klerk had conceded that he was not qualified to run the country during the transitional period.

"We maintain that De Klerk's government is blundering at the helm. If his government continues piloting this ship, we will all end up like the Oceanos."

Attacking the recently-enunciated constitutional proposals of the National Party, he said these contained the "seeds of conflict".

The ANC secretary-general said the organisation felt it was short-sighted to believe that black people would settle for a "meaningless vote". — Sapa and Own Correspondent

SOWETAN FOCUS PROPERTY

Building the Nation



OLIVER TAMBO...
has acquired a property in northern suburb of Sandhurst.

Top ANC officials buy in luxury belt

Sowetan 19/9/91

11A

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

IF property owners had any doubts about their property rights under any ANC government of the future they need to look no farther than the organisation's leadership acquisition of property.

According to Camdon Group's managing director, Mr Scott McRae, the ANC reportedly has international property interests of some R700 million.

In South Africa the organisation recently acquired Shell House, Johannesburg, as its headquarters in a multi-million-rand deal; and on the residential front indi-

vidual members have been buyers of up-market properties.

McRae says for example, an SACP secretary has acquired a property in Observatory, Johannesburg and former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo has bought a home

in Sandhurst, Sandton, in the heart of the so-called white "mink and manure belt."

He says: "ANC president Nelson Mandela himself lives in a luxury home with his wife, Mrs Mandela, in Soweto."

Camdon's had also been approached by the ANC in connection with property deals, he revealed.

However, if experience in South Africa's neighbouring states was any guideline, whites had no reason to expect that their property rights would be infringed.

Indeed, property rights had been enshrined in the constitutions of Namibia and Zimbabwe and in general values had appreciated.

In one instance, for example, a home in Harare sold for R90 000 at the start of independence was now selling for 10 times that amount.

The ANC has put to rest any suggestions of property confiscation, forced sales of property and forced accommodation for dispossessed un-

derprivileged, he says.

A senior ANC spokesman had told Camdon's that any suggestion along these lines was "propaganda."

"There is no question of confiscating white property.

"It would seem that multiproperty ownership will be entirely the prerogative of the individual, if he can afford it; and again, such ownership would be protected - although this privilege could attract taxation," he said.

Basic need

The ANC's policy is to address a basic need for housing among the million or more South Africans who presently do not have proper housing.

"This implies re-directing more of the country's resources into housing.

"This policy did not mean dispossessing those who already owned property in any way, whether by force or by coercion.

"What the ANC policy could mean is the intro-

duction of taxation of what could be described as luxury property.

"Just how luxury property would be defined is a moot point.

"Moreover, any legislation of this nature would undoubtedly have a difficult passage through Parliament and, even if finally approved would, in my view, be watered down in any event and could well prove to be quite tame," McRae said.

He added: "I prefer to be an optimist on this issue and to take my cue from what has happened to property in neighbouring Namibia and Zimbabwe, where values have soared under the regime and property ownership is firmly entrenched.

"I would in any event hope that the ANC policies will mellow should they come to power.

"Property ownership is, after all, one of the basic ways of creating wealth and I would hope that any future ANC-dominated government would wish to encourage such ownership in the interests of the population as whole, rather than simplistically confiscate existing property wealth and so impoverish the country as a whole," he said.

Viljoen rejects patriotic front

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff 20/9/91

The proposed formation of a patriotic front of liberation movements would be a distortion of realities in the country and would have no legitimacy, according to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Addressing the Johannesburg Press Club yesterday, Dr Viljoen — one of three speakers to debate the transitional process — said the Government was concerned about the ANC's insistence that a patriotic front conference had to be

held before a multiparty conference.

A patriotic front, Dr Viljoen said, would not only be a distortion of realities in the country but it would also have no legitimacy.

He said while the Zimbabwean patriotic front was a ganging up of forces against "a so-called illegal colonial power", there was no such a power in South Africa.

"In addition, this Government is today an initiator of, and an active participant in, the so-called liberation process and the eradication of apartheid," Dr Viljoen said.

He again rejected the ANC's demands for an interim government in favour of

"proper transitional arrangements", but expressed the hope that the two parties' differences could be resolved at a multiparty conference.

Penuel Maduna of the ANC's legal department said although his organisation insisted on an interim government and a constituent assembly, it was not inflexible. If something acceptable was proposed at an all-party congress, the ANC would seriously consider it.

The holding of an all-party conference, Mr Maduna said, was "a matter of extreme urgency".

This conference would set up broad principles of functioning, determine the make-

up of a body which would write the new constitution and establish an interim government.

Mr Maduna denied that the ANC had insisted a patriotic front had to be formed before a multiparty conference could be held. The ANC, he said, was "ready for negotiations right now".

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Musa Myeni said calls for the dissolution of the Government and the suspension of the present constitution were "both political and emotional".

This would lead to a political vacuum which would be filled by an illegitimate interim government.

A South American envoy sees trade with SA increasing tenfold, reports Dale Lautenbach

Brazil waiting in the wings

Star 20/9/91

14

THE significance of the visit to four southern African states by Brazil's President Fernando Collor de Mello last week should not be underestimated.

South Africa hardly noted Mr Collor's passing in the region, but there is some strong argument and even evidence to indicate that this was a mistake and that, in the future, South Africa will be seeing more of Brazil and should be alert now to the potential for South-South co-operation with its south Atlantic neighbours.

"We're anxious for South Africa to resolve its internal problems so we can begin trade," said Mario Augusto Santos, Brazilian ambassador to Namibia.

Noting South Africa as the main economy in the region, Mr Santos said once it had "sorted itself out" it could not only trade with other African countries but with Latin America, especially Brazil. South Africa should begin now to take account of not only a regional picture but the scope of a broader one, spanning the Atlantic.

South African trade with Brazil, which officially imposes sanctions

and still upholds this position, is now small and in the region of \$300 million (about R850 million) each way, said Mr Santos.

However, he saw it "growing tenfold over the next few years" and noted that because Brazil and South Africa were at about the same level industrially and technologically, they had much to exchange in the way of know-how too.

Angola, in contrast, with which Brazil already has strong economic ties through its oil interests, construction companies and trade in consumer goods, could not offer what South Africa could: technological exchange that would be an important part of Mr Santos's tenfold growth scenario.

He warned, however, that there would be people interested in playing down the significance of Mr Collor's visit, people who would paint Brazil as a competitor to South Africa rather than a potential partner.

"But what we don't want is to be an outside force," said Mr Santos, arguing for a constructive view of co-operation rather than competition. "We want to be part

of the whole."

He gave the example of the Epupa hydroelectric project which Namibia would dearly like to realise and in which the Brazilian company Odebrecht, which is building a huge hydropower installation in Angola, would like to be involved.

"Epupa can only be built if South Africa consumes its energy, so South Africa must be involved." Mr Santos envisaged a Brazilian-Angolan-South African-Namibian venture and as evidence of Brazilian interest in southern Africa, it was recently reported in this newspaper that Odebrecht was establishing an office in Johannesburg.

Mr Santos spelt out further some of the thinking that motivated Brazil's top-level presence in the region last week on a tour that took Mr Collor from Angola to Zimbabwe and Mozambique and finally Namibia.

"The southern part of Latin America and southern Africa are natural markets for one another. Reciprocally they provide natural extensions of their own internal markets."

By 1993 Brazil will have established with Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay a common market arrangement known as Mercosul. With this in mind Mr Collor had discussed the potential for institutionalising arrangements between SADCC (the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference) and Mercosul to foster trade between the countries represented by these bodies.

The greater context of this thinking of course is a world that is carving itself up into economic and trading blocs and the hovering threat that if a country does not jump for the bus now, it might well miss it.

Pushing further for South-South co-operation, Mr Collor also signed an agreement with Namibia's President Sam Nujoma that the countries should organise a meeting of trade and industry Ministers of the countries bordering the south Atlantic to be held in Windhoek next year.

Another meeting next year that Namibia undertook to support was about the idea of launching periodic South Atlantic Games.

Within the idea of greater re-

gional and trans-Atlantic co-operation each country has, of course its own specific identity too, and Mr Santos offered Brazil's view of each country on his president's agenda.

He said the visit to Angola was a consolidation of an already well-established and special relationship in which there were not only economic but cultural and historical ties. The intention of the visit had also been to give the Angolan government, in its new phase of peace, a boost.

Zimbabwe was "more remote" to Brazil but, as a significant economy in the region, held much potential for the South-South idea. In Mozambique, apart from traditional ties and a common language, some Brazilian companies were interested in projects including the coal operation at Moatize.

Namibia — "virgin territory for us" — did not have the same economic potential as Angola, Zimbabwe or South Africa, but Mr Santos described it as "the gateway to southern Africa".

He saw its future as a transit corridor between South Africa and Angola and from the sea to

the hinterland. Its strength could lie in a service economy and as a "neighbour" on the Atlantic. The countries already shared a common involvement with the sea which their presidents agreed to further.

The idea of South-South co-operation goes back a while to the mid-Sixties and includes the notion that developing countries might have much to share with one another rather than being perpetually subservient to First World strengths.

With recent changes in southern Africa such as peace in Angola and the prospect of a post-apartheid South Africa, a new diplomatic space has been created in which these ideas might find fresh impetus.

Talk on Mr Collor's trip was of the member states of the South Atlantic forming a Zone of Peace in which political, economic and cultural co-operation could be furthered. While South Africa was obviously not included on his agenda, it would not be an exaggeration to say it was the big forthcoming attraction and very much on the Brazilian mind. □

Govt to investigate Boesak finances

11A CS 20/9/91

Staff Reporter

THE Director of Fund Raising, Mr Alwyn Jacobs, is to conduct a preliminary investigation into the financial affairs of Dr Allan Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice, following its split from the Bellville Ned Geref Sendingkerk.

Mr Jacobs said yesterday that the investigation could not be launched until Dr Boesak returned from an overseas tour in mid-October.

"Arrangements will then be made for a preliminary investigation," he said.

The probe follows persistent media reports about a dispute between Dr Boesak's foundation and the Bellville Ned Geref Sendingkerk, since the two organisations split when Dr Boesak

resigned from the ministry.

The wrangle between the two organisations centred on Dr Boesak's fund-raising activities overseas. The NG Sendingkerk claimed he had operated as an extension of their ministry.

Mr Jacobs explained that the probe would centre on whether the Foundation for Peace and Justice was a bona-fide religious organisation, which would exempt it from the provisions of the Fund-raising Act.

If this was not the case, then Dr Boesak would have to register a financial statement with his directorate.

Mr Jacobs said permission from the relevant government minister to conduct an official investigation would depend on the results of the preliminary probe.

Right-wing warns against ANC dinner

By DE WET POTGIETER

RIGHT-WINGERS have warned that they will not allow the ANC's foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki to speak at a fund-raising dinner.

The dinner, to be held in the Transvaal town of Brits this week, was originally planned for August 16. It was cancelled in the wake of the

clash between the AWB and the SAP in Ventersdorp.

This week a right-wing leader in Brits said: "This dinner will not take place in our town. We have no plan of action, but it takes us less than a day to mobilise our people."

The manager of the Overberg Protea hotel, Mr Harry Dressel,

confirmed the ANC had booked the venue for Friday night and said he was due to discuss final arrangements with the organisers this week.

The regional organiser of the ANC in the PWV, Mr Elliot Mayisela, said the organisation was taking the right-wing threats seriously.

S/Times 22/9/91

11A

Aid ban on bodies with SACP links

S/Times 22/9/91
 11A

A BAN on US assistance to any South African organisation "associated or affiliated" with the SA Communist Party will become law if President George Bush does not veto a 1992 foreign aid bill to which it is attached.

The controversial measure, adopted in a surprise vote by the House of Representatives earlier this year, has been accepted by the Senate as part of a major overhaul of legislation governing US aid to South Africa.

It is unclear what concrete effect the ban on assistance to SACP-related organisations will have.

Democrats, who initially wanted to kill the measure since the Senate had not adopted it in its version of the aid bill, acquiesced in the belief that the State Department would not interpret the language as including the ANC.

Spending

But Republican staff members indicated there would be trouble if the department turned a blind eye.

"The SACP and the ANC are indistinguishable," said one.

"State will be on dangerous ground if it decides the ANC is not covered".

Other new elements include:

- The removal of spending limits for the South Africa programme, meaning that, in theory, the administration could allocate more than \$80-million (R224-million) promised by Mr Bush for the fiscal year starting October 1.

- An initiative by Senator Edward Kennedy to ease restrictions that have prevented US aid being channelled through institutions "financed or controlled" by the government. This would apply to new project accounts, but not to existing ones, and would be subject to Congressional approval on an individual basis.

Funds

- Funding for low-income black housing through local trusts. "Nothing would preclude" the administration contributing \$20-million (R56-million) for this purpose in the coming year.

- Increased latitude for the administration to decide how funds should be spent, thanks to the removal of so-called "earmarks"

By SIMON BARBER
 Washington

by which Congress has sought to micro-manage the overall programme.

- A requirement insisted upon by Senator Nancy Kassebaum, the senior Republican on the House Africa subcommittee, that Mr Bush obtain a "commitment" from Pretoria that US funding for housing and education added to, rather than replaced the government's outlays for such purposes.

Sign

- Removal of the \$10 000 (R28 000) per recipient limit for "human rights grants" which will enable the US Agency for International Development mis-

sion and the US embassy to step up discretionary funding for selected legal support and other advocacy groups.

Depending on when the overall legislation is sent to the White House for Mr Bush's signature and whether he agrees to sign it — there are several non-South African matters that could yet draw a veto — the \$4.5-million (12.6-million) in "Transition to Democracy" funds the administration has decided to grant the ANC could also be in jeopardy.

Although the money has already been obligated to the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme to purchase office equipment for the ANC, the administration could still theoretically block delivery.

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But after three fun-filled days and nights in Botswana it was time for them to trek on, and they realised money for wine, women and food was finished. They backtracked and went back home.

Others ran from South Africa after they committed petty crimes like swindle and fraud. They knew going back home meant one thing – jail.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Hani was the Quatro hero

Cher 22/9/91



“You will be surprised at some of the cases we had to deal with,” confided the ANC man.

In some instances South African security personnel would be sent to infiltrate the ANC.

“Most of these men would be smelled out immediately. Please don’t ask me how we did it, but 90 percent of the time we would be right,” he said.

He told me of a youth who submitted three different CVs in one week.

“Surely no person can forget where he was born, where he attended school and who his parents are.”

The most hilarious of them all was when a speaker was addressing new arrivals and looked straight into the eye of one of the freshers and said to him: “Who sent you to come and spy here and why are you doing it. Are you not aware that you are destroying your own people?”

The man said he was sorry to have accepted a job from Le Grange and “revealed all”.

Until the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the ANC used to carefully screen members and prospective members.

No one would be allowed to leave the country

and go for military training until he or she was given the green light by the internal and external leadership.

This system was successful until the ANC camps were flooded mostly by youths who ran away from Bantu Education and harassment by the State.

This brings me back to the story of why there was a mutiny among MK cadres in the Quatro camp in Angola, and how it was stamped out.

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military man and a highly intelligent politician. His prowess came to the fore that day.”

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Tambo instead sent Hani. When Hani arrived at the camp, he got a rude shock when he was told to salute a young soldier who had taken over.

“Any other person in Hani’s position would have seen red. But not Chris. He was cool as a cucumber, but very calculating. Despite the fact he was not armed, within a few hours the mutiny was over,” I was told.

In a full military tribunal where the mutineers were represented by lawyers of their choice, they were found guilty and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Most of these guys are now back with us and they have tried to resolve their problems with the ANC.

Why we did not sign PAC, Azapo

copy 22/9/91
THE PAC and Azapo have been accused of playing politics with the lives of black South Africans for refusing to sign last week's National Peace Accord.

This accusation was levelled before and after the ANC, Inkatha, the government and several organisations – including churches, trade unions, homeland leaders and big business – signed the accord.

The charge against the PAC and Azapo was given further impetus towards the end of the peace convention when ANC president Nelson Mandela, one of the three major signatories, drew wide applause when he proposed that the United Nation's General Assembly be requested not to support any organisation which had not signed the accord.

However, a senior PAC leader, who asked to remain anonymous, told City Press: "From what we gathered at the convention, we believe he was not referring to the PAC."

He added that Mandela would meet their leadership to clarify his statement.

The spokesman said the PAC had refused to attend the government's Pretoria peace summit on May 24-25 for several reasons, including the organisation's policy of "no collaboration with what we consider an illegitimate government".

He went on to say that "the PAC and the ANC agree that violence was being orchestrated" and that the "regime was not doing anything to stop it".

The organisation's chief of publicity, Barney Desai, said the accusation was unfounded because, although the PAC did not sign last week's accord, it took part in the deliberations to "underscore that violence is unacceptable and must be stopped".

Desai said that to show their commitment to peace initiatives, the PAC entered into bilateral agreements with the ANC last year to stop conflict between their members. These talks had reduced such conflict to a minimum.

During last week's peace convention, PAC president Mlamli Makwetu proposed the involvement of the international community "to ascertain who is responsible for the violence".

Makwetu added the PAC welcomed the "principle of working for peace in the townships".

The PAC, he added, made the "solemn pledge that we will . . . work tirelessly for peace among Africans".

The PAC leader was however critical of some aspects of the accord, including that it did not identify the orchestrators of violent incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, and the fact police would investigate police.

Proposals

Desai said the October 25-26 Patriotic Front conference would discuss the current violence and make "concrete proposals".

Azapo said in a statement that it was willing to participate in any peace process, but was not willing to directly or indirectly legitimise the present regime, as that would run counter to achieving lasting peace.

It believed peace accords should be preceded by the identification of the real causes of violence and the types of violence signatories hoped to curb.

It also asked why the current law enforcement machinery was inadequate to curb the violence, adding the accord revolved too much around the ministry of the South African Police, the Commissioner of Police and the Police Ombudsman.

"The accord as it stands legitimises the various government-created structures of oppression, the very structures our people are fighting against," it said, adding the accord sought to co-opt liberation movements into government structures.

"We further insist that lasting peace in our country will be achieved when the present regime shall have relinquished power, and give way to the establishment of democracy in our fatherland."

The organisation has drawn up an alternative draft Peace Accord which it would present to the National Peace Committee. It would also "pursue discussions with the National Peace Committee to find ways and means of how Azapo can assist in bringing lasting peace to our country," it said.

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Lawyers plan taking FW to court on indemnities

neg 23/9/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Two Johannesburg attorneys are preparing to take President De Klerk to court to challenge his refusal to grant indemnity to their clients in terms of the ANC/government agreement on political offenders.

They hope to penetrate the close secrecy that surrounds the indemnity procedure and to discover the reasoning behind seemingly contradictory decisions.

The planned action contrasts sharply with the position of the Minister of Correctional Services, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who reiterated on Friday that all political prisoners who quali-

fied for release in terms of "the accepted guidelines" had been set free.

According to official figures, 215 applications for amnesty have been refused to date out of 9 284 applications received — many from people in exile — of which more than 84 per cent have been processed.

A Ministry of Justice spokesman, Mr Nic Grobler, said "it should be noted that the nature and seriousness of the offence is always taken into account", even where applicants fell within a category generally eligible for indemnity.

"For example, indemnity is only granted for attempted murder if a dangerous wound was not inflicted," he said.

Lawyers are outspokenly critical about the secrecy that

surrounds the indemnity process. They say:

- The fact that the State President is not obliged to give reasons for refusing indemnity contributes to confusion.

- They have no way of knowing whether their representations to a judge of the indemnity committee failed or whether they managed to convince the judge, whose recommendation was rejected by the State President. This and the failure of the State President to supply reasons makes it impossible to build up a body of quasi-legal precedent; and,

- Lawyers do not know what other information concerning their clients is submitted either to the indemnity committee or the State President and they

therefore have no way of countering it.

Mr Grobler said the granting of indemnity was not a judicial process, but an executive function vested solely in the State President. Since indemnity committees only advised in this process, "it is difficult to understand how the fact that a committee has recommended indemnity or not could assist an attorney in building up precedent".

Police wife murdered

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Janine Bellingan, 35, wife of Captain Michael Bellingan of Sandton police, was found dead in her home at the weekend. She had a wound on the back of her head. — Sapa.

ANC military wing will be SA army — Winnie

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AUG 23 1991

TZANEEN. — The ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will be the future army of a democratic South Africa.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, who heads the ANC's welfare department, said this yesterday to 10 000 people while addressing an ANC Women's League rally at Nkowa-Nkowa stadium near Tzaneen.

Mrs Mandela said that Umkhonto we Sizwe would not be disbanded now or in the future even though the ANC signed the National Peace Accord with Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party.

"We will continue to recruit for Umkhonto now more than before," she told a cheering crowd.

Mrs Mandela said the ANC was committed to the National Peace Accord because it was the only way "to save the lives of our people", adding that the signing of the accord was not a sign of weakness on the part of the ANC.

She accused President De Klerk of dishonesty, saying he entered into negotiations with the ANC while in a clandestine way financing Inkatha.

Mrs Mandela said the ANC would look seriously into the question of defending its members in spite of the signing of the peace accord.

"The type of arms we will use for defence will depend on the type of enemy," she said. — Sapa.

'Mafia-style murder for money' — gun-running

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mafia-style warlords are exploiting political violence in the townships and making money out of the business of killing, according to Mr Graeme Simpson, acting-director of the Project for the Study of Violence.

"You pay for weapons, you pay for assassinations and you have to pay for your safety."

He said that previous at-

tempts at defining the alleged "Third Force" in the incidents of violence had been somewhat simplistic. Scant attention had been paid to the group of people who not only had a political interest in disrupting the peace process, but a material interest too.

The SAP's Brigadier Leon Mellet said the police had no information about warlords as such, but that intimidation with

no real political motives was prevalent.

"It's true that people are using the violence and ethnic differences for financial gain — for example, through smuggling weapons," he said.

Mafia-style protection rackets did exist and people were deliberately intimidated to make them toe the line.

Mr Simpson said the prevailing climate of political violence and intolerance, plus the

unshackling of organisations which were previously oppressed, had created the space for a criminal element.

In the context of this climate of violence, the economic recession and the high rate of unemployment, there was a fine line between political and criminal violence.

"What started off as having a political motive spirals, and the perpetrators of the violence turn into hired killers," he said.



Anna Dlamini of the Bahlaka Le Barwetsana Ba Morena Choir in full cry at Sowetan's "Prayers for the Nation" service at the Regina Mundi yesterday. See page 2.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

ANC calls for one army

Sowetan 23/9/91

THE ANC has repeated its call for an integrated army while the Government reacted cautiously to revelations of a secret code of conduct for the South African Defence Force yesterday.

Both were responding after newspaper reports yesterday exposed a sweeping code of conduct for the SADF which would effectively depoliticise the army - and which was seen as a step closer to integration of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SADF and homeland armies.

Drafted by the SADF, a copy of the code was

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

forwarded to the national peace initiative working group on security on August 7.

The ANC's reply on the draft code was received by the SADF about 10 days ago and was

To page 2

Merge armies - ANC

From PAGE 1

being considered for further discussions, the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said yesterday.

The code, which envisages a nonracial army, also calls for talks with the ANC's MK and homeland armies about future relations in terms of the national peace accord.

A main feature of the code details rights and obli-

gations of the individual soldier in which he can disobey orders that are illegal or in conflict with the constitution.

Breytenbach said the subject of a code of conduct for the SADF had been dealt with in the working group set up in terms of the national peace initiative.

In a statement Breytenbach said: "The original draft was compiled by the SADF, discussed with the then Minister of Defence,

General Magnus Malan, and presented to the working group on security matters on August 7."

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the document was being discussed at top level by Umkhonto we Sizwe and would later be tabled for further discussion and proposal by the ANC leadership.

However, Niehaus said, it was important the SADF be included if the peace initiative were to succeed.

PAC forum to discuss Front ^(11A)

THE PAC is to hold an inter-regional conference followed by a rally in the Northern Transvaal on September 28 and 29.

By XOLANI
MAKWEDINI

The main speakers, PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, are expected to explore the conference theme "Forward with the Patriotic Front and education for liberation."

The conference is a forerunner to the planned launch of a front of liberation movements in October in Durban.

In the statement released by the PAC Polokwane branch, spokesman Mr Charles Kgopa, said the ANC, Azapo, traditional leaders, academics and business

representatives have been invited.

The conference will be held at the Solly Colman Hall in Ga-Mphahlele, Pietersburg.

Delegates

Also, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation was to launch a Far Northern Transvaal branch at the University of the North.

More than 200 delegates representing branches in the region were expected to attend the launch, which ends today. The main speakers were to be Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela and the PAC's Alexander.

50 we fan 7/9/91



**Beware
all-party
talks
warning**
Sowetan 23/9/91

TRANSKEI military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has cautioned the ANC that it stands a chance of being outvoted at the proposed all-party conference.

Addressing an ANC Youth League regional congress in Transkei on Saturday, Holomisa said: "We would like you, as the youth wing of the ANC, to impress upon the ANC leadership the dangers of engaging in talks with the RSA Government and Inkatha alone, for there is always the threat of it being outvoted by the two, whose interests are bound to converge."

He also urged the Government to make it possible for other political groups to participate.

"The field of playing must not be deliberately narrowed to accommodate a handful of players while many are left out who ought to take part."

Holomisa reminded the audience that the majority of blacks live in homelands and said they must be represented. - *Sapa*.

Fall-off in funds foreseen if ANC becomes party to pressure

(11A) Star 23/9/91

PRESIDENT de Klerk's belief that the time has come for the ANC to transform itself into a political party is not innocent politically.

His conviction — reaffirmed most recently in a television interview after the signing of the national peace accord — is undoubtedly influenced by political self-interest.

A shift in the ANC's status from a "national liberation movement" to a political party would have two serious and potentially crippling consequences for the organisation.

It would cut the ANC from the bulk of its foreign funding and could easily lead to a speedy break-up of its alliance with the SACP.

Both developments would be

traumatic for the ANC at the moment.

The ANC depends, as ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi notes in his annual report, overwhelmingly on foreign grants financially. But a well-placed diplomat observes that the moment the ANC becomes a political party most of these funds will dry up.

Of the ANC's internal income of R11,3 million for 1990, more than R9,8 million or 86,6 per cent, came from grants, Mr Nkobi's report says. The same situation is true of its total budget for 1990: grants and donations accounted for more than R75 million out of just under R80 million.

The vast proportion of the foreign funding comes from

governments. It is given to the ANC as a "liberation movement" and will be withdrawn if the ANC becomes a political party.

The Swedish government grant of about R40 million a year will be lost when the ANC becomes a political party.

The ANC's huge indebtedness to Sweden is acknowledged by Mr Nkobi: "International assistance from Sida (Swedish International Development Agency) alone grew from a humble beginning of R3 000 in 1972 to R54 million in 1991."

Money is no guarantee of political power. Attempts to inflame Abel Muzorewa into a political giant with timely donations during the last days of Rhodesia failed lamentably.

PATRICK LAURENCE looks at the implications of the ANC's dependence on foreign funds.

But there is no doubt that the ANC would struggle severely if external funds were cut off now: it would lose its competitive edge over its main rivals for black support, particularly the impecunious PAC and the equally cash-strapped Azapo.

Mr Nkobi's report is permeated with awareness of the ANC's dependence on foreign funds and with exhortations to the ANC's leaders and cadres to take action to reduce it. But the ANC needs time to do so and a sudden termination of those funds now or in the immediate future would be disastrous.

"In 1990, 90 percent of our income was in the form of grants," Mr Nkobi said.

There are thus powerful financial reasons for the ANC's refusal to be coerced or pressured into changing its status into that of a political party. Just as political calculations make it a matter of expediency for Mr de Klerk to press the ANC into making the change.

There are, however, political calculations on the ANC's side, too. As long as the ANC is a "national liberation movement" it can accommodate a range of ideological positions, stretching

from bourgeois nationalists to radical socialists.

These tendencies are united around the common denominator of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

But when the ANC becomes a political party its political programme will have to be more specific and there is — at the least — a danger that it will precipitate political strife between rival "tendencies" (which, unlike "factions", are acceptable in the ANC as it is presently constituted).

Ideological conflict on the pivotal issue of economic policy could easily trigger a major battle for the soul of the ANC between — to cite the categories which ANC president

Nelson Mandela has used — Fabian socialists and Marxist socialists.

Mr Mandela, who has described the ANC as an African parliament housing diverse forces, is starkly frank on the dangers of becoming a political party prematurely.

"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 ... in Fabian socialism or ... in Marxist socialism.

"That would be dangerous at the moment because it would split us from top to bottom."

Extrapolating from Mr Mandela's comments — made in an extensive interview with The Star in July — the ANC will

certainly postpone the decision to become a political party until after the final "overthrow of the apartheid system".

At that point the ANC has more than a fair chance of, at the minimum, sharing power and thus terminating its heavy dependency on foreign grants for sustaining itself as a government-in-waiting with responsibility for the vast number of returning exiles and veterans of the struggle.

In that narrow sense Kwame Nkrumah's famous dictum is still apt: "Seek ye first the political kingdom." The ANC is not likely to deny itself entrance to the "kingdom" by heeding Mr de Klerk's call to become a political party at a time of his choosing. □

Dangers for the ANC as a party

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ANC in row over cash for MK

117 CT 24/9/94

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A militant group of more than 100 ANC members, many claiming to be uMkhonto weSizwe members, recently burst into the ANC regional office here and demanded a R2 000 settling-in fee from officials.

In a tense confrontation in the office, members of the group complained bitterly that the organisation had failed to live up to promises that each returning exile would be given R2 000 and a "bed and blankets".

Negotiations between ANC officials and the exiles finally took place

after members of the group allegedly threatened officials with violence.

A regional executive member of the ANC, Mr Bheki Cele, yesterday said the money promised to returning exiles had run out in June.

"The group of exiles who returned before June received R2 225 as part of an ANC grant to help them readjust to living internally.

"Unfortunately the money ran out and the next group that returned did not receive funding," Mr Cele said.

After the confrontation in the Durban office, ANC national executive members Mr Popo Molefe and Mr

Jackie Selepe met 150 of the affected members last week and explained the cash shortage to them.

Mr Cele said the ANC was "busy raising funds" for the returnees.

He denied rumours that Natal returnees were being discriminated against, saying that returnees in other provinces who had returned after June had also not received money.

He also denied that ANC officials were held up at knifepoint by members of the group. "But there was a bit of a mob spirit," he said.

The incident has fuelled specula-

tion that uMkhonto is in a financial crisis.

MK recently announced that it had stopped recruiting members because of a "lack of resources".

Meanwhile, at the Dukwe transit camp in Botswana, 52 youths who claimed they had been recruited by MK within the past two months, returned to South Africa in disgust after "almost starving to death" in the camp, according to a source who interviewed the youths.

"The whole structure of MK — both internally and externally — appears to be collapsing," one observer said.



IN COURT . . . Mr Chris Hani, uMkhonto weSizwe head (left) and Mr Tony Yengeni, leader of the MK in the Western Cape, outside Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday, where they appeared with nine others on charges of attending an illegal gathering in May. The hearing was postponed to December 2 pending the results of applications for indemnity by the accused.

①① CT24/91

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

... on ... But most of these were
ad ...
d that the SABC had failed to ... race sponsorship agreement.

NEWS IN BRIEF

B1000 24/9/91
Farmer fined for torching boy

A FARMER who set a 15-year-old boy alight was sentenced yesterday to R5 000 or two years' imprisonment after being convicted of attempted murder in the Louis Trichardt Regional Court.

John van der Westhuizen was also sentenced to a further five years in jail, suspended for five years on condition that he paid the boy R40 000 in three instalments for physical damages.

The case was a sequel to the events of December 8 last year when Van der Westhuizen assaulted and set the boy on fire at his Hayoma farm near Messina.

The boy told the court earlier the farmer took an iron, fitted it around his wrist and welded it to a table. He then poured petrol over the boy and set him alight. He was saved by a labourer who doused the flames.

B1000 24/9/91
CP secretary jailed for 14 days

CP CHIEF secretary Andries Beyers was yesterday sentenced to 14 days in prison by the Pretoria Supreme Court for refusing to identify a source who claimed the National Intelligence Service had kidnapped a key witness in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial. Beyers had appealed against the sentence imposed in March by a Pretoria magistrate.

The court dismissed Beyers' appeal against his conviction and sentence, saying reasons he gave for refusing to identify his source were not valid. Beyers claimed he could not identify the source because he feared identification could harm future sources of information. He also feared for the life of his source.

B1000 24/9/91
Warrent for Hani withdrawn

A WARRANT for the arrest of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani was withdrawn in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday after he made a brief appearance. *B1000 24/9/91* *(11A)*

Hani and 19 other ANC members were arrested in connection with an alleged illegal gathering near Parliament on May 23. Eight of the accused have failed to appear and warrants for their arrest are still effective. The matter was postponed to December 2.

TEAM 5198/13E

REPORTS: Sapa.

B1000 24/9/91
(11A)

RT.
AR.

Inkatha admits it may be wrong

11A


Sowetan 24/9/91

FOR the first time Inkatha officials have acknowledged that there could be a sinister "third force" at work, attempting to break down relations between the IFP and the ANC by instigating violence.

The head of the Inkatha Institute's Violence Study Unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, believes the continued attacks in Natal are due to one of three reasons - either the African National Congress no longer has control over "vigilante groups" who attack IFP members on their own initiative; or the ANC is conducting a concerted

Sowetan
Correspondent

campaign of violence against Inkatha; or a sinister third force is at work instigating violence deliberately.

Hodgson used the killing of an Inkatha organiser in Richmond, Mr Ndodi Thusi, as an example.

Thusi, his wife and four-year-old child were assassinated on August 30. It would appear the killer was someone known and trusted by Thusi, as he was obviously in the same car and shot Thusi from behind.

"It is quite possible that



something more sinister is behind many of these sorts of incidents, which often spark off violence between the ANC and Inkatha," Hodgson said.

Meanwhile, alleged violations of the National Peace Accord signed on September 14 have prompted IFP leaders in the Natal Midlands to make an urgent appeal to IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi for action.

KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member Mr

David Ntombela and assistant urban representative Mr Philip Powell claimed a "systematic campaign" was being waged against the IFP by the ANC in the region and said the matter should be raised with President FW de Klerk as soon as possible.

However, the ANC has refused to comment on the allegations and said the correct forum for talks on the crisis was the National Peace Committee.

During August this year

more than 60 IFP members and supporters were killed in Natal - more than half of the 100 unrest-related deaths recorded for the month, according to Hodgson.

He said at least 17 assassination attempts on IFP leaders had been made, with seven of them successful, during the same period.

Hodgson said there was also conflict in Tongaat, on the North Coast and at Gamalakhe, near Port Shepstone.

**ANC Lusaka
office may
become
a museum**

8/Day 24/9/91

**KIN BENTLEY
In London**

THERE are plans to turn the ANC's former headquarters in Lusaka into a museum, according to a report yesterday.

The Times of London's correspondent in Lusaka, Jan Raath, noted that changes in southern Africa were requiring a new look at old institutions.

The ANC headquarters, described as a "dowdy single-storey building in a back street off Cairo Road", was once the place where the organisation's strategies against Pretoria were planned.

It is now all but closed up as the ANC's leaders return to SA.

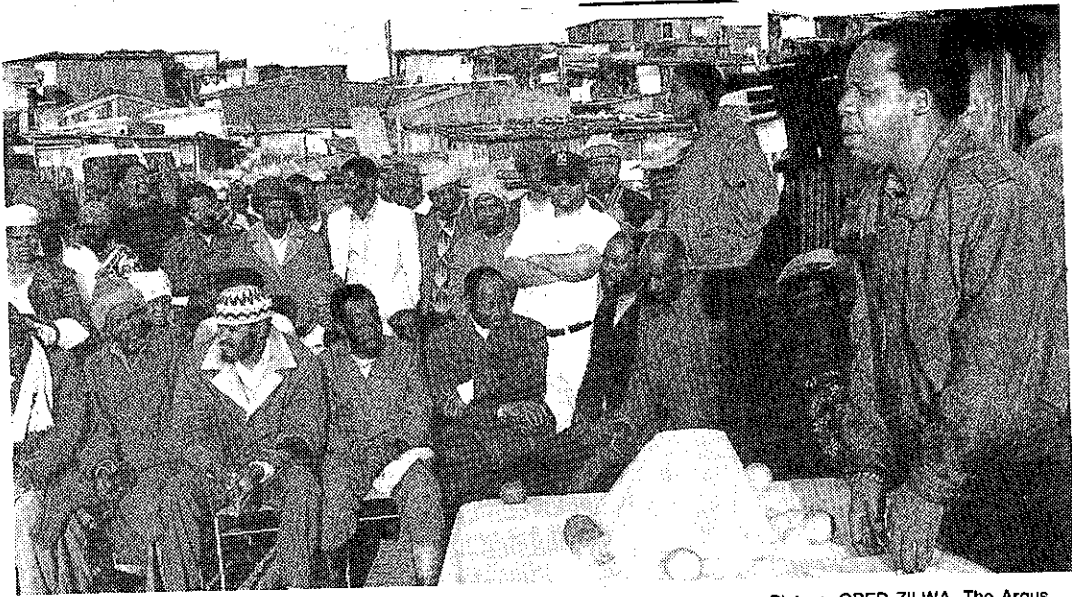
Meanwhile, the report says the Zambian opposition Movement for Multiparty Democracy is confidently predicting victory over President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) in the first multiparty elections next month.

And it is deliberating about what to do with UNIP's headquarters.

The building is situated on Independence Avenue.

However, due to problems with the Chinese construction company, the 17-storey building, which towers over Lusaka, has never been finished.

The report quotes sources in the opposition movement as saying they are thinking of turning the building into a hospital.



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

TALKING TACTICS: Umkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani addresses squatters during his visit to Crossroads. (114) ARG 25/9/91

Hani again calls for defence units

VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

MR Chris Hani says Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers will help to "train township youths in combat tactics and set up defence units to retaliate against those who do not want peace".

The Chief of Staff of MK was speaking during a visit to Crossroads to promote peace in the troubled squatter camp.

More than 20 people have been killed in the violence and many houses set alight during bitter clashes between Unathi residents and supporters of the controversial African National Congress chairman, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Speaking under a fluttering

ANC flag metres from Mr Nongwe's house, Mr Hani said the MK programme would emphasise discipline and would not be directed against anyone in particular.

The programme would be aimed at helping the whole community. It would emphasise discipline and self-restraint.

This was important as ill-disciplined youths would use the weapons to "rob innocent people who are returning from work".

He said that this week he had called on MK members from as far away as Worcester to discuss the programme to defend the people.

"Those who are slaves of li-

quor will not be suitable in the programme. We need strong youths. They will be taught to be restrained and disciplined," Mr Hani said.

The defence units were necessary as people had a right to defend themselves against the violence that was allowing apartheid to survive.

The residents should solve their problems by talking to each other. They should also strive towards unity.

"You must never point your weapons against your people. The ANC members should always try to end the divisions among the people and lead them to freedom," Mr Hani said.

Recruitment tops agenda ^(11A) at ANC meeting

ARC 26/9/9

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

BOOSTING a relatively poor recruitment rate and finding ways to solve organisational problems will top the agenda when ANC delegates from the Western Cape gather for a two-day annual conference this weekend.

Strategies will be reviewed and several adjustments are expected in preparation for the critical phase of national negotiations.

Branches will be under pressure to streamline their organisational structure and make a bigger effort to recruit new members.

Among proposals likely to be discussed is that the regional executive be enlarged to place more leadership figures in the field to help recruit new members and promote "political education".

Also prominent on the agenda will be debates on township violence and on preparations for the Patriotic Front Conference and the envisaged All-Party Conference.

Violence is considered a critical factor in sapping the movement's resources.

The weekend conference — the region's second annual meeting since the movement was unbanned — will be opened on Saturday morning by the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

But all debates — expected to last until Sunday evening — will be closed to the Press.

The regional secretary of the ANC, Mr Amos Lengesi, said: "The chief theme of the conference will be the need to build a stronger, democratic ANC.

"We will be reviewing our structures and the activities of the past year, adjusting shortcomings and addressing problems.

"One problem that is endemic to the movement is that of recruitment ... of finding ways to get a bigger membership.

"We have 55 000 members in the Western Cape region now — but we would have liked that to have been doubled by now."

He blamed the township violence for retarding growth, and said: "We are focusing on violence instead of on building the ANC."

Another obstacle to recruitment, he said, was that many people believed that joining the ANC might cost them their jobs, or that they might become targets of violence.

ANC members in Khayelitsha had been "subjected to a lot of harassment".

Can Nongwe survive — again?

Staff Reporter

THE issue of the controversial ANC chairman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, is likely to again crop up at this weekend's regional congress.

Last year the delegates deliberated at length about the Nongwe affair but "pragmatists" won the day.

ARC 26/9/91
The concern was that Mr Nongwe, because of his track record, was no different to warlord Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana whom he deposed.

Mr Nongwe, credited with toppling the once-powerful and much-feared ex-Crossroads leader, Mr Ngxobongwana, has been accused by Unathi resi-

dents of conducting a terror campaign.

The pragmatists' views that Mr Nongwe should be "given a chance to join and then be politicised" does not seem to be bearing any fruit.

But will Mr Nongwe ride out the storm this time round?

Consensus on patriotic front

PAC, Azapo agree to join all-party talks

(11A)
B/Dmy 26/9/91

THE PAC and Azapo yesterday agreed for the first time to join the ANC in attending multiparty talks.

The three groups also agreed on common principles for such talks, namely: the agenda, venue, funding, infrastructure and the need for independent facilitators.

PAC and Azapo leaders did not indicate that their attendance would be conditional on government and other major players agreeing to all the points contained in their agenda for the talks.

Government welcomed the PAC and Azapo decision.

Delegations led by their presidents agreed at a Johannesburg hotel that the transfer of political power was a priority and that there were currently possibilities for this to occur through negotiations.

This implied "some form of contact with the regime", something both Azapo and the PAC have until now eschewed.

The breakthrough was achieved after private discussions between ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwethu and Azapo president Pandelani Nefoloyhodwe.

These meetings were followed by joint discussions between representatives of all three parties, including Mandela and Nefoloyhodwe, about who would be invited to next month's patriotic front conference.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said at a news conference that only limited information would be provided at this stage because yesterday's decisions still had to be confirmed by the organisations' national executive committees.

Azapo national projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa said the parties had reached consensus that the immediate task

TIM COHEN

of the broad liberation movement was the transfer of political power. The only legitimate forum for the creation of a new constitution was a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one man, one vote on a common voters' role.

The parties also agreed that the formation of a broad patriotic front was a crucial element in empowering the broad liberation movement with these tasks.

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj said there was consensus regarding the agenda of the patriotic front conference. "In particular this means that the three organisations arrived at consensus with regard to the all-party congress or the pre-constituent assembly conference. Consensus was arrived at with regard to the modalities of transition, the agenda (for the congress or conference), which would include the items: interim government or transitional authority, modalities for constituting a constituent assembly and principles that would underpin a constitution."

He said there was also agreement on the need for independent facilitators for convening the conference and on the conference venue, funding and infrastructure.

Agreement was reached on a basic common approach on an interim authority or government, he said.

It is understood the three parties agreed that all organised political groups should be allowed to attend the multiparty talks.

BILLY PADDOCK reports Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen yesterday welcomed the decision by the PAC and Azapo.

● See Page 6

AT THE heart of the ANC's demand for an interim government is a concern that it should not be at an unfair disadvantage during the runup to SA's first non-racial election. Paradoxically, however, this does not mean the organisation will want the maximum power it can negotiate for itself during this transitional period.

There are influential forces in the ANC who argue that it should seek no more than the share of power necessary to ensure a level political playing field. It would be dangerous, they say, to become a junior partner in an NP government — the most the ANC could realistically achieve during the transitional period.

For the ANC, this danger could be avoided if the NP were to concede to the organisation's standing demand for a "sovereign interim government of national unity". This will be the ANC's opening position on the issue which will top the agenda at the all-party conference likely to convene later this year.

Conceding an interim government on these terms would require President F W de Klerk to suspend the present constitution and agree to its replacement by, presumably, a negotiated interim constitution. From the ANC's point of view, the ideal interim government would be structured to ensure, at the very least, that the NP's authority does not exceed that of the ANC in what would presumably be a multiparty executive.

This rules out stopping at the appointment of a few ANC Cabinet Ministers whose wishes could be overruled by their NP counterparts, and who may be subject to collective Cabinet responsibility and traditional Cabinet discipline.

But it is a pipedream to expect the NP to meet the ANC's primary demand. It is clear to all concerned that this will not be countenanced by De Klerk. Further, even if the interim government ideally sought by the ANC was achievable through a drawn-out and bitter struggle, the organisation would be employing the very time and effort required for

Devising realistic options for an interim government

B/pam 26/9/91 ~

ALAN FINE



working towards the more important strategic goal — a new and permanent constitution.

These considerations are already clear to at least some leading ANC negotiators. While leaving the opening demand on the table for now, their most important task at present is to devise a fallback position which will ensure that the level playing field is achieved while co-option in its negative sense is avoided. Negotiators are now beginning to think about these issues, and tentative answers are emerging.

The two main questions for the ANC are: which areas of government and administration require joint control to ensure this; and how is this control to be achieved in a way that avoids the problem of co-option — either in reality or in the eyes of a cynical constituency? A corollary to the first question is: for which areas of policy and government should the ANC deliberately avoid participation (and therefore responsibility) in the present circumstances where the constitution continues to give the NP the final say?

The rationale behind the latter question is explained by some ANC leaders along these lines: "We cannot agree to share control, and responsibility, for an education system which allocates so much more per capita to

a white child than to a black." The same would apply to welfare, pensions and health, for example. This would be part of the danger of co-option.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa spelt out, in a speech in Durban last week, the function of the ideal interim government. It would, he said, "remove all remaining obstacles to negotiations; stop the violence as it would have the political will and commitment to do so; control the security forces; run elections; control the broadcasting service; begin the process of reconciliation; restore faith in government; and repeal remaining apartheid legislation". Ramaphosa's last point is, presumably, a reference to continued racial inequality in state spending on social services.

The realities dictate, however, that the ANC will have to aim at a narrower goal which would include only certain of the items on Ramaphosa's list. The most obvious elements of such transitional arrangements would be more or less equal control with the NP over the security forces, the electoral process and the publicly owned media.

An alternative would be agree-

ment that partial or full control of these matters — particularly the electoral process and the SABC — be handed to a neutral third party, local or foreign. The peace process has demonstrated the value of third party involvement. And some in the ANC have not yet abandoned the idea of an international force overseeing aspects of the transition.

Either way, the ANC will insist that control over the first election to be conducted according to universal franchise cannot be left to the present political and administrative heads of the Home Affairs Department alone. Functions requiring joint control would include the drawing up of voters' rolls, scrutiny and the like.

And the SABC can expect strong pressure to ensure "fairness" in political broadcasting on television and radio, to eliminate the propaganda edge which the NP would otherwise enjoy. It is a fair bet that this process will have far more influence on the future of public broadcasting than will the recently published report of Christo Viljoen's Task Group.

The national peace accord, to be supplemented by a code of conduct for the SADF, represents significant progress on the question of joint control over the security forces, which is seen as a precondition for free politi-

cal activity. But the provisions of the accord are not viewed as adequate.

Here, too, the ANC is bound to seek sufficient influence to ensure equal, joint control over the security establishment. It is unlikely to demand a joint, formal Cabinet post. A more likely preference would be for a multiparty, statutory forum with effective executive control over security operations.

This leaves the question of who will control economic policy during the transition. As the VAT struggle demonstrates, this will be a drawn out, painful process.

The rights won by Cosatu and Nactu regarding labour legislation is probably a sign of the eventual destination of the economic policymaking process. The labour federations have won from government and the private sector the concession that no new labour law can be introduced without consensus between the three. The unions are also able to initiate new legislation. But achieving this was difficult for all concerned.

The same will probably apply to broader economic issues before similar arrangements are established. The NP clearly seeks to begin restructuring the economy in its preferred way while the existing constitution remains in force. Opposition political forces, particularly the ANC alliance, will resist other restructuring initiatives as they have done VAT.

Economics is a political problem! As in the political sphere, the ANC alliance will not accept a mere token role in the economic sphere — for example a seat or two on the President's Economic Advisory Council. As the unions have done with labour law, the alliance will seek a position as an equal negotiating partner with government.

The political struggle over the economy will be far more painful than that over a new constitution. How creatively it is approached by all sides now will determine — long beyond the transitional period — how SA's economy will be managed; no matter which party holds a parliamentary majority.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC and Azapo yesterday agreed for the first time to join the ANC in attending multiparty talks.

The three groups also agreed on common principles for such talks — the agenda, venue, funding, infrastructure and the need for independent facilitators.

PAC and Azapo leaders did not indicate that their attendance would be conditional on government and other major players agreeing to all the points in their agenda for the talks.

Constitutional Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen welcomed the PAC and Azapo decision.

Delegations led by their presidents agreed at a Johannesburg hotel that the transfer of political power was a priority and that there were now possibilities for this to occur through negotiations.

This implied "some form of contact with the regime", something both Azapo and the PAC have until now eschewed.

The breakthrough was achieved after private discussions between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwethu and Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

These meetings were followed by joint discussions between representatives of all three parties, including Mr Mandela and Mr Nefolovhodwe, about who would be invited to next month's patriotic front conference.

Azapo national projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said the parties had reached consensus that the immediate task of the broad liberation movement was the transfer of political power. The only legitimate forum for the creation of a new constitution was a constituent assembly, elected on the basis of one man one vote on a common voters' role.

The parties also agreed that the formation of a broad patriotic front was crucial.

PAC joins ANC for talks

(11A)

CT 26/9/91

'golden'

ANC, PAC and Azapo agree on talks

From Page 1

Sowetan 26/9/91
However, they refused to elaborate on the working documents or release them to the Press as they were still to be ratified by the national executive committees of the ANC and PAC and Azapo's central committee.

PAC information and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai told a Johannesburg news conference that the agreement had "pulled out all stops to the Patriotic Front conference".

Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said the Joint Working Committee had agreed that the immediate task of the liberation movement was the transfer of political power, which could be achieved through negotiations and implied contact with the Government.

The organisations reiterated their call for a constituent assembly based one man one vote, on a common voters roll, in a unitary state as the best mechanism to democratise the country.

There was also agreement that the Patriotic Front was an important element in empowering liberation movements in the task of transferring power to the people.

ANC NEC member Mr Mac Maharaj said there was broad consensus on the agenda of the PF conference and an all-party conference or a "pre-constituent assembly conference".

The parties also reached consensus on the modalities, agenda and venue for an all-party pre-constituent assembly conference.

An independent facilitator would be charged with the task of convening the all-party pre-constituent assembly conference, he added.

Maharaj said the parties also agreed on transitional structures such as an "Interim Government Transitional Authority".

The all-party pre-constituent assembly conference would discuss the principles which are to underpin a future constitution for the country.

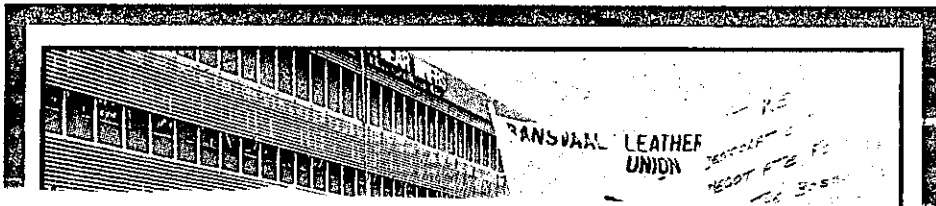
Speakers stressed it was all systems go for the scheduled PF conference in Durban next month. - *Sapa*

ANC, PAC, Azapo say ...

Let's do it together

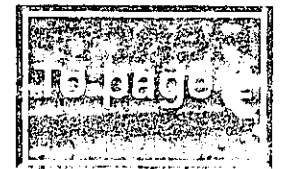
Sowetan
26/9/91

11A



THE ANC, PAC and Azapo have reached broad consensus on a Patriotic Front conference and a common agenda leading to "transfer of power" talks with the Government.

The three organisations yesterday announced areas of agreement had been achieved through a Joint Working Committee which drew up working documents.



P.T.O.



N. Pillay

Learning SA's history 'essential' — Reddy

South 26/9
-2/10/91

By Rehana Rossouw

11A

If South Africans did not learn that the significant political changes in the country had come about as a result of victories won through struggle and sacrifice, they would not be encouraged to fight further.

So said the former director of the United Nations' Centre Against Apartheid Mr Enuga Sreenivasulu Reddy, who is currently on a "pilgrimage" to South Africa.

"South African children have to learn about their country's fantastic history."

Next month the University of the Western Cape's Historical and Cultural Centre and the Institute for Black Research will publish three books edited by Reddy — the collected writings and speeches of Chief Albert Luthuli, Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo.

Reddy said he found it disturbing that South Africans knew very little about India's support of the liberation struggle, particularly of the "foremost liberation movement in the world" — the ANC.

The momentum for talks was lost after February last year, he said, with the government dragging its feet on the question of prisoners and exiles.

Congress looks at building ANC base

South 26/9 - 2/10/91 (11A)
THIS weekend's ANC regional conference provides a forum for members to address the critical problems facing the organisation in the Western Cape and to develop responses to its weaknesses.

More than 500 delegates representing 110 launched and 20 interim branches from Namaqualand in the Northern Cape to Plettenberg Bay in the Southern Cape are expected to attend the two-day conference at the University of the Western Cape

They are expected to assess the work of the ANC in the past year and provide solutions to the structural, political and leadership problems facing the organisation.

The ANC has experienced difficulties in the Western Cape — some as a result of setting up a structure after years of being banned, some a consequence of the immense size and diversity of the region and some because of the violence in the region.

The conference theme, "Building a mass ANC rooted in our community", indicates the hope that in the year ahead the organisation will shift from its top-down leadership style to a more democratic approach.

Regional executive member Mr Dullah Omar said the challenge to the conference was to work out an approach to negotiations which would allow people to intervene and inform the process.

The ANC was opposed to a situation where leaders negotiated behind closed doors and the people were not aware of what was happening.

The seven commission discussions on the first day of the conference — dealing with violence, negotiations, structures, building the ANC, programme of action, rural issues and the tripartite alliance — are expected to be the part of the conference where the "real work" will take place.

Conference will consider ways of building stronger structures capable of consolidating existing membership and broadening the ANC's support in the Western Cape community.

In the discussion on a programme of action, the challenge will be to link local issues to the ANC campaigns on a national level.

But it is the last session of the conference — the nominations and elections of new office bearers — that will provide the answers to the ANC's difficulties in the region.

Delegates will have to choose a new executive that is able to function as a team and draw in members at grass-roots level to root the ANC in the community.

FOUNDATION for Peace and Justice director Dr Allan Boesak is expected to be a serious contender for a position on the new regional executive committee of the ANC.

Boesak is believed to have been nominated by several branches in the Western Cape for the position of chairperson, running against the incumbent Mr Christmas Tinto.

According to ANC sources, SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Tony Yengeni is also in the running for a senior position on the executive committee.

Other people nominated for positions include Mr Willie Hofmeyr, Mr Archie Sibeko, Ms Phumzile Ngcuka,

Boesak in line for ANC post?

South 26/9 - 2/10/91.

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Ms Noma-India Mfeketo, Ms Jenny Schreiner, Mr Neville van der Rhee, Mr Johnny de Lange, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Dullah Omar, Mr Whitey Jacobs, Ms Hilda Ndude and Ms Lynne Brown.

Two prisoners released from Robben Island this year, Mr Lizo Ngqungwana

and Mr Mxolisi Petane, are in line for positions.

Labour leaders nominated include South African Municipal Workers Union officials Mr John Erentzen, Mr Salie Manie and Mr Howie Gabriels.

As an indication of the ANC's

commitment to work with other organisations, religious leaders including the Rev Lionel Louw, Mr Ebrahim Rasool and Imam Hassan Solomons have been nominated.

Each branch has been given an opportunity to submit nominations for the executive and each nomination must have the support of two branches.

At conference, delegates will decide on the new structure of the executive and will be given an opportunity to motivate and counter-motivate nominations for office bearers.

Elections will take place by secret ballot and voting will be on the basis of proportional representation.

PAC, Azapo in change of heart on talks

South 26/9 - 2/10/91

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

NEGOTIATIONS for a new South Africa take on a new dynamic this week following an about-turn by the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) on their previous hard-line

stance not to engage in direct talks with the government.

The decision to participate in the talks was made known at the Patriotic Front meeting yesterday between the two organisations and the ANC. Immediately after the meeting, Azapo National Projects Convenor, Lybon Mabaso, said all three organisations agreed that the immediate task of the liberation movements was the "trans-

fer of political power" which could be achieved through negotiations which "imply contact with the government".

Earlier in the day, ANC president Nelson Mandela, at his request, met with the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, and later with Azapo president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

Earlier this month, Mr Mandela called on the United Nations and the international community to withdraw

support from organisations who did not sign the Peace Accord at the Peace Convention.

The PAC and Azapo both refused to sign the accord.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, Mabaso spelt out the principles on which the Patriotic Front would be launched. He said that the three organisations were only prepared to talk to the government about the Constitu-

11A

2 SOUTH NEWS

● From page one

South 26/9 - 2/10/91.

A new catch-phrase — the pre-Constituent Assembly Conference — was coined at the meeting. ANC representative Mr Mac Maharaj explained: "This means that the three organisations on the Patriotic Front Working Committee have reached consensus with regard to, first, the All-Party Congress, and now known at this stage as the Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference."

Mabasa said they would talk with the government about the logistics of setting up a Constituent Assembly

Today's announcement means all obstacles to establishing a Patriotic Front position on the All-Party conference have all been removed.

Present at the Patriotic Front meeting during the discussions were Maharaj for the ANC, Mabaso for Azapo and Barney Desai for the PAC.

11A

CURRENT AFFAIRS

NEGOTIATIONS FM 24/9/91

Daring to hope

(SCL) (11A)

A new sense of urgency seems to have gripped government and the ANC on the need to convene an all-party conference as soon as possible.

There is growing optimism in both camps that such a conference could be held before the end of the year and that multiparty working groups could be established to consider the finer details of the main agenda. But various crises — such as the rising conflict over VAT — may delay the process.

Government has always wanted a quick start to the "multi-party" conference, in the apparent hope of catching its main rivals off guard, but the ANC has insisted on time to prepare itself adequately. There are, however, now clear signs that the ANC believes it is on firm enough ground to go ahead. Apparently there has been encouraging pro-

gress in low-profile preliminary contacts.

Several other factors — including the Carlton peace accord and moves to depoliticise the SADF and make it more accountable — have added to the belief on both sides that no purpose can be served by delaying the conference any longer. There is also a mutual belief that the all-party conference should complete its work as quickly as possible, so that more attention can be given to the longer-term task of socio-economic restructuring and development.

The preliminary contacts have already contributed to some consensus on the all-party conference agenda and procedural matters. The issues of who should convene the conference and who should chair it are also being discussed. There seems to be agreement on who should attend: all political

groups with obvious substantial support. They in turn will decide at the conference's first plenary session which additional groups or organisations should be involved.

It will probably be proposed that the conference should set up working groups to look at issues such as an interim government, constituent assembly elections, decision-making procedures and constitutional principles.

That's when the real slog will start. Though there's agreement on an all-party conference as soon as possible, and on some of the main items for debate, consensus on core constitutional points will be difficult to achieve. It appears that three issues in particular could be major obstacles:

Firstly, consensus itself is potentially divisive. Full consensus would amount to a veto

continue

FM 24/9/91

11A

right, which could favour government or fringe groups, while a simple majority may be seen by government as a ganging-up by predominantly black groups. A solution may be a flexible attitude which would allow consensus to be pegged at different levels on different issues — the imperative being to keep the process rolling forward.

Secondly, an interim government: there are clear and fundamental differences between government and the ANC on how an interim administration should be structured and what its powers should be. The ANC apparently wants a completely restructured executive, vested with all the authority of government; government seems prepared to budge on no more than broadening the current executive's base to provide for consultation and a degree of joint decision-making — but with power remaining firmly in its hands.

Government's flexibility on an interim government is restricted by President F W de Klerk's commitment not to change fundamentally the Constitution without consulting the electorate — though the ANC believes its own requirements for an interim government can be met without major constitutional changes.

The third and most difficult obstacle could be the issue of a constituent assembly. In contrast to its earlier position, the ANC now wants an interim government to arrange and oversee elections for a constituent assembly (rather than hold assembly elections, followed by the formation of an interim government, as reported in last week's FM). The assembly would then take over the role of drafting a new constitution.

Government is implacably opposed to a constituent assembly while the ANC seems determined to insist on it — the kind of stalemate that negotiations are all about, and therefore a compromise is likely.

The logistical problems of drawing up voters rolls, organising elections and campaigning against a background of factional violence would be considerable. Issues such as the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe — regarded by government as a private army, but by the ANC as a legitimate response to the SADF's historical role as an apartheid instrument — could become an obstacle unless resolved before the start of the conference.

The conference should agree fairly quickly on constitutional principles. Proposals published so far by the main players — the ANC and the National Party — appear to be in broad agreement on what could be described as the apple pie and motherhood issues.

It's the finer detail, like the NP's insistence on power sharing and the ANC's wide-ranging Bill of Rights, that could cause problems. Both groups already regard aspects of the other's proposals as obstacles to the all-party conference.

But the purpose of the conference (and the contacts that precede it — they're all part of negotiations) will be precisely to sort out the issues on which agreement cannot be reached.

FM 24/9/91

POLITICAL TRENDS

Figures for thought

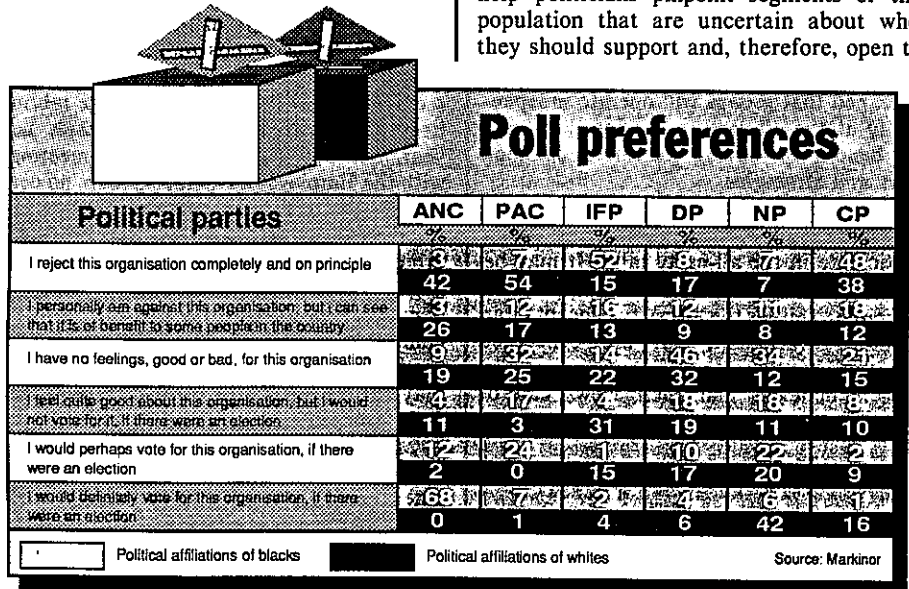
It seems unlikely, but the National Party could become the majority party under a nonracial constitution. And the Democratic Party could be the third major player after the ANC and the Nats.

A Gallup-Markinor political poll finds that nearly half the urban black population can be classed as "potential" NP voters. Six percent said they would "definitely" vote Nat in an election, 22% said "perhaps" and 18% "feel quite good" about the ruling party even if they would not vote for it. (Nearly 60% of the black population is urban).

These categories contain just the kind of "shiffters and switchers" who could become the key players in SA's first nonracial general election. The survey uses a new type of Gallup poll to identify who they are and how

Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). The survey shows that it has more support among whites (4%) than among urban blacks (2%), who seem even more repelled by the IFP (completely rejected by 52% than by the Conservative Party (48%). Another 16% were "personally against" the IFP, even if they thought it was of benefit to others. Only 3% of urban blacks said they would definitely, or perhaps, vote for the IFP in an election. In contrast, just over 30% of whites "feel quite good" about the IFP, with an additional 15% perhaps voting for it and 4% definitely.

The poll, which was part of a larger "omnibus" survey including market research questions, was carried out by Markinor in June, using personal interviews (not over the phone) with 800 whites nationwide and 1 300 blacks in metropolitan areas. Rather than establishing a straight "pro" or "con" attitude, the poll looks at different degrees of acceptance and rejection. This is expected to help politicians pinpoint segments of the population that are uncertain about who they should support and, therefore, open to



they can be motivated. The result will be of great interest to the power contenders.

One major player is the ANC, which the poll finds is definitely supported by 68% of urban blacks (excluding coloureds and Indians) and which a further 12% would perhaps vote for. Only 3% of blacks reject the ANC completely, with another 3% being "personally" against it — though they can see it might be of benefit to others.

The opposite applies to whites: 42% completely reject the ANC, 26% are personally against it and 19% have no feelings about it. Only 11% of whites "feel quite good" about the ANC though they would not vote for it; a mere 2% "perhaps would," but no whites in the survey said they would definitely vote ANC.

Until there are "free and fair" elections, such polls are about the best indicators we have of voting intentions. But they must be taken with a pinch of salt — or a spoonful, if your party appears to be doing badly.

That might be the attitude of Mangosuthu

external influences such as advertising.

Among whites, 42% say they would definitely vote Nat and 20% perhaps. The CP had 16% definite and 9% perhaps. But while only 7% of whites completely reject the NP, the figure for the CP is 38%.

The Pan Africanist Congress is second most popular among blacks, though with only 7% definite votes (only 1% better than the NP's showing) and an interesting 24% "perhaps" with 17% "feeling quite good" about the PAC. Some 7% of blacks rejected the PAC on principle. Most whites reject the PAC — 54% totally, 17% personally.

The Democratic Party's "definite" support among whites comes in at 6%, and among blacks at 4%. Some 17% of whites (10% blacks) would possibly vote DP and 19% of whites (18% blacks) feel quite good about the party. Which suggests that the DP has retained a separate identity and that it could conceivably end up holding the balance of power between the ANC and the Nats.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

PATRIOTIC FRONT

F W 2 M 9 1 9 1

Another attempt

(11A)

Next month's "patriotic front" conference in Durban is expected to be attended by about 50 organisations, including, possibly, the Democratic Party.

But the outcome (if it goes ahead at all, as there have already been several postponements) is unlikely to influence moves to convene an all-party conference before the end of the year.

The conference will be opened jointly by the leaders of the three convening groups — the ANC, PAC and Azapo. These groups will also finalise invitations to other organisations. Qualification for attendance, broadly, will be a track record in opposing apartheid and support for a constituent assembly (which, judging by the conflicting statements that have emerged, means whatever they want it to mean).

The purpose of the conference is to discuss and co-ordinate strategies, rather than to form an alliance through which to tackle the National Party at the all-party indaba. It is envisaged that groups will operate independently at the all-party gathering, but with the benefit of having identified common goals and strategies.

It seems that efforts will also be made in Durban to persuade the PAC and Azapo to participate in the all-party talks. It may be that the two organisations are not opposed in principle to either the all-party concept or an interim government, but are concerned about the structures.

It is believed that their views can be

changed in debate with those groups that support all-party conference participation and a genuine interim government.

The National Party perceives the patriotic front as a form of racist "ganging up" that serves no purpose other than to isolate it — and possibly Inkatha as well — which seems unlikely to attend anyway.

But the conference organisers reject the criticism and say it is simply an attempt to debate issues of importance to the groups involved.

US to give millions to ANC and IFP

11A ~~11B~~ ~~11C~~

Star 27/9/91

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The United States government is about to give R12,5 million to the African National Congress and R7 million to the Inkatha Freedom Party to help them prepare for negotiations.

The Star has learnt that final agreement has been reached by the US Agency for International Development (Usaid) on payment of the funds.

They were earmarked by the US Congress shortly after the unbanning of political parties and the release of prisoners by President de Klerk last year.

Responsibility for administering the grants — and monitoring their use — will be with the US-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep).

Ussalep's incoming chairman is well-known educationist Dr Franklin Sonn.

The amounts have been settled upon after investigations

into the "infrastructural support needs" of the ANC and IFP — the two groups singled out for aid because of their "decision to enter into negotiations to achieve a constitutional settlement establishing a non-racial, democratic political system".

Ussalep said: "The funds are intended to help both organisations develop their on-the-ground operations in a manner that enhances their capacity to effectively participate in the unfolding negotiation process".

The donors intend the money to be used to provide salaries for national and regional office staff as well as for those directly involved in negotiations.

Ussalep said: "It enables them to purchase communications equipment, accompanied by training in its use. It provides for the publication of materials, and for the convening of conferences and consultations related to each organisation's participation in the negotiations."

The unusual "infrastructural aid" package to political parties stemmed from the 1990 visit of

a congressional delegation to South Africa.

The funds were then allocated to Usaid by the US Congress via the Dire Emergency Supplemental Appropriation Act of 1990.

Usaid supervised the funding through its Transition to Democracy Project, which has held consultations with the ANC and IFP on their practical needs.

● The IFP has welcomed the gift.

"The IFP is extremely grateful to the United States government for this major — on the ground — first step in supporting parties committed to multi party democracy," said spokesman Suzanne Vos.

"Inkatha has large national grassroots structures which will benefit greatly in receiving desperately needed full-time office staff back-up, and training consistent with the aims and objective of the grant."

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said they did not have sufficient information to comment at this stage.

All-party talks? Oh no, says **IPA** PAC and Azapo

w/mca 27/9-3/10/97

By GAVIN EVANS

THE PAC and Azapo will NOT be participating in the proposed all-party conference, but they may join the ANC in meeting the government to discuss proposals for a constituent assembly and interim authority.

Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Benny Alexander and Azanian People's Organisation publicity secretary Strini Moodly refuted reports yesterday that their organisations had agreed to participate in round-table, all-party talks with the government, following a joint meeting this week. However, there appears to be differences on exactly what the three parties agreed to this week.

"Our position has not changed," said Moodly. "We won't participate in the all-party conference because it will be incapable of achieving significant progress towards transfer of power.

"We have agreed with the African National Congress and the PAC about meeting the government, providing that issues such as the venue, agenda, mediation and funding can be sorted out — hopefully before next month's Patriotic Front conference."

Alexander said his organisation remained "vehemently opposed to the government's proposed constitution-making Multi-Party Conference and will not attend it".

He said, however, the PAC had agreed with the ANC and Azapo to a pre-constituent assembly conference.

PAC assistant general secretary Carter Seleke said the agenda could include a constituent assembly, a transitional authority and the principles of a new constitution.

The ANC's Ebrhahim Ismael Ebrahim said the agreement by the PAC and Azapo to join the ANC in meeting the government would strengthen their hand in negotiations. United positions would be worked out through consensus at the Patriotic Front conference in Durban on October 25.

(11A) 27/9/91

Divergent views at conference

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Organisers of the patriotic front conference yesterday sent invitations to a host of organisations.

Parties invited included the DP, Inkatha, the Consultative Business Movement, the Labour Party, Jews for Social Justice and homeland political parties.

But the wording of the invitations indicates participants will be expected to support a constitu-

ent assembly — already rejected by Inkatha and the DP.

The wide range of organisations invited means there is likely to be hard bargaining on issues such as the transitional authority, which some parties feel should include a means of controlling the SADF and the SAP.

The likelihood of hard bargaining is also demonstrated by the ANC's drive for greater voting power at the conference.

One of the main issues to be

discussed will be the pre-constituent assembly conference, called the multi-party conference by the government.

The PAC yesterday reaffirmed its rejection of the multi-party conference but the PAC and Azapo officials involved in talks about the patriotic front have agreed, subject to approval of their executive committees, to attend a pre-constituent assembly conference on the transfer of power.

Big invitation list for talks

11A B(Day) 27/9/91

TIM COHEN

ORGANISERS of the patriotic front conference yesterday sent invitations to a host of organisations, including the EP, Inkatha, the Consultative Business Movement, the Labour Party, Jews for Social Justice and homeland political parties. But the wording of the invitations indicates participants will be expected to support a constituent assembly — something Inkatha and the DP have rejected already.

The wide range of organisations invited means there is likely to be hard bargaining on issues such as the transitional authority, which some parties feel should include a means of controlling the SADF and the SAP. Azapo, for instance, is suggesting the SADF be confined to base.

The likelihood of hard bargaining is also demonstrated by the ANC's drive for

greater voting power at the conference. A source close to the discussions said yesterday ANC president Nelson Mandela had proposed in discussions with Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and PAC president Clarence Makwethu on Wednesday that the ANC should have 24 votes, the PAC 16 and Azapo 6.

Mandela's proposal was tabled at the subsequent meeting of the patriotic front's national working committee on Wednesday, but no decision was taken.

Voting powers of the other organisations have not yet been decided on, but it has been agreed that decisions will be by consensus.

It has also been agreed that no observers

To Page 2

Talks

B(Day) 27/9/91

will be allowed at the conference, which aims at developing a basic joint approach to a transfer of power.

Apart from the three convening groups, about 40 other organisations have been sent invitations, including the Black Management Forum, Nafcoc, Fabcos as well as a range of religious, sports and political organisations.

One of the main issues to be discussed will be the pre-constituent assembly conference, called the multiparty conference by government and previously called the all-party congress by the ANC.

The PAC yesterday reaffirmed its rejection of the multiparty conference but the PAC and Azapo officials involved in talks about the patriotic front have agreed, subject to approval of their executive committees, to attend a pre-constituent assembly conference on the transfer of power.

Sources said yesterday that the PAC and Azapo's main pre-condition for attending such a conference was that it should not constitute "negotiations" but be solely concerned with the transfer of power.

The three parties have agreed that the conference should be convened by impar-

tial facilitators.

The ANC is in favour of the church/business forum which convened the peace talks, but Azapo is concerned that business will have its own agenda and that the churches are partial to the ANC. Azapo is in favour of either OAU or UN facilitators.

The venue will probably be in SA, but on neutral territory, which the source says will exclude government buildings or the homelands.

The groups agree that the agenda for the pre-constituent assembly conference will be a "transitional authority, interim government", the constituent assembly and principles for a new constitution.

The sources said the parties broadly agreed that control of the security forces, measures to ensure the impartiality of publicly owned media and control over some aspects of the Budget would be discussed.

This would constitute a dilution of the ANC's position, which requires a full interim government of national unity and an expansion of Azapo's position, which balks at taking responsibility for spending inequalities.

● Comment: Page 10

From Page 1

ANC accuses NP of 'dirty tricks' (11A)

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela this week accused the National Party of recruiting black and coloured pensioners by promising them "fat cheques".

Addressing a recruitment rally at Riverlea, Johannesburg, on Wednesday night, he asked: "Since when has the Nationalist Party been the agent of non-racialism in this country? Today they are recruiting pensioners of 70 and 90 to be members in the black and coloured townships and the Government is promising them fat cheques."

Mandela said the Government had been defeated politically because it had agreed to one-man, one-vote on a common voter's roll.

The rally, called by the ANC branch in Riverlea, was also attended by NEC member Mr Trevor Manuel and Dr Allan Boesak. *Sowetan 27/9/91*

Boesak told the meeting the current violence in the country was benefiting the police, the South African Defence Force and the Government.

"The violence is being perpetrated because they want to negotiate with a weak ANC." - *Sapa*.

ALL indicators point to an initial multiparty conference convening in November, with a new sense of urgency manifesting itself in the language of three main players, the ANC, government and Inkatha. And there is already broad, informal consensus on the mechanics of the conference.

The peace negotiations have proven that a negotiated settlement on even the most sensitive issues is possible. There remain a few stumbling blocks. Disruptive conflict over VAT and the status of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe could still delay progress. However, these are likely to be adequately resolved in time.

Wednesday's dramatic turnaround by the PAC and Azapo on talks with government demonstrated that they had realised they could not sustain the pressure of being the lone bull bellowing outside the kraal of the multiparty conference. Divisions within the CP over participation in the multiparty talks indicate similar pressures at work on the right.

All the players that have indicated their willingness to attend a multiparty conference have reached an informal understanding on the agenda, the logistics, chairmanship and participants at the conference.

The issue of who will send out the invitations appears to be settled so

Multiparty talks on track

bl/day 27/9/91. (11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

that government would send them out but they would be in the names of the major players. There is general agreement that government will not chair the conference. It is understood that, from the experience gained at the peace convention, it is likely to be a panel of non-participants — possibly religious and business leaders again.

The parties have agreed that all political parties or organisations with obvious substantial support should be invited to the conference. They will, in turn, decide at the first plenary session which additional groups or organisations should be involved.

At the first plenary session it will also be proposed that the conference set up working groups to discuss the four major agenda items and then report back to another plenary session next year.

The process of decision-making at the multiparty conference will be dealt with at the opening plenary session. It will occur through some degree of consensus, but exactly how this is translated into reality remains debatable.

The ANC rejects the idea of full consensus as amounting to a veto right favouring government or any one of the fringe parties.

Simple majority decision-making is rejected by government, as this introduces a threat of a "ganging up" on the government camp by black groups — those comprising a patriotic front, perhaps.

The compromise of "sufficient consensus", pegged at different levels for different issues, and which allows the process to go forward seems to be the happiest solution to the issue.

The main agenda items that seem to have been agreed on are:

- The formation of an interim government or transitional arrangement;
- The principles of SA's new constitution;
- The modalities of setting up or electing a constituent assembly or negotiating forum; and

The role of the international community with special regard to sanctions.

This is where the real slog begins because, while there is broad agreement between the ANC and the NP proposals on certain broad areas, consensus on core points will be difficult to achieve.

Regarding constitutional issues, the NP's insistence on power sharing and extreme devolution of power, and the ANC's preference for a more centralised system and its proposal of a wide-ranging bill of rights incorporating so-called second generation rights could cause long hours of locked horns. Both groups have stated that aspects of the others' proposals are tantamount to obstacles to the negotiations.

Differences between government and the ANC on how an interim government should be formed and its powers are clear and fundamental. The ANC wants a completely restructured executive, vested with all the authority of government and complete control of the country. Government wants no more than a broadening of the executive base for

consultation and joint decision-making and responsibility, with President F W de Klerk refusing fundamentally to change the constitution.

The ANC, however, believes that the kind of interim government it wants can be installed without substantial changes to the present constitution.

A third obstacle that has to be overcome is that of a constituent assembly. The ANC wants the interim government to oversee and arrange elections for a constituent assembly which would then draft the constitution. They have gained support in this demand through the PAC and Azapo now joining negotiations as well as other parties, including some of the homelands supporting this option.

Government and Inkatha are implacably opposed to this, insisting that multiparty conference working groups should be responsible for drafting various aspects of the constitution.

However, all agree that the multiparty conference should debate "constitutional principles". Once this is completed, it is likely that all significant points of contention will already have been ironed out. It would then be up to an elected assembly merely to finalise detail and formally adopt the constitution.

LETTERS

BC groups ^(11A)
Southern
to meet 27/9/91

SEVERAL affiliates of the Black Consciousness movement in the Northern Free State will hold a meeting on Sunday at the Kutlwanong community hall, Odendaalsrus.

The meeting will discuss a report on consultations held between the BCM and the PAC at Kadoma in Zimbabwe last month.

Jailed CP MP wants Nelson Mandela's cell

CT 27/9/91
JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has demanded that its chief secretary be transferred to Paarl's Victor Verster Prison so he can serve a 14-day sentence in the same comfort as that accorded formerly jailed ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr Andries Beyers reported to Pretoria Central prison at 2pm yesterday, to begin the sentence. He was jailed for refusing to identify the source of a news report in which it was alleged that national intelligence elements had kidnapped a witness in the Winnie Mandela trial.

R1 000 to eat at Mandela's table

CT 27/9/91
THE ANC is offering ten places, at R1 000 each, to sit at the main table with the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a fund-raising dinner tonight at a five-star hotel in Somerset West.

The organisation has appealed to business and professional people to either buy tickets for the main table or sponsor a table at the dinner.

Those who sponsor a table for R1 000 will be given two complimentary tickets and a mention in the souvenir invitation. A further 320 tickets are being sold at R150 a person.

Last night Mr Mandela wowed the Stellenbosch establishment at a cocktail party, followed by an ANC fund-raising dinner, and spent the night at the Stellenbosch home of Mr Jannie Momberg, Democratic Party MP for Simon's Town.

ANC and IFP get R19,5-m from US

Sowetan 27/9/91

(CIA) (S)

Political Staff

THE United States government is to donate R12,5 million to the African National Congress and R7 million to the Inkatha Freedom Party to help the two organisations prepare for negotiations.

The funds were earmarked by the US Congress shortly after the unbanning of political parties and the release of prisoners by President FW de Klerk in 1990.

The agreement is expected to be signed in Johannesburg today.

The agreement will give responsibility for the administering of the grants - and the monitoring of their use - to the US-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme.

The amounts have been settled upon after investigations into the "infrastructural support needs" of the ANC and IFP - the two groups singled out for aid because of their "decision to enter into negotiations to achieve a constitutional settlement establishing a non-racial, democratic political system".

According to Ussalep, "the funds are intended to help

both organisations develop their on-the-ground operations in a manner that enhances their capacity to effectively participate in the unfolding negotiation process".

The donors intend the money be used to provide salaries for national and regional office staff as well as for those who will be directly involved in negotiations.

The money will enable the organisations to purchase communications equipment accompanied by training in its use, publication of materials and for the convening of conferences and consultations related to the negotiations, says Ussalep.

The unusual "infrastructural aid" package to political parties is an initiative that stemmed from the 1990 visit of a congressional delegation to South Africa, led by former congressman William H Gray.

His delegation was asked for support by both the ANC and the IFP.

Unity pact cracks

Sowetan 27/9/91

11A

THE Patriotic Front proposed by the three main liberation movements in the country might be in jeopardy.

By MATHATHA TSEDU and THEMBA MOLEFE

Cracks have developed barely a day after the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation had reached a broad consensus on the PF conference and a common agenda.

in Durban on October 25.

Inside sources told *Sowetan* yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had informed PAC and Azapo leaders at a private meeting on Wednesday that his organisation wanted equal representation of organisations in the PF to be scrapped.

There appears to be early disagreements over the shape the PF should take when it is launched.

To page 2

Divisions may put PF in danger

Sowetan 27/9/91

11A

From Page 1

Inside sources told *Sowetan* yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had informed PAC and Azapo leaders at a private meeting on Wednesday that his organisation wanted equal representation of organisations in the PF to be scrapped.

Mandela is said to have proposed that instead of each of the three having 24 delegates at the conference, the ANC should have 24, the PAC 16 and Azapo six.

In addition, all homeland leaders, members of the Democratic Party and the Labour Party would be invited. Also expected to take part in the PF are Jews for Social Action, Inawu Shalom and business leaders.

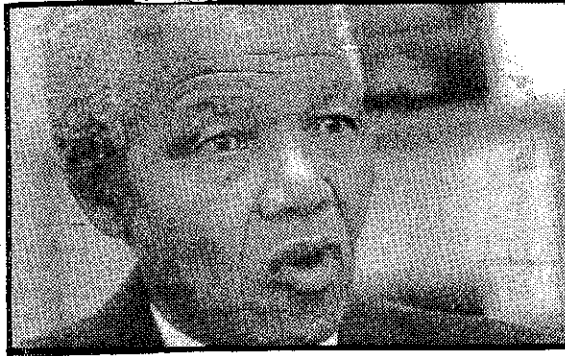
The sources said the PAC and Azapo were unhappy about these proposals.

It is understood that Mandela first raised the matter of representation at the first formal meeting three weeks ago, saying this should reflect strength on the ground in registered membership terms.

Initially, when the ANC and PAC first agreed on the front without Azapo, they had agreed on each having 24 delegates while Azapo would have been represented by six. This was later changed when Azapo became involved.

Another sticky issue, according to the sources, is the proposed involvement of homeland leaders and other structures outside the liberation movement.

"The understanding of the PAC and Azapo has always been that it was primarily the liberation movements that are to be involved in the conference," a source said.



FULL CIRCLE?: Nelson Mandela could share a political vision with lecturer Wilhelm Verwoerd.

I may join ANC, says Verwoerd grandson

IIA

OWN CORRESPONDENT



CAPE TOWN — In an historic encounter in Stellenbosch one night this week, ANC president Nelson Mandela met philosophy lecturer Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of the chief architect of apartheid.

And the young Verwoerd revealed that he often thought about joining the ANC.

"I would prefer not to say anything now, but I think about it a lot," he said.

The two men were introduced to each other and exchanged thoughts over drinks at the cocktail party given in Mr Mandela's honour at the posh Brandwagt home of Democratic Party MP Jannie Momberg.

Considered and quietly spoken, Mr Verwoerd said: "The history he (Mr Mandela) symbolises is extremely sad and it was a great opportunity to meet him and to be able to say that. *Star 28/9/91*

"Too many Afrikaners still seem to be blind to what has happened. The opportunity to meet him and to hear from him how important it is, for the future, for whites to be involved in building something new was personally very encouraging.

"From the perspective of what has happened to him, and the personal link with me, it was amazing feeling that there was no sense of being condemned."

'Don't be intimidated'

BRITS. — South African citizens should not allow themselves to be intimidated, the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki said last night at a function in Brits, a right-wing stronghold.

He was addressing about 50 people at a fund-raising dinner organised by the local ANC branch at the Overberg Protea Hotel. (11A) et 28/9/91

There was no sign of any right-wing troublemakers outside the hotel.

Mr Mbeki added that neither the left nor right had the right to threaten physical action to prevent points of

view from being propounded at public meetings. People should not allow themselves to be intimidated.

An all-party conference should be held before the end of the year, he added, saying the conference should determine how the country should be governed during the transitional period.

No party participating in the constitution-making negotiations should govern and exercise exclusive power at the same time, Mr Mbeki said. — Sapa

ANC poll may swop leaders

11A
CT 28/9/91

By BARRY STREEK

HOTLY contested elections for the ANC's regional executive could dominate its Western Cape congress, which is to be opened by Mr Nelson Mandela this morning.

The elections, which are to be computerised and conducted by secret ballot, could result in a major change in the ANC's Western Cape leadership.

An uMkhonto weSizwe document, which has been circulating among ANC members, has criticised the ANC's regional leadership in the Western Cape as well as the activities of ANC branches.

The document said the mass membership of the ANC branches had been drifting away because of the bureaucratic way meetings had been held.

MK regional commander Mr Tony Yengeni is to challenge incumbent chairman Mr Christmas Tinto.

Mr Yengeni has also been nominated for the position of vice-chairman, where the other candidates are former United Democratic Front

leader Mr Dullah Omar and former exile Mr Archie Sibeko. Current vice-chairwoman Mrs Hilde Ndude is not standing for re-election.

Another key KM figure, Ms Jenny Schreiner, is stand for the position of general secretary against former Robben Islander Mr Amos Lengisi.

Other MK members standing for election are Mr Bongani Jonas, Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Liso Bright Ngqunwana, Mr Neville van der Rheeede and Mr Mxolisi Petane.

The incumbent treasurer, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, is not standing for re-election and this position is being contested by Mr Johny de Lange, an advocate, and ANC Youth League member Mr Mzonke Whitey Jacobs.

Others who have been nominated for the regional executive are Dr Allan Boesak, Peninsula Technikon rector Mr Franklin Sonn, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, University of Cape Town academic Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, former UCT SRC president Mr Cameron Dugmore and SA Municipal Workers' Union leader Mr Salie Manie.

ANC 'unworried' by SACP

(11A) CT 28/9/91

IF people wanted to end the alliance between the ANC and the SA Communist Party, they should speed up the formation of a new South Africa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said this week.

He also said the ANC would accept an alternative to the nationalisation of mines, financial institutions and monopolies if it was effective and serious in giving all people access to the economy.

Mr Mandela said at a Stellenbosch fundraising dinner that he had repeatedly challenged people in business to bring an alternative but they had failed to do so.

He dismissed reports that there were 37 SACP members of the ANC's national

executive and said the number of Marxists on it were not "such a number to create any concern in our party".

He also said the perception that the SACP was against religion was "not true".

He admitted that the alliance had been a matter of great concern to non-members of the ANC, "but also to members".

However, the ANC and the SACP had the common objective of destroying racial oppression and would welcome anyone who agreed that this was enemy number one.

"When racial oppression is destroyed, we will take different directions."

The ANC could then be transformed into a political party.

Mr Mandela, who spoke to 50 academics, businessmen, four Democratic Party MPs and members of the ANC, said whites owned 87% of land and four business monopolies controlled 75% of the shares quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

"One might ask: Where is the free market in regard to land? Where is the free market in regard to shares?"

"Is that what South Africa wants? Don't we want an economic system where the resources are fairly distributed to all the people of South Africa and where there are equal opportunities for access to that economy?" he asked.

Step by steady step on road from Dakar

SI Times 29/9/91.

VIA

ON the notice board in the Department of Foreign Affairs operations room in the Union Buildings one telephone number is written particularly large.

It is the home number of the African National Congress international head, Thabo Mbeki. It is a small but pertinent indication of what is becoming increasingly clear — in the new South Africa, negotiations rule.

Pin-pointing the event that sparked off the whole process is difficult but, according to the ANC, the meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in 1987 between a few of its senior members and a group of academics, politicians, church and business leaders led by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was pivotal.

At the time, President PW Botha slated these pioneers. But in later publicised and private meetings in Lusaka, Leverkusen and Paris, the seeds of February 2 were planted.

Since then negotiations have blossomed, though purists insist on referring to them variously as "talks to remove obstacles", "talks about talks" and, imminently, "negotiations about negotiations".

The first negotiations committee formed after the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations on February 2 last year was the STEERING COMMITTEE. The two main players involved in this committee were the government's constitutional adviser, Fanie van der Merwe, and the ANC's then intelligence head, Jacob Zuma, now deputy secretary-general of the organisation.

Its primary function was to arrange the Groote Schuur summit between the government and the ANC on May 4.

However, it has continued to meet since and, particularly when relations between the two threaten to break down completely, it has played an invaluable role in keeping talks on track.

The Groote Schuur summit spawned the WORKING GROUP ON POLITICAL OFFENCES.

This committee was set the

THIS WEEK the PAC and Azapo climbed on board the negotiations handwagon — well almost. MIKE ROBERTSON traces the events which have brought us to the verge of talks on a new constitution

task of defining a political offence to pave the way for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

Membership of the committee has changed over the past year-and-a-half.

With the decision to release prisoners who had committed murder with a political motive, the committee all but concluded its work.

However, it still has to resolve outstanding differences on a handful of cases such as prisoner Robert McBride and exile Hein Grotkopf.

Implications

The signing of the Pretoria Accord on August 9 gave rise to two new working committees — one to deal with the implications of the ANC's decision to suspend armed action, the other to hold exploratory talks on constitutional negotiations.

The ARMED ACTION WORKING COMMITTEE made no real progress until February this year when, at the DF Malan Airport summit, the ANC agreed to forgo: all violent attacks; infiltration of men and material; the creation of underground structures; statements inciting violence; threats of armed action; and training inside South Africa.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok headed the government team on this committee, while Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani headed the ANC team.

At DF Malan some issues relating to the suspension of armed action could not be resolved, and yet another working group, the LIAISON COMMITTEE, was set up.

It was charged with resolving outstanding differences relating to the registration of arms, identifi-

cation of arms caches and the demobilisation of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres.

This committee took several months to start its work, mainly as a result of the ANC putting forward senior MK member Siphwe Nyanda to serve on it. Nyanda, who was involved in the so-called Vula plot, had at that time not received indemnity.

Meyer is the government's chief representative on the committee.

It has met several times, but has as yet not reached any agreement. Both sides, however, say that one is in sight.

The second Pretoria Minute working group, the so-called PARAGRAPH NINE COMMITTEE, made some progress in agreeing to logistical and agenda items for an all-party conference, but its work came to a grinding halt when the ANC broke off talks as a result of the government's failure to deal with violence.

Meyer headed the government team on this committee while international head Thabo Mbeki fronted the ANC team.

The ANC ultimatum led to the church and business brokered peace initiative which culminated in the signing of the National Peace Accord recently.

The drawing-up of the peace accord saw the establishment of a preparatory committee (consisting of church and business leaders), five working committees (the NP, ANC and Inkatha were represented on these) and a committee to edit the final draft, which was chaired by Cosatu's Jayendra Naidoo.

Negotiations on the peace accord ultimately took in all major political players, with the exception of the Conservative Party, as well as the SAP and SADF.

The monitoring mechanisms

set in place by the peace accord will eventually bring about a host of new committees, which, while their primary role will be to deal with violence, will also be forums for negotiation.

These include the NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE, the NATIONAL PEACE SECRETARIAT, REGIONAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEES and LOCAL DISPUTE RESOLUTION COMMITTEES.

Formalise

In addition, the code of conduct for the SADF calls for a new committee to be set up by the SADF, MK and homeland government armies to discuss their future.

With the signing of the peace accord, the ANC and government have again, informally, resumed talks on an all-party conference. A meeting of the PARAGRAPH NINE WORKING COMMITTEE to formalise these discussions is expected soon, if it has not already taken place.

Soon after the signing of the Pretoria Accord, a meeting attended by the government, the majority parties in Parliament and homeland leaders was held.

These initial discussions led to the formation on February 28 this year of a WORKING COMMITTEE ON NEGOTIATIONS, on which all these parties are represented. Later in the year, all the parties represented in Parliament, with the exception of the CP, formed another working committee to discuss negotiations.

The Patriotic Front Conference later this month will see the formation of another "working committee", this time involving the PAC and Azapo as well as some 50 other organisations.

The all-party conference (the ANC's name), multi-party conference (as it is referred to by the National Party) or pre-constituent assembly conference (the PAC's name) will bring all these organisations together for the first time.

Informed speculation is that it

will take place in November.

After an initial plenary meeting, the plan is that it will break into further working groups to discuss: Interim or transitional measures; the basic principles of the new constitution; a negotiating mechanism; and the role of the international community.

Negotiations are also taking place between individual government departments and extra-parliamentary organisations.

In February this year, after a meeting between delegations headed by President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, a working



HOW IT ALL STARTED . . . Thabo Mbeki and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert at the 1987 meeting in Dakar

group to discuss educational matters was set up.

The Department of Manpower is negotiating the future of the National Manpower Commission with Cosatu.

The Department of Development Aid has had talks with

Cosatu about extending trade-union rights to homelands.

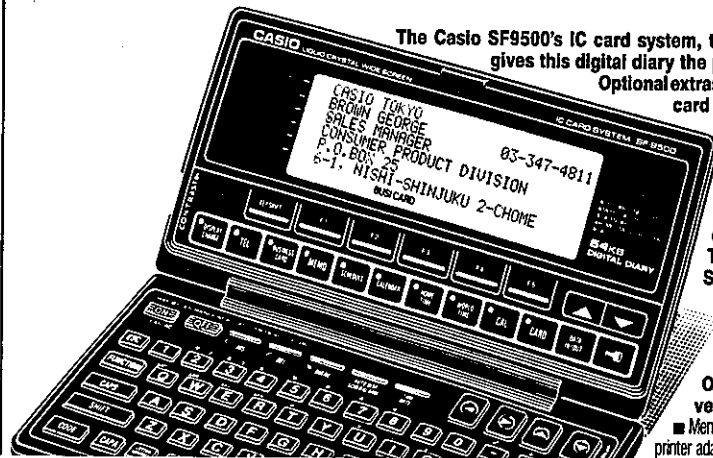
The Department of Foreign Affairs and the ANC's international department are in constant touch on a broad range of issues.

Even the Department of Finance which, given the VAT

saga, must be ruling the failure to consult more widely, is said to have suggested to the ANC that they set up a structure to discuss future economic policy.

They know a boom industry when they see one. It's just a pity one can't buy shares.

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THIS week saw the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation do a back-flip in agreeing to attend talks on a new constitution with the government and a semantic shuffle to justify the decision.

The far left-wing organisations have for years maintained they would see a transfer of political power through armed action and would never concede to talks with the "racist regime".

The change of heart was announced in a press statement by the ANC, Azapo and the PAC this week after a preparatory meeting for the Patriotic Front conference which is to be held in Durban next month.

The statement said that the three parties agreed there were possibilities for the transfer of political power through negotiations, which implied some sort of contact with the government.

Common agreement was also reached on the need for independent facilitators as a mechanism for

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT (11A) by EDYTH BULBRING

convening the conference as well as with regard to the venue, funding and infrastructure for such a conference.

In order for Azapo and the PAC to make their attendance at talks with the government acceptable to their constituencies, they have come up with the term "pre-constituent assembly conference".

The ANC refers to "an all-party congress" while the government uses the term "multi-party talks".

Following the announcement, the PAC and Azapo have employed mind-boggling word games in an attempt to reassure their outraged constituencies that they will not, in fact, be attending the government's multi-party conference or the ANC's all-party talks.

PAC secretary-general Benny

Alexander said the PAC and Azapo would attend a conference that would serve as a "forum" to prepare the way for a constituent assembly, which was where constitutional talks would take place.

But an ANC official involved in preparatory talks for a Patriotic Front conference said the three parties had already agreed that principles which would underpin a future constitution would be on the talks agenda.

The three parties had also agreed that all political parties should be invited to the "forum" and that it would be convened at a neutral venue — such as a hotel.

The three parties also agreed that the agenda would include proposals on an interim government — the ANC's term — or transitional arrangement — the government's preferred term.

Despite vehement statements by Mr Alexander that the PAC and Azapo rejected the notion of an interim government or a transitional arrangement — the PAC employs the

Left comes into fold with help of semantic shuffle

STANDARD

word transitional authority — the ANC official said agreement by the three parties had already been reached on basic areas for control.

While the about-turn by the PAC and Azapo took the ANC by surprise, the official attributed it to the PAC and Azapo's need to attain some status in the political process which they would relinquish by boycotting talks with the government.

The two left-wing parties also recognised the importance of being part of the Patriotic Front and were convinced of the ANC's determination to put all-party talks and an interim government on the Patriotic Front conference agenda.

Over 90 organisations and parties will be invited to next month's conference in Durban. The ANC is eager to include the

Democratic Party in the Patriotic Front. But it will have to do some serious "word" juggling to get it to attend.

An ANC official said only organisations agreeing to a constituent assembly would be allowed to attend the Patriotic Front conference. No observers would be allowed.

DP leader Zaach de Beer said the DP rejected a constituent assembly as initially perceived by the ANC. The ideal procedure was to write a constitution at a multi-party conference which would then be legitimised in a referendum, he said.

The DP might support a so-called constitutional conference, provided the principles of a constitution were framed by a multi-party conference, said Dr De Beer.

However, a DP member involved in talks with the ANC 10 days ago, said the two parties had reached an understanding that the invitation would be couched in a phrase such as "all those in favour of a legitimate constitution" — thereby enabling the DP to attend.

in shift on federalism

SI Times

29/9/91

(11A)

THE African National Congress has done a sudden about-face on federalism.

By CHARLENE SMITH

In a major review of its constitutional proposals, the ANC plans to introduce strong elements of federalism within the next fortnight and reduce its previous emphasis on an all-powerful central government.

The change in thinking follows a recent visit to Germany by the ANC constitutional committee.

Its head, Mr Zola Skweyiya, said the ANC had realised that "federalism is not practised as we thought it was".

He said: "There has been an impression that the ANC was looking at a unitary state whereby the central government would be so strong it would do everything.

Shift

"We feel every region should be given a say in the way it is run while remaining an integral part of SA."

The move is a shift from long-held ANC policy that opposed federalism.

A recent ANC discussion document suggested that if powers were devolved in a federal system, a future parliament would find it impossible to implement a policy of reconstruction.

ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs said in his book *Protecting*

Human Rights in a New SA that while some might prefer federalism because it "prevents excessive concentration of power in any single authority, for others it is a way of depriving majority rule in SA of any meaning".

In an article Mr Skweyiya wrote for the Sunday Times last December, he said: "We reject federalism and decentralisation as a strategy to retain privilege."

In an article a month ago criticising the National Party's constitutional proposals, ANC political education head Raymond Suttner criticised the pro-

posal to give equal power to each region.

However, new ANC constitutional thinking is moving along these lines.

Mr Skweyiya said it was crucial to ensure that economically weaker regions had political clout and were not overwhelmed by richer regions.

Federalism, he said, would ensure that "central government is kept sensitive to the demands of people at regional and local levels and ensure that people at all levels participate in decision-making".

"The ANC wants a unitary government with some federal characteristics," he added.

The organisation is finalising proposals for the

demarcation of new provinces. Mr Skweyiya said the ANC believed the existing four provinces were too big. Initial thinking was that 12 regions might be preferable.

He said the constitutional committee had been impressed by how federalism had curbed the power of the military and the potential for dictatorship in post-war Germany.

"We found the whole process of *ausgleichung*, or the process of equalisation, very useful to study.

"Regions which are not developed receive resources from central government to develop to the same potential as other regions of the country."

ANC post for Boesak?

S Times 29/9/91 (11A)

DR ALLAN BOESAK may today emerge with a top post in the ANC when the results of the elections for the Western Cape Regional Executive are finalised.

He has been tipped for the job of chairman or vice-chairman.

Meanwhile, in his opening address to the ANC Western Cape conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed the need to win the hearts and minds of coloured and Indian minorities by having these groups more proportionately represented in ANC structures.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had to accept, until it could prove otherwise, survey findings that President FW de Klerk was the most popular leader among coloureds and Indians and that the National Party was the most popular party.

He warned delegates that the NP was "challenging us in our own constituency".

This was the fault of the ANC itself, which had made the mistake of neglecting minorities, the rural constituency and the homelands.

The NP, he said, had the advantage of having the

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

best resources and experience and of being the best organisers in the country and was "taking advantage of our weaknesses".

"We must address the issue and try and win the support of coloureds, Indians and white democrats."

He said it would be "a tragedy" if the ANC's non-racial policy was not reflected in its leadership corps.

He said it appeared to be the fault of the ANC itself that people got the impression the organisation was "only for Africans".

Prominent

Unless more coloureds and Indians were seen to be in leadership positions "we are not going to win their support", he warned.

Mr Mandela took the unusual step when opening the congress on the University of the Western Cape campus at Bellville to mention five coloured people (present at the congress) he felt should play a more prominent role in the ANC executive — Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Reggie September, Mr Franklin

Sonn, Miss Cheryl Carolus and Dr Boesak.

● The Ministry of Law and Order has challenged Mr Mandela to verify his claims that police were training and recruiting people to conduct acts of gangsterism.

Mr Mandela told the conference the police were recruiting gangsters to kill innocent people and leaving evidence that it has been done by the ANC.

Tension, but PF on

2008/09/29 11:19:19
BY SEKOLA SELLO 11A

THE Patriotic Front composed of the country's three liberation movements, the ANC, PAC and Azapo, is still firmly on track.

This is despite claims that the ANC reneged on earlier agreements and now proposes that equal representation of the three organisations in the Front be scrapped.

According to authoritative sources, ANC president Nelson Mandela this week proposed that instead of equal representation by the three groups, the ANC should have 24, the PAC 16 and Azapo six representatives.

Mandela is also reported to have proposed to PAC and Azapo presidents Clarence Makwetu and Pandelani Nefolovhodwe that homeland leaders and other structures outside the liberation movements be included in the Front.

Tension

Although this latest proposal has created tension within the three organisations, it is reliably learnt that the launch of the Front, scheduled for October 25 in Durban, will still take place.

A source close to the Azapo leadership said the organisation would give Mandela "the chance to consider the wisdom of his latest proposals", but reaffirmed their commitment to the Front.

PAC spokesman Patricia de Lille said discussions on the Front were at a sensitive stage and declined to comment on the ANC's proposals. However, she said the PAC would "take part in the Front, no matter what".

Equal say

A member of the ANC's National Working Committee, Joel Netshitenzhe, said he was not aware of the full facts concerning the latest proposals. He said even if the ANC had asked for unequal representation, the participants "will have equal value".

"At the Patriotic Front conference we will be looking at consensus. We will not be giving anyone with more representatives more say."

The PAC and Azapo also disclosed that this week's reports that they would be attending the government-proposed Multi Party Conference (MPC) were incorrect.

The PAC said reports giving the impression they would attend the MPC were not "a correct reflection of our decisions".

Nefolovhodwe said they would attend a conference to "deal with the transfer of power. We are not going to the MPC!".

Learn ethnic lesson — Nelson

ANC president Nelson Mandela warned the movement yesterday to heed the lesson of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union on the importance of ethnicity. "That is how nature operates," he said in an appeal to the ANC's Western Cape regional conference to reflect the "coloured" majority in its election of an executive.

Mandela spoke at the University of the Western Cape where he opened the region's second conference since the unbanning of the ANC.

He warned delegates that the National Party, a late-comer in non-racialism, "is challenging us in our own constituency". It had the best resources and experience and without doubt had the best organisers in the country.

The ANC also had to accept, until it could prove otherwise with its own research, recent survey findings that President FW de Klerk was the most popular leader and that the NP was the party with the most support in South Africa.

"Everyone takes for granted that we have already defeated the government. If we fail to do so we will be letting down our people and our organisation," he said.

Mandela said the population of the Western Cape region was 54 percent coloured, 25 percent African and 21 percent white.

"Look around you," he said, surveying the overwhelmingly black representation on the congress floor.

"We are facing a critical moment and it will be a tragedy if we do not create our power structures in such a way that our non-racial policy is reflected in the executives we elect."

"Coloured communities would like to see coloured representatives. That is not racialism, that is how nature works," he said.

"Those who think it is not important must look at Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union where states are breaking away to rule themselves."

He added that if the Soviet Union was breaking into pieces as a result of the strength of ethnicity, "then we must learn from it".

The structures the ANC created could give the impression that it was an organisation for blacks. If this question was not immediately addressed, "we will not get the support of the coloured, Indian and white communities". — Sapa

...FOR PEOPLE ...
The ANC's Trevor Manuel was recently appointed head of the department of economic planning. He believes the ANC's economic planning must go a step further and put people first when decisions are made.



Special Correspondent

THE ANC's Department of Economic Planning is a fairly recent development in the ANC.

At the head of the department stands Trevor Manuel, 35, a Capetonian who has walked a long political road.

As a youth he canvassed from door to door with his father Abraham, a Labour Party supporter. After his dad died in 1969, he continued his political work, although his views changed.

Manuel conceded that economic strategising in the ANC was fairly new, but said it was becoming increasingly important.

His appointment came when two ANC departments, economic planning and land affairs, were joined.

He regarded the document spelling out the ANC's economic policy as a concept document. The policy was still being formulated as part of the ANC's transition to a political party.

Manuel described his role as follows: "I have to ensure that our policy is not formulated by technocrats, that contributions by ordinary members are also acknowledged with the mysticism of the economy removed for them."

Development, housing, local government, land allocation and land rights as well as science and technology are also receiving attention.

"We have experts in all these departments - well-known economists like Max Sisulu and Tito Mboweni. Then we have others who do specialist research like Liep Loots and Rob Davies of the University of the Western Cape who are giving attention to tax and southern Africa.

Asked what he meant by the "mysticism of the economy", Manuel referred to the question often asked to economists: Around what does the economy centre?

"They say it is about value, money flow, the gold price, foreign exchange. But it is wrong. It centres fundamental-

Economic plans for the people

CPMS 29/9/91

ly around people."

He reckons decision-making should be taken to the people, who should be trained. He referred to ANC workshops where regional representatives had been exposed to the budgeting process and had to draw up budgets themselves.

"They say they want more houses, they want pensions to be equalised and they want to create more jobs. Then they see they have to tax people more to do it, but they also don't want to do that.

"Expectations are very high and we have to teach them to wrestle with these problems so that expectations can be tempered."

Manuel grew up in Kensington in Cape Town and passed matric at Harold Cressy High School in Roeland Street. He wanted to study law, but obtained a practical diploma in civil engineering while he worked for an engineering firm to keep the pot boiling.

He was promoted to a management position and at the same time got involved in community organisations. The plight of workers in the building industry troubled him and eventually he had to choose between the comfortable life of a manager or the sacrifices of somebody serving his community.

He was active in the civics until he became UDF secretary in 1983 when the organisation was founded. He was an UDF executive member until last year.

Between August 1985 and February last year, Manuel spent only six weeks without being detained or restricted.

Last year he joined the Mobil Foundation as policy development manager, concentrating on community development. He said this forced him to take a hard look at the economy.

In April last year he became deputy convenor for the ANC in the Western Cape. He also served as regional publicity secretary.

As head of the ANC's economic planning section, he will now move to Johannesburg.

Asked how he reconciled his economic role with communist elements in the party, Manuel said the ANC had never been a socialist organisation, although it has spoken of nationalisation and the redistribution of wealth.

"The essence of our policy is a mixed economy. South Africa has a tradition of a mixed economy. There are certain institutions which must simply remain public property. If Transnet, for example, is sold and run with a profit motive, there would be chaos.

"Certain services must be provided by the government, because democratic norms have not always applied - here poor people do not live near their workplaces, unlike in other countries.

"The South African economy is characterised by enormous inequality. That gap must be narrowed. How do you do it?"

"Firstly you need a development plan, which would include a movement away from raw materials to manufacturing.

"South Africa's relations with other

countries must be determined by an investment policy or a reinvestment policy firmly rooted in the southern African context, because our policy must make provision for development in neighbouring states.

"Jobs must be created to move away from a situation where only 10 percent of school leavers are accommodated in the labour market."

The State could not do this on its own, Manuel said. Business leaders and the people had to be consulted.

"You can try to do it with legislation, but it will not succeed if you do not take the people with you."

When speaking about State interference, he referred to anti-trust legislation and prescribed investments for large financial institutions.

The ANC has already started a debate with insurance companies, he said.

On redistribution, he talks about a capital gains tax, of which the details must still be worked out.

The heavy tax load carried by individuals compared to corporate tax, was another issue the ANC was addressing. But, said Manuel, the ANC was fully aware of the dangers of a policy that would lead to the outflow of capital.

"We realise that if we want to rectify the matter, it could not be done without business leaders and without capital.

"We are thinking about a whole range of issues and we want to build relations with those who hold the reins - as in agriculture."

Busy time ahead for new president

Clips 29/9/91

11A
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11C

By LULAMA LUTI

FOR the next 12 months, pint-sized Siphso Maseko will have little time to relax with a pizza and a coke - which he likes to do.

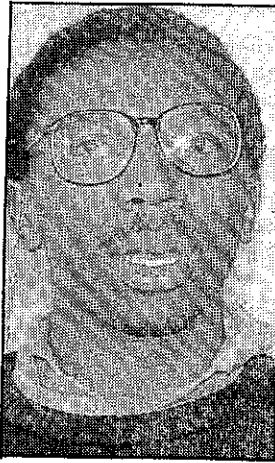
He has been elected president of the Azanian Students' Convention, and is headed for a tough time.

There is a breakdown in learning at many schools and teacher and student morale is low. To compound the problems, student organisations do not see eye to eye.

Maseko, 23, says he is determined to solve some of these problems and stop elitism among Azasco members.

"We don't want our members to feel they are better than people from their communities. We want them to feel they belong in their communities and not to the institutions they attend," he said.

To achieve this, Azasco had set aside a week for



**SIPHO MASEKO ...
in Azasco hot seat.**

voluntary labour. Members would be encouraged to go to rural areas to help existing community projects and start new ones.

Known for his outspoken stand against student participation in disruption, Maseko was elected president at Azasco's first annual congress at Medunsa at the weekend.

Asked how he became involved in politics, Maseko said it all started be-

cause of his admiration of people like Nelson Mandela.

"At first, my political clarity was blurred, and I was not sure what ideological line to follow. I remember how I memorised Mandela's political speeches made during the Rivonia trial.

"I was not affiliated to Azapo, and did not have a political home. During the turbulence in 1985, I became sympathetic to the struggle," he said.

After meeting the head of Azapo's Education Secretariat, Gomolemo Mokae, he began identifying with Black Consciousness ideology.

Maseko matriculated at St Lewis in Natal in 1987 and is a BA student at Wits. He dreams of becoming a human rights lawyer.

"I think most legal systems are prejudiced against women and disadvantaged people. They don't get a fair deal," he says.

Ramodike ready to leave ANC?

C/Pres 29/9/91. (11A)

By THEMBA KHUMALO (11A)

IS Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike headed for a breakaway from the ANC?

Although his press liaison officer Kweni Setate denies this, the minister's utterances in a television programme this week suggests that all was not well between him and the ANC.

The ANC's Northern Transvaal media officer, Stan Motimele, said it all started about two months back when Ramodike, a card-carrying member, was suspended from the ANC after he allegedly convened a public meeting, claiming it had been called by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Lebowakgomo branch of the ANC took exception to such claims and suspended his membership.

But Setate this week said Ramodike did not recognise his suspension and was carrying on with ANC activities as usual because he was not notified officially of the disciplinary action.

"All he has heard are rumours and newspaper reports. How can the chief minister take such behaviour seriously?"

This week Ramodike told a television journalist that if the local ANC and South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) continued to call for his resignation as a homeland leader, he would break ties with the ANC and his United Democratic Party would seek a political ally elsewhere.

Matters were exacerbated when Sadtu members in Lebowa staged a "chalks down" campaign to force Ramodike's government to address their



USING MANDELA'S NAME? ... Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike.

grievances, which include low salaries.

A document released this week by the local ANC branch alleged that, through his party, Ramodike sought to perpetuate fear and to counter the ANC's influence in the region.

"But the approach and methods we use to handle the matter should harmonise with democracy during the peaceful negotiations era.

"Our democratic methods, conduct and behaviour, our restraint in the face of extreme provocation, and our compromise and tolerance, will win us political ground from which we will move further," the document said.

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

Threat to ANC fails

clipper
29/9/91

By **DESMOND BLOW** WA

THE threatened action by rightwingers against an ANC fund-raising dinner in Brits on Friday night drew 30 journalists - but no protesters in the rightwing stronghold.

However, the threat seemed to have intimidated many people who had bought tickets for the dinner at R50 a head. Only about 50 of the 100 people who had paid for the dinner attended.

The dinner, at the Overberg Protea Hotel in the centre of Brits, began 45 minutes late because of the late arrival of guest speaker Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's international affairs chief.

Earlier, the hotel staff and security men were tense. They closed off the first floor stairway in the hotel and took guests upstairs through a side entrance.

A few policemen sat in cars in front of the hotel.

Mbeki arrived with about a dozen ANC members. There were about a dozen whites, including four women, half-a-dozen Indians and about 30 blacks.

Mbeki congratulated them on attending despite threats and said that South Africans should not allow themselves to be deterred by either the rightwing or the leftwing from exercising their democratic right to attend meetings and hear different points of view.

He noted with amusement that guests sat separately - whites with whites; Indians with Indians and blacks with blacks.

Boesak in from cold

(11A) ARG 30/9/91

Appeal for coloured presence answered

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DR ALLAN BOESAK emerged from the political wilderness when he was elected Western Cape chairman of the African National Congress at the weekend.

Saturday night's election, following a secret ballot, has given him a seat on the ANC's national executive committee, and is likely to see him playing a bigger role in the movement.

He found himself out in the cold last year after his affair with television personality Ms Elna Botha, and even at loggerheads with some members of the outgoing regional executive. He divorced his wife, Dorothy, and married Ms Botha.

Dr Boesak, director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, spoke in Eldorado Park, near Johannesburg, yesterday, sharing a platform with the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela. He leaves for London today.

Dr Boesak was elected after Mr Mandela told delegates at the ANC's regional conference that

their new executive should reflect the racial composition in the Western Cape.

He is the first coloured person to head the ANC in the Western Cape.

Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University in the Western Cape, is another prominent member of the coloured community elected to the movement's executive.

Asked about Mr Mandela's appeal at a Press conference last night, the newly elected treasurer, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, said the executive represented a cross-section "of what the Western Cape is all about".

The recently returned exile, Mr Archie Sibeko, was elected vice-chairman, and a human rights lawyer, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, assistant secretary.

Mr Sibeko, honorary president of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union, returned home two months ago from London where he was in charge of the South African Congress of Trade Unions' office.

He said: "Obviously I am happy at being elected. But I was not

surprised. When my branch (Section II) and other branches asked me to return to Cape Town and attend the conference, I knew something was up."

The rest of the 25-strong executive are Mr Johnny de Lange, Ms Hilda Ndude, Ms Nomaindia Mfeketo, Mr Cameron Dugmore, Mr Mxolise Petane, Mr Amos Lingisi, Mr Neville van der Rheede, Mr Mzonke Whitey Jacobs, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Vincent Diba, the Rev Chris Nissen, Mr Basil Davidson, Mr Lizo Bright Ngqungwana, Mr Mzamadeda Kalako, Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Bongani Jonas, Mr Braam Mhlom and Ms Mavis Makaleni.

The election of Mr Yengeni, Mr Petane, Mr Van der Rheede, Mr Ngqungwana, Mr Esua and Mr Jonas has given Umkhonto we Sizwe a solid representation on the executive.

Mr Mandela said he was happy with Dr Boesak's election to "a position he deserves".

He said: "It is also very important for the majority of the population in that area to be properly represented in the structures of the ANC."



NEW LEADER: Dr Allan Boesak, who has been elected Western Cape chairman of the African National Congress.

(11A)
30/9/91
star
**Boesak gets
top ANC post**

BELLVILLE — Dr Allan Boesak, controversial cleric and Foundation for Peace and Justice executive director, was elected chairman of the ANC's western Cape region yesterday.

The election followed a plea by Nelson Mandela on Saturday that the ANC should reflect in its regional executive the 54 percent ethnic coloured majority. — Sapa.

30/9/91

Unite to end apartheid - Mandela

By: Abel Mushi

1/A

Members of the coloured community were an integral part of the struggle against apartheid, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday at a rally in Eldorado Park, south of Johannesburg.

Blacks, Indians, coloureds and "democratic" whites needed to unite in an effort to force the apartheid system to surrender, Mr Mandela said.

He told the audience that the Government should have widely consulted with "the people" before deciding to implement VAT, which he said should be zero-rated on basic foodstuffs.

Mr Mandela was to have shared the stage with Dr Allan Boesak, who was yesterday elected chairman of the western Cape region of the ANC.

In his opening address to the ANC western Cape conference, Mr Mandela stressed the need to win the hearts and minds of coloureds and Indian minorities by having the groups proportionally represented in ANC structures.

The rally began at noon and Dr Boesak had not arrived when Mr Mandela left the stadium shortly before 3 pm.

● Boesak gets top ANC post
— Page 6

Patrick Laurence reports on a gaffe by the ANC that could have damaged the Patriotic Front

A gambit that almost backfired

Star 30/9/91

11A

AN ANC stratagem aimed at the Inkatha Freedom Party went askew and nearly damaged the burgeoning tripartite alliance or Patriotic Front between the ANC, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation.

In his speech proclaiming the ANC's acceptance of the National Peace Accord, Nelson Mandela called on the UN general assembly to urge all member nations to withhold support from any organisation that refused to "sign and uphold" the accord.

His speech astounded representatives of the PAC and Azapo, which had refused to sign the accord. They had explained their position to the ANC and thought that it had been understood.

The PAC and Azapo were committed to ending the violence and had declared their willingness to

do so. They were opposed, however, to signing the accord because it would bestow "legitimacy" on the De Klerk administration and security forces.

The PAC immediately took up the issue with Mr Mandela, who assured its representative, Barney Desai, that the call to the UN was not aimed at the PAC.

The Azapo president, Pandelani Nefolovodhwe, told *The Star* Azapo felt Mr Mandela's exhortation was "unfortunate" and inconsistent with Azapo's democratic right not to endorse the accord.

Azapo, however, had received an assurance that Mr Mandela's call for the international isolation of non-signatories was not directed at it and was prepared to leave the matter there, he added.

Senior ANC officials confirmed the statement had not been aimed at the PAC or Azapo. What they

did not say was that the target had been Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

On the eve of the signing of the peace accord, the ANC expected the IFP to refuse to attach its signature to the agreement because of its reservations over the attempt to deprive Zulus of their "traditional right" to carry "cultural weapons".

Hence Mr Mandela's speech writers inserted a two-sentence paragraph urging the international community to withhold assistance from any organisation that declined to sign the accord.

But they failed to revise the speech when it became apparent that the IFP would sign, possibly because of an amendment that extended the ban on private armies to the ANC's armed wing.

Mr Mandela, who is under incessant pressure to deliver

speeches, failed to modify the text of his address extemporaneously.

At the time the IFP, unlike the PAC and Azapo, was in line to receive a share of the \$10 million (R28 million) set aside by the US to facilitate South Africa's transition to democracy. The ANC's manoeuvre might have been aimed at blocking the IFP's allotment.

As it happened, the IFP signed the accord and was given R7 million (against R12,5 million for the ANC) and it was the ANC that was embarrassed by its anti-Inkatha gambit.

The ANC recovered to assure its prospective partners in the Patriotic Front alliance that it had not meant to harm them.

Any damage that might have been done was repaired and, after intensive tripartite talks, inauguration of the Patriotic Front is set for October 25 and 26. □

ANC 'must face its weaknesses'

Political Staff (11A) ET 30/9/91

THE ANC should be proud of what it had achieved, but it had many weaknesses, its outgoing Western Cape chairman, Mr Christmas Tinto, said at the weekend.

"You can grumble and be dissatisfied with many things," he told delegates to a regional conference at the University of the Western Cape.

He called on delegates to be democratic and not to be afraid of voicing or receiving criticism.

Mr Tinto said one of the ANC's big weaknesses was in the rural areas, because the centre of the organisation was in the Cape Peninsula.

The regional executive had worked very hard, sometimes day and night, but it was not able to cope with everything and "so we also failed".

The ANC's membership had increased from 27 000 to 55 000 in the Western Cape in a year and it now had 110 branches.

Mr Tinto said an alliance with Cosatu and the SA Communist Party should be strengthened.

Mandela warns ANC

(11A) CT 30/9/91

By BARRY STREEK

MR Nelson Mandela has bluntly told the ANC to get its organisational act together to prepare for elections within three years and warned that the National Party was winning support from it.

He told the ANC's Western Cape congress that its leadership and membership should reflect the population of the region, which was 54% "coloured". It could not ignore ethnicity, an issue which was contributing to the break-up of the Soviet Union.

He also said conflicts, cliques and character assassination within the ANC "must be destroyed at all costs".

"The attacks are made clandestinely and you can have reputations destroyed because of gossiping," he said in a tough speech when he opened the ANC's regional congress at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr Mandela, whose speech was greeted by prolonged applause, made

'NP is taking our support away'

no reference to those responsible.

Urging the ANC to get its act together, Mr Mandela pointed to the NP, saying: "It has organisation and they are forming alliances very quietly among black people. They are challenging us in our own constituencies and they are making an impact."

Mr Mandela also said there should be no mass meetings and no marches until "we get our organisation right and get our messages to the masses".

The ANC had to get involved in house-to-house campaigning, and members of the national executive would be deployed in different parts

of the country to do this.

The ANC had made the mistake of neglecting minorities, the rural constituency and the homelands, and this should be put right.

Mr Mandela said it was the fault of the ANC itself that people got the impression the organisation was only for Africans.

Mr Mandela said he had been shocked to learn that the NP had recruited 1 000 members in Mitchells Plain.

Sapa reports that Mr Mandela also told the conference the NP and its security forces were recruiting ANC

members into bogus defence units and was arming them to discredit the movement with gangsterism.

"We have solid evidence," he said.

Replying to these allegations, the Ministry of Law and Order challenged Mr Mandela to verify them, and ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said he was surprised by the allegations.

"We urge Mr Mandela to make the information available to the SAP as rapidly as possible so that the veracity of his claims can be established."

And addressing a mass rally yesterday at the coloured township of Eldorado Park near Johannesburg, Mr Mandela called on township residents to join Africans, Indians and democratic whites to bring down the government.

Speaking at the same rally, Dr Allan Boesak, newly elected leader of the ANC in the Western Cape, said coloured people would be making the biggest mistake of their lives in supporting the NP.

PAC reiterates: 'to work tirelessly towards peace'

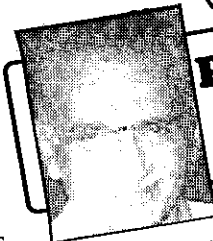
TO CLEARLY understand the PAC's position on the peace accord, it is essential to trace the events leading up to the peace convention.

We, together with other liberation movements, refused to attend the regime's peace conference. It was our joint conviction that only a neutral party should be the convenor of such a gathering. Subsequently the peace initiative was assumed by churchmen and business leaders.

We attended.

Among the proposals PAC suggested — having clearly condemned the "third force" as being primarily responsible for the violence and at the same time not sparing criticism of movements with hegemonistic tendencies as playing no small part in inter-cine killings — was the holding of a national peace conference.

It was accepted that the PAC's involvement in the violence was minimal and that the principal parties involved viz. the regime, the ANC, the SACP and Inkatha Freedom Party, should serve on committees established by the peace summit.



PAC Viewpoint
by BARNEY
DESAI

There was tacit acceptance also that the PAC's refusal to work within government structures precluded it from being actively involved.

Unreserved

When the detailed proposals of the peace accord became known, ie mechanisms such as the national peace secretariat, regional and local resolution disputes committees, special criminal courts, police code of conduct etc, the PAC indicated that it wished to have the document served so that it could, without reservation,

subscribe to the principles underlying the proposed Peace Accord but not the proposed mechanisms that the proposals envisaged.

The organisers of the peace initiative felt unable to accommodate us. The PAC, in the spirit of the peace initiative, thereafter proposed, in view of our great concern, that we would attend the peace convention where our president would make PAC's pledge for peace. This was accepted.

Perpetrators

PAC's president, Clarence Makwetu, when introducing the pledge to the audience, criticised the peace accord for a glaring omission when he pointed out that much of the violence in the townships was perpetrated not by ordinary people but by "faceless professional hit-men".

Mr Makwetu asserted that the accord did not address this issue at all. The PAC's pledge for peace makes the point once more:

"The PAC has not been involved in the perpetration of violence but we are maximally active in peace-related efforts in line with our slogan 'Peace among Africans'.

"In view of our policy of non-collaboration we will not be serving in apartheid structures, which by its very nature is violent and contains elements which we positively identify as part of

the perpetrators of violence.

'Brave obstacles'

"For this reason we are unable to sign the proposed accord and we rather propose the involvement of the international community in the investigation and monitoring of the situation in the townships to ascertain who is responsible for the violence.

"We welcome the principle of working for peace in the townships running through the accord and although we will not sign it, the PAC makes this solemn pledge that we will, as we have done in the past, spare no effort, brave all obstacles and work tirelessly for peace among the Africans. We are prepared to engage the non-statutory structure of the National Peace Committee."

Boesak voted western Cape ANC chairman

CAPE TOWN — Allan Boesak was elected chairman of the ANC's western Cape region yesterday in a vote which apparently reflects the organisation's concern about securing coloured support.

In his address to the regional congress at the weekend, ANC president Nelson Mandela repeatedly told delegates to consider ethnic factors in the elections for the regional executive.

Pointing out that 54% of the population in the western Cape was coloured, 25% African and 21% white, Mandela said the ANC's power structure should reflect its

constituency. He said the NP had stolen a march on the ANC by winning support from minorities.

More than 500 delegates representing about 55 000 members attended the conference at the University of the Western Cape.

Boesak replaces outgoing chairman Christmas Tinto. The executive includes vice-chairman Archie Sibeko, Umkhonto we Sizwe regional commander Tony Yengeni (secretary), Willie Hofmeyr (assistant secretary) and Ibrahim Rasool (treasurer).

LINDA ENSOR

Mandela said a survey had shown that the NP was more popular among Indian and coloured communities than the ANC.

"If that is the position then we must address this situation and look at how we can win the support of Indians and coloureds and white democrats ..."

Mandela said he had been shocked to learn that the NP, which had begun only recently to espouse non-racialism, had been able to sign up 1 000 coloured voters in Mitchells Plain. "We must reverse that," he stressed.

See Page 3

Anglo attacks Mandela speech

B (Day) 30/9/91

BRENT VON MELVILLE

THE ANC's swing back to its platform of nationalising certain key sectors of SA's business community would kill investment initiative and motivate a capital skills flight just as surely as increased taxation would, says Anglo American spokesman Michael Spicer.

Spicer, reacting sharply to ANC president Nelson Mandela's assertion on Friday that the ANC intended to nationalise mines and certain financial institutions, said he was "very disappointed" that Mandela had displayed the kind of archaic and bankrupt thinking which we had hoped it had abandoned in favour of joining the "real world of the 1990s".

And Iscor deputy MD Nols Olivier said it was unfortunate that a responsible leader like Mandela would make a statement like that "as we think he does not really believe in nationalisation himself".

Mandela, speaking at a banquet in the Lord Charles Somerset Hotel near Somerset West on Friday, said mines and other financial institutions would be nationalised "because the majority of the population did not have access to SA's resources".

He said while the ANC had "no ideological attachment" to nationalisation this was the only way to address the imbalances in the economy.

He said countries which had been through traumatic experiences (Japan, Germany and South Korea) had not been able to avoid massive measures of state intervention to rebuild their economies.

SA was in a similar situation since

the trauma of apartheid had left 87% of the land in the hands of a 13% white minority while 75% of JSE shares were controlled by four monopolies. "Where is the free market you talk about?"

"Mandela has completely misunderstood the Japanese, German and South Korean experiences," Spicer said. "There was no nationalisation in these countries, these governments did not work against business groups and government intervention was concentrated on creating a facilitative environment for investment."

Mandela said that at every meeting he had had with businessmen he had asked them how the ANC could address this question. "If you are able to give us an alternative option we will reject nationalisation," he added.

Spicer responded by pointing out that Anglo had been offering for two years to sit down and discuss economic policies with the ANC, and it had renewed its offer this year.

He said that while Anglo had no "quick fix" for SA's economic ills, it had clear ideas on growth and wealth distribution.

The ANC said the banquet at which Mandela spoke was aimed at reaching out to the business and professional community of the western Cape. Many businessmen and academics attended as well as French ambassador Joelle Bourgois and her husband. Tickets cost R1 000 at the main table (including a double room for the evening) and R150 at the other tables.

● See Page 8

Boesak ANC Cape leader

11A

DR Allan Boesak, controversial cleric and executive director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice, was elected chairman of the Western Cape region of the African National Congress yesterday.

The election followed an impassioned plea by the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Saturday that the movement should reflect in its regional executive the 54 percent coloured majority in the Cape.

Of the first five executive positions, two were filled by coloured leaders.

Mr Archie Sibeko (vice-chairman) and Mr Tony Yengeni (secretary) were the two Africans elected to the executive while Mr Willie Hofmeyr (assistant secretary) was the only white and Mr Ibrahim Rasool (treasurer) the second coloured elected to

So wetan
30/9/91
the executive.

The fact that the conference, dominated by black delegates, elected Boesak as chairman, is being regarded in Cape Town as a pragmatic move which will offset some of the disadvantages the ANC has faced in recruiting membership from the Cape's coloured community.

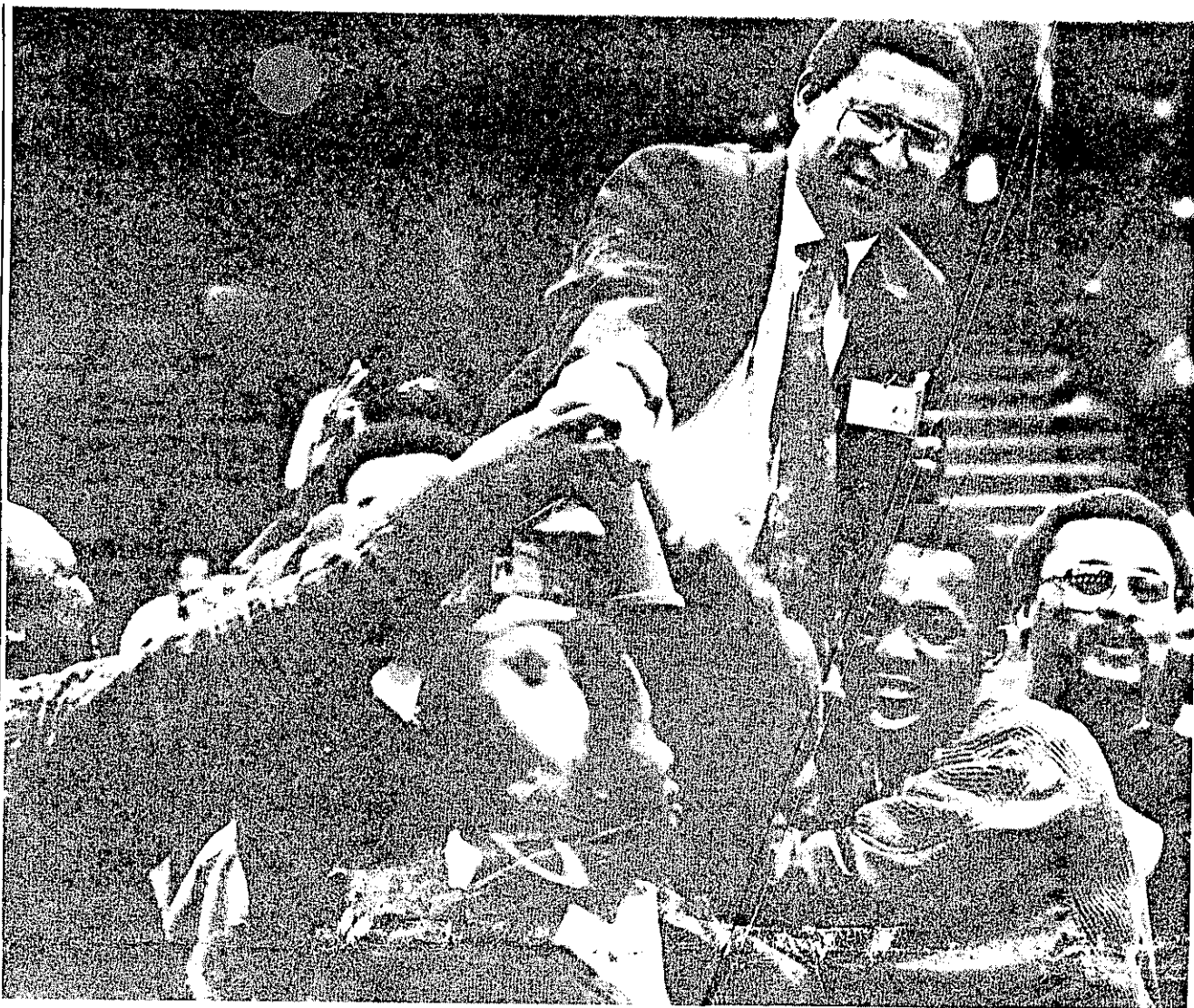
In addition Boesak is regarded as having leadership qualities to help the ANC's recruitment drive in the region.

He is seen as fitting the precise role Mandela outlined in his opening address on Saturday. Boesak is generally regarded by friend and foe as having exceptional leadership qualities.

Another stalwart in the team is Mr Hofmeyr, who sprung to prominence following a hunger strike. - *Sapa*.



ALLAN BOESAK



RIDING HIGH . . . Dr Allan Boesak is carried shoulder high by jubilant supporters after the announcement that he had been elected the new chairman of the ANC Western Cape Regional Executive Committee at the weekend. He succeeds Mr Christmas Tinto.

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD

Boesak ANC's new W Cape chairman

By BARRY STREEK

DR Allan Boesak has been chosen as the new chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape in a sweeping change of the organisation's regional leadership.

Delegates to the ANC's Western Cape conference voted in a secret ballot at the weekend to replace the people in all the five top positions in the organisation in the region.

Dr Boesak defeated Mr Archie Sebeko, a recently returned exile, and Mr Tony Yengeni, the regional commander of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) in the Western Cape, in a three-way contest for the regional chairmanship.

It is understood that the voting was fairly close and Dr Boesak did not achieve an absolute majority of the votes over Mr Sebeko, who was second, and over Mr Yengeni.

Mr Sebeko was elected vice-chairman and Mr Yengeni general secretary in the Western Cape.

The former regional co-ordinator of

the United Democratic Front, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, was elected assistant secretary, while the former joint UDF secretary in the Western Cape and national secretary of the Call of Islam, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, was elected treasurer.

The former Western Cape chairman, Mr Christmas Tinto, his deputy Ms Hilda Ndude and the former secretary Mr Amos Lengisi were voted on to the regional executive as ordinary members, but former treasurer Mr Bulelani Ngcuka was not elected.

The other members of the regional executive are Mr Johny de Lange, Mr Johny Issel, Ms Momaindia Mfeketo, Mr Cameron Dugmore, Mr Mxolise Petane, Mr Neville van der Rheede, Mr Mzonke Whitey Jacobs, Mr Vincent Diba, the Rev C Nissen, Mr Basil Davidson, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Lizo Bright Nguungwana, Mr Mzamadeda Kalako, Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Bon-

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MANSELL IN WITH A CHANCE

See BACK PAGE

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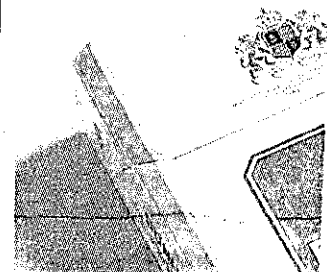
activities to improve the quality of life for ordinary people. In the course of this his is been taken."

the Freedom Party Youth leader Mr Themba yesterday said the IFP was "led" by Mr Ntuli's death, especially since the Peace Accord has been signed and all are trying to keep it work-

said IFP supporter Mr Mkhize was killed yesterday morning. — Own Correspondent Sapa

Dunhill brings a new to the gentle

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P.T.O.

gani Jonas, Mr Brahm Mhlom and Ms Mavis Makeleni. **MACT 2019/191**

Three city-based members of the national executive — Mr Reg September, Mr Thozamile Botha and Professor Kader Asmal — are ex-officio members of the regional executive.

Among the approximately 70 candidates originally nominated who were not elected were the rector of the Peninsula Technikon Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio of UCT, Mr Salie Manie of the SA Municipal Workers' Union and lawyer Mr Dullah Omar.

Dr Boesak, who joined the ANC after its national conference in July, will now become an ex-officio member of the ANC's national executive, as will Mr Yengeni.

It is not yet clear whether Dr Boesak will take up the chairmanship full-time.

In a declaration adopted by the conference, the government and its supporters were accused of conducting a campaign of violence and death against "the people and their democratic movement", and called for the immediate end to violence and the punishment of perpetrators.

Mr Yengeni said the most urgent question addressed by delegates was the question of violence, particularly in the townships of Khayelitsha and Crossroaas.

The conference said: "The protracted violence in the Western Cape, arising as it does from the deep socio-economic inequities, the struggle for scarce resources and the exploitation by the regime of cleavage created by apartheid, impedes the creation of a democratic society based on human values."

NEW LEADERS ... The new Western Cape ANC executive (from left) assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr, vice-chairman Mr Archie Sibeko, secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and treasurer Mr Ebrahim Rassool were voted in at the weekend, with Dr Allan Boesak as chairman. Picture: BENNY GOOL



Biko asked me to lead revolt, says Buthelezi

Sowetan 30/9/91



BUTHELEZI

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on Friday the late Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko had asked him to lead the masses into revolution. Buthelezi said he refused, thus preventing the downfall of the South African Government.

"Had I formed constitu-

encies, then taken them and marched with them to assist revolutionaries, no South African government could have remained intact," he said in Bloemfontein.

Buthelezi asked his audience whether they realised the historical importance of his alleged refusal to lead the black masses towards

revolution.

He claimed he was approached by Biko shortly before the Black Consciousness leader died in police detention in 1977.

"Biko sent a message to me saying if I rose up to lead them, he and all other black leaders would follow me. At that time there would easily have been a place for me in the ANC leadership.

"I was under enormous pressure to respond and abandon what I was doing in favour of what the Black Consciousness and ANC leaders were doing."

Buthelezi said he had opted instead for "being right and refusing to join the politics of confrontation and violence".

"I said 'no'. Inkatha said 'no'. The KwaZulu government said 'no'. Millions of Zulu people said 'no' plus millions of non-Zulu people.

"I knew there was a society to lead which was beyond the euphoria of politics and the clamour for protest, action and destabilisation."

Buthelezi also claimed an attempt was made to kill him in 1978 "apart from other plots to assassinate me". - Sapa.

Zambia out to lure SA tourists

ZAMBIA intends to open an office in Johannesburg to promote tourism among South Africans.

Managing director of the Zambia National Tourism Board Mr Jack Shisholeka said South Africa had tourist potential to be tapped.

"We should exploit this market potential with aggressive promotions. Many South Africans would like to come to Zambia but they know very little about what we have in this country."

Visas

South Africa had an ideal potential market for Zambia which needed "to be tapped for visitors" especially now that the Zambian Government had relaxed visa requirements.

Shisholeka could not say when the office would open. "It will be very soon. We want to boost tourism among South Africans". - South African Press Association.

5 000 in protest

ABOUT 5 000 African National Congress members marched on the Pietersburg police station at the weekend to present a memorandum demanding the release of former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Jacob Mpasu Rapholo and 12 other demands.

The document called for improved working conditions, State-subsidised public transport, removal of South African Defence Force units from townships and villages plus access to the SABC.

The hour-long march was led by ANC veteran John Phala and started at Cosatu's local offices in the town. Marchers sang freedom songs.

Zulu chiefs plug accord

FIVE Zulu chiefs at the weekend urged hundreds of hostel residents to observe the National Peace Accord.

The chiefs addressed separate meetings at Jeppe Hostel at the invitation of Ubumbano Lwase Nkandla, an organisation formed in 1975 by headmen in Natal to promote local development.

"The blood that has been spilled is enough, and must not be spilled again," Mr Limakho Hendrick Mdladla told one gathering.

"We want our people to respect the peace accord that was signed between the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and other organisations," Chief MEdhlomo, a leader of the Khabela clan in KwaZulu, told another.

More than 10 000 people have been killed in political fighting in the past seven years.

Mdladla, organiser of the meetings, said that Ubumbano was charged with development in the Nkandla area, near Eshowe in northern Natal.

The chiefs, he said, had addressed the gatherings as part of an effort to unite migrant workers from the Nkandla area. - Sapa.

Academic boycotts are being abused - Azapo

ACADEMIC boycotts should inflict maximum damage on the "white-settler minority regime" with minimum suffering for the oppressed.

This was said by Dr Gomolemo Mokae of Azapo's education secretariat in response to the school and class boycotts plaguing the townships.

Mokae said boycotts were abused, legitimate weapons of the oppressed.

"It is commendable for students to have the vision of an eventual overthrow of the white regime," he said.

But it is naive to expect students, an insignificant

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

factor in relation to the means of production, to bring the regime down through a class boycott."

Mokae called on boycott initiators to have clear, preferably education-related, objectives.

He said solidarity action with working class parents during stayaways, rent boycotts or consumer boycotts should be guided by the fact that "students are really a transient class and not involved in any production process".

Mokae also lashed out against ethnic-based boycott calls.

"It is inescapable that of the three components of the community, the African community is the one that bears the brunt of the chalk-downs and strike actions," he said.

Mokae said although teachers were entitled to industrial action that action should be tempered with a sensitivity to the unique role of teachers as important players in the development of black nations.

He said a time-limit on boycott actions should be made to "prevent the never-ending, catastrophic academic boycotts of the mid-'80s".

POONEE'S FUNDRAISER

BLACK POLITICS

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Unity pact back on track

11/10/91
Sowetan
By THEMBA MOLEFE (11A)

THE launching of the Patriotic Front of liberation movements in Durban next month was still on course, the ANC, PAC and Azapo said yesterday.

The three organisations spoke in the wake of reports of a discord regarding the shape and representation at the conference.

Last week sources said ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela informed PAC and Azapo leaders that the ANC wanted equal representation of organisations in the PF to be scrapped with the ANC having the

To page 2

Patriotic Front still on course

From Page 1

most representatives. ANC spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said differences were being discussed and the three parties had reached broad consensus on major tenets of a pre-constituent assembly con-

ference. (11A)

"This is a great victory and I want to emphasise that there are no cracks. The PF is on," he said.

Azapo dismissed the rumours as exaggerated and incorrect.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said: "There are no changes on equal representation of

the liberation movements. We are aware of requests for an increased number of delegates to the conference on October 25, but that is a subject for ongoing discussions.

"There are many differences but we are in the process of ironing them out. The view therefore that the PF is about to collapse is exaggerated and incorrect," he said.

11/10/91
Sowetan
The PAC said the agreement with the ANC and Azapo still stood and it had communicated with Mandela on last week's news reports.

PAC assistant secretary-general Mr Carter Seleke said: "We are going ahead with the conference."

(11A) CF 11/10/91

Why city ANC men didn't stand

THE Cape Town-based members of the ANC's national executive committee did not stand for any positions in its regional executive, elected at its Western Cape congress at the weekend.

This followed a recommendation by a commission at the congress on the structuring of the regional executive that they do not do so because they are ex-officio members of the committee.

It was for this reason that Mr

Dullah Omar, a member of the national executive committee, did not stand for the position of vice-chairman in the Western Cape — even though he was nominated for it.

Neither Mr Omar nor Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, the former regional treasurer, stood for any position on the regional executive.

It was reported yesterday that Mr Omar was not elected to the regional executive committee, but he is in fact an ex-officio

member of the committee.

Meanwhile, the new regional chairman of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, has left South Africa for a week-long trip overseas.

He is expected back in his office on October 9 and only after his return will his position as director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice be clarified in the light of his new position, which was full-time when Mr Christmas Tinto was regional chairman.

Don't disband MK

Star 1/10/91

For MK to be disbanded at this crucial stage, when blatant distrust, disloyalty and violence are still prevalent, would be suicidal, immoral and illogical with regard to the peoples' struggle.

First of all, MK is the legitimate liberation army which fought the oppression of the indigenous inhabitants of this country. It has absolutely nothing to do with private armies which are busy slaughtering innocent and defenceless people.

To the best of my knowledge, the private armies which were impliedly referred to were: (i) Defence units which are reportedly intended to be established; (ii) Inkatha commandos which were reported to have been trained by the SADF in Angola, Namibia, Northern Natal, Eastern Tvl etc; (iii) the CCB; and (iv) Askaris.

Secondly, MK has never been and is still no threat to Inkatha whose leader seems to be panicking.

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What actually prompted Buthelezi to equate private armies and so-called traditional weapons with MK, I just really cannot tell. MK is not involved in the current so-called political violence, whereas private armies and his cultural weapons are intricately entangled in butchering passengers in trains, buses, etc.

I advise him not to allow himself to be used as a bait by tempting and alluring satanic forces, after which he would find himself having drifted further and further away from his brothers and sisters to the point of no return.

Lastly the ANC is still a liberation organisation busy paving way to a genuine negotiation process. Every liberation organisation has an army. In no circumstances would we freedom fighters like to see MK being disbanded.

Thomas Majola

Alrode

(117) ARG 2/10/91

ANC election 'a boost for non-racialism'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak's election to the ANC's top Western Cape job is "a boost for non-racialism", he says.

His election to a post which, in the opinion of Mr Nelson Mandela, he "deserved", had come as a surprise, said the director of the Foundation for Peace and Justice.

Dr Boesak said last night that delegates had had to choose between four formidable candidates.

"Winning with an overwhelming majority came as a surprise," he said.

His support had not only come from delegates representing squatter settlements, but from areas such as Khayelitsha as well.

"I believe my election was a boost for non-racialism."

Not all delegates voted for him and he appealed to all to help him unite the ANC in the Western Cape.

His goals would be to build the ANC in the region and to prepare people for the inevitable ... "elections which will for the first time in their lives give them the chance to change history in South Africa".

He said ANC supporters would have to get used to the way politics had changed from confrontation to negotiation.

"I believe that the ANC's constitutional plans are the best so far. My duty will be to popularise these proposals in the Western Cape."

Government promises had not been fulfilled.

"I believe it is time for us to take our destiny into our own hands and not to wait for the government and more promises."

11A (SAP) (SAP) (SAP) 1/2/10/91

All private armies must go, Hani told

Political Staff

THE government intended negotiating for the disbandment of all private armies, left and right, including the AWB, said Deputy Law and Order Minister Mr Johan Scheepers.

He was speaking last night at a debate in Pretoria between himself, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Walter Felgate. The debate was organised by Lawyers for Human Rights and Idasa.

Mr Scheepers was replying

to a question why the government insisted on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, being disbanded while it allowed rightwing private armies.

Mr Hani reiterated the ANC view that MK would not disband until a democratic government was in place.

Mr Hani was asked whether MK would be deployed if negotiations broke down. He asked in reply whether President De Klerk would not use the army and the SAP "to round up all of us" if negotiations collapsed.

"You must trust us to ensure that MK sticks to its agree-

ments in the same way that we trust the government to keep order in its security forces," he said.

Mr Scheepers said the government would return to the negotiation table if present negotiations failed and would not use the army or the SAP to settle constitutional disputes.

Mr Felgate said MK was the single greatest threat to the peace accord.

Policemen who refused to sign the police code of conduct under the national peace accord would not be allowed to remain in the SAP, Mr Scheepers said.

Mr Scheepers said 30 special police units — each with 16 men — had been established to investigate political violence and unrest as required by the peace accord.

A general had been appointed to take command of these units, he said.

Police training curricula had been adjusted in accordance with the police code of conduct, existing members of the police force would be re-trained and all relevant aspects of the peace accord would be included in the curricula, he said.

ANC warns loans might not be honoured

IIA #
ARG 2/10/91

Political Staff

A NEW democratic government would "not be keen" to honour international loans granted to the current government, the ANC's general-secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has told a visiting politician.

After discussions with the German Deputy Minister of Economic Co-operation, Mrs Michaela Geiger, Mr Ramaphosa told a press conference in Johannesburg a new government should have the right to evaluate loans granted to the apartheid government before deciding whether to honour such loans.

The ANC "expects quite a lot of assistance" from foreign governments, but wanted such aid and foreign loans to be delayed until an interim government had been set up.

Mrs Geiger, who is on a fact-finding mission to establish how Germany can help develop South Africa, said her government supported the immediate lifting of sanctions.

But Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would on Friday meet the SACP and Cosatu to strengthen a resolution passed at the ANC's July congress for the "three-phased maintenance" of sanctions.

Mr Ramaphosa said nationalisation should be seen in the context of state intervention necessary to correct the imbalances created by apartheid.

"I can guarantee you that we won't nationalise simply for the sake of nationalisation. But if it turns out that we can achieve objectives better through nationalising certain enterprises, then we will do that.



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

one or two countries in Eastern Europe."

"But it would be disastrous to nationalise as happened in Mozambique and

An earlier statement by the ANC's information office claimed state intervention was a universally recognised device, and argued: "In South Africa it has been used by the National Party to solve the poor white problem."

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in his meeting with Mrs Geiger earlier yesterday in Pretoria, chastised European governments for not criticising the ANC's mistakes in the same way as they used to attack the government's errors.

In a clear reference to remarks made last week by Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC still intended nationalising mines and financial institutions, Mr Botha said: "If the ANC preaches nationalisation we would like our friends in Europe to say that's not on."

State dragging its feet, says Cosatu

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu has announced two major decisions — to withdraw from the National Manpower Commission (NMC) and to call for a national negotiating forum involving State employers and unions.

The federation said it decided to withdraw from the NMC because the government had reneged on an agreement in terms of the Laboria Minute to dissolve the NMC by April this year and replace it with a democratic structure.

"Our participation in the NMC was on condition that it is restructured and democratised. The government is dragging its feet in this regard and flagrantly ignoring our agreement in terms of the Laboria Minute," Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said.

Unity after PF pact is Azapo ideal

11A

Sowetan 2/10/91

AZAPO's ideal is for the ANC, PAC and itself to emerge from the Patriotic Front conference ready to contest constituent assembly elections together, the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said yesterday.

However, this would necessitate similarities on so many issues which may not be possible in the short term, Moodley said after a news conference in Durban - the venue for the PF conference between October 25 and 27.

Azapo's involvement in the PF was part of its programme to secure maximum unity within the black community and not to prepare for an all-party congress, he explained.

His organisation would negotiate with the Government only when it indicated it was willing to resign.

Moodley said State President FW de Klerk was right to think that the PF would be "ganging up" on the Government.

The PF conference will host 24 delegates from 50 organisations. Observers from invited parties may also attend.

All parties would, however, have an equal number of delegates.

The main speaker would be an "international" figure, Moodley said.

He said the qualification for attending would be the endorsement of the idea of a constituent assembly and the commitment to eliminating apartheid, mass mobilisation, a transitional authority, a unitary state and elections for all.

- Sapa



Blacks hail unity pact

Sowetan 2/10/91

(11A)

Sowetan Reporter

THE Government should resign and let organisations taking part in the formation of the Patriotic Front form an interim ruling body that will prepare them for a democratically elected parliament.

This was said yesterday by callers to the Sowetan/Radio Talkback Show.

The callers told host Tim Modise that they were "excited" that the front would now enable blacks to speak with one voice in their quest for liberation.

Royal said the Government should be made aware that "blacks are capable of running this country".

He said this could only be achieved by the efforts being made by the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

"I join other fellow black South Africans who hail the formation of the PF," Royal added.

Victor Rabothata said blacks had been eagerly waiting for the formation of the PF.

He said: "This is the right step in the right direction.

"I don't approve of the Government's call for a multiparty conference.

"This is wrong because they know that they have been oppressing the black masses but suddenly want to talk to them," he said.

He said he was happy that the three main black liberation movements had at last "come together to decide what to do in forming a new democratically elected regime".

Mxoliswa of Eldorado Park said: "Every right-thinking South African surely welcomes the formation of the PF."

'ANC remarks
to highlight ⁽¹¹⁷⁾
imbalances'

27 2/10/91
JOHANNESBURG. —
ANC president Mr Nel-
son Mandela's recent re-
marks on the thorny
issue of nationalisation
were intended to draw
attention to socio-econo-
mic imbalances between
people of different
races, the ANC said in a
statement yesterday.

Reacting to various
protests and comment
about the remarks,
which he made in Stel-
lenbosch last week, the
ANC said: "Comrade
Mandela's purpose was
to once again draw at-
tention to the vast dis-
parities in power and
wealth that separate
black from white in our
country." — Sapa

Azapo to talk if govt ready to resign, (11A)

DURBAN. — Azapo will not attend the All-Party Congress or Multi-Party Conference in November unless the government signals its willingness to resign; the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said here yesterday.

He said he wanted to make it clear that Azapo had no intention of negotiating with the government.

If the "regime", however, indicated that it would resign Azapo would meet the government to discuss the transfer of power from minority to majority rule, he said. — Sapa

Burgeoning membership fails to satisfy ANC region

THE ANC's PWV region, which holds its regional congress at the weekend, had more than doubled its membership since its conference last year, regional secretary Barbara Hogan said yesterday.

Hogan said despite the increase in membership from about 38 000 to 85 000, the region was still not satisfied with its growth. It would spend a full day discussing how to strengthen the region, one of the ANC's largest.

She blamed violence for the region's unsatisfactory growth and said supporters were reluctant to associate openly with the ANC for fear of being victimised.

The second day of the regional conference would be devoted to discussing the all party congress and an interim government.

Elections for an expanded leadership group would not be held at the congress, but would be

By Day 2/10/91

TIM COHEN

held on October 10.

As a result of a resolution taken at the ANC August conference, the current executive of 12 would be increased to 20 because of the increased work load of executive members.

Hogan said the conference would discuss the formation of sub-regional groups, for example a Soweto region.

There would be discussion also about the chairman's forum, a once weekly meeting of branch chairmen with members of the ANC national executive committee.

Branch members would vote for the top five posts and 15 additional posts on the regional executive by secret ballot.

Violence would be the subject of a separate conference, Hogan said.

ANC workers safeguard their own interests

Political Reporter (11A)

ANC head office workers in Johannesburg have taken the organisation's advanced labour policy to heart and formed a staff association to protect their rights.

But the staff association does not foresee it will ever have to flex its muscle.

Explains office bearer

Sue Rabkin: "This is not a trade union because we are not dealing with a hostile or conflict situation with management. We are working hand-in-hand with the secretary-general's office to formulate grievance and disciplinary procedures and to outline working conditions and salaries."

But the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa fondly referred to "our own trade

^{Star 2/10/91}
union", and joked he had hardly switched jobs from National Union of Mineworkers secretary-general to ANC secretary-general before the 375 head office workers had been mobilised.

Membership is free and voluntary, and might be broadened to include employees at regional and branch structures, says Miss Rabkin.

But excluded from

membership are the elected national executive committee members and the appointed heads of departments.

Thus even ANC president Nelson Mandela may not join the association which, says Miss Rabkin, "started at about the beginning of the year as part of the process of building an internal organisational democracy under new conditions".

PAC branches unbending on PF representation issue

By Thabo Leshilo

ster 3/10/91 (11A)
"No equality of representation, no Patriotic Front."

That is the uncompromising message from the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania's 40 Transvaal branches to the organisation's NEC, it was announced yesterday.

PAC Transvaal convener Ntsundeni Madzunya said the inter-branch consultative meeting held in Pietersburg at the weekend gave "full support" for the Patriotic Front (PF) convened by South Africa's three leading liberation movements — the ANC, Azapo and the PAC.

There would, however, be no compromise on the agreed 24-man-a-side representation for the three organisations.

"The PF is not a merging of assets wherein the party with the biggest share has more votes. It is a merging of ideas and all ideas are equal," said Mr Madzunya.

The resolution comes in the wake of reports — since denied — that ANC president Nelson Mandela had wanted the ANC to send 24 representatives, the PAC 16 and Azapo only six.

Sources in Azapo have also indicated that the organisation

would pull out of the PF if the ANC reneged on the agreed equal representation.

ANC director of information Pallo Jordan said the ANC was "not aware of any problems" regarding representation. He added that the equality of the delegations, agreed to by the liaison committee of the three movements, was still in force.

However, the size of the delegations was "immaterial" since there would be no voting at the PF, Mr Jordan added.

The PF, scheduled for October 25-27 in Durban, will be attended by more than 50 organisations including Nafcoc, Fabcos, and soccer bodies. No decision has been reached on how many delegates the other organisations would have.

Mr Madzunya dismissed as unfounded media speculation that the organisation's willingness to discuss the modalities for a constituent assembly with the Government represented a "shift" in the PAC's anti-negotiation stance.

"The attendance of the National Party at the (pre-constituent assembly conference) will be important as the steps to be decided upon relates to the transfer of power," he said.

Slovo may quit

(11A)

JOE Slovo may quit as general secretary of the South African Communist Party at the end of the year.

Slovo, who in August was reported to be suffering from bone marrow cancer, told a Foreign Correspondents' Association briefing this week that he would recommend to the SACP national conference in December that he stand down.

He said that the Party was growing "in leaps and bounds". There were currently 15 000 paid-up members and the membership was increasing.

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Buthelezi *Sowetan* is wrong

- Azapo ^{11A}

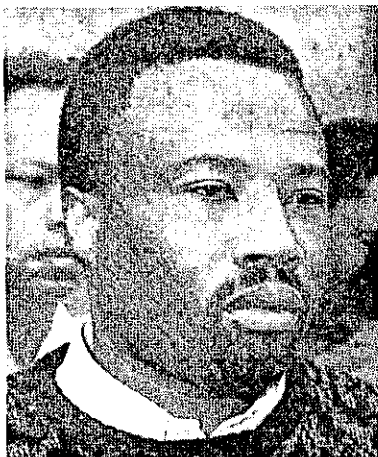
31/10/91
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has dismissed a claim by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that Steve Biko had asked him "to lead the masses to revolution".



BUTHELEZI

Buthelezi said in an address in Bloemfontein on Friday that Biko had told him that if "I rose up to lead them, he and all other black leaders would follow me".

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity secretary, said such utterances "are in extremely poor taste".



TONY YENGENI



CHRISTMAS TINTO



ARCHIE SIBEKO



EBRAHIM RASOOL



WILLIE HOFMEYR

Marked change in new ANC regional exec

11A

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ELECTIONS dominated the conference. Lobbying, which had begun weeks before, continued for much of the first day's proceedings with the list of nominees changing almost hourly as people were persuaded to either accept or decline nominations.

Some delegates polled after Mandela's opening address felt he had made unfair references to certain leaders he would have liked to see elected onto the new executive.

"The speech was virtually a vote for Allan Boesak," said one delegate angrily.

"Nonsense," said another. "All he did was deliver a few home truths

which the Western Cape badly needs, it was fantastic.

"Everything he said about cliques and character assassination was true. We can't deny that these things are happening here."

But whether it was due to, or despite, Mandela's intervention, the regional executive committee elected at the conference was markedly different from the outgoing one.

Most delegates expressed satisfaction with the "top five" officials, saying they were the best people for the job.

Others believed there was a possibility for conflict between some of the officials who would serve them in

the coming year. The vote for chairperson, split between Boesak, Archie Sibeko, Christmas Tinto and Tony Yengeni, was eventually won by a small margin.

According to sources, Boesak received 119 votes, Sibeko 84, Yengeni 69 and Tinto 67.

The election for vice-chair was split between six people and was won convincingly by Sibeko.

Yengeni was elected general secretary, Mr Willie Hofmeyr assistant secretary and Ebrahim Rasool treasurer.

Quite a few delegates expressed concern at the lack of women both nominated and elected to the "top

five" posts, but pointed out that few branches had come to the conference with nominations for women and that women nominated at conference had declined.

The 20 additional members would serve the organisation effectively, most delegates said, although some again expressed reservations that only four women were elected.

Some delegates said they were extremely satisfied at the fact that Boesak and Rasool, both regarded as religious leaders in the Cape, had been elected as officials.

This would assist in wooing the coloured community, which had shown some reluctance to become involved

in the ANC. Some delegates had reservations at the fact that union nominees, particularly Mr Salie Manie of the South African Municipal Workers Union, did not make the executive.

However, this was countered by the argument that labour officials had not been involved in the affairs of the ANC in the past year and could therefore not be expected to win votes at the conference.

"All in all, we have to make the best of what we've got. As far as the conference was concerned, its only mandate was to elect the best people among those who made themselves available to the ANC for the coming year," a delegate summed up.

Mandela: 'We're facing a critical situation'

South
3/10-8/10/91

(11A)



POINTING THE WAY: Nelson Mandela giving his opening address

PICS: YUNUS MOHAMED

An edited version of
Mandela's speech:

WE ARE facing one of the most difficult periods in the history of the liberation struggle and we have to think carefully of the strategy we use to carry on our shoulders the entire community we represent. We are going to be called upon to conduct elections within less than three years. We are going to compete with, among others, the National Party.

They are the best organisers in this country. They have a very efficient machinery and they are on their toes. They have already started organising for a general election.

If we are thinking of making an impact in that election, we have to think very carefully about our strategy.

We must not confuse popularity with leadership. A person may be popular yet have no qualities to lead at this particular moment.

The position is that 54 percent of the population of this area is composed of coloureds, 25 percent Africans and 21 percent whites. Our regional executive committee must try as far as possible to reflect this situation.

There was a survey published a couple of months ago which showed that De Klerk is more popular among coloured and Indian people in this country than the leaders of the ANC.

If that is the situation then we must see how we should address this situation and how to win the support of the coloured and Indian communities and white democrats of this country.

But I say we are facing a critical situation if we create power structures in such a way that our non-racial policies are not reflected in the executive committee we elect.

The National Party has only 20 organisers. We have hundreds of organisers and we must streamline our machinery and set up our executive in such a way that it enjoys the sup-

port of all the different sectors of the community.

Is the 54 percent reflected here? Is it not because of mistakes we have made? Have we created the impression that this is an organisation for Africans? Are we not giving that impression in the structures we create?

Cliques are one of our most serious weaknesses. There is nothing wrong with coming to conference and saying you want a certain person to be put on the executive.

What is not acceptable is character assassinations and to make slanderous attacks against another comrade when he is not in a position to respond.

These attacks are made seriously and clandestinely, and good people can have their reputations destroyed completely because of gossiping.

Cliques must be destroyed at all costs. We must develop the knowledge of how to handle problems. Many people think it is their duty to criticise other people.



Boesak warns of 'biggest mistake'

South 3/10-8/10/91

From Mono Badela
Johannesburg

11A

THE newly elected chairperson of the ANC in the Western Cape, Dr Allan Boesak, thinks that there is a lot of support for the ANC within the coloured community but that even more people are sitting on the fence.

Immediately after the regional ANC conference last weekend Boesak shared a platform with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at a rally organised by the ANC branch of Eldorado Park, west of Johannesburg.

He warned thousands of coloured people that they would be making the biggest mistake of their lives if they supported the National Party.

"De Klerk hesitates to say sorry for apartheid. He calls it a mistake. But how can you take away people's humanity and call it a mistake?"

"You join the NP and you join them with their mistake and you will therefore be making the biggest mis-

take of your life," he said.

Answering a question about apparent NP inroads into certain coloured communities in the Western Cape, Boesak said, "What we see being mentioned now is pure guess work.

"Surveys that bring out this type of analysis are but wishful thinking. It is true of course that the NP does have some support within the coloured communities in the Western Cape — mainly from the ranks of Labour Party supporters.

"I would say there is a lot of support for the ANC but there are even more people, a large group of people, who are sitting on the fence and are watching all the parties and have not yet made up their minds. Those are the people we have got to target.

"The ANC has got to find a way of spelling out its policies in a way that people can understand and secondly in a way so that the people can identify with it.

"There are people who think the ANC is a kind of radical organisation — an image that has already been rectified in a certain sense. I would not say that there is a need for more moderation. There is rather a need for the kind of radical fundamental political participation that the people have seen in the past — say during the UDF days."

Earlier this year Boesak reportedly said that he was hesitant to join the ANC because of its links with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the ANC's position on the use of violence in struggle.

"Many of those areas I pointed out to Mr Mandela as problem areas as I heard people relate them to me. Many have been solved but many of them are now clearly seriously being addressed within the ANC.

"It was really through the choice of the people that the decision was made to make myself available for the chairmanship of the region. I was with them the whole of Friday in my office, and the decision to make myself available was taken early on Saturday morning.

"I don't know what the future holds for me but all I know is whatever contribution I want to make I will now make within the political sphere. If that helps not only the ANC but the entire political process in the country then I will be grateful."

MK looks at violence, plans for peace

South 3/10-5/10/91.

The armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), circulated a discussion document at the regional conference which set out the MK perspective on violence. The text of the document follows:

VIOLENCE should be viewed as a strategy by the apartheid regime to weaken the ANC. The enemy is hoping to negotiate with a weak ANC.

The violence in the region has taken the form of the taxi war. It has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the police have a hand in the conflict.

Another element in the area is the conflict at Crossroads between ANC members. What must be our response to the violence? Unity, first in the ANC and the alliance, is essential.

There are differences between ANC members in the leadership of the civics and the coming ANC regional executive committee (REC), differences between allied organisations in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and differences between Party members in



PEACE TALK: MK delegation attends the conference

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

the leadership of the civic and some comrades serving in the regional Party leadership. All the above differences are an obstacle to the solution of the violence in the region.

Bad working relations existing in the alliance are another element making it impossible for the alliance to intervene decisively in the conflict. Suspensions between the ANC REC and one of the ANC's most important components, MK, is another problem in resolving this conflict.

We are convinced that the success

of any efforts of our people and organisations against violence depends primarily on the unity of the ANC and its allies.

There is an urgent need for a meeting between all members of the ANC who are leading the civics in the townships, the ANC REC and those members of the ANC who participated in the peace committee on behalf of Cosatu and the SACP.

They must meet to thrash out their differences. Openness and honesty are important here. Straight talk breaks

no comradeship. Joint planning and strategising of the alliance against violence is essential. Therefore we believe tripartite meetings must be convened.

Meetings from time to time between the ANC REC and the MK command are also important. This will make it possible to avoid any suspicions between the two as is the case presently.

Never underestimate the capacity of the SADF and other security forces to turn the wheel back. It is clear from the events taking place and evi-

dence gathered that the SAP and SADF are involved in the violence.

This calls upon the ANC not to demobilise and disarm its army. The only effective defence is to hit back at those who are attacking our people. Let us first remove the myth created by the ANC — the false hope created in the minds of ANC membership and the people that MK is capable of intervening in the defence of the people.

Yes, MK has the capacity to do that, but without arms this is not possible.

ANC members must understand that the suspension of armed actions and the DF Malan Accord means in practice that MK is disarmed.

MK cadres have been made easy targets of secretive state agencies like Askaris, the CCB and other security forces. We are sitting ducks — the security of MK cadres is at stake. This is a dilemma facing MK. It must be clear, MK cadres are not armed.

The ANC must convene a regional peace conference of all the organisations to discuss the violence and come up with solutions. This must include political organisations, trade unions, civics, women, youth, students, business, church and sports bodies.

Self-defence units involving the community must be set up through civics. MK must provide the necessary expertise in setting these up.

Political education must be one of the key elements of these self-protection units.

The ANC in the Western Cape emerges from its regional conference with a representative executive committee and a commitment to constructive criticism and accountable leadership.

REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

'The best people for the job' take up their posts

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AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) president Mr Nelson Mandela set the tone in his opening address to the organisation's Western Cape regional conference — elect an executive committee which reflects the racial composition of the area and make criticisms in a constructive manner.

When the conference ended last Sunday evening, it appeared as though most of the 492 delegates had taken his appeal to heart.

The ANC had elected the first coloured chairperson of a region in the history of the organisation, and the conference had debated a range of issues without too much acrimony.

Most delegates expressed their satisfaction with the proceedings, except for some unfinished business and minor discord during the first stages of the elections.

However, following the election of the "top five" officials — chairperson Allan Boesak, vice-chair Archie Sibeko, secretary Tony Yengeni, assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr and treasurer Ebrahim Rasool — the factionalism diminished substantially, delegates reported.

"There wasn't the same kind of racist divisions as last year where delegates from the African branches voted as a bloc against everyone else," said one delegate.

"This was an indication that conference wasn't prepared to subject itself to the kind of African chauvinism some cliques were pushing for, but was determined to try and get the best people for the jobs in most positions.

"I think that this was also because of the influence of the opening address and the effect of the violence on the township branches, which were no longer prepared to give a blanket endorsement to certain leaders and were looking for a new executive committee which could deal with the problem effectively."

During some stages of the conference, it appeared that delegates were expressing a virtual vote of no confidence in the outgoing executive committee, sources said.

There was widespread criticism of the executive's inability to effectively mediate the conflict in the region and of their handling of the administrative affairs of the ANC.

The secretary's and unaudited treasurer's reports to conference were not accepted by delegates, but were merely noted as branches expressed their dissatisfaction with the content of both reports.

The organisers' report was also not accepted as delegates felt it had to be linked to the secretary's report.

The full reports from both officials will be heard at the first general council of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Although some of the commissions dealing with work facing the ANC in the year ahead were unable to complete their work in the time allotted by the conference programme, some important decisions were made to guide the organisation.

Delegates agreed that the regional executive committee had to be restructured, in response to complaints from members that the outgoing executive had not functioned as effectively as it should have during the past year.

The executive will now be restructured into four areas of work — administrative and secretarial; departments and policy units; negotiations, strategising and analysing; and political education and media.

The incoming executive has yet to elect people to the necessary portfolios.

On violence, the conference agreed that self-defence units would have to be formed by communities themselves, not the ANC, and urged that a standing commission on violence be appointed.

In discussions on the tripartite alliance, the conference stressed the independent and different role each organisation had to play in the Western Cape. However, it agreed that alliance activities should filter down to grassroots members of all three organisations, instead of being top-down, leadership-dominated discus-

"There wasn't the same kind of racist division as last year where delegates from the African branches voted as a bloc against everyone else. This was an indication that conference would not accept some kind of African chauvinism... I think this was because of the influence of the opening address" — a delegate

sions. The alliance should also be developed at local level.

The conference also discussed the coming rural conference, which would go some way to lessening the tensions between urban and rural members who complain that the region is dominated by the Peninsula branches.

The commission on building the ANC did not complete its discussions in its sub-commissions on strengthening and revitalising branches in the region; finances; education and media; and organising for the ANC.

However, delegates in the commission stressed that the weaknesses of organisation in the coloured areas could not be blamed on the leadership of the ANC.

The conference agreed that a special meeting would have to be convened to discuss building the ANC in the region.

Delegates also stressed members' insistence on accountability of the ANC's leadership, and conference decided that general councils would be held regularly.

ANC govt will renegotiate, not renege on, loans

Ramaphosa

ANY future SA government had a moral duty to re-evaluate foreign loans to the "apartheid regime" and "renegotiate" the terms, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

He said there was "no question" that the ANC would renege on loans.

"We are not saying that we will renege on any of the loans. That is out of the question," he said in an interview.

He said an ANC-led government would want to examine the conditions under which the loans were obtained, such as the interest rate and period of repayment.

A new, democratically elected government could not be just a rubber stamp for the actions and undertakings of an apartheid government, which could have agreed to onerous conditions, making it difficult for a new government to achieve its objectives.

"We will need to carefully evaluate the conditions for each loan. We are especially concerned about the conditions of the loans and how these could have forced structural adjustments that could have affected monetary and fiscal issues, such as devaluing the currency or restructuring the economy

B/day 3/10/91

BILLY PADDOCK

to the detriment of the country," Ramaphosa said.

The ANC was opposed to the granting of any further foreign loans to SA until an interim government had been formed.

Ramaphosa stressed that the interim government he was talking about was one negotiated by all parties taking part in a multiparty conference on drafting a new constitution for SA. He said the ANC did not want to accept "holus-bolus everything

the apartheid regime did".

No loans to the private sector or to parastatals would be affected by this re-evaluation, only those to the state, such as the recent rights issue raised through the Deutsche Bank of Germany.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had voiced its opposition to this rights issue when it was first mooted. This would certainly be re-evaluated.

He said the main reason the ANC was adopting this position was that it did not want to end up in a new SA with its hands tied because of the crippling effects of loan

11A

repayments on a new government, especially if these loans were used to further apartheid designs.

He said news reports yesterday claiming the ANC would not honour loans were inaccurate.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said last night the SA government was sovereign and legitimate in terms of the constitution and any successive governments which wanted to lay claim to sovereignty would be bound in terms of international practice to honour previous governments'

□ To Page 2

Ramaphosa

B/day 3/10/91

commitments. He said Ramaphosa's statement was a political one and had to be studied carefully. He had not yet done so.

Du Plessis said government revenue, including taxes, domestic and international loans to create SA's infrastructure, was used "to the benefit of all SA's people".

He said the ANC's position would affect only about 10% of SA's total foreign debt.

11A

□ From Page 1

"When the debt standstill was introduced in 1985 only 10% of SA's total foreign debt was state loans. The rest were public and private sector loans, so the real meaning of Ramaphosa's statement in quantified terms is very small.

"Nevertheless, I regard it as potentially damaging to SA's impeccable international record," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

Mandela awarded 'freedom' of Boksburg

WHAT do Nelson Mandela, Gerrie Coetzee, P W Botha and Andries Treurnicht have in common?

They have all been granted the freedom of Boksburg. ANC president Mandela is the latest — and that's unofficial.

The ANC and the Save Boksburg Committee will fulfil a long-standing pledge on Monday night when they grant Mandela the "unofficial freedom" of CP-controlled Boksburg.

To the fanfare of a marching band and drum majorettes, Mandela will receive a ceremonial key, a scroll and a framed

8/10/91 3/10/91

JONATHAN REES

poster reading "Mandela the Freedom of Boksburg Awaits U".

A spokesman for the Save Boksburg Committee said the granting of the freedom of the city to Mandela would be a step towards eradicating discrimination.

Boksburg's CP mayor T J Ferreira described the event as "a laughing matter", saying Mandela could just as well be given freedom of the world — it would still not be official. "But with him ruling over (President F W) de Klerk the way he does, it

might be passed through Parliament."

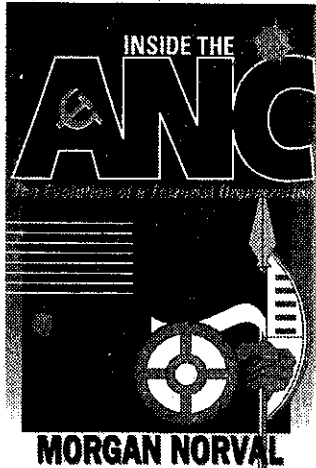
Boksburg NP leader Chris Smith said he had nothing against Mandela, but said there was no value in granting him freedom of Boksburg unofficially.

Coetzee was awarded the freedom of Boksburg in 1983 after he won the world heavyweight boxing title, but later returned the honour after a dispute with the town council over business rights on his smallholding. He said last night he approved of the honour for Mandela, who is also a former boxer. CP leader Treurnicht declined comment.

ANC's struggle was for 'total power'

Star 3/10/91

Inside the ANC: The
Evolution of a Terrorist
Organisation
by Morgan Norval
(Selous Foundation Press)
Reviewed by
GRAHAM REES



A "sobering reminder" of the African National Congress's past activities and affiliations is the assessment by Alexander Haig, former United States Secretary of State, of Morgan Norval's important contribution to the political history of South Africa.

This well-researched work "puts a more balanced perspective" on the important elements of the on-going struggle for social justice in South Africa, says Haig.

The ANC is depicted as a violent and brutal tool of communism bent not on power sharing but on total power.

Norval details the takeover of the ANC in the 1920s by the South African Communist Party and the latter's inextricable links with the congress ever since.

The Soviets considered that Britain was the bastion of capitalism and, as such, the main capitalist enemy. One strategy was to chop off parts of the hated capitalist empire through "liberation movements". The ANC fitted that role perfectly in South Africa.

Moscow invited the then president of the ANC, J.T. Gumede, to the Soviet Union, where he was feted, becoming, to use a Leninist term, a "use-

ful idiot", before returning to tell his people that he had "seen the new Jerusalem".

The fish was caught — never to swim free again.

Over the ensuing years, the SACP/ANC alliance was cemented and nurtured to the extent that the "Black Power advocates within the ANC" led by Robert Sobukwe attempted a takeover, but failed.

Matters came to a head in 1958 and the ANC expelled the Africanists, leading to formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress. The resulting rivalry was to prove tragic. The PAC adopted a confrontational stance, forcing the SACP and ANC to follow suit.

Norval spotlights Mandela's love affair with communism and quotes from his writings: "The cause of communism is the greatest cause in the history of mankind..."

Could he have changed his views? "No," says Norval. Mandela's defence of communism is still as fierce today (even in the face of the collapse of eastern European and Soviet communism).

Norval highlights the words

of Mr Justice de Wet when passing sentence on the Rivonia defendants: "I am by no means convinced that the motives of the accused are as altruistic as they wish the court to believe. People who organise a revolution usually plan to take over the government — and personal ambition can not be excluded as a motive."

He spotlights the role of Winnie Mandela — "the Madame Defarge of the SACP/ANC revolution" — as she "exhorts the militant to even greater atrocities."

He recalls, of course, her notorious remarks at a funeral in 1986: "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces...". The "necklace", says Norval, like the French revolution's guillotine, became a symbol of the SACP/ANC reign of terror.

Those lionising Mandela and the ANC, cautions Norval, should remember that revolutionary movements use "negotiation" merely to gain time to regroup — ready to launch a new bid for power.

The whole process of "struggle" was not aimed at

getting to the negotiating table but to hold the reins of power. "The ANC has organised itself with the aim of conducting a revolutionary campaign of violence inside South Africa. It was not structured to be a fund-raising group to mount a political campaign and win support by persuasion. But that is precisely what the ANC must now do."

And, he concludes: "Given Nelson Mandela's visits to Gaddafi and Arafat and his support for Castro, one can legitimately question whether under his leadership the ANC can evolve into a political party committed to peaceful change in South Africa. For someone who publicly preaches peace, he certainly hangs out with some of the world's worst jackals".

"Inside the ANC" will be received with dismay by those to the Left, who are likely to pour scorn upon it.

There is no denying, however, that the facts it presents are far too relevant to our future to be swept under the carpet.

Star 3/10/91
**PWV to
 gear up
 for talks**

Political Reporter *11A*

The ANC's PWV regional conference at the weekend will focus on negotiations, its demand for an interim government and the all-party conference.

Violence will be discussed at workshops after the conference, regional general secretary Barbara Hogan said.

A regional executive will be elected by secret ballot on October 10.

Ms Hogan told a press conference this week the main aim of the region was to "gear the organisation for the coming negotiations period", which demanded a thorough understanding of constitutional issues, and improved communications.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa will open the conference.

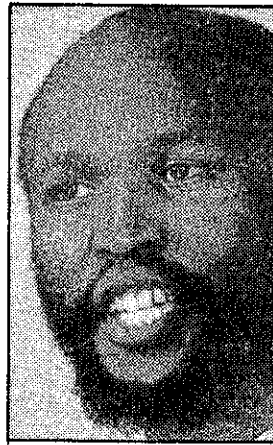
Ms Hogan asked the media not to name the venue because "we always get a lot of threats".

Star 3/10/91
**Morobe set for
 a comeback
 — to ANC fold**

Star 3/10/91
 By Esmaré
 van der Merwe
 Political Reporter

Former United Democratic Front activist Murphy Morobe — one of several UDF leaders who were shunned by the ANC for more than two years after publicly distancing themselves from Winnie Mandela — seems set to make a political comeback.

Mr Morobe, who returned in June from the United States, where he studied international and public affairs for nine months at Princeton University, has been nominated chairman of the ANC's most powerful re-



Making a comeback . . .
 Murphy Morobe.

gional structure, the PWV region.

PWV general secretary Barbara Hogan confirmed yesterday that Mr Morobe had been nominated as chairman, as

well as an ordinary executive member for the regional elections on October 10.

Ms Hogan said Mr Morobe "is in the process of deciding" whether to stand since he had "a lot of study, work and other political commitments" which were time-consuming.

Detained three times for his activities, the 1976 Soweto uprising leader and former UDF acting publicity secretary became a household name in 1988 when he and two other prominent activists escaped from Johannesburg Prison and took refuge in the US Consulate for 32 days.

The row over Winnie Mandela arose from the death of Stompie Moeketsi.

Financial services 'must undergo fundamental change'

Finance Staff and Sapa

The ANC is not as yet convinced that the transformation process and changes that are taking place in this country are irreversible, said a senior ANC official, Don Mkhwanazi, at the financial services conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

He was commenting on the warning by Cyril Ramphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, that an ANC government would "not be keen" to honour international loans granted to the current Government.

Mr Mkhwanazi, who is corporate affairs and management specialist at the ANC's economic department, said the ANC would be in a position to say that the change was irreversible when the All Party Congress asserts and agrees on the mechanism for delivering a new constitution.

He said that the ANC regions, with Cosatu and the SACP, will be meeting on Friday to consider the whole issue of sanctions and disinvestment alongside the developments taking place.

If the Government had moved fast on some of the

Stew 3/10/91.
things that were still issues "the ANC would have called for new investment yesterday".

He said the country's financial system needed to undergo fundamental change to respond to the needs of the community and to sustain political transformation.

There was no doubt that political change was taking place with all its attendant problems and suspicions.

"What is of course worrying is that there is no corresponding economic transformation," he said.

"We cannot wait for politi-

cal transformation to take its full course before applying our minds to the whole process of economic restructuring, reconstruction and transformation."

Problem areas were food poverty, housing, municipal-services infrastructure, job creation and education.

Most of these community needs were basic.

"It is not unreasonable for the people of the community not only to have these needs but to expect satisfaction.

"They desire that shortly after liberation the new demo-

cratic order would guarantee them the basics of human life."

The ANC believed the financial system was not geared to meet the needs of all citizens.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the financial system cannot continue to be an exclusive preserve of whites, in terms of management composition, spread of ownership, delivery and benefits.

"Black participation in terms of ownership, control, management and service benefits must be accelerated."
— Sapa.

Freedom of Boksburg for Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela will receive the freedom of Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg at a glittering "alternative" ceremony on Monday. Mr Mandela will be given the honour in recognition of his struggle against apartheid, a spokesman for the Save Boksburg Committee said yesterday. (11A) (11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit to the western Cape last week was a whirlwind tour in more ways than one.
In just three days he:
 Wowed the Stellenbosch radical-chic es-

establishment with characteristic bonhomie at a cocktail party in the luxury home of DP MP Jannie Momberg and at a R100-a-plate fund-raising dinner in the town afterwards;
 Stayed the night at the Momberg house and had breakfast there with SA Rugby Board chief Danie Craven;
 Brought groans of dismay from the business community throughout the country at another fund-raising dinner (R150-a-plate for the hoi polloi and R1 000-a-plate to sit at the main table) by strongly propounding nationalisation of key industries to guests who included some of the region's leading capitalists; and
 Confronted head-on the touchy issue of ethnicity the following day when he told the ANC's regional conference in Cape Town that the NP was more successful than the ANC at winning coloured support in the region

At the Momberg party — technically hosted by Jannie jnr (21), a local member of the ANC — Mandela chatted amiably to, among others, Hendrik Verwoerd's grandson, Wilhelm, a philosophy lecturer at Stellenbosch, and then posed with him, shaking hands, for press photographers; and rubbed shoulders with an impressive range of academics and local professionals.

The aim of the evening was to bolster the ANC's meagre — but apparently dedicated — membership among whites in the town and at the university.

It's perhaps a sign of Stellenbosch's political maturity that no rightwing threats were made to disrupt the party or the dinner in one of the town's top restaurants that evening.

Thanked Mandela

By effectively hosting the party and allowing the dinner at a restaurant, in which he has a share, Momberg riled some of his DP colleagues who see the ANC as a rival not to be encouraged.

He and colleague Dave Dalling don't, however, see a clash of interests. Dalling formally thanked Mandela after the Stellenbosch dinner and attended the cocktail party — but as the spouse of wife Zelda, a Stellenbosch ANC committee member. "After all," he said, "Zelda attends many DP functions as my spouse."

In addition, says Dalling, senior members of the ANC and the DP sat down recently to debate a wide range of issues and achieved remarkable consensus — which has probably paved the way for the DP to attend next month's "patriotic front" congress in Durban.

Relations with the ANC are clearly an issue the DP will have to confront soon. It could split the party but a compromise is also possible. The ANC must realistically be seen as a predator out to woo white DP supporters (the NP on the Right is a similar threat) and, how it deals with the situation, could determine what role the party plays in SA's future.

Mandela's comments at the Somerset West dinner won't help matters. They were

seen by business leaders — where the DP draws strong support — as an uncalculated and ill-advised step backwards that will send new shivers down the spines of foreign investors who appeared to be starting seriously to reassess economic prospects under an ANC government. Ironically, the dinner was billed by the ANC as an attempt to reach out to the business and professional community of the region (there was apparently no warning that the outstretched hand was going to grab their assets).

Why this apparent reversion to nationalisation just when it seemed that the ANC was



Boesak



Mandela

quietly dropping it? An ANC spokesman explains that Mandela's remarks do not fall outside the ambit of general ANC policy and must be seen in the context of the need to address disparities in wealth. While the perception that the ANC was moving away from nationalisation was "not mistaken," he said "nationalisation could be part of ANC policy" depending on what options were available to achieve wealth redistribution. And yet, he added, there was "some possibility that Mandela's remarks were either reported out of context or misquoted."

It was back to reality and locking horns with holy cows at the regional congress on Saturday. Mandela warned local ANC leaders that they couldn't ignore ethnicity in a region where 54% of the population was coloured and swinging its support towards the NP. He told delegates he was shocked to hear that the NP had 1 000 members in the (coloured) area of Mitchell's Plain, which has long been regarded as a stronghold of anti-government sentiment.

Mandela also slammed regional leaders for lack of discipline and constant internal squabbling — a scolding long overdue, according to observers — but didn't point fingers at individuals. He said there should be no mass meetings and no mass marches in the region until "we get our organisation right and our message to the masses."

Significantly, former churchman Allan Boesak was later elected regional chairman to succeed Christmas Tinto. Boesak has a strong following among coloureds in the region and his church links are regarded as an important counter to fears of communist domination among staunchly religious coloured communities.

Another leading coloured elected to the regional executive is Western Cape University rector Jakes Gerwel. A surprise was the failure of Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn to be elected.

German Minister takes ANC to task

Political Staff

The ANC has been bluntly warned that its recent spate of remarks about nationalising industries and reconsidering the honouring of foreign loans was jeopardising investment in this country.

This rebuke came yesterday from German Deputy Economic Co-operation Minister Michaela Geiger.

She said during an interview: "This is not a good way if you want capital to come into your country. You must not say these things."

Mrs Geiger was referring to ANC president Nelson Mandela's remark last Friday that the ANC was still considering nationalising

mines and financial institutions and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's statement this week that the ANC would "not be keen" to honour foreign loans granted to the apartheid government.

The ANC last night showed further signs of being in a muddle on its official stance on the loans issue.

A statement issued by its Department of Information and Publicity said: "The National Working Committee of the ANC wishes to reaffirm that the secretary-general's statements on the issue of loans accurately reflects ANC position."

Several ANC officials

have, however, told The Star that Mr Ramaphosa's view did not reflect official policy and deputy head of international relations Stanley Mabizela said a new government would have no choice but to honour foreign loans granted to the National Party Government.

In its statement last night, the ANC claimed Mr Mabizela "was expressing a personal view which does not reflect policy".

Mrs Geiger said she hoped that Mr Ramaphosa's remark would not discourage other German and foreign banks from making loans. She believed they would in-

● To Page 3

German Minister rebukes ANC

● From Page 1

investigate the ANC's position further before making decisions.

"But what is worse is (Mr Mandela's statement about) nationalisation. That's already had a negative effect. If you want the economy to grow you must create the right climate for investment."

Mrs Geiger said, however, that Mr Ramaphosa had explained to her that Mr Mandela's remarks were not the

ANC's final position on nationalisation.

She said she told Mr Ramaphosa that nationalisation had been the policy pursued by Eastern European countries such as Czechoslovakia and Poland "and all of them had gone bankrupt".

"He understood that word, even in German."

Asked if she had made any decision about further German government development aid

for South Africa, Mrs Geiger said that she had a problem because SA was not officially defined as a developing country and her ministry was only responsible for development aid.

It was a mixture of First and Third World that she had never seen before. But to overcome this problem Germany was considering joint development projects between South Africa and it welcomed the suggestion.

ANC discovers a question of colour

w/m ail 4/10-10/10/91

A DECADE ago, there was a joke whispered in African National Congress circles which went something like this: "The struggle would be fought by the Africans, the orised by the whites, paid for by the Indians and the coloureds would celebrate the victory."

ANC leader Nelson Mandela did not tell that one in his opening address at last weekend's Western Cape ANC conference, but he certainly ruffled feathers with a frank and forthright injunction to take seriously coloured ethnicity.

"We are going to be called on to conduct elections within three years, and compete with the National Party. The NP are the best organisers in the country without any doubt. They have an efficient machinery and are on their toes," Mandela said.

He referred to a number of recent surveys which put the NP ahead of the

Nelson Mandela has opened a debate which many would prefer to ignore — the tricky business of ethnicity.

TONY KARON reports on the Western Cape's ANC conference

ANC among coloured would-be voters, and urged delegates to find ways of reversing the situation.

"The NP is challenging us in our own constituency, and it is making an impact," Mandela warned. "Unless we get involved in house to house campaigning, we are working on an illusion."

Noting that 54 percent of the Western Cape population was coloured, as against 25 percent Africans and 21 percent white, he urged that the Western Cape ANC elect an executive re-



ANC president Nelson Mandela



Allan Boesak

flecting that composition.

Some delegates shuffled and muttered. The political tradition in the Western Cape ANC has always been

that if coloureds are discussed at all, the term is placed in inverted commas or prefaced with "so-called" — and here was the president of the ANC

saying it was "natural" for people to examine the ethnic make-up of the ANC's leadership structures.

Mandela drew attention to the fact that the outgoing executive, and the composition of delegates at the conference, did not reflect the demographics of the Western Cape.

"Those who are so progressive as to say these matters are not important should look at what is happening in Eastern Europe," he suggested.

Not surprisingly, the conference did not follow all of Mandela's advice.

"We didn't set out to get proportional representation," newly-elected treasurer Ebrahim Rassool said after the conference, adding that "this executive represents a cross-section of what the Western Cape is like".

Not quite: the ethnic breakdown of the executive they elected was 14 Africans, seven coloureds and four whites.

Nor was the election of Dr Allan Boesak to chair the region necessarily a result of Mandela's intervention. It might have had a lot to do with the fact that four candidates competed in a single ballot — the three African contenders fairly evenly split a combined total of votes almost double that received

by Boesak. Perhaps the most notable new addition to the executive besides Boesak is Professor Jakes Gerwel. He has long been concerned with the problems faced by the ANC in the coloured communities, and has attempted to promote discussion on this sensitive question. There was little formal discussion at the conference over the challenge set by Mandela, but then the gathering was primarily concerned with the election of a new executive, and the venting of anger at the performance of many of those on its predecessor. Responses to Mandela's speech varied. Among those in the movement who had long struggled to put the issue of winning coloured support on to the agenda, it was a long-awaited nod of legitimacy from the top. Among those who are uncomfortable with couching ANC policy in ethnic terms, there was anger and resentment. In the coming weeks the Western Cape ANC is going to open the tricky discussion of the challenge of ethnicity. As one source put it: "It's better that we discuss it now, than under the circumstances in which it is presently being raised in the Soviet Union."

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



Cultural boycott a weapon - callers

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE cultural boycott should stay "because it is a weapon to fight apartheid" callers to the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* said yesterday.

However, there was a sharp difference between Azapo, ANC and PAC on the issue.

Representatives of the three organisations gave different explanations.

PAC's spokesman, Mr Fitzroy Ngukwana, said the cultural boycott should stay.

Azapo's spokesman said there should be a "monitoring body to 'oversee' the matter".

Mr Charles Mabaso from the ANC's South African Music Alliance, said artists coming to the country should commit themselves to "development projects to assist the deprived black majority".

Mxoliswa from Protea North, Soweto said most people were "confused about the cultural boycott".

"There is a lot of confusion regarding the matter.

"It should be cleared up by all concerned because blacks view this as a weapon against apartheid."

Likanse from Pretoria said the cultural boycott should be "maintained at all costs" because it was the only "thing they have to fight the Government to remove apartheid".

Eric said: "Blacks have been denied many things and the cultural boycott is not a new thing."

Common view a springboard

Sowetan

4/10/91

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WASHINGTON - In spite of the ANC's rejection of the National Party's constitutional proposals, the two parties share many common ideas and their proposals are likely to serve as springboards for discussion at the planned all-party conference.

This is according to a report by the United States State Department submitted to Congress.

The report is required each year in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-

apartheid Act.

The department said that among the "many common features" shared by the proposals of the ANC and NP was support for "a bill of rights, albeit in very different forms".

It added that "although the ANC continues to call for the election of a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution, there is speculation that the all-parties conference could evolve into a body which would draft a constitution and present it for ratification in a referendum".

The report outlines the steady erosion of the existing tricameral constitution and says that as a result of the repeal of apartheid legislation the separate chambers "control an increasingly narrow range of activities".

The system was further eroded by the NP's decision to open its ranks to all races and the defection of coloured MPs to the NP.

"Parliamentary politics as a whole has become less central as the focus of political activity has shifted to the negotiating process.

"The government does not support the continuation of the 'own affairs' concept under a future constitution. Currently, the principle remaining element of 'own affairs' is the education system, which, with few exceptions, remains segregated."

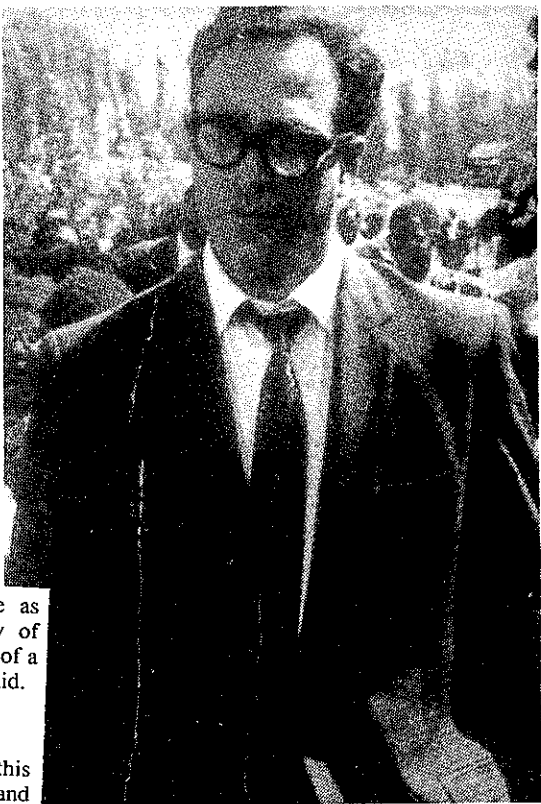
In reporting on the ANC's demand for an interim government, the report notes that the government has agreed to put the subject at the top of the agenda of the coming multi-party conference.-
Sowetan Correspondent.

ANC, CP woo elite youths

IIA (30/88)

Sowetan 4/10/91

By SONTI MASEKO



CACHALIA

THE constitutional debate is being taken into schools where young South Africans are being exposed to the perceptions which could shape a post-apartheid society.

Politicians, realising that one has to win the hearts and minds instead of outright domination, are taking time to visit schools to explain different political models and systems the new society can offer.

At St John's College in Houghton at the weekend, pupils were told of two possibilities. The vision of the African National Congress versus that of the Conservative Party.

Colour-blind

A deep chasm exists between the two and this ensured a morning of lively debate and an enthusiastic audience, particularly because the issues were real and about change.

The ANC said it stood for a colour-blind constitution, based on the rule of law, a Bill of Rights, equality before the law, while the CP said the Afrikaner would never accept black majority rule or there would be a second Boer war - this time a "black/white struggle".

Mr Firoz Cachalia of the ANC said the present generation was a most privileged one, faced with the historically unprecedented challenge of shaping the new constitution for the country, which would provide the foundation for liberation and reconciliation.

Rejuvenated

The apartheid constitution had incorporated whites as free citizens, all equal before the law, grouped as a nation regardless of cultural identity, language, ideological affiliation and excluded, on the basis of race, all black people.

"One of the key elements of the SA constitution ought to be a new rejuvenated concept of citizenship. We need to replace apartheid with the principle of nonracialism.

"The constitution must heal and reconcile. It must not be a manifesto for any political organisation, it must liberate us. Constitution-making must also be the process of nation building.

"It must embody those values that bring us together as an emerging SA nation. We do not have that nation yet," said

Cachalia, rejecting the notion of nationhood as belonging to a particular folk.

At the same time, issues of cultural identity and differences also had to be recognised - "the right to be the same and the right to be different", according to Dr Albie Sachs, the ANC's constitutional expert, Firoz said.

To Mr Gerdus Kruger and the CP nothing matters in the end but the individual.

"If I as a white man wants to associate with white men with the same ideas and I do not want to be dominated by black people, it is my right to associate with my own kind," he said.

White people were as afraid of the tyranny of numbers as they were of a dictatorship, Kruger said.

Nationalism

He asked why at this time, the ANC, PAC and Azapo were about to form a Patriotic Front. "Is that not nationalism?"

He said the CP represented the aspirations of the majority of white South Africans.

Apartheid was wrong in that it was paternalistic with domination by one group over the other.

"We do not want to govern the black people of this country, that is not right."

The only thing that was non-negotiable was the sovereignty of people to govern themselves.

"What is negotiable is how we are going to draw the borders - through negotiations or through war," Kruger said, citing as an example the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Alternative

"You cannot mix oil with water. The only way for two people with irreconcilable differences is to draw a border between them. If you don't do that the alternative is what is happening in Yugoslavia," Kruger believes.

A woman seated next to me remarked that mixing oil and water in fact produced a delicious salad dressing.

Whether the future is going to be that delicious salad dressing or about drawing borders will be decided by informed South Africans. The process is under way - through the kind of discussions carried out by the

ANC and CP.

There wasn't enough time for the pupils of St John's College to put questions to the speakers, but judging by the raised hands, I left feeling that the wheels of democracy and informed participation in the political process were being set in motion.



SACHS

ANC may come up empty again

Sowetan 4/10/91.

11A

IN ONE of the great moments in bad political timing, the ANC at its consultative congress in December last year resolved to maintain sanctions rigidly until a new constitution is in place.

As if to mock this King Canute-like posture, the EC on the very same day resolved to repeal its ban on new investments in South Africa, as the first step in a phased lifting of sanctions.

The ANC fumed and blustered but learned from its embarrassing mistake.

At its national congress in July this year ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned that, if the ANC wanted to retain the sanctions' weapon, it would have to show flexibility and imagination - or be left with "an empty shell".

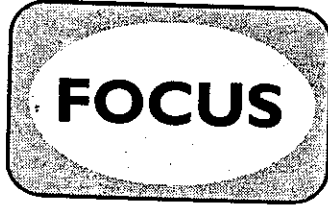
In Washington the Congress was persuaded to adopt a policy of phased lifting of sanctions, the first stage of which called for people sanctions - sports tours, visa restrictions, tourism, cultural and academic exchange - to be lifted once obstacles to negotiation such as the political prisoners' issue had been removed.

The second stage would be for all remaining trade and investment sanctions except the arms and oil embargoes to be lifted if the Government accepted an interim government.

The oil and arms embargo would go only when a fully representative government was established.

Is the ANC succeeding in this new policy of tactically retreating from the forward trenches before they are overrun, in order to hold rear positions?

At first glance, no.



The sanctions weapon has been badly blunted with the collapse of EC sanctions and US federal trade and investment sanctions under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

This triggered a steady erosion of other trade and investment restrictions, the granting of overflight rights to SAA, Japan dropping its trade quotas and many others.

Even the Commonwealth - one of the strongest international bastions of ANC support - is set to lift "people" sanctions such as visa restrictions and the cultural and academic boycott, at its heads of government meeting in Harare this month.

And the SA Government opened a significant breach in the crucial wall of financial sanctions last month by raising a R650-million loan in Germany.

Yet there have also been contrary signs that sanctions are not going out as inexorably as the tide.

Even the landmark EC decision of December last year has been contradicted by Denmark.

A host of expected visits by heads of state to SA at the time of this month's Commonwealth summit has not materialised.

Specifically, visits by Australian premier Bob Hawke and Canadian premier Brian Mulroney were called off at the last minute because of a perceived slackening in the

pace of reform.

The apparent breakthrough into the world sports arena has become bogged down with local sports bodies blocking the way.

And in the US, 26 states, 24 counties and 88 cities are still applying sanctions - a powerful armada of financial weaponry which is deterring business from investing in SA in any sizeable amount.

And, perhaps most important of all, the Gramm Amendment - the US legislation which effectively denies SA access to IMF loans - remains on the statute book, a bulwark against the vitally needed inflow of international credit.

Does this all mean that the ANC has succeeded in using its new policy to manipulate sanctions and boycotts by giving up non-essentials better to defend essentials?

Most diplomats and other observers agree that, by becoming flexible the ANC has helped to extend the life of crucial sanctions like the IMF ban and that it still has some control over US and Commonwealth sanctions.

But most would also agree that the ANC can do little more than slow the erosion of sanctions - and cannot do what it would most like to do: use sanctions to pressure the Government to adopt specific ANC policy.

Since its July congress the ANC has increasingly telescoped its sanctions policy to concentrate all its energies on one objective - an interim government.

The first phase of sanctions has merged into the second phase for this purpose and this week the ANC said that all sanctions except the mandatory arms embargo could go if an interim government were in-

stalled.

Most of all, the ANC would like the IMF ban to stay until an interim government is in place.

Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden believes this is a forlorn hope and that America will resist any ANC attempts to "black-mail" it into doing what it wants.

He predicts that the IMF ban will be lifted early next year.

Even the Commonwealth - though more sympathetic to the ANC than most - is unlikely to kowtow to the extent of using its sanctions policy to press for an interim government.

At Harare the Commonwealth leaders are expected to endorse the recommendation by their foreign ministers that people sanctions should be lifted.

The next phase is that trade and investment sanctions should go once all South African parties are participating in "transitional arrangements".

While some Commonwealth countries may interpret this to mean an interim government, most seem likely to accept a multiparty (or allparty) conference as sufficient condition.

They agree that the retreat from sanctions is increasingly becoming something of a rout - with the ANC frantically adapting its policy to suit the changing reality rather than influencing reality with its policy.

In the words of Van Heerden; "Sanctions represent an unquestionably outgoing tide".

By putting all its sanctions eggs in the interim government basket, the ANC is taking a grave risk of once again emulating King Canute, who thought he could make the tide turn back. - Political Correspondent

4/10/91

Focus on violence

AN interim government, an all-party congress and the on-going violence will be among the issues that will dominate discussions during a meeting of the PWV region of the African National Congress in Johannesburg this weekend.

Regional secretary Barbara Hogan told a news conference that the organisation's membership had more than doubled - from 34 000 to 85 000.

A total of 250 delegates would attend the conference, Hogan said. - Sapa.

ANC advised to drop sanctions

DARIUS SANAI ^{8 Day}
and TIM COHEN 4/10/91

GERMAN Deputy Minister of Economic Development Michaela Geiger said yesterday she was optimistic that the ANC would soon abandon its pro-sanctions policy.

Geiger said in an interview she had stressed to ANC leaders, including secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the importance of abandoning sanctions to allow foreign investors to come back to SA.

Foreign aid would help uplift the black population, but only massive foreign investment by companies using SA as a springboard for trade with the rest of southern Africa would provide a real boost to the people of SA.

The sooner the ANC recognised this, the sooner the process could begin, she said.

Meanwhile the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP meet today to discuss the phased lifting of sanctions.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the ANC national conference in August had endorsed the concept of the phased lifting of sanctions, but today's meeting would flesh out that resolution.

The meeting would not decide on a timetable for the lifting of sanctions.

Nor would the meeting lay down policy.

It would make recommendations to be presented at an ANC policy conference later this year.

ANC wants inquiry on nationalisation

SHARON WOOD

STELLENBOSCH — ANC economic affairs spokesman Tito Mboweni yesterday called on government to appoint a commission of inquiry into nationalisation to determine which institutions should be nationalised and how it could be done.

Speaking at a debate at the biannual Economic Society conference on restructuring the SA economy, Mboweni said it was not possible to wipe nationalisation off the ANC's agenda, because it fitted in with the party's thinking. *6/day 4/10/91*

"The nationalisation issue now becomes one of trying to show which parts of the economy can and cannot be nationalised."

In addition, restructuring would need affirmative action which saw more blacks in management positions and owning productive assets, inward industrialisation and an industrial policy which focused on investment policy.

"Redistribution of land will also be part of the process. It will take place but we just have to determine how," Mboweni said.

Political democracy was essential in the quest for higher economic growth, he said.

Finance Department deputy director-general Estiaan Calitz said SA should follow an outward-orientated development approach. High economic growth was necessary, he said, but not sufficient for reducing income inequalities.

Calitz suggested a restructuring process which would develop an outward-orientat-

□ To Page 2

Nationalisation

ed formal sector; inward industrialisation to develop labour-intensive industries and world development of SA's economic resources.

JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem said with faith, hope, foreign bankers and an annual growth rate of about 5,5%, SA employment would be able to stay abreast of the rapid growth in the economically active population. The bleak picture, in which the economy grew by only 1,4% a year, would result in unemployment rising by about 500 000 a year. *12/10/91 6/day 4/10/91*

Deputy Reserve Bank Governor Jaap Meijer said an independent central bank

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□ From Page 1

could not rely on statutes but needed the backing of public opinion.

The newly empowered might disagree that fighting inflation was a national economic priority, he added. But they had indicated they were amenable to a free market financial system.

Meijer said he did not believe SA would move towards a centrally planned economy but it might have to live with nationalisation of the banking system.

This would not be a disaster, but it would reduce the chance of running the Reserve Bank efficiently.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 8



Nadine Gordimer . . . "through her magnificent epic writing (she) has been of very great benefit to humanity".

Gordimer's work 'part of the struggle'

6/02/91 4/10/91

11A

NADINE Gordimer, one of SA's foremost novelists, is an unwavering critic of apartheid and an outspoken advocate of black majority rule.

Her writing has mirrored the struggle against apartheid and the plight of oppressed blacks. She sees her work as part of the struggle against apartheid.

"It is not enough for whites to say they would be prepared to live under black majority rule. You have to help bring that about," she said in a 1988 interview.

The 67-year-old Gordimer received the Nobel Prize for literature yesterday.

The Swedish Academy said Gordimer, "through her magnificent epic writing has — in the words of Alfred Nobel — been of very great benefit to humanity".

Gordimer "writes with intense immediacy about the extremely complicated personal and social relationships in her environment", the academy said. "At the same time as she feels a political involvement — and takes action on that basis — she does not permit this to encroach on her writings.

"Nevertheless, her literary works, in giving profound insights into the historical process, help to shape this process," the academy said.

Only a half dozen women have been honoured with the Nobel Prize in literature since its inception in 1901. Gordimer was the first woman in 25 years to win the prize.

She regards the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as her leaders and once said she

supports the use of violence against the SA government.

She has written 10 novels in 38 years and more than 200 short stories. Her most recent novel, published in 1990, is *My Son's Story*. This year, she published a collection of short stories, *Jump*.

Her previous novel, *A Sport of Nature* published in 1987, followed its heroine through more than 40 years of political and personal turmoil in southern Africa.

Three of her earlier books were banned for varying periods by government. Gordimer is a member of the ANC but she does not consider herself a political writer.

"I couldn't be, because I started writing so young, I did not know what some things were," she said in an interview with the SABC in April.

"But even then I was writing stories that I now see have political significance, so my writing is regarded as political. It's impressibly political."

She is a patron of the Congress of South African Writers, a movement of anti-apartheid authors that seeks to fight censorship and promote African culture.

Stephen Clingman, author of a 1986 study of Gordimer's works, wrote: "If we are searching for an inner pathway to guide us through SA history over the past 20 years, there are few better places to look for it than in the novels of Nadine Gordimer."

Gordimer grew up in the mining town of

Springs, the daughter of Jewish immigrants from England and East Europe.

Her dream was to be a ballet dancer, but her mother forbade physical exertion because of an accelerated heart rate. She withdrew the girl from school at 11, saying the company of other children would aggravate the problem.

Gordimer, who had been writing since she was 9, turned to books for companionship and spent hours in the Springs library.

She credits *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair's exposé of the Chicago meat industry, for planting the seed of social awareness in her young mind.

She said many years later: "The way the meat workers were treated related to what I had taken for granted was simply a God-given circumstance — the mineworkers in their compounds not far from where we lived — and I then began to look objectively at the way blacks were treated as units of labour. I think I was puzzled, I was disturbed. But it was the beginning, I suppose, of what you call a social conscience."

Gordimer's first story was published when she was 15, her first book, *Face to Face*, at 27.

She lives in Johannesburg with her second husband. She has two grown-up children. She is currently lecturing in New York.

She said SA provides "wonderful subjects . . . because people are living under pressure".

"I must take my freedom as a writer to show human beings as they are. If you do not, you become a propagandist." — Sapa-AP.

PAC branch 11A wants NP in PF

Sowetan 4/10/91.

THE National Party would be an important participant in the pre-constituent assembly conference proposed by the three main liberation movements, the PAC's Transvaal region said yesterday.

"The attendance of the NP will be important as the steps to be decided upon relate to the transfer of political power currently held illegitimately by it," the region said in a statement.

This was one of the resolutions taken by the PAC's

40 branches at an inter-branch meeting held in Lebowa at the weekend.

At a Press conference yesterday, the region said it gave its unqualified support to the PAC's agreement with the ANC and Azapo to convene a pre-constituent assembly conference which would negotiate the modalities for a constituent assembly.

is is the position in line with our congress resolution and we call on the media to stop distorting the

The region said that, unlike the proposals of the Government's multiparty conference, the agenda of the pre-constituent assembly conference would not include the actual drafting of a new constitution but will be limited to an agenda which would include transitional arrangements and international involvement.

The region called on the PAC's national executive committee not to compromise on equal representation in the Patriotic Front.

Boksburg to honour Mandela

Sowetan 4/10/91

(11A)

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
and Sapa

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to receive the "freedom" of the Conservative Party-run Boksburg town on Monday - a move that the municipality's chief whip has described as "not only laughable but sickening".

But this time it will not be an occasion similar to that when CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was granted the freedom of the same town a year ago.

Mandela's honour will be from a different quarter, just like Treurnicht's was a stately occasion of a different kind.

The organisers, the Save Boksburg Committee, said this would be "the fulfilment of a long-standing undertaking by the black communities of Boksburg during their successful two-year campaign against the re-introduction of apartheid policies in the town while Mandela was still imprisoned".

Boksburg, a small town on the East Rand, is internationally notorious for its glaring racial disharmony.

ANC to honour cadres

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sovetan
4/10/91

THE chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, is expected to be guest speaker at a commemoration service at the Atteridgeville Super Stadium on Sunday.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the service is to honour MK cadres who died in operations against Unita in Angola and local residents killed by security forces during the past 20 years.

Other ANC members expected to speak at the service are Mrs Winnie Mandela and Dr Abe Nkomo.

ANC, NP share host of ideas – State Dept

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

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Star 4/10/91

WASHINGTON — In its annual report to Congress on political change in South Africa, the State Department says that in spite of the ANC's rejection of the National Party's constitutional proposals, the two parties share many common ideas, and their proposals are likely to serve as springboards for discussion at the planned all-party conference.

The report, required each year in terms of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, was delivered to Capitol Hill yesterday.

Several provisions of the Act remain in force despite the lifting of sanctions earlier this year.

In a lengthy report of developments in South Africa during the year, the department

said that among the many common features shared by the proposals of the ANC and the NP was support for a justiciable bill of rights, "albeit in very different forms".

It added that although the ANC continued to call for the election of a constituent assembly to negotiate a new constitution, there was speculation that the all-party conference could evolve into a body which would draft a constitution and present it for ratification in a referendum.

The report outlines the steady erosion of the existing tri-cameral constitution, and says that as a result of the repeal of apartheid legislation, the separate chambers controlled an increasingly narrow range of activities.

The system had been further eroded by the NP's decision to open its ranks to all races and by the defection of coloured MPs to the NP.

"Parliamentary politics, as a whole, has become less central as the focus of political activity

has shifted to the negotiating process.

"The Government does not support the continuation of the own-affairs concept under a future constitution.

"Currently, the principal remaining element of own affairs is the education system which, with few exceptions, remains segregated."

On the ANC's demand for an interim government, the report noted that the Government had agreed to put the subject at the top of the agenda of the coming all-party conference.

"President de Klerk has suggested that parties taking part could have a role in the government, perhaps including representation in the Cabinet."

Violence, it added, was "the principal obstacle to a constitutional settlement during the past year".

It noted that there had been a resurgence immediately before the signing of the recent peace accord, suggesting there were forces which opposed it.

Who's in bed with whose ex-partner?

W/Mant 4/10-10/10/91

11A

Political trysts are being made and broken so quickly it's hard to keep track of who's in bed with whose ex-partner, who's flirting and who's not speaking.

GAVIN EVANS charts the complex web of political alliances

FROM one-night stands and dangerous liaisons to starry love-ins and shaky marriages, South Africa's political parties are in the business of spring fever romancing — or of fending off amorous advances from would-be suitors. It all has to do with the constitutional negotiations which are threatening to begin late this year or early next year — to strengthen positions in the horse trading or strengthen resolve to stay out of it.

THE CENTRE-RIGHT

NP, Inkatha tension

Until recently the government, the state and the National Party were energetically trying to woo or create black allies.

They helped form groups like the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, provided secret funding and military training for Inkatha, kept most of the homeland governments and the black town councils in their pockets and kept Solidarity sweet and the Inkatha Party in line.

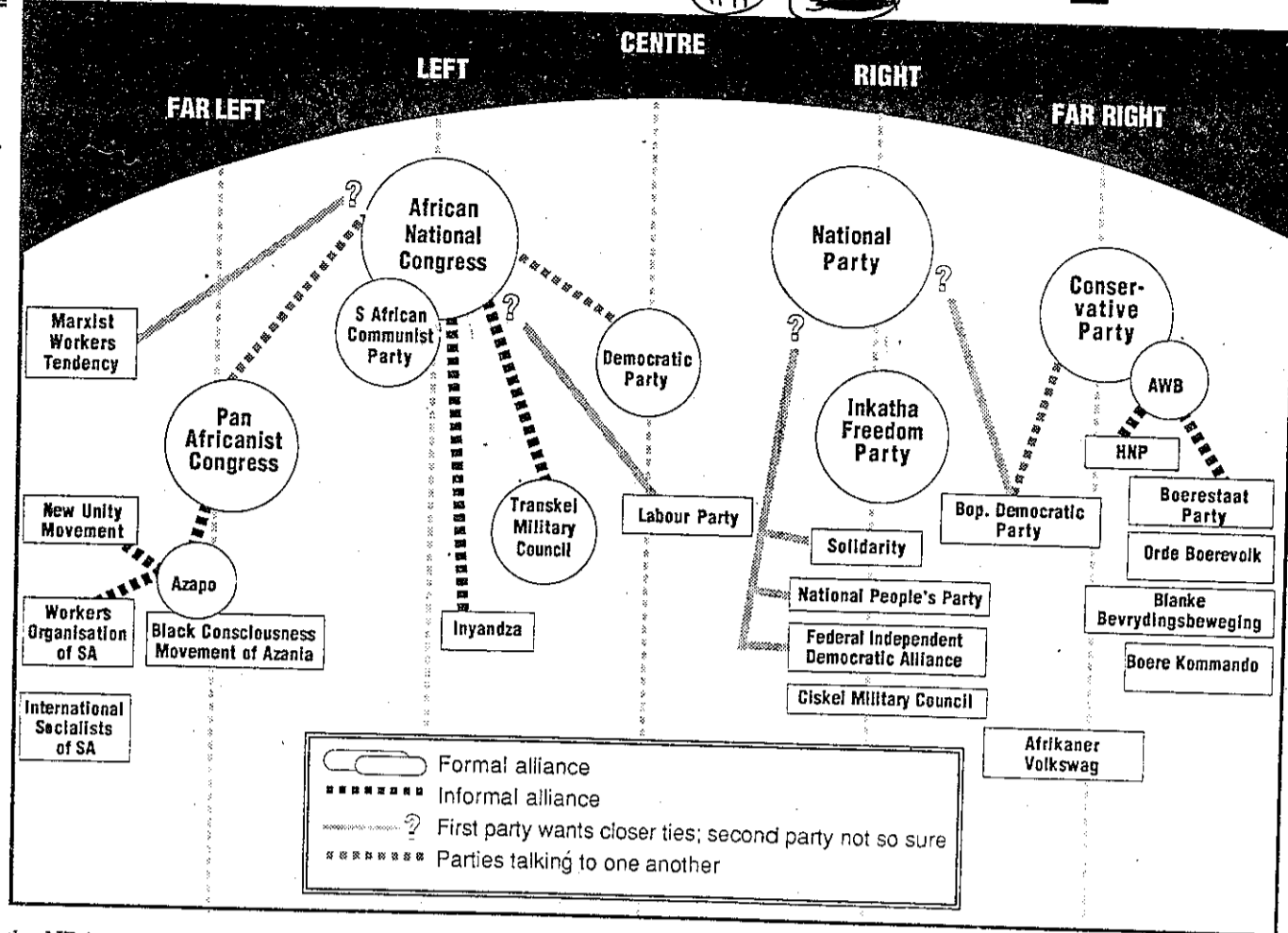
But with the rise of President FW de Klerk's fortunes in the black communities, the NP is now in the position of being able to pick and choose, while its erstwhile allies are stuck without a partner for the big dance.

Prior to the Inkatha funding scandal some prominent Nationalists were cautioning against any advance on the prevailing "footsie-footsie" with Inkatha — warning that the organisation's opinion polls, on a national scale, were consistently low (often below five percent) and were sinking. Since then the NP has been lukewarm towards the IFP, despite the congruence of their views on constitutional and economic questions.

One political broker, close to both parties, explained it like this: "At the moment Inkatha is being very badly advised, mainly by whites. They want to take on the African National Congress in every way possible in order to destroy them, and this kind of thinking dominates the Inkatha Central Committee."

"This is certainly acceptable to the right of the NP, but not necessarily to the people who are trying to negotiate with the ANC."

Stellenbosch University's Professor Hennie Kotze adds: "Inkatha wants to move closer to the NP and is worried



How the parties line up from far left to further right, using the Democratic Party as the centre. Included here are official relationships, unofficial ties, friendships which are just at the flirting stage and loves which are spurned

the NP is moving out of their grip, which is one of the reasons why they are currently trying so hard to demonstrate support and strength."

Kotze says the NP is not making major efforts to win negotiating partners at present.

"They will accept the support of like-minded groups, but not formal or even informal alliances."

Instead, they are aggressively recruiting in the coloured and Indian areas, and more cautiously in the African townships.

At the same time some of the homelands (particularly Ciskei and Bophuthatswana) remain useful negotiating allies for the NP. And the state has retained its finger on the black town councils, though many of these are now the province of Inkatha.

THE CENTRE-LEFT

ANC extends its arms

At the time of Mandela's release the ANC was wallowing in the warm fuzzi of being the most eligible party in town. Violence, inefficiency, the South African Communist Party alliance and the National Party machine have dulled the shine considerably, and now the movement has had to start from scratch again in many areas of its assumed domain.

In addition to attempts at widening and deepening its membership base it has also been casting its nets both left and right to strengthen its hand in negotiation.

On the left flank its principle alliance partner remains the SACP, which will be present on its own accord at the All-Party Conference. Despite the overlap in leadership and policy, the majority of ANC members have not joined the SACP. The SACP's Jeremy Cronin says the party now has 15 000 mem-

bers while the ANC's Karl Niehaus says the movement has 580 000 members in 97 branches.

With the alliance being a distinct liability to the ANC in the non-African areas, a growing number of ANC leaders are now arguing for a greater distance between the two, while SACP stalwarts are counting on the alliance continuing well into the post-apartheid period.

Further left the ANC is hoping to draw the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation to the negotiation table, and is using the Patriotic Front to this end.

On its right, both ANC and Democratic Party members speak of improving relations following a recent meeting between the two leaderships, while the ANC can rely on support from some homeland governments (principally Transkei and kaNgwane).

THE CENTRE

DP as handmaid

Democratic Party members often argue that their position represents the likely constitutional consensus to be reached between the NP and the ANC, and despite a declining support base they may just be correct.

Over the past two years the ANC has moved steadily but unevenly to the right, just as the NP has moved steadily but unevenly to the left, while the DP remains at the liberal political centre.

Their proposals for a transitional government, their suggestion of an elected constitutional conference if All-Party talks fail, and their constitutional proposals each suggest possible points of compromise between the ANC and the NP.

Aside from its talks with the ANC,

and its possible attendance at this month's Patriotic Front Conference, DP leaders have also been involved in discussions with political commentators Dr Richard van der Ross and others about expanding the liberal political centre in the coloured community.

The Labour Party, having been snubbed by the NP, has made a shift from the centre-right to the centre in recent months. But with opinion polls showing its support in the coloured community to be well below 10 percent (compared to over 50 percent for the ANC) it has little to offer any of the major players.

THE FAR LEFT

To talk or to pose?

To the left of the ANC the largest party is the PAC which, according to a recent Gallup-Markinor poll, has the support of seven percent of blacks. It "vehemently rejects" the government-proposed Multi-Party Conference, but may be prepared to sit with the government at a "pre-constituent assembly conference".

It has a fairly close but historically fractious relationship with Azapo. It was the PAC, for instance, which successfully pushed the ANC to accept Azapo's inclusion on the steering committee of the Patriotic Front.

Azapo, which claims a paid up membership of 55 000 to 75 000 in 120 branches (but seldom registers in even single percentage terms in opinion polls) has taken a similar stance to the PAC on negotiations.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation has a formal alliance with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, has reached basic agreements on several issues with the PAC and has had several meetings recently with the Workers Organisation of South Africa

and the New Unity Movement.

Wosa and the NEUM are two of the four Trotskyist-oriented groups on the extreme fringe of the left, and strongest in the Western Cape. Together their membership is less than 1 000.

Wosa rejects not only the All-Party Conference but also the notion of a constituent assembly. The 30-odd members of International Socialists of South Africa broke away from Wosa, mainly over how to characterise the Soviet Union.

Wosa's chief rival on the extreme left is the Marxist Workers Tendency, an "entryist" and largely underground group which exists uncomfortably within the ANC and has a presence within a couple of trade unions, and close ties with the British Militant Tendency.

THE FAR RIGHT

To talk or to fight?

Officially the Conservative Party is resolved not to enter talks with communists and the ANC involving the sale of its birthright. This is the position put most forcibly by its old guard deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

But its left wing, led by Koos van der Merwe and Pieter Mulder, argues it has no option but to try and cut a deal in Multi-Party talks.

With the exception of Dr Karel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag (which wants a smallish piece of northern Cape land, called Orandia), most of the other 100-odd far right groups are adamant about not negotiating and are holding out for a largish piece of land comprising Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal.

Most significant of these is Eugene TerreBlanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging whose relation with the CP has improved since the Ventersdorp "massacre". In recent months it has been more distant from its old friend, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, whose support among whites has now dipped below one percent. TerreBlanche's volatility and personal habits have fostered several breakaway groups, of which the purist Boere Commando is probably the largest.

Also significant is Robert van Tonder's Boerestaatparty and its military wing, the Boere Weerstandsbeweging (which is now split between Andrew Ford and Piet Bester — who recently held talks with the ANC). And then there is Nic Strydom's Orde Boerevolk, whose members included the three hunger strikers.

Boesak the unbowed

11A APR 5/10/91

IN an article in The Sunday Independent in July last year, British journalist Michael Stent described Dr Allan Boesak as "driven by ambition and distracted by his libido".

As thumbnail sketches go, that's not a bad description of the amorous former clergyman and patron of the United Democratic Front.

But it leaves out an essential element, why Dr Boesak became a public figure in the first place.

This reason is simple: apartheid, specifically forced removals.

Born in the Kalahari town of Kakamas into an intensely religious family, Allan Boesak tasted the bitterness of having to move home because strangers decreed so.

The family had moved to Somerset West after Allan's schoolteacher father died when Allan was eight.

There they lived in considerable poverty, Allan helping the family finances by working as a farm labourer.

In 1962, when Allan was 17 and had just written his matric, the area the Boesaks were living in was declared white. There was no escape: they had to move.

The next time Allan was brought into contact with forced removals was in 1967, after he had been ordained in the coloured Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk.

His first congregation was in Paarl, where he met and married Dorothy Martin, a teacher.

This time, bureaucrats decreed that the

Dr Allan Boesak was 'driven by ambition, distracted by his libido,' wrote a British journalist last year, but there's more to the man than that. MALCOLM FOTHERGILL, Weekend Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg on the controversial clergyman who was recently elected Western Cape chairman of the African National Congress.

area his church building stood in was for whites only.

Not surprisingly, emotions ran high. One old woman wanted to know why, when he preached so well, he had nothing to say about the injustice being done to his congregation.

The seeds of Dr Boesak's future political career were sown: but it was to be several years before they sprouted.

First came six years of study in the Netherlands, where he and Dorothy and their first-born moved and where, in 1976, he gained his doctorate with a dissertation called *Farewell to Innocence, a Social-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Black Power*.

That same year, he returned to South Africa, to the Bellville South congregation.

By 1979 his political views were being frequently publicised.

Then, in August 1982, he became known internationally when in Canada he urged the World Alliance of Reformed Churches to declare apartheid a heresy.

A result was that two white Afrikaans churches were expelled from the WARC.

Another was his election at the age of 36 as president of the WARC.

A year later, in 1983, Dr Boesak was a prime mover in the establishment of the

United Democratic Front, of which he became a vocal and often provocative patron.

His future as a politically-minded clergyman seemed assured.

Then came 1985. During that event-filled year:

■ He became a director of the Foundation for Justice and Peace;

■ He was denounced as a "Johnny-come-lately" by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi;

■ He was detained and had his passport confiscated (by the then Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, uncle of Dr Boesak's present wife, Elna) over a proposed march to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town to demand the freedom of ANC leader Nelson Mandela;

■ He was arrested with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Catholic Archbishop Stephen Naidoo while marching on parliament, and

■ He was embroiled in a sordid controversy over alleged security police involvement in publicising an extramarital affair he had with Miss Di Scott, a divorcee who worked for the SACC.

He and Miss Scott, who emigrated to Canada, had a "unique relationship", he said.

The row blew over, and Dr Boesak was



soon denouncing apartheid as vigorously as ever.

In 1990 a reporter from Die Burger broke the story that the president of the WARC was having an extramarital affair with a television producer, Elna Botha.

In the row that followed, Dr Boesak left the ministry and resigned the presidency of the WARC.

Dorothy, his wife of 21 years, with whom he had four children, divorced him, and, on February 26 this year, his 45th birthday, he married Elna Botha. It was his second marriage, and her third.

The couple moved to a luxurious R595 000 house in Constantia.

At the end of last month he bounced back, being elected chairman of the ANC's Western Cape region, a post that carries with it a seat on the ANC's national executive committee.

Whether Dr Boesak will be able to continue playing a significant role in the country's political life remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, he would be the last to describe himself as a happy man. In an interview in May with the Weekly Mail, he said he missed his clerical career "with a pain that is almost unbearable".

Patriotic Front set for power struggle

THE Patriotic Front conference to be held later this month is increasingly showing signs of becoming a launching pad for a power struggle.

The organisers have made it clear by their conditions for participation that the aim is to link together all political forces seeking a constituent assembly and an interim government to run the country during constitutional negotiations.

Once these forces have been united, the stage will be set for a huge show of political force to confront the National Party and its allies with demands hitherto flatly rejected by the government.

The PF conference, to be held in Durban from October 24 to 27, also promises to become an occasion for the drawing of battle lines between the two major groupings to be represented at constitutional negotiations — an alliance led by the ANC and its allies and an opposing grouping led by the NP and its allies.

The conference is expected to be the occasion for a visible comeback by former United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak to mainstream "liberation" politics, following his election last weekend as Western Cape chairman of the African National Congress.

The organisers clearly see the PF conference as an occasion for choosing sides — and for some politicians and organisations to "get off the fence". Participants will be asked to endorse the PF's stand. If they don't, they are likely to find themselves isolated from the mainstream of "liberation" politics.

The Patriotic Front conference later this month, aimed at linking all political forces seeking a constituent assembly and an interim government, is showing signs of becoming a launching pad for a power struggle. **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent goes backstage.

Some serious thinking about their options and likely implications after the PF conference is being done within parties such as the Democratic Party, the Labour Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Which way will they jump? In some cases their intentions are still uncertain.

The conference is being co-sponsored by the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

More than 50 organisations are to be invited to the PF conference, according to Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, a member of the conference's preparatory committee. He says invitations are being sent across the political spectrum and will include organisations and parties in the "homelands" and even those presently working in the bantustan structures.

The only qualification is that the invited organisations should be committed to the idea of a constituent assembly and the "logical measures" that would flow from such an approach.

Writing in the ANC publication *Mayibuye*, Mr Ebrahim says: "A patriotic front becomes more urgent if viewed against the need for a common strategy on the

question of a constituent assembly, an interim government and an all-party congress. The Patriotic Front conference is expected to discuss and reach consensus on all these issues."

What will also flow out of the PF conference is "united mass action to back the demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government."

From the wide range of invitations sent out, it is clear that the aim is to form a powerful alliance that would include most of the major black groupings in South Africa and the "homelands".

In addition to the main "liberation" movements, a host of other organisations have been invited, including Inkatha, the Democratic Party, the Consultative Business Movement, Labour Party, Jews for Social Justice, homeland political parties, Cosatu, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, and Workers for Socialist Action (Wosa).

Also expected to attend are Transkei military leader General Bantu Holomisa, and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, chairman of Ciskei's Council of State.

The wording of the invitation indicates participants will be expected to support a

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constituent assembly — already rejected by Inkatha and the DP.

On the government and NP side, misgivings have been expressed that the PF conference amounts to a "ganging up" of forces against the government.

Questioned this week about this perception, Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley described it as "absolutely right".

"We are ganging up against the government, and no doubt about it. There cannot be anything else. De Klerk in that sense knows what is happening. He is intelligent," Mr Moodley said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said this week: "As far as we are concerned we cannot take a definite decision until we see the invitation, because we really do not know what the qualification is for membership or to what one is expected to commit oneself to be part of the front.

"If one is contemplating participating in the multi-party talks/all party conference, one has to examine very carefully any proposal for a preliminary ganging up."

The ANC's Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said earlier this year the PF would also serve to combat one of the most serious threats to the emergence of a democratic South Africa — the township violence.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai says that at the end of the deliberations the organisers hope to have "a united response to the country's constitutional problems and a call for the transfer of power to the people."

ANC may have scared investors

11A

ARG 5/10/91

PETER FABRICIUS

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC may have shot itself in the foot by jeopardising a secret R30-billion plan to start its own development bank.

This week it issued alarming threats to nationalise industries and to reconsider honouring foreign loans.

And diplomats and businessmen fear that the ANC's remarks may have frightened off millions of rand of private investment.

Diplomats disclosed this week that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had recently written to the heads of the G7 states — the world's richest nations — asking them for contributions to a R30-billion, ANC-sponsored development bank to help overcome socio-economic inequalities in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The diplomats said the ANC's apparent shift to the left may have scared off much of the likely donations.

"If you look at this project in the light of recent statements by the ANC, I doubt that potential donor countries would be prepared to give millions," one said.

The first controversial ANC statement came from Mr Mandela himself when he re-affirmed last Friday that the ANC still intended to nationalise mines and financial institutions.

Then ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said mid-week that a new democratic government would "not be keen" to repay foreign debts incurred by the present government.

After a flurry of contradictory statements, the ANC basically confirmed both these standpoints in official releases.

ANC deputy international af-

fairs director Mr Stanley Mabile, who had said that Mr Ramaphosa's view was "not correct", was publically rebuked by the ANC which said he had expressed a "private view".

And yesterday the giant trade union federation Cosatu, one of the ANC's chief alliance partners, fully endorsed Mr Ramaphosa's line.

"The present government has no right to burden the South African people by unilaterally borrowing money, at this stage, to feed the apartheid bureaucracy or to finance unilateral economic restructuring which is to the detriment of the majority," it said.

However, ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said that although Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mandela had expressed the present ANC view, the ANC's economic policy was in a state of flux and would be hardened only at a policy conference late this year or early next.

The apparent regression and disarray in ANC economic policy have surprised and dismayed Western diplomats and South African industrialists who believed the organisation had quietly abandoned its old hardline strategies.

They were especially surprised as ANC economic officials are about to attend five major international economic conferences this month where they were expected to try to encourage the international community to invest in a future South Africa.

"The rug has now been pulled out from under their feet," Anglo American spokesman Mr Michael Spicer said this week.

The conflicting statements indicate serious divisions in the ANC on economic policy.

Some observers believe that the ANC deliberately got tough on economic policy because it

was frustrated in its efforts to persuade the government to delay the implementation of Vat.

Other observers, including senior ANC officials, suggest that hardliners may have deliberately staged the sudden shift to the left to scare off investment and give the appearance that the ANC's sanctions policy was still holding up.

They regard it as significant that Mr Ramaphosa's warning on loans was provoked by the government's successful floating of a R650-million loan through the German Deutsche Bank.

This was a major breach in the wall of financial sanctions which are virtually the last line of defence in the ANC's crumbling sanctions policy.

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance met yesterday to review its sanctions policy and, it is understood, adapted it to concentrate all sanctions energies on a last-ditch effort to win an interim government.

Ms Marcus made it clear this week that the ANC was dead against investment before an interim government was installed and believed this would undermine reform.

Foreigners who invested now would be "baling out the government, which has no clear intention of going through with the democratic process".

However, diplomats pointed out that investors were "not standing around eagerly waiting to invest in South Africa".

Investors scared off now would not necessarily return if an interim government was installed as they had many more attractive investment options.

Diplomatic sources said this week that the ANC plan to launch its own development bank in opposition to the Development Bank of South Africa, had run into some resistance from the G7 nations.

It's time for PAC to hop on to the all-party bus

Star 5/10/91

IIA

A FEW days ago there were press reports to the effect that the PAC had ultimately decided to take part in the forthcoming constitutional negotiations aimed at establishing a democratic post-apartheid South Africa.

These reports were instantly hailed as a significant breakthrough for the process of democratic socio-political transition in our country.

However, about a day later, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander issued a statement dismissing the reports and reiterating the PAC's well known rejection of participation in the all-party conference and the negotiations which are expected to follow.

Interestingly, in his statement rejecting these reports, Mr Alexander indicated that the PAC might be prepared to take part in a "pre-constituent assembly conference".

The concept of a pre-constituent assembly conference was unfortunately not fully explained by Mr Alexander.

There is therefore no telling if it means the same thing as an all-party conference or if it heralds yet another addition to the growing vocabulary in the politics of socio-political transition.

Whatever the PAC leaders end up deciding about participation in constitutional talks, there is no denying the fact that both the PAC and indeed the negotiation process itself would be impoverished by their absence at the negotiation table.

The PAC has capable leaders whose contribution would be invaluable in the constitutional talks. Like all other parties, it also has a policy worth tabling for consideration by other participants in negotiations.

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHOMO



But so far the PAC has not spelt out any viable and convincing alternative to negotiating a new democratic post-apartheid constitution.

Neither has it expressed any willingness to engage the Government in discussions aimed solely at addressing those issues that the PAC still regards as obstacles impeding its participation in constitutional talks.

While one understands the PAC's reluctance to be seen to be co-operating with the present Government in any interim arrangement aimed at smoothing the transfer of power to a democratic majority, one is at the same time aware that short of a revolution, there is no model of socio-political transition which does not involve a measure of interim co-operation between those who wield power and those who wish to capture that power.

Even the new post-apartheid government will have to co-operate briefly with the present holders of power so as to ensure a smooth transition.

It is fashionable to speculate that the PAC might end up marginalised if it persistently refuses to negotiate.

This may well be the case.

But an outcome that would be to the benefit of post-apartheid South Africa and all its citizens is one in which the PAC would have been persuaded to negotiate and join the other architects of a democratic post-apartheid South Africa.

Property rights
protected in
draft constitution

PATRICK LAURENCE

Star 5/10/91

THE South African Communist Party affirms its commitment to common ownership of the "key means of production" in a draft constitution to be discussed at its congress scheduled for December.

At the same time the draft document also declares that the party will protect "all personal non-exploitative property" and any additional private property which "may be necessary for effective economic development".

The commitment to protect some private property represents a major change for the SACP, judging by its existing constitution.

Adopted in Havana, Cuba, in 1989, the present constitution defines as one of its main aims the destruction of the "system of capitalist exploitation" and the establishment of a "socialist republic based on the common ownership of the means of production".

The draft constitution, however, makes no direct reference to the events which shook the Soviet Union after the failed coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in August.

Unlike many communist parties around the globe which have abandoned the label "communist", the SACP's draft constitution makes no attempt to hide behind euphemisms for communism.

"The ultimate aim of the party is the building of a communist society in which all forms of exploitation of person by person will have ended and in which all the products of human endeavour will be distributed according to need," it says.

Lenin recognised

But it adds an important corollary: "The attainment of such a society will require an interim socialist formation in which reward will be measured by contribution."

Unlike the SACP's draft manifesto — which was released for discussion about a month ago — the draft constitution specifically recognises the importance of Lenin as a revolutionary.

Committing itself to the "principles of Marxism", it says: "The foundations for these principles were laid by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels."

But it stresses that Marxist principles have to be applied in South Africa and thus require "indigenous elaboration" in order to take account of the realities of the South African situation.

The draft constitution, unlike the existing one, commits the SACP to multiparty democracy and to attaining its ends by winning the support of the majority of the voters rather than through a revolutionary seizure of power.

The draft constitution says: "The SACP will primarily dedicate itself to advancing the interests of the working class and its allies in democratic contest with other political forces."

The draft constitution aims to do what SACP leaders believe President Gorbachev should have done in the Soviet Union: introduce the principles of democracy and accountability into the ranks of the Communist Party.

It states: "All higher organs (of the SACP) shall be accountable to lower organs and to the membership in the formulation and implementation of policy."

It lays down that the election of people to leadership positions in the party shall be "by secret ballot unless a minimum of 75 percent of the delegates (at the pending congress) decide otherwise."

SACP modifies its line

ANC, police sling mud at each other

SOUTH Africans will just have to wait if they are anxious to hear from the police and the ANC how the two sides are trying to destabilise the new South Africa.

They two have hurled allegations at each other over the past seven days.

Evidence

First, ANC president Nelson Mandela claimed last Saturday that police were recruiting ANC members into bogus township defence units and arming them.

"The reason is simple: They start with acts of gangsterism, killing innocent people, leaving evi-

dence that it was done by the ANC," he said.

Then police alleged on Monday they had direct evidence that ANC members and officials were buying illegal weapons for their defence units.

Several cases were being investigated which involved the purchase of illegal weapons with the knowledge of ANC members or officials, the SAP told a Johannesburg morning newspaper.

But attempts this week by the Saturday Star to gain access from the ANC and the police to their "hard evidence" did

not get very far.

The ANC's chief information officer, Patrick Lekota, said: "We are not going to give out information because it might interfere with investigations.

"There is a possibility that we might disclose information next week," he added.

On the police side, instead of information about the "several cases", the Saturday Star was told by Lieutenant Nina Barkhuizen that two ANC members appeared in a Klerksdorp court

yesterday in connection with attempted murder and the illegal possession of firearms and explosives. The Saturday Star waited four days for this information.

Dealing

On Thursday, Lieutenant Barkhuizen said the police dealing with the investigations would not tell her where an expected court appearance would take place because the matter was sub judice.

Asked in which area of South Africa the investigations were proceeding, she said she did not have "the faintest idea".

Star
5/10/91

**AL-AMEEN KAFAR
and BRENDAN TEMPLETON**

11A
B&B

Top ANC post up for grabs

S. Times 6/10/91

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

ANC special projects head Tokyo Sexwale has emerged as the front-runner for election as chairman of the PWV area — the biggest and most powerful region in the organisation.

The PWV's second regional congress, which was held in Johannesburg this weekend, will reconvene on Thursday to elect a new regional executive committee and office-bearers.

Former UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, who has also been nominated for the position of chairman, was still deciding whether to stand for election.

It is unlikely that present chairman Kgalema Motlanthe will stand again.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation had to sharpen its wits as it was entering a new phase of multi-lateralism. It had to interact with the government

new democratic government.

He said the congress should discuss what an interim government would look like and how decisions should be taken at the all-party conference — by consensus or voting.

The envisaged interim government's function would be discussed with different organisations as it would not be an ANC body, Mr Ramaphosa said.

However, it should be a sovereign body and have complete control of running the country.

The conference also had to discuss how to prepare for constituent assembly elections and how to ensure a landslide victory for the ANC.

He said the ANC should start acting as though a constituent assembly election was being held in January.

ANC, PAC to address Labour seminar

S/ Times 6/10/91
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

BOTH the PAC and ANC have accepted invitations to address a pre-congress seminar of the Labour Party in Port Elizabeth next weekend where the LP will re-examine its future political role and alliances.

Labour Party leader Reverend Allan Hendrickse said yesterday he also had invited the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, to address the seminar but had not yet received a reply.

The Labour Party, previously despised as a "sell-out" party by extra-parliamentary forces, started adopting its pre-Tricameral Parliament confrontational stance following an attempt by the NP to topple Mr Hendrickse and wrest power from the Labour Party in the House of Representatives at the end of the last session of Parliament.

Dispensation

Mr Hendrickse conceded that the NP's plan was the "jolt" that made the party take stock of its future role.

"The whole motivation behind the NP's attempt at a coup was to silence the LP as an opposition party and to prevent it from confronting the NP on iniquitous pieces of legislation it wanted to bulldoze through Parliament and the President's Council.

"This is why it is perhaps essential that the LP continues to play an effective role in Parliament," he said.

"The important thing the party has to decide next weekend is with whom it is going to associate and cooperate in articulating the political aspirations of the disenfranchised during the transitional period leading to an interim government and a new dispensation," said Mr Hendrickse.

Mandate

The LP was cautious about forming early alliances "because it doesn't want to repeat the mistakes of certain parties in Namibia which found themselves out in the cold after the elections".

He said the LP executive was given a mandate at the last annual congress to engage in exploratory talks with extra-parliamentary movements with a view to future alliances.

"It was in that spirit that talks were held with both the ANC and PAC and their acceptance of the invitations to address the seminar is historic and politically significant because it cements a new understanding between us and them," he said.

SACP chief

Mhlaba next

FORMER Robben Island prisoner Raymond Mhlaba is set to take over from Joe Slovo as general secretary of the South African Communist Party. *SITWES 6/10/91*

The SACP had hoped that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani would replace Mr Slovo, but it has now accepted that the ANC will not release him to work fulltime for the party.

The request to release Mr Hani was made because Mr Slovo's workload in the ANC prevented him from devoting sufficient attention to SACP work.

Sources in the party said Vula trialist Charles Nqakula was likely to be appointed as Mr Mhlaba's deputy while Mr Slovo, who is suffering bone marrow cancer, will replace the ageing Dan Tloome as national chairman.

While the national executive committee will only discuss the issue of Mr Hani's secondment to the SACP this month, SACP sources said the indications were that Mr Hani will not be released and the party has accepted this.

"The SACP's congress will be held from December 5-8 and be attended by about 400 delegates and 100 guests. It is likely to be held in Soweto and will be as open as possible," said official Jeremy Cronin.

Struggle

"The congress will discuss the SACP's draft manifesto, its draft constitution and look at how to strengthen the party and to take it forward," he said.

The SACP's draft constitution, which will have to be ratified at the congress, states that the name of the party will remain unchanged.

The SACP aimed to be the leading political force of the SA working class whose basic interests it advances in the struggle

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

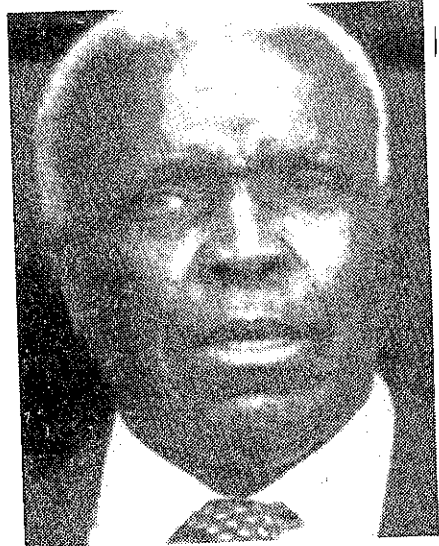
for national liberation and socialism, the constitution states.

The ultimate aim of the party would be to build a communist society. To attain this goal would require an interim socialist formation in which reward would be measured by contribution.

The party committed itself to a social order which would respect the cultural, language and religious rights of all sections of the society and the democratic rights of the individual.

It also supported a multi-party political framework in which there would be open and free elections.

The draft constitution says the SACP would work to end the capitalist system



Raymond Mhlaba... set to take over

and to establish a "democratic socialist order" based on the common ownership of, and participation in, the key means of production.

Such a society would respect and protect all personal "non-exploitative" property and such private property as may be necessary for effective economic development and growth.

All members of the party would be obliged to defend the party. However, members who had a minority view would not be compelled to publicly pronounce support for a majority policy.

Similar

Members active in fraternal organisations (like the ANC) would be bound by the discipline and decisions of such organisations. They should not create or participate in caucuses designed to influence either elections or policies, the document states.

While the structures of the SACP will be similar to those of the ANC, the congress will elect a 25-member central committee which will then form an eight-member central executive committee to carry out the work of the party.

Boksburg hails

A big joke, says mayor

By THEMBA KHUMALO

Press 6/10/91

11A

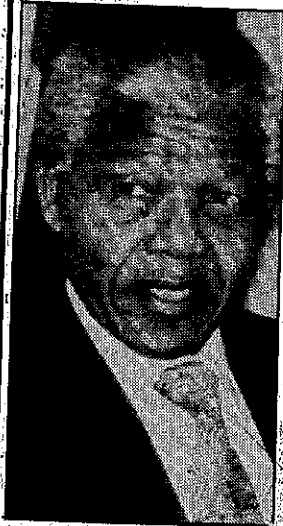
THE mayor of white Boksburg thinks it a big joke that the residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus will award the "unofficial" freedom of the town to ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.

Mayor TJ Ferreira dismissed the event as a "laughing matter" while his predecessor, Beyers de Klerk, called it a "joke".

About three years ago Boksburg made international headlines when the town council voted to keep the town white. Blacks were barred from using public facilities and several racial attacks were reported.

Blacks retaliated by withdrawing their buying power which led to the closure of many businesses.

The official freedom of the town has previously been awarded to former world heavyweight boxing champion Gerrie Coetzee, former State President PW Botha and CP leader Andries Treurnicht.



Nelson Mandela

Tomorrow's fanfare has been organised by the Save Boksburg Committee (SBC), which consists of residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus.

Mandela will be accompanied by Rev Alan Boesak, who was recently elected chairman of the ANC's Western Cape region.

The two leaders and their entourage will be treated to a glittering "alternative" ceremony on their arrival at Reiger Park, a coloured township which spearheaded the marathon consumer boycott to protest against

rightwing racism directed at blacks in the town. SBC chairman Mahomed Navsa said the occasion was "the fulfilment of a long-standing undertaking by the black communities during their successful two-year campaign to eradicate apartheid policies in the city".

Residents will line the streets and there will be a band, drum majorettes, a ceremonial key and a scroll. A framed newspaper banner bearing the slogan: "Mandela, The Freedom of Boksburg Awaits U" will be handed over, Navsa said.

De Klerk claimed the move was merely a stunt by "a small group of radicals" in Reiger Park to regain lost ground after 75 percent of coloured people in the township joined the National Party.

Mandela

Winning the war

Clpers 6/10/91

11A

SINCE the unbanning of the ANC, friend and foe alike admit the organisation has on many occasions come off second best against the government in the propaganda war.

Only very recently has the ANC begun to roll back the tide. Spearheading this counter attack is the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), headed by Dr Pallo Jordan. One of his chief lieutenants is Saki Macozoma.

At 34, Macozoma is one of the youngest men on the ANC's National Executive Committee. And as head of DIP's media liaison section he is one of the organisation's most visible leaders.

DIP is not an innocuous department concerned with churning out press statements, making pronouncements about the organisation's policies or clarifying and defending statements by the leadership.

Macozoma says although strictly speaking the DIP is not a policy-making department, it has the latitude to "interpret policy, reformulate policies and on occasion even make policy".

He further elaborates that from time to time the DIP must make suggestions on policy changes "in order to avoid a situation where we have to defend the indefensible policies of the organisation".

With this in mind Macozoma justifiably regards his department as one of the most critical in the ANC.

The role of the DIP is going to be even more important in the future. As the battle for the hearts and minds of the people intensifies in the coming years among all the major political

players, more demands are going to be made on the ANC's propaganda department.

Macozoma believes they will be equal to the task. The bachelor from Port Elizabeth is the first to admit that since the unbanning of the ANC, the government has been winning the propaganda war.

"In the past we were always on the defensive. We were more reactive than proactive. Today I think there is a qualitative difference."

A former director of the communications department with the South African Council of Churches, Macozoma is not easy to typecast. He conducts press conferences with firmness and explains ANC positions in the most emphatic manner — a habit which has earned him the reputation of being aggressive.

No more than five foot tall, Macozoma does not suffer fools and does not take kindly to racist questions. I have seen him on more than one occasion using his sharp tongue in response to such questions.

Even as a pupil at a Dutch Reformed Church in Cala in the Transkei, he did not accept the racism at the school. He was angered by the vice principal, who used to throw peanuts at pupils.

He was later expelled from the school and informed he would not be allowed in any Transkei school. His crime was to defy a ruling that pupils should not play soccer on Sundays — his favourite game.

A stickler for efficiency, Macozoma says he draws a clear line between his professional relations and

relations outside work.

"When I come into the office, it is a professional relationship. But if I go out with colleagues, I am a different person."

"Once you come back to work you cannot bring what you have outside into professional relationships. Otherwise nobody knows who stands where and at the end of the day, there is lack of production."

He acknowledges that being a stickler for efficiency has created difficulties for him, particularly among his juniors.

"If you adopt this attitude people find it difficult to try and solve problems with you. Yet it is important if you are in a management position for people to feel you are approachable."

Macozoma has not always been an ANC supporter or sympathiser. In his youth politicians like Dennis Siwisa of the PAC and Rev Ganga of the Unity Movement made a big impression on him. Strange as it may seem today, he says Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi also impressed him and fellow schoolmates.

"There was an article written by Gatsha in the *Eastern Cape Herald* called 'Through African Eyes'. We were fully in agreement with the kinds of things he was saying — like the days of 'ja baas' are over."

As a pupil at Kwazakhele High School he was among a group of pupils who formed the Port Elizabeth branch of the South African Student Movement, one of the several structures of the Black Consciousness Movement.

At the height of the student uprisings in 1977 Macozoma and his class-

mates planned to take their protest to the city centre in Port Elizabeth because "everything had been burnt down in the townships".

The security forces apparently knew of the plan and arrested Macozoma and 42 other classmates — all matric pupils — the night before they were to sneak pupils into the city.

He was imprisoned with 32 other schoolmates for five years for "engaging in terroristic activities". Macozoma remained a member of BCM throughout his term on Robben Island.

On the Island he met other BCM luminaries like Mosibudi Mangena, Pandelani Ntloholohwe and Mosisi "Terror" Lekota. He also corresponded extensively with Walter Sisulu who was a family friend.

He also started questioning several BCM positions, debating its "hostility to Marxism", the emergence of a middle class among blacks and the question of class analysis. The deflection of leading BCM members like Barney Pityana and Henry Isaacs to the ANC and PAC respectively also generated a lot of debate.

Macozoma was gradually moving away from BCM and the final break came with the launch of the UDF (he admits it was an ANC front) a year after his release from jail. "I was involved in the plans for the formation of the UDF."

The same year the UDF was formed Macozoma left for Boston in the US to study for a master's degree. While in the US he worked (covertly) in ANC structures lobbying for disinvestment.

Although he has never held office

in any ANC or UDF structure Macozoma has made a meteoric rise within the organisation. He joined the ANC in July last year and a year later was elected to its National Executive Committee.

A former server in the Anglican church, Macozoma describes himself as someone who "grew up in the church and later grew away from the church". He became disillusioned with the church early in life.

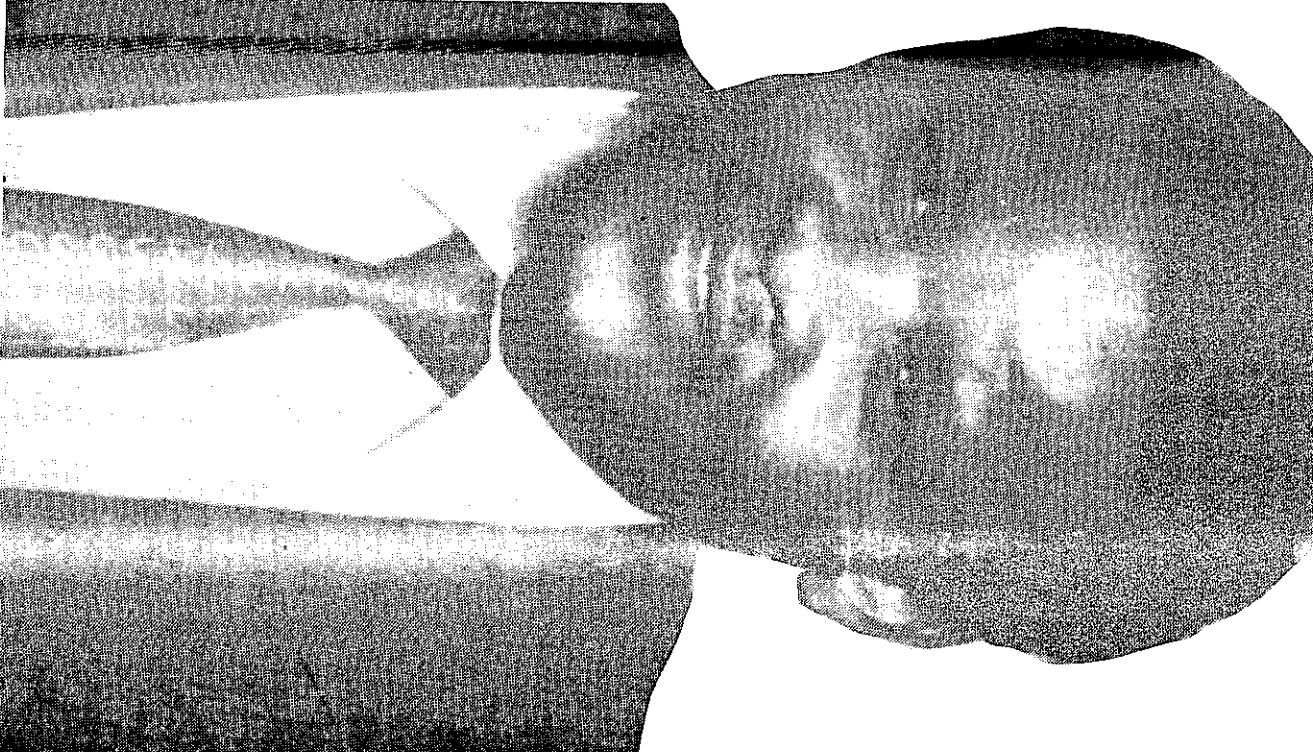
As a primary school pupil at a school with a liberal tradition, the Anglican All Saints in the Transkei, he was acutely aware of the disparity in lifestyle between whites and blacks. Then, his experiences at the DRC mission in Cala further drove him away from the church.

It took him a long time before he saw another side of Christianity. This was five years ago when he joined the SACC in Johannesburg. Meeting clerics like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rev Beyers Naude and Rev Frank Chikane made him change his attitudes towards the church. These, he says, were priests who showed that religion cared about people here on earth and not only in the hereafter.

In spite of his rise within the ANC, Macozoma has not yet decided whether to make politics a full time career. He says he is still attracted by the academic world.

At the moment, the goal of this former Zwide Celtic midfielder star — "I even considered playing professional" — is to help the ANC dislodge the government.

"This is the moment. We either seize it or we don't. If we fail, I would like to feel later in life that I tried."



MAKING POLICY WORK . . . Saki Macozoma, media liaison head for the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP), is making his mark in the propaganda battle.
Pic: MIKE MZILENI

Mandela to address the Commonwealth

SI Times 6/10/91

11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela and his PAC counterpart Clarence Makwetu will address a full sitting of the Commonwealth Conference in Zimbabwe later this month.

Commonwealth officials this week refused to comment, but both ANC and PAC spokesmen said their respective presidents had been invited to give the first-ever addresses by the liberation movements to the conference.

South African government representatives have not been invited to attend the 50-nation summit which opens in Harare on October 15.

The meeting will be opened by Queen Elizabeth during her first visit to Zimbabwe in 12 years. Security will be tight after rumours of an IRA-PLO plot to sabotage the conference, a recent bomb blast in a Harare hotel and the uncovering of a stash of dynamite in the city.

Crucial

Sanctions against South Africa are likely to top the agenda. Heads of state are expected to ratify a package for the phased lifting of sanctions proposed by Commonwealth foreign ministers in New Delhi last month.

The plan is similar to that proposed by ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki at a meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Nigeria in June.

The outcome of the meeting is crucial for South Africa — it will send a signal to the rest of the world and serve to indicate future attitudes towards it.

A softening on sanctions would also clear the decks for African countries to engage South Africa more openly and would pave the way for more visits to African countries by President FW de Klerk, observers say.

Figures

Two key members of the Commonwealth from the African arena are Nigerian Premier Ibrahim Babangida, also the chairman of the OAU, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who chairs the organisation of Frontline States. Both are believed to be pushing for the relaxation of sanctions.

The strongest proponent of sanctions is Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe — despite his country's flourishing economic relationship with South Africa.

For the first time in 12

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

years Mrs Margaret Thatcher will be absent. While her successor, Mr John Major, is noted for his less aggressive manner, his objectives on South Africa remain similar to those of Mrs Thatcher's — the lifting of most sanctions and the changing of sterile thinking on South Africa.

While Britain would not formally endorse the proposal for a phased lifting of sanctions, it would not oppose it, well-placed sources said.

PAC spokesman Benny Alexander said his organi-

sation would ask the Commonwealth to define when the process of change would become irreversible. He said the PAC would reiterate its call for all sanctions to remain until elections had been held for a constituent assembly.

ANC international affairs spokesman Mr Yusuf Saloojee said the ANC would insist that key sanctions be maintained.

"We will also ask the Commonwealth to endorse the National Peace Accord and to have no truck with any party which has not signed it or violates it," he said.

It's time for the ANC to get real

5 Times 6/10/97
**STEPHEN MULHOLLAND argues
that the ANC is out of touch with
economic reality**



THERE is little that could have been better calculated to damage the long-term economic interests of South Africa and all its peoples than two recent pronouncements by ANC leaders.

First, ANC president Nelson Mandela reverted to the stand on nationalisation which most observers, both here and abroad, believed the ANC had wisely decided to shelve.

Then secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa suggested that foreign loans contracted by the present government might not be honoured by future "democratic" (read ANC) rulers.

One does not have to repeat the arguments against nationalisation and the sort of collectivist economics of which it is an integral part. All sensible people all over the world — including most recently the Swedes — have rejected these dated, worn, discredited notions of a collectivist Utopia on earth.

Nonsense

Those systems just do not work. Trevor Manuel, the ANC's economic planner, stated in a television debate with me last week that those policies "don't always destroy economic growth". Well, cancer doesn't always kill, but who needs it?

It is sad to see a man of Mandela's stature and abilities talking such trite nonsense. It would be less sad if the consequences of these foolish remarks were not so seriously damaging to confidence in the long-term future of South Africa. Mandela confesses he knows little of economics. What is

evident is that those he listens to also know very little.

Ramaphosa's statement sent shivers through the capital markets, knocking billions off the value of these bonds. Perhaps Ramaphosa enjoyed this; he considers markets to be nothing but glorified casinos anyway.

But has he not considered, or been advised, that the confidence of bankers and investors is fragile and that, once lost, it becomes most elusive? When he's in government and seeking foreign loans, he might learn just how useful markets are for mobilising capital.

And surely he is being disingenuous to suggest that the De Klerk government is raising foreign capital for apartheid ends?

What apartheid ends? The whole thrust of government spending is towards black welfare. The government should challenge Ramaphosa to provide evidence that it is raising funds for apartheid ends.

There is no denying the ham-handedness — as in the VAT debacle — of our treasury and its leadership. Perhaps a clearer statement of the aims of foreign fund-raising with a clear commitment to concentrate such funds on social upliftment to help redress the manifest evils of apartheid would have been helpful.

On the other hand, it is becoming increasingly clear that the ANC is hopelessly out of touch with economic reality. For all its faults and the cruel legacy of apartheid, this country does have Africa's only proper market economy. It is, in African terms, a sophisticated industrial, financial and commercial giant. Its economy has the potential to provide a better living for more people than any other in Africa.

This is not to say that a reasonable case cannot be made for deconcentration in the private sector — particularly, for example, in the case of the media.

Yet the ANC seems to be possessed of some self-destructive urge which causes it to fight against the great tide of history now sweeping the world, a great tide on which millions of ordinary people, once prisoners of collectivism, are being swept on to new freedom and prosperity.

This week the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity referred to "the hare-brained social engineering of successive white governments". This is absolutely correct; National Party rule since 1948 was based on an evil racist doctrine descended directly from Adolf Hitler, a social engineer matched in his own depravity only by Josef Stalin.

Those National Party rulers were unfit to govern. They must answer to history for the evil they visited on innocent South Africans of colour. And we need a growing and vibrant economy to help us redress the deprivations of apartheid.

There is overwhelming evidence before us that market economies generate growth while collectivist economies are, everywhere and always, disasters.

If it seeks to be fit to govern — which is different from seeking to govern — then the ANC must take a crash course in the *realpolitik* of economics.

Touch

It must get in touch with the real world and drag itself out of that intellectual time warp in which it is believed that governments have the answer for everything, can provide for all of man's needs, knows better than we do what is good for us and can manage to generate growth while destroying investor and lender confidence.

The ANC could start by consulting the prime minister of Mozambique, Mario Machungo, who I met in Maputo.

"What," I asked him, "would you say to the ANC if it asked for your advice?"

"I would tell it," he replied, "that central planning and nationalisation do not work. They fail to produce growth. I can tell you. We have tried them."

□ Stephen Mulholland is the managing director of Times Media Limited.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Tutu says 'no' to communism

S/Time's 6/10/91.

IT is not possible to believe in God and subscribe to Communist Party views, says Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In an interview before his 60th birthday today, Archbishop Tutu said classical, traditional communism was understood as being materialistic and atheistic.

"On that basis, we in the Anglican Church say you cannot be a person of faith and one of no faith," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said the SACP claimed it believed in religious freedom, but the church's position on classical communism was that there could be no way a Christian could be a member of the party.

That did not mean, however, that a Christian could not co-operate with non-Christians or people of other faiths to end injustice.

"We have been ready to accept as allies whoever subscribes to our views on injustice," he said.

He said he was not embarrassed at having communists or non-believers as friends.

ANC HINTS AT

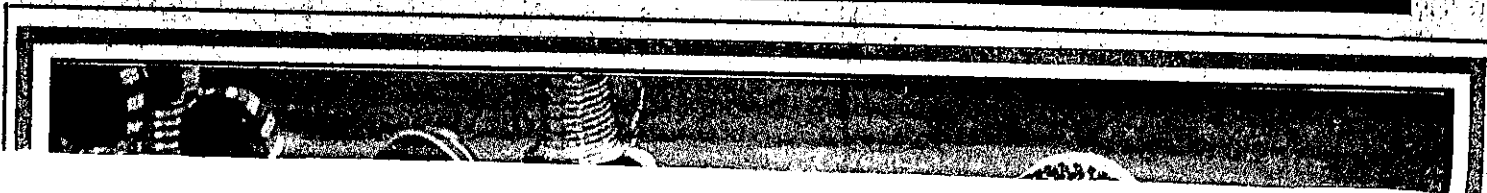
C/Pres 6/10/91.

HARDER LINE

CP Reporter

11A

THE PWV regional conference of the ANC is taking a hard line on two issues – the ANC's demands for an interim government



C/Pres 6/10/91.

HAR

CP Reporter

11A

THE PWV regional conference of the ANC is taking a hard line on two issues – the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The feeling among delegates to the conference – which ends today in a Johannesburg hotel – is that too many concessions have already been made to the government, informed sources said.

The ANC must now clearly spell out the line it will take in negotiations with the government.

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, however, raised hopes yesterday for an early political settlement, suggesting an all-party conference could be held before the end of the year.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would make an announcement soon on talks with the National Party.

'Leaders must spell out stand on talks'

Although the conference was held behind closed doors, it was learnt delegates demanded that ways be found to speedily consult ANC branches to avoid "the ANC being outmanoeuvred by the government" in negotiations.

Talk in the hotel's corridors was that popular MK commander Mosima "Tokyo" Sexwale was tipped to become the new

PWV regional chairman – underlining the region's hardline stand. Chairman Kgalema Motlanthe may not stand for re-election.

During the recent MK congress in Venda, there were strong rumours that Sexwale could step into the shoes of Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff.

Ramaphosa said the ANC still had to define what an interim government should look like and how decisions should be taken in the all-party conference – whether by consensus or by voting.

Consensus could retard progress because decisions could be vetoed, Ramaphosa said.

He said the ANC was considering different options for an interim government.

An interim government would be able to eliminate violence, reconcile all South Africans and restore the people's confidence in orderly government, Ramaphosa said.

He urged the conference to back the two-day strike initiated by Cosatu to protest the introduction of value-added tax (VAT).

Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted to give president FW de Klerk "one last nightmare" by bringing the country to a halt. It emerged at a VAT meeting last weekend that De Klerk dealt with South Africa's people with great contempt, he said.

Threats 'harming economy'

ARC 7/10/91

Political Correspondent

THE ANC-Cosatu alliance has been strongly criticised by the Democratic Party for recent statements on the economy, which are described as "irresponsible" attempts to gain short-term political advantage.

"Threats of nationalisation, tax revolts and reneging on government loans will harm our economy immeasurably and perpetuate even greater suffering," says a DP finance spokesman, Gardens MP Mr Ken Andrew.

"In the past 10 days, actions of the ANC-Cosatu alliance indicate that they seem determined to make South Africa economically ungovernable until they decide otherwise.

"Investment and economic growth cannot be turned on and off like a tap, and it is irresponsible for anyone to mortgage South Africa's future potential prosperity for short-term political advantage."

No easy road to negotiations

Sowetan 7/10/91.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk never thought negotiations would be easy.

Any illusions politicians may have had about negotiations have been rapidly dispelled.

Meetings De Klerk has had recently have shown that there is a hard road ahead.

The controversy over VAT has especially shown this. One of the biggest objections of those protesting against the way in which it has been implemented is that people have not been consulted properly.

Two tough sessions of talks between De Klerk, Finance Minister Mr Barend Du Plessis and the ANC and the Cosatu-led VAT Co-ordinating Committee failed to reach a compromise.

The second session of some four hours in Pretoria last Saturday evening, attended by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was a particularly tough one.

The Government decided to suspend VAT from some basic foodstuffs but the move did not satisfy the other side.

Afterwards Mandela made the revealing remark that the country is rapidly moving into a transitional period before negotiations.

This is happening even before an all-party conference has been called.

Mandela said a showdown with the Government over VAT would affect negotiations in other areas and that there could be no guarantee of what would happen.

He said that attempts would be made to ensure that negotiations remained on course but, if no operation was received, the ANC could not continue to believe in negotiations.

FOCUS

A broad spectrum of issues, including violence and secret funding by the State, was raised when De Klerk met a delegation from the South Africa Council of Churches this week.

Afterwards Archbishop Desmond Tutu raised the question of proper consultation by the Government.

He said an all-white membership of the advisory committee on secret projects, which had been appointed by De Klerk, would not engender the necessary trust in black South Africans.

The committee should instead have been constituted of people approved by the churches, trade unions and political organisations in order to build confidence among people on the ground, Tutu said.

Although this meeting was described as having been "open-hearted and friendly", De Klerk was said to be hurt that people would question his integrity in assuring that covert operations were being stopped or re-evaluated after Inkathagate.

The church delegation told him it was not enough just to be told that things have changed.

Meanwhile, Cosatu has put further pressures on the Government for a direct say in decision-making. The association has withdrawn from the National Manpower Commission because it wants that body to have more power.

At present the NMC is a pure-

ly advisory committee and Cosatu does not want it to remain what it describes as a "toothless structure". It must, Cosatu says, be turned into a negotiating forum that represents the main parties in industrial relations.

Meanwhile, Cosatu's withdrawal from the NMC has cost the advisory body a large measure of legitimacy.

The Government argues that the restructuring process should be on the agenda of national negotiations.

As various groups have been arguing for greater consultation, top National Party figures, including Du Plessis, have indicated that groups outside Parliament could soon be in on decision-making.

The Minister said this week that a multiparty conference could start before the end of the year and elements of a transitional government could soon be established.

He said there would be an interaction between the multiparty conference and the legislative and executive processes which would allow other parties to participate in making Government policy.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also recently mentioned that a conference could start soon and De Klerk has on numerous occasions expressed his eagerness for exploratory moves towards negotiations to start.

At a multiparty conference, there will of course be considerable quibbling about whether there will be a "transitional" government or an "interim" one.

There will have to be in-depth discussions on this, along with decisions on how such a conference should be run and how decisions should be made.

While the ANC is adamant that there must be an interim government leading to a constituent assembly, De Klerk holds that the present Government is sovereign. The President argues that the constitution cannot simply be set aside for an interim government, although he recognises a need to draw parties outside Parliament into the decision-making process and into his Cabinet.

This week De Klerk will be among his own when he appears at the Cape provincial congress of the National Party.

He will open the congress in the DF Malan Centre tonight and it then continues in the Strand.

Under the theme "Build a nation", one of the main features of the congress will be a re-run of the party's constitutional proposals, which have to be approved by all the provincial congresses after the recent federal congress in Bloemfontein.

De Klerk will not have any problems in the Cape. Although he is a Transvaaler, his party support in this province is more solid than anywhere else.

Meanwhile, a less pleasant experience may be on the way for him in the Free State. November 28 has been fixed as the by-election date in Virginia, where sitting member Mr Piet Clase has resigned.

Clase held on to the seat with a majority of only 47 in the last general election and the National Party does not have much hope of retaining it.

Communists can't be Christians, says Tutu

Southern 7/10/91
ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu believes it is not possible to believe in God and at the same time subscribe to the views of the Communist Party.

Speaking during an interview before his 60th birthday on Sunday, Tutu said classical, traditional communism was understood as being materialistic and atheistic.

"On that basis, we in the Anglican Church say you cannot be a person of faith and one of no faith."

He said the SA Communist Party claimed it

believed in religious freedom, but the church's position with regard to classical communism was that there could be no way in which a Christian could be a member of the Communist Party.

That did not mean, however, that a Christian could not co-operate with non-Christians or people of other faith in striving for an end to injustice.

"We have been ready to accept as allies whoever subscribes to our views on injustice. Many blacks were treated as hu-

man beings for the first time by whites who were almost all communists, which says something about South African white Christianity."

He said he experienced no embarrassment at having communists or non-believers as friends. "I have no embarrassment in co-operating with them in achieving our aims in our fights against injustice."

Tutu said the West, during World War 2, had co-operated with the Soviet Union in fighting Nazism.
- Sapa

Push for all-party indaba

Southern 7/16/91

~~11A~~
11A

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at the weekend suggested convening an all-party conference before the end of the year.

Addressing the organisation's PWV regional conference on Saturday, Ramaphosa said the ANC would make an announcement soon on talks with the National Party.

The ANC suspended constitutional negotiations with the Government in April, demanding that the Government take decisive steps to end violence and release political prisoners.

Ramaphosa also said

the ANC had yet to define what an interim government should look like, adding it was the task of its regions and branches to discuss various models and advise the national executive committee.

The ANC also had yet to decide how decisions should be taken at the all-party conference - whether by consensus or voting, he said.

Elaborating on the ANC's vision of an all-party conference, he said its main tasks would be to consider how the country's constitution will be drawn up, an interim government and the role of the international community in South Africa's transition to democracy.

The function of an interim government was a matter for discussion with different organisations as it would not consist only of the ANC, Ramaphosa said.

He said the ANC's call for an interim government to oversee the election of a constituent assembly had been vindicated, as even the South African Government had acknowledged the need for what it called "interim arrangements".

Ramaphosa said an interim government would be able to eliminate violence, reconcile all South Africans and restore the people's confidence in orderly government.

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Speakers defiant ^{11A} at memorial event

From Page 1

ering at the Thokoza Auditorium that "we have to take over from what comrade Ntuli did before his death."

He said: "Comrade Ntuli was a leader who was prepared to forego his life. ^{Sowetan 7/10/91}

"Like all people fighting for the liberation of blacks, comrade Ntuli was aware that his life was at stake. He however put his life on the line by continuing to fight for justice for all. He fought for peace but was killed by the apartheid regime."

"We want to assure the Government that blacks will not be deterred by its actions of killing or harassing people who are opposed to it."

Duma also appealed for unity and "the support of all people to make the formation of a Patriotic Front a success."

"The days leading to a meeting where the ANC, Azapo, the PAC and other relevant organisations will plan the formation of a Patriotic Front are crucial."

"We are aware that certain elements are not happy about this," he added.

Police were out in full force but kept a low profile. Ntuli will be buried today.

The funeral service will start at 10am at the Thokoza Stadium and the cortege will proceed to the graveyard at 2pm for the burial.

He is survived by his parents, three brothers, three sisters, his expectant wife Leah and son Jabu.

THE funeral today of civic leader Mr Sam Ntuli is a reminder that assassins are prowling our land and hoping to sabotage our liberation efforts. What are the lessons to be learnt from this and other similar killings?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise between 5pm and 6pm today and share your opinion with the nation on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

The hotline number is 714-8063. Listen to the programme on medium wave 576KHz.



Mourners bid a sad farewell at a memorial service for slain civic leader Sam Ntuli at Tokoza yesterday. Pic:VELI NHLAPO

Mourners vow to struggle on

By IKE MOTSAPI ^{Sowetan} 7/10/91

A CROSS-SECTION of black organisations vowed yesterday to continue to fight for the liberation of the "oppressed" in spite of "concentrated efforts of the State" to eliminate people fighting for democracy.

Speakers from the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu, Numsa, Cast, SACP, ANC Women's

League and youth organisations told mourners at the memorial service of the slain Mr Sam Ntuli that the "fight against apartheid" had to be intensified.

In an emotion-charged speech, ^{11A} Mr Lungile Duma of Azapo told a packed gath-

To page 2

Azapo, ANC vie for rural north

*1/A
Durban 7/10/91*

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

THE battle for the hearts and minds of the rural north is on.

This weekend, the presidents of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Azapo, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, addressed meetings and rallies of the organisations deep in the rural areas of the Northern Transvaal.

And the message was almost the same: "Support us, we are fighting for your interests."

Nefolovhodwe addressed a symposium on unemployment and job creation at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou.

On Saturday he addressed a gathering of members of the Black Consciousness Movement in Pietersburg.

Mandela addressed a meeting of chiefs in Lebowakgomo, saying the ANC supported the concept of chieftaincy and would not abolish it if it came to power.

ANC in call to lift bans on SA

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A joint ANC/Cosatu/SACP "sanctions workshop" has recommended that all sports, cultural, academic and visa restrictions on South Africa should be dropped immediately and unconditionally, but that economic sanctions should go only when an interim government is formed.

The workshop recommendations, which will be put forward for approval at the ANC's national executive committee meeting later this month, were adopted at a meeting of ANC, Cosatu and SACP representatives on Friday.

An ANC source said at the weekend that the participants examined which economic sanctions were still in place, which had been lifted, and which could realistically be maintained.

"We felt that most sanctions should not be lifted until we have an interim government," the source said.

In the meantime, participants "strongly urged" governments to maintain existing sanctions.

When an interim government was in power the ANC would be prepared to end to its veto on loans from the IMF and other international lending institutions, and on trade and investment.

The importance of an interim government lay in the fact that it would not be a purely Nationalist Party government, but one of all parties acting together to solicit loans overseas, the source said.

The ANC regarded the

From page 1

Sanctions

granting of IMF loans to South Africa as vital, because it would unblock other foreign loans.

This would leave only the weapons and oil embargoes, which are re-

garded almost unanimously as being dependent on a non-racial democratic government being installed.

The linking of the most important sanctions to an interim government is consistent with the strategic shift the organisation underwent in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal.

At that stage, the ANC's NEC jettisoned long-standing obstacles to negotiations and said instead that talks leading to an interim government had become its highest priority.

Friday's sanctions recommendations were decided on in the light of the forthcoming Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare later this month.

To page 2

Interim govt is the key demand

ANC alliance drafts plan to end sanctions

A JOINT ANC/Cosatu/SACP "sanctions workshop" has recommended that all sports, cultural, academic and visa restrictions on SA should be dropped immediately and unconditionally, while economic sanctions should go when an interim government is formed.

The ANC should drop its insistence on investment and loan bans — including IMF facilities — when the interim government was in place, the workshop decided.

The recommendations, which will be put to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) for approval later this month, were adopted at a meeting of ANC, Cosatu and SACP representatives on Friday.

An ANC source said at the weekend that the participants examined which sanctions were still in place, which had been lifted, and which could realistically be maintained.

"We felt that most sanctions should not be lifted until we have an interim government," the source said. Participants had strongly urged governments to keep existing sanctions in place.

On cultural and sporting sanctions, the source said the alliance partners had until now held the view that exceptions to the blanket ban should be considered. He said, for example, that the ANC had enthusiastically backed SA's return to international cricket as key conditions had been met.

However, the source said that all forms of non-economic or "people to people" sanctions now would be on the line when the NEC met.

PATRICK BULGER

When an interim government was in power the ANC would be prepared to call for an end to its veto on loans from the IMF and other international lending institutions.

The importance of an interim government lay in the fact that it would not be a purely NP government, but one of all parties acting together to solicit loans overseas, the source said.

The ANC regarded the granting of IMF loans to SA as vital because it would unblock other foreign loans.

This would leave only the weapons and oil embargoes, which are regarded almost unanimously in the international community as being dependent on a non-racial, democratic government being installed.

The linking of the most important sanctions to an interim government is consistent with the strategic shift the organisation underwent in the wake of the Inkatha funding scandal. At that stage, the ANC's NEC jettisoned long-standing obstacles to negotiations and said instead that talks leading to an interim government had become its highest priority.

Friday's sanctions recommendations were decided on in light of the forthcoming Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare later this month.

The meeting noted that while certain sanctions had been lifted — by the US, for example — not all the decisions had been fully implemented.

□ To Page 2

Sanctions

The meeting's recommendations followed recent statements by ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki highlighting the importance the ANC attached to an interim government.

Mbeki urged foreign countries to begin investigating investment opportunities in SA. He said an investment decision was followed only two years later by the actual investment.

□ From Page 1

As it would take about two years before a democratic government was installed, decisions needed to be taken now.

Mbeki said internationally sponsored housing and education programmes and the training of managers — forms of investment in themselves — could begin once an interim government had been installed.

● See Page 3



LAI TO REST . . . Members of the ANC Women's League form a guard of honour next to Mrs Dorothy "Mama Shoes" Zihlangu's coffin during her funeral in Guguletu on Saturday. "Mama Shoes" was a founder member of the Women's League and of the Western Cape Civic Association. (11A) ET 7/10/91

ANC hint on all-party talks

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has raised hopes that an all-party conference could be held by the end of the year.

Addressing the ANC's PWV regional conference on Saturday, Ramaphosa said the ANC would make an announcement soon on talks with the NP.

The ANC suspended constitutional negotiations with government in April, demanding that government take decisive steps to end violence and release political prisoners.

But Ramaphosa said the ANC had still to define what form an interim government should take, adding it was the task of its regions and branches to discuss various models and advise the National Executive Committee (NEC).

An interim government was also a matter for discussion with different organisations as it would not be an ANC interim government, Ramaphosa said.

"The interim government's sole objective will be to manage the period of transition," he said.

He said this position had been vindicated as even government had acknowledged the need for "interim arrangements".

The ANC also had to recommend how decisions should be taken at the all-party conference — whether by consensus or voting.

A general consensus could retard the conference's progress because decisions could be vetoed, Ramaphosa said.

Referring to the recently signed National Peace Accord, Ramaphosa said the agreement still had the chance to work, even though violence had continued after the signing of the document.

He also urged the conference to back the two-day strike called by Cosatu in protest against VAT.

He said the ANC wanted to give President F W de klerk "one last nightmare" by bringing the country to a halt.

Later, PWV regional secretary-general Barbara Hogan said Ramaphosa did not mean the strike would bring the country to an end.

She said he had meant that the demonstration would symbolise the degree of support behind the anti-VAT campaign.

Cosatu has planned a two-day strike for the first week of November. — Sapa.

11A

11/10/91

ANC won't oust chiefs, Mandela tells rally

Spur 7/10/91
By Montsho Matlala
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — ANC president Nelson Mandela received a warm welcome in Lebowa at the weekend when he addressed meetings at Lebowakgomo and Jane Furse Hospital.

At a rally of 10 000 people at Jane Furse, he expressed disappointment at the absence of Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, saying the Lebowa leader was "a key figure in solving problems in this region".

Mr Mandela said the matter of Mr Ramodike's suspension as a member of the ANC would be resolved this week.

Earlier Mr Mandela told a meeting of traditional leaders at Lebowakgomo that the ANC respected the position of traditional leaders, and had no policy to depose chiefs.

"Both the ANC and traditional leaders should forget the past, and work closely together to combat racial oppression," Mr Mandela said.

At this meeting, a prominent member of the Conference of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, Chief Lemmer Mokwena, who is also Lebowa's Minister of Works, complained to Mr Mandela that civic associations and other ANC-related organisations were harassing chiefs.

He claimed that 15 chiefs had sought refuge at the Lion Christian Church headquarters at Moria, near Pietersburg.

Disband MK call by Inkatha

Sowetan 8/10/91.
THE ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be disbanded immediately as it is working against the spirit of the national Peace Accord, according to the regional leader of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr Themba Khoza.

Addressing thousands at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium on Sunday, Khoza said the MK was not a national army with the interests of the broader community at heart, but the ANC's private army.

He said the training of the ANC's township defence units, organised by MK cadres, was continuing and the ANC's recruitment drive was at its peak.

Both of these operations were causing resentment and creating divisions in many communities and intimidation was rife, all of which led to the perpetuation of violence in the country.

Khoza said this was clearly against the spirit of the national Peace Accord.

He urged all South Africans to support the Peace Accord and to help end political killings. He slammed counter-attacks and retaliation, which only aggravated the violence.

Khoza also called on all youth organisations in South Africa, including those from Inkatha, the ANC, the National Party, the Democratic Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Congress, to work together to bring about an end to the violence.

"What good is getting rid of the evil of apartheid if, at the end of our struggle, we have no country left?" Khoza asked. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

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De Klerk hits out at the ANC for its 'spoiling tactics'

Sowetan 8/10/91
11R

ALL South African sportsmen and women desperately wanted to participate internationally and not only those who had found favour with the ANC, President FW de Klerk said last night.

Officially opening the Cape National Party Congress in Stellenbosch, De Klerk said while there had been some positive developments, sports administrators sympathetic to the ANC appeared bent on "spoiling tactics".

In certain cases the ANC was snubbing international sports bodies keen to host South African participants.

"And who are deprived? Not the sport administrators nor the ANC leaders flying across the world but the athletes, the players and the public who pay the price of politicising sport."

Cosatu was directing the ANC to confrontation by dictating to it and steering it away from its intention to negotiate, De Klerk said.

He said judging by recent statements, the ANC was threatening everybody.

"Trying to take the country by storm will lead to a dead-end street," he said.

"We are neither impressed or intimidated by aggressive demands and derogatory statements."

The ANC had proved it had a long way to go before it could be trusted to play a constructive role in a democratic new South Africa.

"What they have in mind - nationalisation as suggested by Mr Nelson Mandela, non-payment of international loans as contemplated by Mr (Cyril) Ramaphosa, destabilisation of industrial peace as threatened by Mr (Jay) Naidoo - threatened the livelihood of every township dweller and employee."

The NP was not prepared to hand over South Africa to a new system which would result in chaos, lawlessness, suppression and impoverishment- *Sapa*.

Transkei 'is part of SA'

THEO RAWAN

TRANSKEIANS' continued denunciation of Transkei as a separate political entity from SA had upset the vicious machinations of the authors of grand apartheid, Transkei military council head Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said in Umtata yesterday.

Delivering his foreign policy speech, Holomisa said Transkeians had consistently believed SA's "heterogeneous" population constituted one country, one nation with the right to owe allegiance to one leader. "This would promote and enhance one patriotism to the common country, SA, instead of elevating tribalism, sectionalism and racism above SA nationhood."

"The present Transkei government has gone out of its way to complement and reinforce the endeavours of the broad liberation movement in inculcating the spirit of oneness and belonging together into the minds of South Africans in a relentless effort to supplant decades of racial dividedness and ethnic fragmentation," he said.

Public sector seen as likely to expand

PRETORIA — The re-incorporation of the homelands into SA, a consolidated parliament and the disappearance of the own affairs policy could initially lead to a smaller public service, Commission for Administration chairman Piet van der Merwe said yesterday.

However, the service was likely to expand in the longer term to cope with dynamic new demands from a rapidly expanding population.

And blacks would play a greater role in public administration, Van der Merwe said. They already outnumbered whites there.

In the public services of SA and the homelands, blacks made up 60% of the work force and whites 28%.

In the SA public service alone, blacks constituted 41% of all workers, and whites 39%.

Van der Merwe said the demand for expanded public services against a background of the black population increase would continue to grow and with it the size of the service.

The decline in the white population growth and the demand for their labour in the private sector would mean an expanding public service would have to rely more heavily on the appointment of qualified blacks.

Asked if contingency planning was in

progress to provide for a consolidation of the SA and homelands services, Van der Merwe said the normal delivery of services would obviously have to continue whether constitutional changes took place or not. So consolidation would not necessarily lead to fewer civil servants.

On a possible Africanisation of the service in a new dispensation, Van der Merwe said it was the commission's firm policy, backed by the Public Service Act, to promote only on merit and qualifications. Hopefully that policy would continue in a new SA.

On the issue of a smaller more efficient public service Van der Merwe said rationalisation, privatisation and deregulation were aimed at this target.

The personnel standstill imposed two years ago was still in force.

Van der Merwe said the size of the public service in relation to population size and the size of the economy was smaller than in many Western countries.

Reliable international statistics showed the SA public service, including local authorities, employed 13.2% of the economically active population.

Comparable figures for other countries were: Australia 25.6%, France 23.2%, Britain 21.6%, Germany 16.1% and US 16.6%.

GERALD REILLY

Paper criticises ANC

KIN BENTLEY

LONDON — The ANC was criticised by the Financial Times yesterday for failing to set out a clear economic policy.

The influential London business paper also warned that by clinging to "outmoded" policies like nationalisation it was frightening away potential investors.

In an editorial, the paper said: "Again and again, the ANC fails to think realistically beyond apartheid to the daunting economic problems which lie ahead for SA."

Over the past fortnight, it noted, ANC leaders had "pledged allegiance to nationalisation, then withdrawn this pledge; threatened to renege on foreign loans, backtracked, and then threatened anew".

ANC officials, it said, had contradicted each other, "with scant regard for the damage done".

"Mr Nelson Mandela, the president, is among the worst offenders, reverting to the tired phrases of the 1955 Freedom Charter — promising to nationalise mines, banks and 'monopoly industries'."

Deep chord

In private meetings such as that with US businessmen yesterday in Indiana, the Financial Times said, ANC officials could be expected to downplay the rhetoric and assure investors that nationalisation would be used primarily to ensure supply of basic services such as health, transport, and electricity.

"But they (the investors) should remember that industrial nationalisation strikes a deep chord in the ANC. Afrikaner socialism made the volk rich, it is argued, and many ANC officials believe a post-apartheid state can do the same for blacks.

"It is time for ANC leaders to recognise the outmoded nature of this argument and set out a clear economic strategy.

"In so doing, they would dissipate some of the confusion which continues to frighten away potential investors."

Jacobs launches attack on unions

8/10/91 8/10/91 (11A)

TRADE unions had overplayed their hand by demanding a say in economic decision-making, the Minister of Finance's special economic adviser Japie Jacobs said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Jacobs attacked the policies and tactics of both Cosatu and the ANC at a symposium on social contracts and SA's economic future, arranged by Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies and the German Konrad-Adenauer Foundation.

Jacobs did express a willingness to consult the ANC on development programmes.

The unions, he said, were "insisting that they should not only be consulted on policy issues, but should in fact be party to the decision-making process... I cannot think of any country where trade unions can determine policy."

However, the University of the Western Cape's Prof Pieter le Roux told the symposium a political crisis was blocking economic growth. Eliminating that crisis would require a contract between major parties, including the unions, even if this meant their going beyond traditional

ALAN FINE

roles.

Jacobs, who said he was not opposed to a social contract, also attacked the ANC. "It is inconsistent, to say the least, to complain about lack of economic growth, high employment, poverty and socio-economic backlogs and at the same time advocate sanctions, threaten nationalisation, resist tax reforms aimed at promoting sound and sustainable economic growth and to regard foreign capital as a non-essential luxury," he said.

He added that while there was a case for redistribution of wealth and opportunities, it would be a retrogressive step if the economy was irreparably damaged in the process.

"We must have a programme to eliminate backlogs and to empower the masses to participate in the economic processes, but at the same time have to realise that there is no quick fix for the inequities caused by past discriminatory practices."

Jacobs said, however, that there was some common ground between government and the ANC over development issues.

ANC's aggressive demands will not intimidate govt, says

De Klerk

STELLENBOSCH — President FW de Klerk last night launched his most bitter attack on the ANC since its unbanning, saying he would not be intimidated by its "aggressive demands".

He said the organisation and its allies were spoilers and were delaying negotiations.

The ANC had "a long way to go before it can be trusted to play a constructive role in a democratic new SA", De Klerk told the opening of the NP's Cape congress.

In his first public reaction to a "traumatic week" of statements by ANC leaders, he said: "Trying to take the country by storm will lead to a dead-end street. We are nei-

ther impressed nor intimidated by their aggressive demands."

De Klerk said ANC president Nelson Mandela's comments on nationalisation and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's warning on re-evaluating international loans were "a threat to all and sundry".

"What they have in mind is against the interests of the people. If ever implemented, it would undermine investment and thus the chance of the unemployed to obtain employment; it would put SA's economy back for many years and thus render our economy incapable of providing the needs of the poor and the educational needs of the young; it would dash the hopes of the

rest of Africa looking towards SA for assistance and development aid."

De Klerk said every time Mandela preached nationalisation or hugged a Castro or an Arafat, a shudder went through the international community, which asked whether the ANC could be trusted when it continued to embrace the discredited ideology of communism.

He assured foreign investors that government would not "bow to unreasonable and short-sighted pressure".

"We are proud of our impeccable record of meeting our international commit-

ments. We will maintain this record and will not subscribe to anything which may negatively affect the trustworthiness of SA as a borrower."

In a direct warning to the ANC and its allies, he said: "Stability and a fundamentally sound value system . . . are not negotiable. If we have to clash over that, we will clash."

He said government had the capacity to assure the "proper safeguarding" of these values in a new SA.

"One might call the ANC and its allies 'spoilers': through their words and deeds, they are standing in the way of what the vast majority of South Africans really

Political Staff

11A

8/10/91

want of what will be good for SA and all its people. The people of SA are sick and tired of violence and destabilisation. Yet the ANC and its allies persist in planning and instigating mass actions, boycotts and gratuitous protests."

The President said the majority of South Africans and the rest of the world wanted to see a speedy start to real negotiations: "Yet the ANC persists in blowing hot and cold — indulging in ultimatum politics and unrealistic demands. And what is the result? Continuing tensions and uncertainty which undermine the stability of our country and all its people."

To Page 2

De Klerk

8/10/91

"Indeed, the ANC refuses to adapt to changed circumstances. They continue their spoiling tactics, fostering continuing tension and conflict and opposing all that will be good for South Africans."

He slammed the ANC's failure to drop its hardline sanctions stance, saying the people who were suffering were the "poor, the unemployed and their families".

De Klerk said the recent row over the introduction of VAT was in fact not about the tax, but an attempt by the ANC to force an interim government.

He repeated his outright rejection of this, and again said government was prepared to negotiate transitional arrangements but not the handing over of power in a non-constitutional manner.

He also took a swipe at the proposed pa-

triotic front conference, saying it wanted to immobilise as many of the smaller parties as possible before negotiations began. This would ensure that the "Jannie Momberts, Dave Dallings and the Rev Hendrickses dance to their tune".

The NP was not opposed to the forming of alliances, but felt these should arise spontaneously out of negotiations.

De Klerk did not reserve his ire entirely for the ANC. He slammed the CP, saying it was going "recklessly ahead with an unworkable policy", and the Labour Party for "jumping into the laps of Joe Slovo, Jay Naidoo and partners".

The DP also came in for a blast, with De Klerk warning that it was in danger of splitting.

From Page 1

Page 3

Comment: Page 10

PF vital for

Sowetan 8/10/91.

unity - PAC

11A

ALL forces genuinely opposed to apartheid should take part in the Patriotic Front conference scheduled to take place in Durban later this month, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Sunday.

Addressing a rally at Umlazi outside Durban, Makwetu said the front was an important step on the road to building a new united South Africa.

He said the National Peace Accord had failed to ensure what every right-thinking South African wanted - a stable and peaceful society in which justice prevailed.

The PAC remained convinced of the importance of a Patriotic Front in South Africa which united all forces opposed to apartheid.

Makwetu said the PAC were proposing the establishment of a transi-

tional authority with a limited duration and a clearly defined mandate during the transition period.

He said liberation movements should not be co-opted as the co-managers of apartheid and the transitional authority should not implement existing apartheid legislation.

This was the first time Makwetu had addressed a rally in Natal. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Mandela and ANC go green

11A Soweto 8/10/91

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela says the organisation is firmly committed to conserving the environment in South Africa.

"We in the ANC are very committed to conservation, ecology and the environment.

"The green in our colours of green, black and gold symbolises our deep love for nature and for our land," he said in an interview published in the October issue of the BBC's *Wildlife* magazine.

"We must make the people part and parcel of conservation. The reason why they are so hostile today is because they are regarded as a problem - they are not involved as far as conservation is concerned."

Mandela said the question of poverty had to be addressed because "as long as people are poor, it's not going to be possible for them to appreciate the importance of con-

servation and the preservation of the environment".

Extracts of the interview will be screened in the first programme of a new series on BBC television starting next Monday.

The programme examines how the dismantling of apartheid may affect some of the finest national parks in Africa.

Producer Grant Mansfield says: "With land distribution now high on the political agenda, many black people are casting desperate, longing eyes over the fences which separate them from the game they used to hunt and the land they need to farm and build on.

"It is the government-in-waiting - the ANC - whose solutions to land, hunger and poverty may determine the parks' fate." - *Sapa*.

PAC deny policy ^(11A) shift towards NP

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reiterated its standpoint that there was no shift of policy in its attitude towards possible contact with the National Party government.

At a special briefing here the media also came under fire for allegedly creating confusion within the patriotic front with news reports indicating that the PAC might be willing to negotiate with the government.

Provincial convener Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya said the Transvaal gave its support for the convening of a pre-constituent assembly conference.

He said the attendance of the NP would be important as the steps to be decided upon related to the transfer of political power, held illegitimately by the NP. — Sapa

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n six-week-old
she fell out of

came irritated and "cracked up" when he
was unable to calm the baby and stop her
crying.

"I slapped and hit the deceased numer-
ous times and shook her very roughly." He
gave the baby to the maid and went out.

Back home, he became "very scared"
when he lifted the silent baby out of her
cot, before going to collect his wife, and
found the child limp.

He tried unsuccessfully to resuscitate
her by putting her head under cold water
and biting her ears and feet.

He also shook her, before taking her to
hospital.

Mr Justice Labuschagne will deliver
judgment today.

on November 4 and 5 and urge its members to boycott
VAT.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Memorial service for Machel

9/10/91
B10ay
ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo and president

Nelson Mandela will join Graca Machel, wife of the late
Mozambican president Samora Machel, in paying hom-
age to her husband at the site of his fatal plane crash.

The two leaders will welcome Machel on her arrival at
the Komatipoort border post on Friday.

A memorial service will be held at Mbuzini on the
SA/Mozambique border, where Machel was killed four
years ago.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal acting secretary Jac-
ques Modipane said his organisation had been approach-
ed by the Machel family to host the ceremony.

Low-profile DP councillor resigns

9/10/91
B10ay
KILLARNEY and Lower
Houghton's DP councillor
has resigned from the Jo-
hannesburg City Council
after the CP called for him
to be disqualified for not
attending meetings.

Carl Stein confirmed in a
statement yesterday he had
resigned from the council
at the beginning of October
because he felt he was un-
able to devote the time and
attention necessary to
properly fulfil his duties as
a city councillor and a
practising lawyer.

Since his election to the
council three years ago his

TANIA LEVY

commitments and respon-
sibilities as a lawyer had
grown to a great extent.

Stein was unavailable for
personal comment.

CP caucus leader in the
Johannesburg City Council
Jacques Theron said Stein's
resignation had been ex-
pected because he would
otherwise have been dis-
qualified from the council.

The CP had approached
the town clerk about Stein's
continued absence at meet-
ings, particularly those of
the markets, tenders and li-

cences committee on which
he served.

"We have no personal
grudge against Stein and in
fact hold his legal know-
ledge in high esteem, but
unfortunately the councils
and ratepayers in his ward
were not benefiting from
that," said Theron.

He said Stein would have
been disqualified because
he had not complied with
the ruling that a councillor
could not skip more than
three meetings except for
circumstances beyond his
or her control.

In his statement Stein

9/10/91
B10ay
said his main motivation
for standing for council had
been to play a role in the
transition of local govern-
ment from one based on
apartheid principles to one
based on non-racial demo-
cratic principles. He had
also wanted to assist the
DP in taking control of Jo-
hannesburg's management.

Both of these aims had
been achieved in large
measures, Stein said.

Left must put its right foot forward

11A

South 9/10-16/10/91

A PERSON'S initial response would be not to respond to the conference on Marxism, held at UWC on September 6, as, to many people, it would be seen as a non-event.

It is in this light that one needs to respond to the confused and childish statements made by some of the over 30 papers delivered. Needless to say, there were many papers which most certainly deserved a better level of debate.

One startling fact about a conference of this nature was the representative attendance. Most of the input was characterised by an attempt to discredit major political organisations.

My expectations of such a conference was that much focus was going to dwell on how best to take socialism forward.

Once again for me, none of the papers which I read even began to comprehend the developments of the past 18 months in our country, let alone speak of events internationally, where Marxism is in crisis.

What was even more disturbing was that sectarianism had been brought to the conference.

As socialists involved in the struggle, we must acknowledge the socialist reality which confronts us.

To ignore this reality and to say that the race and class struggles are indistinguishable from each other in SA, is to imply that the working class is not ready for any type of freedom.

Surely the bulk of the South African

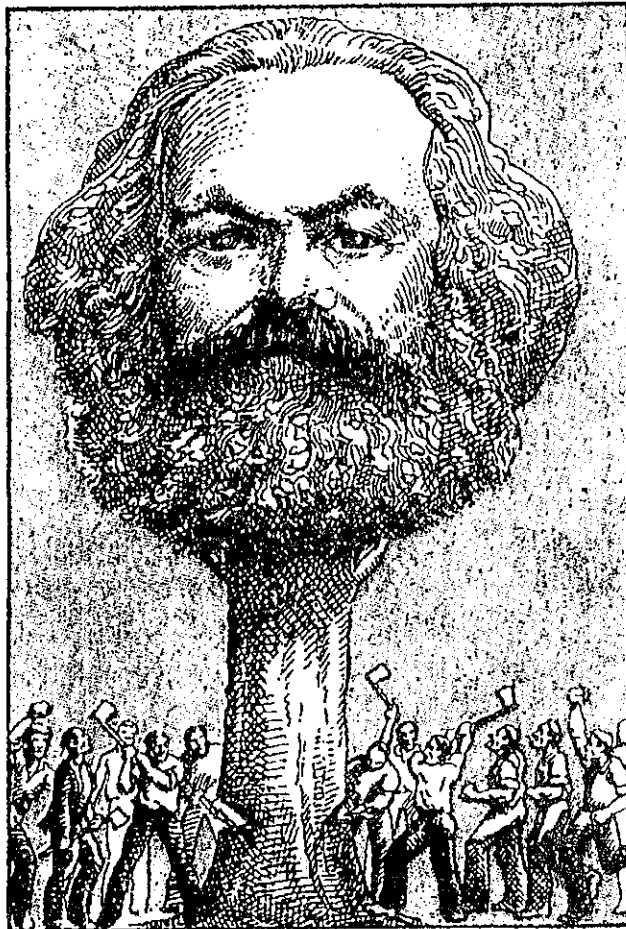
working class is not conscious of their class position in society. This also implies that those bourgeois democratic rights (which are central to major political debate) are not essential in the struggle for socialism. This is a great mistake!

The conference was most certainly useful in some respect. Clearly it was a reflection of the left in South Af-

rica. It presented an ideal opportunity for the left to put its 'right foot forward'.

If these socialists have any intention of making good their wonderful ideas, they most certainly need to start actively implementing them.

**Hoosain Kaggee
Athlone**



LETTERS

Address all correspondence to the Editor, PO Box 13094,
Sir lowry Road, 7900

Time to return to your home

KINDLY allow me this opportunity to communicate with my so-called coloured brothers and sisters in the name of patriotism.

My state of being is perturbed and has propelled me to make this drastically urgent appeal to you to come back to your political home while its doors are still wide open.

Your attitude, which I've observed over the past six years, is troubling me. In spite of your being granted a superior status by the Nats, I've seen you encountering the same hardships brought about by apartheid.

Right now, it is still not certain who'll be ruling this country in the next three years. I therefore suggest you come back home so that together we can ensure that the sacrifices we made in the past to attain total freedom don't go into a wasteland, but into the achievement of our noble goals.

**Tim Singiswa
Guguletu**

Far from daily hurly-burly

SOUTH, as an alternative newspaper, promises a different look at current events. Last week's editorial comment failed dismally to provide either an alternative viewpoint or informed criticism.

SOUTH's editor slated Cosatu for not entering the dispute at UCT. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of South Africa's labour movement would be aware that Cosatu as a federation does not have the power to interfere in the affairs of its affiliates.

The antics of the TGWU leave much room for criticism by anyone serious about the workers' struggle. However, SOUTH needs to move beyond shallow discussion towards an analytic perspective.

Even a passing observer would be aware that the majority of students who supported the TGWU did not come from within the Congress fold.

SOUTH's criticism should be from an informed perspective rather than a pulpit based in an isolated ivory tower far from the complex hurly-burly of forging a new South Africa.

**Chiara Carter
Woodstock**

Movement must help its heroes

I WAS deeply saddened by the article "Ailing Oscar Mpetha forgotten by comrades" that appeared in SOUTH (September 19 - 21).

What has become of us - Christian, Muslim and Jew - that we pay so little attention to those of us who suffered so much at the hands of sinful apartheid and who are still suffering, as in the case of the revered Oscar Mpetha, ex-Police Lieutenant Rockman and many, many other individuals.

A movement that fails to honour and help its heroes lacks character and compassion.

David Kessler

These letters have been edited.

South 9/10 - 16/10/91

Islanders for ANC (11A)

TWO former Robben Island political prisoners have been elected onto the regional working committee of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Mr Mxolisi Petane was elected head of the political section and Mr Cecil Esau head of the organising section.

Former Western Cape South African Youth Congress chairperson Mr Mziwonke Jacobs was elected publicity secretary.

South 9/10 - 16/10/91

Labour to join PF call

THE Labour Party's Eastern Cape regional congress this weekend is expected to send a strong signal of support for the party to participate in the Patriotic Front. — PEN (11A)

Talks. (11A) Mandela hits out at Govt

Sowetan Reporter
9/10/91

IN a colourful and emotionally charged ceremony this week jubilant Reiger Park residents declared Mr Nelson Mandela a freeman of Boksburg.

Accepting the honour, Mandela said: "The people who deserve this honour are men and women who, for the last 30 years, kept the fires burning while we had a rest in prison".

In his emotionally charged speech Mandela rallied the coloured community under the cloak of non-racialism and vehemently condemned the Government for its agenda on negotiations.

"Until such time we have a proper state institution that will create a new culture to reflect the population mix, a realistic approach to the question of ethnicity is imperative.

"Non-racialism does not mean that ethnic components will disappear. We have different historical backgrounds, language and religion that we cannot wish away."

Mandela gave a chilling account of acts of violence and a spate of assassinations perpetrated by the security forces and blamed the Government's complete lack of interest on black lives.

He called for the immediate introduction of an interim government with sovereign power. This government, he said, would control the police, the army, finance and other important departments.

"This Government cannot be trusted because there is evidence it has a double agenda," Mandela said.

"Just after the signing of the National Peace Accord, State security forces started recruiting MK members in order to conduct acts of gangsterism against the ANC and the people".

Liberation groups ready for Harare

Dwefan 9/10/91

(BIB) (11A)

BLACK liberation movements will trek to Harare for the Commonwealth summit next week to argue it is too soon to hold a wake for apartheid.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will tell the leaders of Britain and its former colonies that, while white supremacy finally may be dying after a life of 300 years, it has not yet breathed its last.

They will insist that the 50-nation Commonwealth maintains pressure on the Government through trade and economic sanctions until blacks are assured of an equal place in a nonracial democracy.

The liberation movements will be represented at the summit opening on October 16 mainly by the ANC, PAC and Azapo. They differ about the point at which black equality will be assured.

But they do agree that change is not yet irreversible, despite the protestations of President FW de Klerk and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Almost 4 000 dead in a year of black township warfare has hardened a belief in these movements that apartheid is making a last stand.

While De Klerk blames a naked black power struggle, they say State undercover agents are pitting black against black in a secret war to maintain minority rule.

"The biggest obstacle (to black rule) is the South African Government," says ANC deputy



SAPA-
Reuter

head of international affairs Mr Stanley Mabizela.

De Klerk argues that, by freeing black political activity and dismantling the legislative pillars of apartheid, his Government has set South Africa firmly on course for democracy and merits the lifting of sanctions hobbling the biggest economy in sub-Saharan Africa.

He says South Africa desperately needs help to alleviate the homelessness, unemployment and hunger that fuel unrest.

The Commonwealth, which led the world in applying sanctions, is expected to pat him on the back by lifting so-called people-to-people embargoes - tourism, visa restrictions, cultural and academic exchanges and air links.

Sporting contacts will be eased on a selective basis as integration takes place on playing fields.

But, in response to the black liberation movements' deep suspicion of the Government, Commonwealth foreign ministers meeting in India last month demanded that Pretoria ensure the

impartiality of its police and army and clamp down on white right wing terrorism.

They linked a phasing-out of sanctions to "real and practical steps" to end apartheid, rather than promises.

A western diplomat close to the ministers' thinking said that, while Western businessmen were pushing for a quick end to sanctions, Commonwealth leaders were perturbed by the violence, particularly "hit squad" assassinations of black activists.

"There is recognition that change has taken place, but let's see something more tangible on the ground. Everything is not yet okay in the state of South Africa," the diplomat said.

The ministers recommended the summit lift financial sanctions - key to economic growth - only when agreement is reached on a democratic constitution.

Other embargoes, such as trade and investment, should be lifted only when "appropriate transitional mechanisms had been agreed which would enable all parties to participate fully" in negotiations.

All-party talks on a democratic constitution are expected to begin by the end of this year or the beginning of next.

Mabizela said in an interview that the ANC had no problems with easing sports and cultural boycotts.

Its position on the major sanctions had crystallised into lifting all trade and financial restrictions immediately after an interim government of national

unity was formed to rule the transition to democratic elections.

"We are pleading with the international community to maintain sanctions until then", he said.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said his organisation did not believe De Klerk would agree to an interim government.

It would urge the Commonwealth to maintain pressure until blacks had voted with whites to elect a constituent assembly to draw up a post-apartheid constitution.

The PAC will lobby the summit to fix such a vote as the point of irreversible change.

The De Klerk Government opposes both an interim government and a constituent assembly. Ministers repeatedly stress they have agreed only to black power-sharing, not a handover to outright black majority rule.

South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth, because of apartheid, exactly 30 years ago and the issue has consumed every summit since.

Commonwealth officials hope the Harare summit will be the last to be dominated by South Africa. The organisation may then turn its full attention to other critical issues, such as democracy, development, drugs and Aids.

But more than a few analysts in South Africa fear black-white differences on the shape of a democratic nation may still be outstanding by the next summit in 1993.



Mandela to address conference

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to address a Constitutional Options for SA conference in Port Elizabeth tomorrow night.

Twelve international constitutional experts are to meet SA leaders to explore the potential of affirmative action policies in SA.

The organiser is the Washington-based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

The organisation's southern African projects director Gay McDougall said the three-day conference would consider affirmative action as a constitutional principle and debate the pros and cons of affirmative action projects undertaken in other majority rule governments.

Issues examined would include affirmative action in education, public and private sector employment, and the application of quotas.

"It is ironic and at the same time electri-

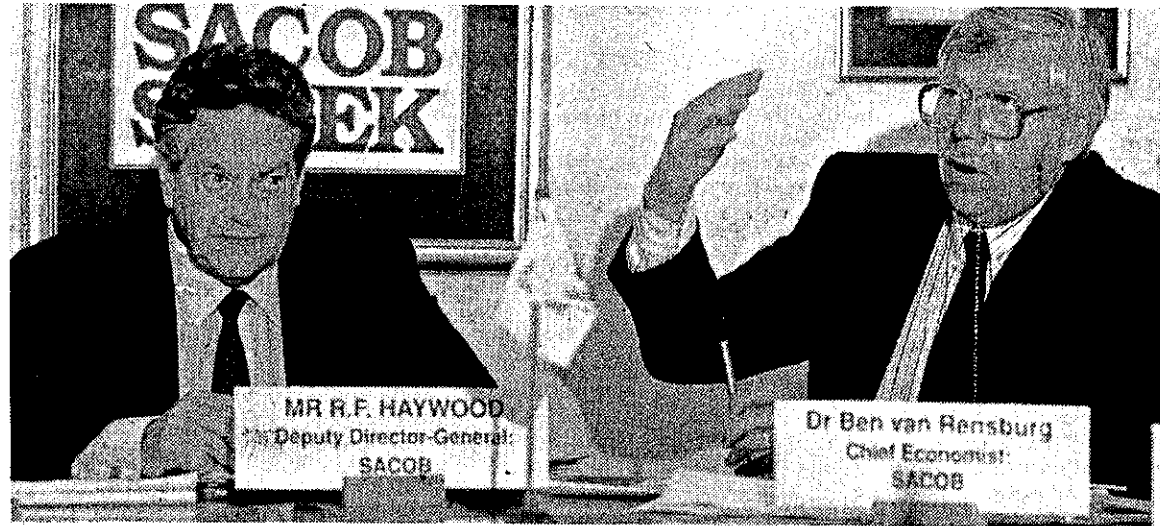
DAVE LOURENS

fyng that as America prepares to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Bill of Rights in Philadelphia, SA is embarking down the road of establishing comparable governing principles for its society," said McDougall.

The conference is the third in a planned series of six. Conference presenters will include ANC members Albie Sachs and Govan Mbeki and the Black Management Forum's Don Mkwanazi.

The two previous conferences were: A Constitutional Court for SA, held in the Magaliesburg in February; and A Bill of Rights for a Democratic SA, held in Durban in May.

The Lawyers' Committee was established in 1963 and the Southern Africa project in 1967.



Sacob deputy director-general Ron Haywood, left, and Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg address a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Include wealth in talks, says Mbeki

B (Day 9/16/9)
FRANKFURT — The ANC said yesterday talks with SA's government on a new constitution should include ways of redressing the balance of the country's wealth. (11A)

"There is a whole series of economic things which must be discussed ... one of these is, what do you do about this overconcentration of wealth in a few white hands in SA," ANC international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki told businessmen in Frankfurt.

He advised foreign investors against granting new credits to SA under its current administration but stopped short of saying that an ANC-led government would refuse to honour previous loan commitments.

□ VWD reports that Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the conference yesterday SA's economy had been hurt but not destroyed by sanctions. He said investors should put their money in SA because it had never suffered under the "destructive dogma of socialism" and it did not intend to in the future.

ANC lashes back at De Klerk

81 Day 9/10/91
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and the NP had become accustomed to an authoritarian style of government in which ordinary citizens humbly accepted their actions, the ANC charged yesterday.

Replying to De Klerk's stinging attack on the ANC on Monday, the organisation called on South Africans to urgently strive towards an interim government of national unity "to govern the country as we make our way from apartheid to democracy".

De Klerk told the opening of the NP Cape congress in Stellenbosch he would not be intimidated by the ANC's "aggressive demands", and accused the organisation and its allies of being spoilers who were delaying negotiations.

The ANC had "a long way to go before it can be trusted to play a constructive role in a democratic new SA".

The ANC responded: "That the leader of the NP, which has misruled SA for over 40 years, and subjected the people of this country to every manner of degradation and humiliation imaginable, brought our country into international disrepute, and condemned the vast majority to poverty, hunger and lack of opportunity, has the temerity to refer to the ANC as 'spoilers' is only conceivable in the upside-down world of apartheid SA." Commenting on De Klerk's claim that ANC statements on nationalisation, non-repayment of international loans and destabilisation of industrial peace threatened the livelihood of township dwellers and employees, the ANC said it was "touched" by De Klerk's newly found solicitude for the welfare of township dwellers and the unemployed.

But it wanted to remind him that the notion of a "township dweller" as

11A (244)
distinct from other South Africans was "the direct consequence of the racist policies pursued by De Klerk and the party he leads".

The policies and the fanatical vigour with which the NP pursued and enforced them were the root cause of mass poverty and deprivation among the vast majority of South Africans.

"The ANC requires no lessons from De Klerk or his colleagues on that score."

It said the "sad and unfortunate reality" was that De Klerk and the NP had "become accustomed to an authoritarian style of government in which the ordinary citizens role is humble acceptance of government action on pain of state harassment, detention without trial, banning, imprisonment or even murder as happened recently with comrade Sam Ntuli". — Sapa.

Away with myth of the nation

THE term "national" in "National Party" is burdened by its connections to Afrikaner nationalism, which has a very exclusive understanding of the term "nation". By severing its link with Afrikaner nationalism and opening its membership to all groups, the NP is trying to introduce a more inclusive meaning to nation. However, the unhappy historical link remains.

A similar problem besets the ANC. The meaning of the term "national" in the name "African National Congress" is historically linked to the African and his/her liberation struggle.

This problem should be discussed seriously to put people's minds at rest

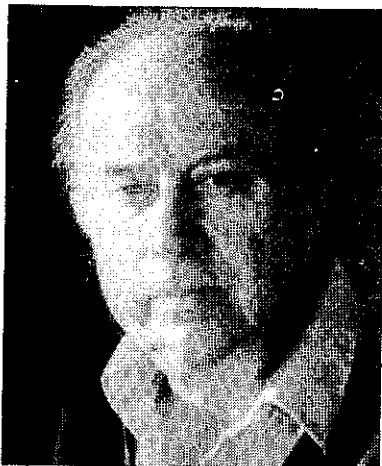
The proposal of the ANC to build a nation by depoliticising ethnicity demands serious attention. The National Party has given ethnicity a bad name and we have to live with this legacy.

The ANC endeavours to "take account of ethnic feelings while containing the possibilities of it becoming a flashpoint"

The depoliticisation of communal cultures should not be arranged in a way that they have good reasons for politicising themselves.

A democracy can accommodate common citizenship as well as communal identities. We need common citizenship as a basis of communal identities. This entails structural communal guarantees with regard to language and communal culture in general.

In this manner one caters for a sense of communal belonging which makes it easier for communities to commit themselves to power-sharing arrangements, and one contains the



JOHAN DEGENAAR

possibility of them becoming flashpoints of discontent.

What is the logic of the claim by the ANC that it is "the sole and authentic representative of the people"? Does it refer to all the people, even to those who disagree?

Does it entail the myth of a collective personality similar to the use of the term "volk" in the discourse of Afrikaner nationalism? The utilisation of this myth enables leaders to make an emotional appeal to people but it lacks the control of rational accountability. It is closely linked to the controversial nationalist terms "general will", "will of the people" and "sovereignty of the people".

These terms point to the nationalist tendency to view popular sovereignty as absolute — a tendency which is in opposition to constitutionalism. This constellation of terms fits into the political system of majoritarian democracy in which the so-called self-determination of the nation amounts

South Africans should not waste energy trying to build a nation. They should rather share responsibility for creating a democratic culture, says University of Stellenbosch philosopher **JOHAN DEGENAAR:**

11A ~~209~~
South 9/10 - 16/10/91

to self-determination of the majority to the detriment of minorities in a plural society.

A democratic approach would allow all groups in a country to decide on the issue of "nationhood".

The ANC has the right to co-determine who is the "nation", or — more correctly formulated — has the right to co-determine what the political dispensation for all the inhabitants of the country should be.

Doubt has also been expressed about possible authoritarian implications of one of the statements in the Constitutional Guidelines regarding the outlawing of "the incitement of ethnic and regional exclusiveness".

Fear has been expressed regarding the use of this guideline. Will it justify the banning, for example, of Inkatha, Black Consciousness movements and white rightist organisations? In the light of the negative characteristics related to the concept of nation within nationalism, I conclude that what is needed in South Africa is not nation-building but a democratic society.

We can help create a democratic society precisely by developing common projects in which members of

various parties are involved, concentrating on pressing problems on which we all agree: the urgent need for a growth economy, for employment, housing, education, and health services for all inhabitants.

At this stage of our history my advice to fellow South Africans is the following: instead of wasting energy in trying to build a nation, rather accept the shared responsibility for creating a democratic culture.

This difficult task lacks the romanticism of the myth of nation-building. It demands eternal vigilance, holding off gods and tyrants whether in the form of totalitarianism, which is easily detectable, or in the guise of the myth of the nation, which absolutises the sovereignty of the people and submerges the individual citizen in the romanticism of a collective personality.

Therefore, in defence of constitutionalism and on behalf of the unique value of the individual, we should say no to the myth of the nation.

Echoing Nelson Mandela I would like to state: "Our country, which continues to bleed and suffer pain, needs democracy." And to this I

would like to add: we need to build a democratic culture instead of squandering the following decade with ineffective nation-building projects.

One should be positive about the plural nature of our society. But to do this successfully there should be a degree of commonality forming the basis of this respect for diversity.

My view is that to look for such a basis on nationalist terms would be futile. This entails looking for symbols which are not there.

We should not force our society, so rich in diversity, into an outdated nationalist mould. To put it provocatively, fortunately we do not have national symbols.

But we do inhabit one country, do share the "same" history in the sense of being able to start telling about "the memory and scars of the suffering we have inflicted on each other," as the vice-chancellor of Unitra, Wiseman Nkulu, has put it.

And furthermore, one can also mention the non-nationalist and even anti-nationalist phenomenon of the Christian faith as a significant bond which could provide a basis for evolving common values.

To summarise: inhabiting one country, sharing a past integrated into one history, professing the same faith, searching for common symbols, participating in the same economic search for justice, and involved in the process of negotiation to construct a constitution — these are all components of a commonality which could form the basis of a pluralist democracy.

We should not misuse this opportunity by trying to build a nation. Instead of the unity of a nation we should aim for the diversity of democracy.

Equal representation at conference

9/10/77
PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC, PAC and Azapo have substantially increased the number of groups invited to a patriotic front conference scheduled for later this month and have agreed on equal representation of 24 delegates each.

National preparatory committee member Steven Peter said yesterday the agreement was reached at a meeting of the three organisations' joint liaison committee on Monday.

Peter said the committee also decided that decisions would be reached by consensus, not by voting. A total of 84 political, labour, community, business and sporting organisations would take part in the conference, which would lead to the formation of a patriotic front. This body would make it a priority to force government to agree to a constituent assembly.

It was originally thought that only about 40 groups would be invited. Cosatu and Nactu would have 15 representatives each, while all other organisations would have four representatives each. A working document, which would enable the ANC, PAC and Azapo to reach consensus on crucial issues, was being prepared. The document is understood to outline the procedures a patriotic front would use to push for a constituent assembly.

This would include a code of conduct compelling organisations taking part to respect each other's right to exist and a programme of action.

The conference will be addressed by a senior officer of the Organisation of African Unity, which is sponsoring the conference. Peter said all organisations committed to a constituent assembly would be invited.

Inkatha was not on the guest list, he said, although several homeland political parties would be asked to attend. The DP would be invited.

Events in E Europe 'a warning for SA'

JOHANNESBURG. — Current events in Eastern Europe carry a warning for South Africa which cannot be ignored, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said on Monday. (11A) CT9/10/91

Speaking at a ceremony at Reiger Park at which the Save Boksburg Committee conferred its version of the Freedom of Boksburg on him, he said the ANC was in favour of the protection of human rights, but could not support a system in which minorities imposed their will on the majority of the people.

However, Boksburg mayor Mr Tom Ferreira said Mr Mandela would never receive the freedom of the town as the council would not bestow the honour on "jailbirds". — Sapa

CT 9/10/91
**PAC not
organised'**

HARARE. — The Australian High Commissioner to Zimbabwe, Mr Joe Thwaites, said yesterday that his country does not give material or financial aid to the PAC because it was "not organised" and was not willing to help in the changes initiated by President F. W. de Klerk.

He said his country's position on sanctions was similar to that of the ANC. — Sapa

11A
2/12

Mandela gibe earns rebuke

Star 9/10/91.

for mayor

The Save Boksburg Committee (SBC) yesterday dismissed as irrelevant the mayor's hostile attitude towards the honorary Freedom of Boksburg bestowed on ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Reacting to mayor Tom Ferreira's remarks that the town of Boksburg would not bestow the freedom of the town on "jailbirds", SBC secretary Henry Jeffreys said the committee had no regrets in making the award to someone who was not only a national leader but a highly regarded international leader.

"Boksburg's Town Council, of which Mr Ferreira is the mayor, is not representative of the majority of the people of our town. In fact the Conservative Party in Boksburg represents a minority — they are not even representative of whites in the city."

Responding to Mr Ferreira's claim that the National Party had more members in Reiger Park than the ANC, Mr Jeffreys said the meeting to honour Mr Mandela attracted 4 000 people and the last NP public meeting at the same venue drew less than a 100 residents.

"The CP's control over City Hall in Boksburg is temporary. There is no doubt in our minds that we will sit in City Hall within the next three years and officially confirm Mr Mandela's freedom..."

Mr Jeffreys said threats by Boksburg businessman Danie Binneman to take those responsible for honouring Mr Mandela to court did not merit comment. Mr Binneman claimed yesterday he had collected R5 500 from local businessmen "to take those responsible ... to court". — Sapa.

We can't trust govt — ANC man

11A
ET 11/10/91

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The struggle for change was not over "because we cannot trust the other side", the ANC's Mr Reggie September told a Labour Party seminar yesterday. "The difference is that the struggle is now without arms."

Mr September said no properly run modern state would permit people — white and black — to march with dangerous weapons.

And, he added, the National Party had no right to suggest that the ANC were the creators of violence, because apartheid had been founded on violence.

Earlier Dr Franklin Sonn said: "We are dealing with a government in exit" and it was clear that the National Party was "not really in control of government any more".

Dr Sonn said a key issue was the right of a "government in exit" to create models for the future. The Education Renewal Strategy document, for example, was the point of view of the National Party and no more.

Professor Kadar Asmal, a member of the ANC's constitutional committee, said the present government was "disqualified" from being in charge of

the transition and there was a need for a "temporary sovereign ruler".

He said there were two options for an interim government — to replace the whole of the present administration with a provisional one or to identify three or four key areas and substitute a "board" to run them.

Areas which could be run by a board were the security forces, the complete conducting of the elections and the handling of the resources of the state. Professor Asmal said the ANC believed that the function of an all-party conference was to bring the parties together, make arrangements for the interim governing of the country and agree on how elections would be conducted.

'No safeguards'

He said it was imperative that a new constitution be drafted by people with a mandate, which was why the ANC believed the right instrument for drawing up this fundamental document was a constituent assembly.

Professor Asmal said the ANC rejected the "special safeguards" for minorities advocated by the National Party.

Responsibility comes with power

w/ Mar 11/10 - 17/10/91 (11A)

BEFORE the African National Congress continues demanding an interim government, it might consider what it would do if it got one.

If some commentators are right, the ANC is stepping up mass action on VAT and is trying to discourage foreign loans because it hopes this will force the Nats to concede interim government. That strategy might just work.

If the government cannot impose taxes or raise loans without the ANC, it might well concede that it cannot continue trying to run the country without the resistance movement.

But what if it did?

Since the ANC would be part of government, it, too, might have to impose taxes and raise loans. It would have to take responsibility for the decisions against which it now mobilises. It would then have to switch from denouncing government measures to persuading its supporters to accept them.

So interim government means joint responsibility as well as joint power. The ANC wants the power, but does it want the responsibility?

Certainly, its rhetoric isn't readying its supporters for sharing decisions.

ANC leaders seem to imply that interim government would mean the end of the present government and the beginning of "people's power". Many of its activists have high expectations that interim government will produce the power they seek.

But, ANC leaders know, interim government would mean less than that since the ANC would still have to share power with the Nats in an interim cabinet.

This would not only give the ANC more power, but would also force it to share responsibility for decisions, some of them unpopular.

Raising expectations about what an interim government can deliver doesn't seem the best way of preparing itself to persuade its supporters to accept compromises. Nor does discouraging the loans the interim government would have to raise make it easier for the new arrangement to work.

Ironically, the more the ANC relies on protest politics to gain an interim government, the less able will it be to take its supporters with it once it wins that demand.

Even if the ANC wants to take its supporters into an arrangement where it must share responsibility, it may be unable to do this.

Recent ANC statements suggest that its leaders still believe that stepped-up rhetoric is the way to retain support in the movement. If raising expectations rather than dampening them is the route to popularity now, why should it not be in an interim government?

So, instead of taking responsibility for interim government decisions, the ANC may prefer to blame the Nats for them. The new arrangement would then be unable to run the country.

But the ANC cannot solve the problem by rejecting interim government. This would leave the Nats in sole control of the security forces and state media as well as other areas of policy.

Some ANC strategists understand this problem. They fear that, if the movement entered an interim government, it would be in danger of losing the first post-apartheid election. They argue that the ANC should attempt to win joint control over the security forces and SABC only, and should refuse to be "co-opted" into sharing other decisions.

That seems like a neat solution. But it does nothing to solve the problem — and may well make it worse.

Even joint control of the security forces may mean taking decisions which the ANC would have to sell to supporters.

More importantly, this strategy would ensure a continued stalemate in which all government decisions might be challenged by the ANC and its allies, but in which they would reject all offers to share responsibility for them. The government would be unable to rule with the ANC — or without it.

That may speed a settlement; but it could persuade the government to hang onto power until the ANC was ready to share it. And, even if it hastened a settlement, it would simply speed the day on which the ANC must begin taking responsibility.

The balance of power makes it almost inevitable that the decisions for which it would have to take responsibility would be shared with powerful white interests. So, at some point, the ANC will have to begin sharing responsibility for decisions — and preparing supporters for this.

If it wants to be part of an effective government, it might have to begin preparing for compromise sooner rather than later.

Top MK man is new ANC leader in PWV

Sowetan 11/10/91 (11A)

By IKE MOTSAPI

TOP Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Tokyo Sexwale was yesterday elected leader of the African National Congress' PWV region.

Sexwale received the support of 189 delegates out of a total of 197 during the region's elections at its conference at the Lenasia Civic Centre.

Other members of the executive are Advocate Mathole Motshega (vice-chairman), Ms Barbara Hogan (secretary), Mr Bayumile Vilakazi (deputy secretary) and Mr Cassim

Saloojee (treasurer).

Soon after his election Sexwale said the ANC had committed itself to peace and it wanted to make sure the National Peace Accord signed last month was a success.

"The ANC has been a victim of the violence that has been levelled against the community," he said.

"Most people have been thinking that this violence was directed at the ANC. That is not so. The violence has been directed at people in the community."

The conference also decided that the ANC's PWV region would convene a special conference on violence within a month.

Speaking on this afterwards, re-elected regional secretary Ms Barbara Hogan said they had decided that a separate discussion was needed to formulate strategies, especially on the National Peace Accord.

Hogan said the conference had dealt mainly with a "programme of action" to strengthen the organisation.

OWNERS

throwers. At Thabong, Welkom, a hostel shop was set alight causing extensive damage, while a limpet mine was discovered attached to wire screening at the Nyanga police station. The building was evacuated and bomb squad members defused the device.

MK leader for ANC's PWV region

ANTHONY NDLOVU

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander Tokyo Sexwale was the overwhelming winner in elections for chairman of the ANC's PWV region.

He received 189 out of a possible 197 votes at the annual congress yesterday.

Proceedings, attended by delegates from 90 branches, focused on the election of office bearers.

A total of 61 candidates stood for elections for 20 regional executive committee positions.

Barbara Hogan retained her position as secretary with 189 votes, while Cassim Salojee was elected treasurer with 160 votes.

Mathole Motshenga was elected deputy chairman and Bavumile Vilakazi deputy secretary.

At a news briefing after the elections, Sexwale pledged to work with all parties for peace.

He said violence was not affecting ANC members alone, but the community as a whole.

The restructuring of violence-monitoring committees locally and regionally was high on the agenda.

He called on people to identify themselves with the ANC, and pledged to build a strong organisation that would be ready for the interim government and ultimately for the "eventuality of elections".

The names of 15 other office bearers are to be announced.

Absa man had no links with the security police

ABSAs group personnel executive Petrus Claassen has been cleared of any security police link through the Liaison Bureau's front company, Liaison Human Resources Management Services, the Financial Mail reported this week.

The magazine said it had a statement signed on behalf of SAP Commissioner Johan van der Merwe saying that Claassen "had at no stage, knowingly or unwittingly, been involved with the SAP, whether in his personal or official capacity".

Resigned

The FM said that all the documentation in its possession substantiated this, and indicated that Claassen's integrity was above question.

Claassen told the magazine he had resigned as a director of Liaison Human Resources some time ago.

He said that he had, in any case, been unaware of the security police's involvement with the Liaison Bureau, or that Liaison Hu-

man Resources was a front for the security police.

When the FM published its exposé of the police-funded project, Business Day approached Absa about Claassen's reported involvement, but Absa deputy CE Danie Cronje declined to comment.

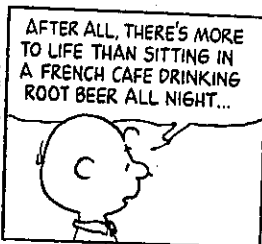
In the Business Day report on October 3, it was mentioned that the FM had reported that Claassen was paid a total of R61 000, of which R21 000 was for a "Spoornet contract", and that there was no evidence that Claassen knew the project was a front for the security police.

Claassen is quoted in the FM this week as saying the amounts were paid to Liaison Human Resources by bona fide clients for management courses and the analyses of top executive remuneration packages.

The FM said Claassen's fees came from the payments of these genuine clients, and that this was confirmed by Liaison Human Resources head Kobus Slabbert.

PEANUTS

By C



American roadshow to raise funds for ANC

SAN FRANCISCO — A "caravan" of American anti-apartheid campaigners and entertainers will visit SA next week in a drive to raise funds for the ANC and rekindle international concern for the plight of voteless blacks.

The TransAfrica-sponsored mission follows a plea, in the form of a letter, from ANC president Nelson Mandela, "which had a note of desperation in it", a US congressman said yesterday.

However, what was originally intended as a four-day "Hollywood extravaganza" to SA involving stars like Michael Jackson,

B/D ay 11/10/91
ANTHONY JOHNSON

Bill Cosby and Quincy Jones, appears unlikely to materialise at this stage — despite frantic 11th-hour lobbying of black entertainers sympathetic to the anti-apartheid cause. Plans for an international satellite broadcast of a fundraising telethon have also apparently been postponed.

TransAfrica director Randall Robinson, who was "too busy" to respond to media inquiries this week, still has to finalise details with Mandela and a variety of US parties interested in joining the trip to SA,

scheduled for October 19 to 22.

And SIMON BARBER reports that New York mayor David Dinkins now plans to visit SA between November 10 and 17. He was forced to postpone his trip last month because his staff could not raise the \$500 000 he needed to charter a jumbo jet for himself and an entourage of nearly 50.

He now intends to fly by commercial airline with a much smaller group of city officials and businessmen. His bill will be paid by a controversial "charity" which raises money from companies that do business with the city.

ANC will issue double warning on foreign loans

w/mail 11/10-17/10/91

By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London

KEY African National Congress envoys will try next week to thwart a strong new bid by President FW de Klerk for early access to world money markets.

The ANC's director of foreign affairs, Thabo Mbeki, and fellow national executive committee member Trevor Manuel have prepared a double warning for delegates assembling in Bangkok, Thailand, for the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which begins on October 16.

According to ANC officials in London, the American-dominated IMF will be warned:

●Firstly, that any premature lifting of financial sanctions will enable the South African cabinet to stall, and thereby imperil, the peace process. ANC backing for loans from the IMF and other international lending institutions will be given only when an interim government is installed.

●Secondly, that a future ANC government will feel free to renegotiate any foreign loans made to De Klerk's administration if its terms are deemed unduly onerous.

This is in line with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's October 2 statement that an elected, post-apartheid government could not be expected to rubber stamp difficult undertakings entered into by the apartheid regime.

De Klerk has assigned Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals to do more than press South Africa's case for re-entering the money markets of the world. They are expected to counter ANC arguments that the apartheid system has not yet been dismantled.

For months the De Klerk government has been in secret contact with the United States administration on the issue of regaining access to international credit facilities, a US State Department official reported privately. President George Bush's freedom of action has been limited, however, by the Gramm Amendment, which bars IMF loans to South Africa until the last vestiges of apartheid vanish.

Bush personally may believe this already has happened, but the Democratic majority in the US congress has still to be convinced. According to the influential Black Caucus, reflecting ANC perceptions, it will take a long time for this to take place.

Bush has yet formally to seek congressional approval for the repeal of the Gramm Amendment, said the State Department source. But the US president was portrayed as wanting to do so by early 1992, so that a South African application for IMF credits could be approved by the middle of the year.

The De Klerk government, the source said, has been made aware of this — but only on the understanding that further steps to dismantle apartheid are taken. This is being interpreted as meaning that a start has to be made on all-party constitutional talks.

An ANC team will also be on hand to consult with delegates attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference in Harare, which also begins on October 16.

The issue of continuing financial sanctions will be at the centre of a discussion on the South African situation. A large majority of the 50-nation grouping is expected to endorse the recommendation of a nine-member foreign ministers' committee that the financial sanctions should be continued until the promised democratic, non-racial constitution has been agreed.

Britain, Nigeria, Kenya and Malawi are among a minority which favours the removal of this kind of embargo.

'Can't be non-racial SA if most live in squalor'

THE true non-racial South Africa could not be brought about "if three-quarters of the population live in squalor, and the rest in luxury", ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in a speech read for him last night.

Mr Mandela was scheduled to have officially opened a three-day conference on affirmative action but was advised by doctors to rest.

He stressed that the ANC was not asking for handouts. Nor did it wish to do away with qualifications.

"What we are against is not the upholding of standards as such, but the sustaining of barriers to the attainment of standards." (11) CT 11/10/91

Why it's not yet party time

Stur 11/10/91

11A

THE debate about whether or not the African National Congress is obliged formally to reconstitute itself as a political party has thus far, and with reason, gone over the heads of the South African public.

It has seemed a rarefied issue, confined to the realms of micro-negotiations, and there has been precious little clarity over the precise practical differences between a "liberation movement" and a political party.

This "storm in a teacup" view is flawed, however, as a new ANC discussion document in the possession of *The Star* clearly demonstrates. The matter is of considerable importance to the ANC, and the organisation appears to be digging in its heels.

Powerful voices within the ANC are arguing that there is no case — now, or in the foreseeable future — for recasting the structural form in which the ANC has operated for nearly 80 years. Their reasons have more to do with the realpolitik of achieving power than with theoretical niceties, and for this reason the justificatory arguments are important

to friend and foe alike.

The first full explanation of the ANC's insistence on remaining a "liberation movement" — a decision which has infuriated the Government and rival political parties — is set out in a seven-page discussion paper entitled "National Liberation Movement or Political Party?" drafted by the ANC's department of political education.

It argues that the membership should strongly resist pressure from "the regime, liberal politicians, academics and the press" to convert itself into a political party "modelled on Western democratic lines, where the party apparatus is geared almost exclusively to contesting elections".

The paper sets two key tasks.

The first is to explain why this resolution was passed at the July conference in Durban: "The ANC is a national liberation movement providing leadership to its members and the oppressed and democratic forces generally, over a wide range of issues. The ANC is not a political party."

The second is to tease out the practical import of this decision.

The document accuses the Government of trying to force the

ANC into the mould of "normal" politics, thereby severing its direct links with the masses.

"This idea fits neatly into the kind of ANC the Government would like to create as a negotiating partner. In the current period ... the central objective of the regime is to minimise the influence and power of the ANC and to tone down its negotiating demands."

The NP, it is argued, is genuinely attempting to broaden its support-base, particularly in the coloured and Indian communities, and needs to create space for itself to do so by weakening the ANC. When Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee calls on the ANC to "heed the rules of politics", says the ANC paper, he is intentionally pressurising the organisation into "demobilising its mass base from active struggle ..."

A more specific charge is that Pretoria is trying to force the ANC to adopt defined policy positions prematurely, knowing that this will sow dissension in its ranks.

"As a national liberation movement, the ANC stands at the head of a whole range of organisations and social groupings that have

been struggling against apartheid ... Under the banner of national liberation, the ANC harnesses a range of class interests ... (this) poses a threat to the objectives of the NP.

"The pressure from the regime for the ANC to become a political party must be seen in this context. It is hoped that if the ANC changes from an organisation uniting a broad range of forces ... to a political party, it will be more likely to take more specific and defined positions on policy questions ... It is hoped this will split the tripartite alliance."

The ANC paper views the pressure on the political party question as part of a wider strategy to ensure that a new dispensation involves power-sharing, not a transfer of power, and guarantees the NP considerable influence.

These, it is suggested, were key the reasons which underpinned the ANC's unequivocal decision in July to retain its "liberation movement" persona.

The overall thinking is that "the ANC must maintain its unity and broadness and its link to the masses. This is essential to winning our demands in the transition

as well as to reconstruction and ongoing participation in a future South Africa. The mass-based character of the ANC is expressed in the liberation movement form."

However, the document is quick to point out that "this does not mean that the ANC is not interested in contesting elections or that it may not choose at some point to become a mass-based political party". The ANC will indeed contest elections, but "not necessarily in the style" to which white South Africa has become used.

The ANC paper argues that parties can be "mass based, democratic and accountable structures that interact dynamically with the organisations of civil society."

The "Brazilian Workers Party" is cited as an example: "This is a mass party with a dynamic relationship with mass social movements from civics to trade unions ... a precondition of party membership is active participation in party structures either in the workplace or the neighbourhood."

"These locally based structures are the basis of policy making and discussion which is fed into municipal conventions and then the state convention."

What is evident from the ANC argument is that the term "political party" is not, at base, the real issue: what is crucial is that "policy formation must involve the active participation of the grassroots. The mobilisation of people for elections must extend beyond the elections to mobilising people for the process of national liberation in general."

Implicit in this is a criticism of the ANC leadership's tendency

since the organisation's unbanning, to take decisions in isolation.

If the views contained in the document prevail, it appears highly unlikely that the transformation from liberation movement to political party will take place in the near future — and certainly not before the proposed all-party conference.

And even then, ANC members are told: "We should not assume that we must adapt our organisational form and style to the norms and conventions that have been established in white parliamentary politics — simply because these are the established way electoral politics in this country has been conducted." □

Marxist group accuses ANC of harassment

By Esmaré *Star*
van der Merwe *11/10/91*
Political Reporter

A left-wing ANC splinter group, the Marxist Workers' Tendency (MWT), has complained to ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa about alleged harassment and assault of its members during ANC marches.

In a letter to Mr Ramaphosa, MWT spokesman Weizmann Hamilton warned that "the bullying of comrades" would be referred to the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimida-

tion, to be set up in terms of the multiparty National Peace Accord, if the ANC and Cosatu did not guarantee "to restrain such misconduct" against MWT members.

Mr Weizman said members selling MWT stickers and other material had been harassed and intimidated by ANC marshals during a VAT demonstration in Johannesburg last month.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said an investigation had shown that the MWT members had refused to obey marshals' orders.

New ANC PWV boss looks for peace

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The new chairman of the ANC's powerful PWV region, Tokyo Sexwale, vowed yesterday to devote his energies to setting up effective structures to bring peace to the violence-ridden region. (11A)

Addressing a press conference after the election of a new PWV executive, Mr Sexwale said: "Our task is to redouble our efforts and to network with all organisations involved to ensure peace."

Mr Sexwale said violence was not directly aimed at

the ANC but at black communities as a whole.

"The violence is hitting our people in trains, in beer-halls and in their homes irrespective of whether those are ANC homes. This is violence against the community." Star 11/10/91

A total of 197 voting delegates from 90 branches attended the last day of the region's annual general conference, set aside for the secret ballot elections of an expanded 20-member executive from 61 candidates.

Mr Sexwale, the ANC's special projects co-ordinator

and an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, was elected overwhelmingly with 189 votes in a two-way contest against JB Sibaanyoni. He succeeded Khalema Motlanthe who stepped down.

Former prisoner Barbara Hogan retained the position of general secretary with 189 votes in a two-way contest.

The position of deputy chairman, contested by seven people, went to Mathole Motshega (88 votes), that of treasurer to Cassim Saloojee (160 votes) in a three-way contest while Bavumile Vilakazi defeated three candi-

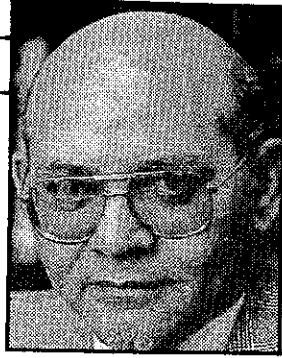
dates to be elected deputy general secretary (87 votes).

National Working Committee members of the ANC were not eligible for election, and Winnie Mandela was the only National Executive Committee member to have stood for election. The names of the 15 additional members would be released later, media officer Ronnie Mamoepa said.

Former UDF activist Murphy Morobe, nominated as chairman and ordinary executive member, did not contest the election for unknown reasons.

NEWS ANALYSIS

BY NORMAN WEST



THIS past week has produced so much hope in the form of agreements between traditionally hostile adversaries that one is tempted to hail it — possibly a bit optimistically — as the dawning of the age of consensus politics.

And for Cape Town, today should be a specially significant Sunday, because the steering committee of the city's Peace Committee meets for the first time.

It will plan a strategy to try and rid the city of the wanton bloodshed that has become an almost daily feature of the taxi warfare — fueled by a battle over routes and money — that is raging on Cape Town's doorstep.

The decision to form the committee was taken at a peace conference called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and mayor Frank van der Velde on Wednesday.

The previous day the two factions in the taxi war, the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta) and the Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu (Lagunya) Taxi Association, were still literally at each other's throats.

Peace-brokers Tutu, Van der Velde, Anglican Dean of Cape Town Colin Jones, former UDF official Zohra Ebrahim and Mary Burton of the Black Sash, who form the steering committee, will now have the difficult task of putting into practice resolutions adopted on Wednesday.

One of these is to establish a committee to mediate in situations of conflict, to investigate acts of violence and monitor policing and the implementing of the ceasefire agreed on to resolve the issues underlying the conflict.

But while some looked for genuine solutions, others at the conference carried on with the petty squabbles that have bedevilled other attempts at bringing a lasting peace to the war, refusing to sit at the same table as other parties who came to the conference.

What a pity!

It is an attitude that bodes ill for a peaceful resolution and is based on

Signs of hope as rivals get together

misconceptions and mistrust of other's intentions.

There is, on a national level, also reason to be optimistic that a spirit of consensus is entering our politics, despite perceived or real differences between the various parties.

In spite of continuing rhetoric, posturings and name-calling among the main political players — including the hysterical lambasting of the ANC by State President FW De Klerk at the NP congress in the Strand this week — there are signs that more high-profile political players too, are beginning to get their acts together and moving closer to real talks.

It was undoubtedly a sign of the new

Realpolitik that is abroad when traditional political adversaries agreed to attend Wednesday's peace summit.

Azapo, one of the hot-head "liberation movements", which has an unfortunate reputation of ambivalence when it comes to putting heads together on problems, sat side-by-side with the PAC, ANC, the police and other peace-seeking forces, in whose company they have vowed not to be seen.

And the previous day, at a seminar of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, there was a promising mood of co-operation between the ANC, PAC, DP and NP, when they agreed that all South Africa's political parties would have to be included in the process of negotiations for a new constitution.

ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma, said the ANC felt the negotiation process could not afford to exclude other parties, irrespective of the perceived size of their support base. It had been historically proven, he said, that parties which remained outside the process could work to derail or even sabotage it.

And that, of course, does not mean that all need agree on everything when they meet — this seldom happens. But that is the way wars are ended, by sitting down with the enemy.

For instance, the DP's Tony Leon told the seminar the view that the election of a Constituent Assembly (as proposed by most black liberation movements) should be a forerunner to negotiations was "impractical" given the current instability and violence.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said the government view was that negotiations should be as "inclusive" as possible, although other parties could join the process along the way.

It is, therefore, a great pity that the Inkatha Freedom Party rejected the initial oral invitation to be part of the Patriotic Front Conference in Durban later this month.

By being "excluded", they would not be bound to whatever "consensus" was reached at the PFC. What a great, great pity, Mr Buthelezi.

S/T/Wes 13/10/91(CM)

ANC's punch-up

S/Times 13/10/91

11A

Chaos reigns and funds go missing at PWV branch

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

A CONFIDENTIAL report has revealed the ANC's biggest and most powerful region to be a shambles — plagued by in-fighting, discontent, bad attendances, punch-ups, poor time-keeping and personality clashes.

The scorching report was presented to the PWV regional conference last week.

Angry ANC Youth League members of the Enkagala branch once marched on a local ANC office and demanded a share of its office space, the report reveals.

On other occasions, representatives of civic organisations attended meetings in blocks with the intention of disrupting ANC programmes.

One regional organiser reported that some ANC members, who had lost out in bids for office in the movement, used their positions in the SACP and Cosatu to undermine the ANC.

These members, report-

ed Mr Elliot Mayisela, PWV regional organiser, organised events to coincide with those arranged by the ANC — for the sole purpose of "fuelling more hatred".

PWV regional secretary Barbara Hogan also reported that although the organisation had doubled its membership, it was facing serious teething problems.

Some branches still had no membership forms, either because the recruiters could not be found or subscription money had gone missing, Miss Hogan said.

The failure to engage people in effective campaigns had been "trying and confusing" and this was reflected in the poor morale sometimes found at branch level.

Problems experienced by most branches were:

- Executive members not devoting sufficient time to branch activities because of work overload and wearing too many political hats;
- Poor attendance at general meetings, inadequate communication and contact between members and branch executives;
- Poor resources, weak administrative systems — often low membership and no financial records, few or no minutes, no maintenance of attendance registers and virtually no circulation of documentation from the regional office;
- Insufficient involvement, consultation and briefing on national political issues and lack of clarity as to what the branches should be doing;

The region's relationship with the ANC's National Executive Committee, the organisation's top policy-making body, had not been

satisfactory, said Miss Hogan.

The NEC's failure to keep regions fully briefed and informed about developments and a serious lack of consultation on major issues had led to criticisms of the ANC's style of organisation and leadership.

This had improved since the Durban conference, but a serious omission was the total exclusion of the PWV region in the process of drawing up the Peace Accord.

Failed

There was also tension between squatter and township branches; the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues, and civic organisations and the ANC.

● Mrs Winnie Mandela failed to be re-elected to the PWV executive.

She was the only member of the ANC's National Executive Committee to stand for re-election in the region despite strong views in the ANC against holding too many positions within the organisation.

Newly-elected PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale defended Mrs Mandela yesterday saying she had stated her intention not to stand, but her branch had insisted on putting forward her nomination.

However, one delegate to the regional conference said Mrs Mandela's bid for re-election was seen as being in "bad taste".

Politics

No shift in ANC's federalism stance

S/Times 13/10/91.

11A

MAY I correct some impressions that might have been created by the article on a shift in ANC policy on federalism (September 22).

The basic policy of the ANC is still the same. We are struggling for a unitary, democratic, united, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa — a country united in that it re-incorporates all the Bantustans into South Africa.

The ANC has been working out a policy to re-demarcate South Africa into different regions. This is clearly stated in the ANC constitutional committee's document on Constitutional Structures and Principles issued earlier this year.

The ANC believes the creation of regions and encouragement of local government will enhance democratisation. This is in line with our policy of popular participation and accountability of leadership and government to the electorate.

The ANC has always been sensitive to regional and local concerns and would like to bring government as close as possible to the people.

Powers to regions' local government authorities would be delegated. The central government would be duty-bound to ensure that its policies have the support of the subordinate governmental structures at regional and local level and that there is popular participation in policy formulation. It would

LIVE LETTERS

Box 1090 Johannesburg 2000

avoid imposition of policy from the top without consultation.

The draft principles put forward by the ANC Constitution Committee acknowledge the importance of regions in at least four respects:

- In elections to the National Assembly, the lists of candidates under the proportional representation system will be drawn up on a regional and national basis;
 - In elections to the Senate, the regions will be strongly represented;
 - Regional government will be elected and not appointed with extensive but not exclusive functions and responsibilities;
 - There will be an active policy of ensuring that the wealthier regions contribute towards the advancement of poorer ones.
- Federations work where they evolve historically. Normally, they result from independent states coming

together and surrendering part of their sovereignty while retaining a part for themselves. Just the opposite is being proposed for our country by the De Klerk administration and the Democratic Party.

The ANC has not taken a final decision on how to demarcate the regions. This will be decided in a workshop to be organised soon with the participation of Cosatu and the Economic Policy Department of the ANC.

The Constitutional Committee of the ANC was impressed by the policy of "equalisation" (Ausgleichung) as practised in Germany, where the federal government ensures the overall economic development in all states (Laender) — unlike South Africa where the PWV, southern Natal and the Western Cape have been developed at the expense of other regions.

The ANC will remain

sceptical and suspicious of federalist proposals of both the NP and DP. The question that is not being answered in their proposals is:

- Who federates with whom?
- Why federalism at this time in our history, especially now that the dream for which millions have struggled and sacrificed their lives is in sight?

The ANC has struggled for about 80 years to unite the African majority and all anti-apartheid forces against colonialism and apartheid. The negative results of federalism in countries like Nigeria, India, Yugoslavia and recently the Soviet Union, have left an indelible negative impact in our assessment of federalism in multi-national countries. It seems to encourage ethnicism.

* Federalism seems to work in countries with a homogenous population. (USA, Germany, Australia and, to a certain extent, Canada) but has brought problems to multinational countries. — ZOLA SKWEYIYA, Constitutional Committee, ANC.

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The Nats and ANC, both convinced they offer the best home to the coloured voter, are urging: COME ON IN, FOLKS

S/Times 13/10/91.

(11A)

THE gesture says it all.

Used by politicians across the spectrum, it involves raising two fingers of each hand to represent inverted commas while mouthing the inevitable prefix "so-called" before uttering the word "coloured".

Ethnicity is not a factor and "coloured" nationalism, Dr Allan Boesak states bluntly, does not exist. Mr Gerald Morkel, once Labour Party and now National Party MP for Retreat, agrees.

But "coloured" people do exist, and in large numbers. In the Western Cape where, as ANC president Nelson Mandela points out, they make up 54 percent of the population, they are being wooed as never before.

Speaking in Stellenbosch this week before about 2 000 people, one-third of whom were coloured, President FW de Klerk claimed that the National Party had majority support in the coloured community.

A week earlier at the Western Cape congress of the ANC, Mr Mandela, basing his assessment on the same opinion polls, told his troops that until they could prove otherwise, they would have to accept this as fact.

They responded by electing Dr Boesak as Western Cape leader.

Victory

The Cape National Party, the strongest in the country, matched this by electing the Reverend Andrew Julies as its vice-chairman this week.

It is not the first time Dr Boesak and Mr Julies have gone head to head. During the 80s, as leaders of the UDF and Labour Party respectively, they also found themselves on opposite sides in battles around the tricameral parliament. Particularly in the Western Cape where polls in the House of Representatives elections were minuscule, Dr Boesak and the UDF could claim overwhelming victory.

But in South Africa after February 2 1990, the situation would appear to have changed.

Opinion polls show that support for the UDF has not automatically translated into support for the ANC. The same polls show that, since they split from the Labour Party, the so-called "brown Nats" have increased their support, gaining from the popularity of President De Klerk, their new leader.

Of the 20 House of Representatives seats in the Cape Peninsula, the NP now holds 16.

Mr Morkel, who occupies one of them, says support for the Labour Party in the Cape Peninsula has fallen away to the point where it is virtually non-existent.

Violence

At the same time, he says, the ANC has failed to make major inroads into the coloured community.

The main reason militating against the ANC and working in favour of the NP, he says, is that the community is deeply religious.

"The big thing is that the people are believers. They see the ANC as atheists and cannot support them." This, he says, applies to both Christians and Muslims.

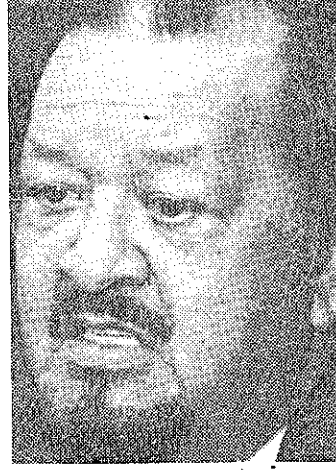
Other factors in the NP's



CENTRE: Richard van der Ross



ANC HOPE: Allan Boesak



IN DECLINE: Allan Hendrickse



BROWN NAT: Andrew Julies

MIKE ROBERTSON and NORMAN WEST report on the options facing South Africa's 'brown Afrikaners'

favour, he says, are the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party, the belief that the ANC is involved in violence, and the ANC's economic policies, particularly its support for nationalisation.

"People are laid back and would rather not go for options like nationalisation. Many are home owners and property is very important to them."

Mr Morkel says many coloureds see the ANC as an "African" organisation. "Many people in the community are conservative and see themselves as being much more aligned to whites, with whom they share names, religion and language, than black people."

Dr Richard van der Ross, former rector of the University of the Western Cape, agrees that coloured people find it hard to identify with the ANC. He adds, however, that they have the same difficulty with the NP, given the history of apartheid.

Dominated

He believes a "centrist forum" would attract majority support from the coloured community and has already begun discussions with a view to establishing such a party.

Since its unbanning, the ANC has struggled to integrate its various components. In the Western Cape, where the left wing is notoriously factionalised, this has proved doubly difficult.

In addition, top posts in the Western Cape leadership of the ANC were dominated by Africans and this is cited as one of the reasons for its lack of penetration in the coloured community.

Mr Mandela referred pointedly to this when he told the recent Western Cape conference of the ANC that the predominance of coloureds in the region was reflected neither in the leader-

ship nor membership of the ANC.

Subsequent elections for the new regional executive saw Dr Boesak being elected as chairman, Muslim leader Ebrahim Rasool as treasurer and UWC rector Jakes Gerwel to an executive post.

Dr Boesak freely admits that the ANC has had a problem in attracting support from the coloured community.

The ANC, he says, made a mistake in assuming it would attract the same support as the UDF. "For many people, the UDF was an organisation they had built. In the beginning the ANC was perceived as an organisation that had come back from exile."

Dubious

The government, he adds, was at first successful in pinning the blame for violence on the ANC. Since the Inkatha funding revelations and increasing allegations of police involvement in violence, this perception is beginning to change, he says.

While Mr Mandela was right in drawing attention to the problems the ANC had in attracting coloured support, Dr Boesak says, he believes the ANC president is taking "dubious" opinion polls too seriously.

"Personally I think it is true to say there are more people supportive of the ANC than the NP. There are, however, a large number of people who have not made up their minds. There lies the work."

Dr Boesak says difficulties the ANC will have to overcome in attracting majority support in the coloured community include a general conservatism, the ANC's links with the SACP, and elements of racism.

Dr Boesak justifies his decision to join the ANC despite having personal problems with the SACP alliance on the grounds that Mr Mandela has indicated that once

the struggle to overcome apartheid has been won, the alliance partners will go their separate ways.

What remains a problem for him to justify, Dr Boesak says, is "this symbiotic relationship between the ANC and the SACP in terms of dual membership, which is something one cannot explain logically if you think of political alliances or even if you think of coalition".

Confront

Dr Boesak says racism and fear that the ANC is an "African" organisation is something the ANC has to confront when dealing with the coloured community.

"For certain people, not the majority, the racism factor is something to be reckoned with. You cannot live in an apartheid society which finds its very being in racism and the odious use of ethnicity without being affected in some way. It is not only white people who are racist in this country: black people are racist, too."

Dr Boesak believes the recent Western Cape ANC election will go a long way towards soothing the fears that the ANC is an African organisation.

"In the interim period we have almost got to have affirmative action... We must not only say we are non-racial, we must be seen to be non-racial."

Alliance

Both Dr Boesak and the "brown Nats" agree the Labour Party has ceased to be a force in the coloured community of the Western Cape.

The Labour Party appears to have seen the writing on the wall and its leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, has recently been putting out feelers to the ANC and PAC with a view to forming an alliance.

This weekend representatives of both the ANC and the PAC addressed the LP's special seminar and Eastern Cape regional congress in Port Elizabeth. President De Klerk said in Stellenbosch that this rapprochement

with the liberation movements was tantamount to the LP putting a noose around its neck and would lead to its demise as an independent entity.

The "brown Nats" set great store by the result of a recent Athlone (Cape Peninsula) coloured management committee election in which their candidate, Mr Billy van der Ross, beat the Labour Party's Mr James Mirinda by 77 votes.

However, in a subsequent by-election in Klerksdorp in the Transvaal, the LP easily defeated the NP. In Klerksdorp there was a 30 percent poll. In Athlone the poll was a meagre 2,9 percent. Here lies the rub for parties courting the coloured voters of the Western Cape.

Destiny

Dr Boesak says the main task confronting him is to make people understand "that for first time in their lives they will have a vote that will shape destiny".

But in the Western Cape, where boycott politics has dominated and expressing a political preference has often led to violence, many coloureds have opted out of politics altogether. It remains to be seen whether Dr Boesak, the ANC, and President De Klerk and his "brown Nats" can persuade them otherwise.

'The people are believers ... they see the ANC as atheists'

COMMUNISM HAS NO FUTURE HERE, SAYS BOESAK

11A
S/Times
13/10/91

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

COMMUNISM was not an ideology that had any future, Dr Allan Boesak said this week. And once apartheid was defeated, he added, the SA Communist Party and the ANC would part company.

Dr Boesak, who was recently elected Western Cape leader of the ANC, also said dual membership of the ANC and SACP could not be logically explained.

He was outlining how he intended persuading religious people to join the ANC despite his and their misgivings about its alliance with the SACP.

Religious

Dr Boesak said many people in the "so-called coloured" community of the Western Cape wanted to distance themselves from communism.

"A large section of the people in these communities are religious.

"Many have said to me that they have a problem with the alliance between the ANC and the SACP... Christians and Muslims have said that they cannot subscribe to that philosophy and they want to know what their position would be should they join the ANC. It is something the ANC should continue to

address," Dr Boesak said.

Asked how he, personally, responded to these concerns, Dr Boesak said he emphasised, quoting ANC president Nelson Mandela, that the alliance was historic and strategic.

"Which means that as soon as we have achieved the main goal of overturning apartheid, the alliance as it exists today will go its separate way. That is what Mr Mandela says. I think that has helped me come to terms with it."

Dr Boesak said he told religious people whom he was trying to convince to join the ANC that they should not be afraid of communism.

He reasoned: "World-wide it is clearly understood now that this is not an ideology that has any future.

"Even when I listen to some of the SACP members speak today they remind me far less of Lenin and Karl Marx than of some of my Social Democratic friends in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. That is more the language that they speak these days."

He added: "What makes communism attractive to our people is the insistence on equality in society. It's their concern for the oppressed and the poor in society. That Christians know about.

"The whole biblical ethic from beginning to end has been an ethic that has placed God firmly on the side of the poor. That concern I say to the communists is nice, but it is not new. Christians have always believed that. It represents the best in the Christian tradition."

Positive

Dr Boesak added: "What remains a problem is the symbiotic relationship between the ANC and the SACP in terms of dual membership and so forth. This is something you cannot explain logically if you think of political alliances or even if you think of coalitions."

He believed, however, that this relationship was something the ANC was "strong enough in itself and mature enough to discuss... I believe what one should do is move into the organisation and make as positive a contribution as one can as a Christian."

● See Page 23

The PAC heavy who is undaunted by the ring

BENNY Alexander never shies away from a fight or controversy.

As a youth in the sub-economic area of Florierville in Kimberley, Alexander took to fighting at an early age.

Unlike his peers he was not a street fighter but an amateur boxer with the Diamond Gloves Boxing Club. He was good enough to represent Griqualand West in amateur championships.

In the ring, Alexander gave as much as he could but always observed the Queensberry rules. As secretary general of the PAC, Alexander is still fighting — what some critics say is a hopeless and unwinnable battle.

This time the square jungle has been replaced by the political arena. Schooled in fighting according to the rules, Alexander says in his political battles he tries to add "as much intellectual integrity as possible."

Alexander is not awed by the fight he is engaged in. He is undaunted by current perceptions that the PAC may soon find itself marginalised by the so-called big three, the ANC, Inkatha and the government.

"As an organisation espousing Pan Africanism, the PAC cannot be marginalised in Africa. Africanism will never die in Africa," is Alexander's reply.

Opinion polls which regularly show the ANC miles ahead of the PAC do not dampen his spirits.

"These are polls conducted by some liberals over telephones. They reflect only 10 percent of the African population."

CPA Rev 13/10/91

In one of a series of profiles on South Africa's up-and-coming policy-makers, City Press assistant editor **SEKOLA SELLO** speaks to PAC secretary general **Benny Alexander**.

To him the true strength of each organisation will be tested when the country holds free and fair elections.

The 36-year-old bachelor shot to public prominence in December 1989 when he was elected the first general secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement — the PAC's internal wing — when the organisation was still banned.

His election came as a bolt out of the blue. He was, to most political activists, a completely unknown factor. Even some known PAC sympathisers did not know much about him.

Who is this Benny, where does he come from, is he black or white? These were some of the questions asked by those who had not yet met the fire-spitting Alexander.

Overnight Alexander caught the public imagination. And when Zeph Mophong, the late PAC president, was released from jail, Alexander became his personal aide and at times spokesman, travelling with him to Britain, the US, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

This further enhanced the visibility of Alexander. If the ailing Mophong was then regarded as uncompromising

and a hardliner, his aide was as controversial as he was articulate.

Alexander says for two years before the PAM launch, he and several other activists in the trade union movement had been working underground to re-establish PAC structures.

"We held the first consultative meeting in Cape Town in 1987 where it was decided to form a front for the PAC."

Alexander might have remained in the backwaters of Kimberley but for the government's decision to ban and banish PAC founding president Robert Sobukwe to the town.

"Sobukwe's presence overpowered the whole of Kimberley. He was, among us Africans, the pride of a not very well-known town."

"To see him walking down the street towards his law offices and the fear this inspired in whites had a strong impact on us. This, I think, is what really attracted us to the PAC."

After completing matric at William Pescod, Alexander worked in the Department of Manpower.

He soon trekked to Johannesburg where he worked as a sales representative for a pharmaceutical company.

He became a member of the Black, Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa and later moved to the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union.

It was during this period as a fulltime office-bearer of Sabhau that Alexander started identifying strongly with PAC tendencies in the trade union movement.

11A
The PAC has been criticised for adopting radical but ineffective political positions. Their insistence that they will only negotiate the transfer of power, not the terms of the transfer, is regarded in white circles as unrealistic. Even among a large number of blacks this position has been criticised.

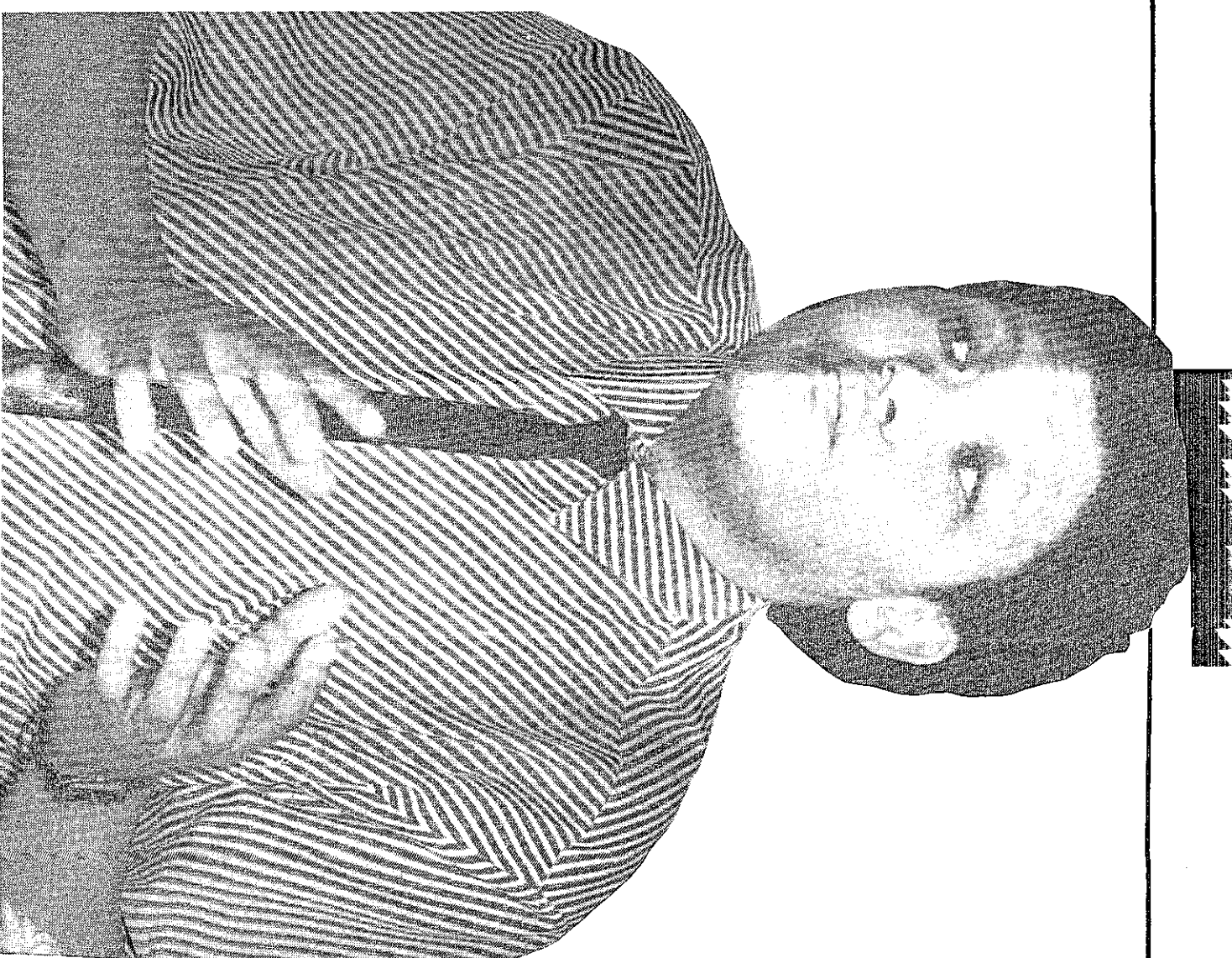
Alexander dismisses claims that the positions are unrealistic. "The PAC has taken the wisest strategies. We are an organisation of the oppressed and see deeper and further than anybody."

"When we said we wanted our comrades in jail to be released unconditionally, it was said we were being radical. They have all been released unconditionally. We said the deadlines set for the release of all political prisoners and return of exiles were not practical and again we were accused of being radical. Again on these two points we have been proved correct. We will be proved correct on many other points."

One of the points he believes will prove correct is his claim that the PAC has the largest following in the country.

"We have three very strong regions in the Orange Free State — an area where traditionally we were very weak. This is a clear indication that we represent the masses."

Alexander, a non-smoker, non-drinker and practising Christian, says he rarely misses a church service at Ennedale, south of Johannesburg, where he lives. If he is not at church or attending to political matters, this son of a working class family enjoys playing ten-pin bowling or socialising outdoors.



EXPERIENCED OPPONENT ... Benny Alexander is undaunted by criticism of the PAC.

Tokyo in

ANC boss gears PWV (11A) for elections

By SEKOLA SELLO

CP 13/10/91
NEWLY elected ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale says the organisation is gearing itself for South Africa's first post-apartheid elections.

Talking to City Press a day after being elected to head the ANC's most populous and strongest region, Sexwale said his region was "readying itself for elections which must be held very soon".

Sexwale said the region's three-day congress which ended on Thursday made this one of the top priorities.



Tokyo Sexwale

"Our immediate task is to remove this present government. We are gearing all our efforts towards having an interim government which will pave the way for a constituent assembly to be followed by elections."

Sexwale denied that the congress, which was closed to the press, took any hardline resolutions.

"Whatever decisions were taken -- and these will be made public in due course -- were not hardline. They were definitely pragmatic."

He said the call for the "immediate removal" of the government was in line with the "pragmatic and realistic attitude of the ANC".

"Our people have always known that the government is the real obstacle to ending apartheid. We have given the government the opportunity to remove apartheid and they have failed."

The 38-year-old Umkhonto weSizwe commander said his primary goal as head of the PWV region is to help expand the support base of the organisation.

The congress has forwarded a number of proposals to the regional council "to give clarity and for implementation". Among these are strategies to remove the government, bring about an interim government, consolidate the organisation's membership and network with other bodies to combat violence.

the hot seat

Tambo at Giyani ANC youth rally

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo today addresses a launch rally of the Northern Transvaal region of the ANC youth league at Giyani. (11A)

The rally follows a regional conference which started at the Giyani youth camp, formerly used by the Gazankulu Government and the Ximoko Progressive Party. C/P res 13/10/91

LP yes to alliance politics

LABOUR Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse yesterday received an overwhelming mandate to pursue future alliances with such parties as the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

At a seminar held to discuss the future of the party in Port Elizabeth, 94 percent of those present voted to align the LP with parties attending the forthcoming

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

Patriotic Front conference.

The capacity crowd of 600, jam-packed into the Gelvandale Community Centre, thundered their endorsement of the decision with loud applause and stamping feet. Mr Hendrickse said however that the

LP was not going to form any formal alliance with any party.

The seminar was addressed by Professor Kader Asmal, Mr Reggie September and Mr Franklin Sonn of the ANC.

Mr Bennie Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC, was on the programme as a speaker but had to go abroad at short notice.

He sent a special envoy to apologise for his absence and convey the good wishes of the PAC to the seminar.

Mr Raymond Mhlaba, national chairman of the SA Communist Party and a member of the ANC Executive Committee, attended as an observer.

Yesterday afternoon, Mr Hendrickse released the results of a poll on the party's future direction.

The results showed 94 percent of the delegates were in favour of the party forming alliances with parties of a similar philosophy — but not at present.

Talks

A total of 98 percent said when an alliance was formed, the LP should retain its identity as a non-racial party.

And 80 percent said they were in favour of a constituent assembly based on

one-person one-vote elections.

Ninety percent endorsed further talks with the ANC, PAC, Azapo grouping.

A total of 80 percent said there had to be joint participation in a transitional/interim government arrangement and only 20 percent felt the present government alone should rule in the interim.

Mr Hendrickse said 95 percent of the delegates endorsed the party's attendance and association with the Patriotic Front conference.

He ascribed the resurgence of interest and renewed enthusiasm for him and the Labour Party to the decision by the leadership "to go back to the people".

ANC's two faces baffle investors

S/Times 13/10/91

(102) (103) (11A)

S/Times 13/10/91

AMERICAN businessmen were shown two faces by the ANC at the conference.

The first one, sketched by foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, they found modestly encouraging. Unfortunately, it was the second, presented by Trevor Manuel, secretary of the ANC's economics department, for which the meeting will most likely be remembered.

There is some dispute as to what Manuel actually said at Monday's closed-door session, but no doubt about its effect. Most of the 30 or so mainly mid-level executives who made the trek to South Bend, Indiana, emerged from the conference room wondering why they had contributed up to \$5 000 per firm to fly the ANC over.

Serious

Most hailed from companies that have weathered investment bans, shareholder pressure, double taxation and the potential loss of state and city contracts to stay in South Africa. The remainder were by and large from firms that have either succumbed or reduced their exposure to the point where it does not benefit the South African economy.

It was a familiar crowd, betokening little fresh interest on the part of serious players who do not already know South Africa well.

What it heard Manuel say was that the ANC, once in power, might punish companies that had persevered while giving special treatment to those that had complied with the movement's wishes — either by disinvesting or never investing in the first place.

Threat

Manuel later insisted he and his seven-member team were merely "kicking the ball about" on a new investment or "empowerment" code and that whatever they said could not be treated as policy since the code would not be finalised until the ANC was in power.

He complained that the Americans refused to appreciate that "for us, politics and economics are inseparable". He also strongly denied that there was "any threat on our part" since this would be "counter to the spirit with

SIMON BARBER sums up what was seen as eccentric posturing by the organisation at this week's investment conference held at Notre Dame University, at South Bend, Indiana

which we've entered into negotiations" with the government.

He did, however, concede that the establishment of rules for new investment, which would entail requirements for black board representation and equity ownership, raised questions about how to deal with existing US subsidiaries.

"If you're saying to new investors, 'Put blacks on your boards, what do you say to those companies that are already there?'"

That was not precisely how others recalled it. One American participant who took detailed notes, and whose view was confirmed by half a dozen business representatives, said: "They left the distinct impression that those companies which stayed behind may face some political difficulties with the ANC."

Pressure

This source, again corroborated by others, also said that Manuel and his colleagues "sneered at the Sullivan Code companies", arguing that their social responsibility efforts were "not adequate" and singling out one of the code's most dedicated adherents, Johnson and Johnson, for special criticism.

Offending firms that have resisted pressure to leave is one thing. But in attacking the Sullivan Code, the ANC team did nothing to reassure the representatives of companies that have departed. Scouts from General Motors and Ford were on



THABO MBEKI
Made firms feel wanted



TREVOR MANUEL
In a vindictive mood

hand, as were a number of bankers.

"There were companies there which said they were prepared to go back right now if they were given the signal," a participant recalled. "They said they needed competitive arrangements but were willing to contribute to stepped up social programmes... They came away very distressed and felt a high degree of intellectual hostility."

Joseph LaBonte, who was briefly chairman of Reebok, the athletic shoe company which has used its support for sanctions to dampen criticism of its aggressive marketing of R200 sneakers to poor black teenagers in the US, tried to act as an intermediary.

LaBonte, who is bitterly resented by some in the business community for Reebok's sanctions stand, pleaded for companies to show some understanding. The ANC had not had time

to work through its positions, he argued, and furthermore there might be some merit in "rewarding" those firms that had stayed away.

This did not sit well with executives who felt LaBonte was unwittingly blinding the ANC to reality: no company that had left South Africa and almost none that never invested there to begin with, had acted out of respect for the ANC's wishes.

Tragedy

Their decisions were and would always be economic. It was in those terms, and those terms alone, that South Africa would have to compete for investment. The reward idea, let alone the penalty one, was dangerous nonsense. Threaten to politicise investment and it would dry up.

The tragedy of it all was that the companies were not asking that much: a welcome mat and an end to state and local sanctions.

In many cases, they were asking less than they might demand of others seeking their business.

Had it been left to Mbeki, the outcome might have been very different. He at least made the companies feel they were wanted, whether or not they had disinvested, and while he did not satisfy them on sanctions directly, he gave them the right winks.

In an address on Sunday night, before he flew off to another conference in Frankfurt, he came as close as any senior official ever has to declaring the process of change irreversible. He openly endorsed President FW de Klerk's position that a new system had to be in place by 1994 when the present government's mandate expired.

Message

Just as important, he predicted that agreement on interim arrangements was only months away and that the ANC would then be in a position to make the "unequivocal" call for the removal of sanctions sought by the businessmen.

In the meantime, he urged, US investors should not start planning to re-engage. Nor should they be deterred by the ANC's rhetoric on nationalisation and the disavowal of debt. "No major organisation can say we've sorted out our economic policy and we know what to do."

Even though the "look now but don't touch" approach may have sounded impossibly naive, it also appeared to be the product of short-term political necessity. Mbeki, many of his listeners thought, was trying to pass them a message.

That message might have got through had not Manuel and Co torn it up the following morning.



SMILE. WE'RE GIVING YOU 12 CHANCES TO REDUCE YOUR HOME LOAN

The PAC heavy who is undaunted by the ring

C/Pres 13/10/91

BENNY Alexander never shies away from a fight or controversy.

As a youth in the sub-economic area of Florianville in Kimberley, Alexander took to fighting at an early age.

Unlike his peers he was not a street fighter but an amateur boxer with the Diamond Gloves Boxing Club. He was good enough to represent Griqualand West in amateur championships.

In the ring, Alexander gave as much as he could but always observed the Queensberry rules. As secretary general of the PAC, Alexander is still fighting - what some critics say is a hopeless and unwinnable battle.

This time the square jungle has been replaced by the political arena. Schooled in fighting according to the rules, Alexander says in his political battles he tries to add "as much intellectual integrity as possible".

Alexander is not awed by the fight he is engaged in. He is undaunted by current perceptions that the PAC may soon find itself marginalised by the so-called big three, the ANC, Inkatha and the government.

"As an organisation espousing Pan Africanism, the PAC cannot be marginalised in Africa. Africanism will never die in Africa," is Alexander's reply.

Opinion polls which regularly show the ANC miles ahead of the PAC do not dampen his spirits.

"These are polls conducted by some liberals over telephones. They reflect only 10 percent of the African population."

In one of a series of profiles on South Africa's up-and-coming policy-makers, City Press assistant editor SEKOLA SELLO speaks to PAC secretary general Benny Alexander.

To him the true strength of each organisation will be tested when the country holds free and fair elections.

The 36-year-old bachelor shot to public prominence in December 1989 when he was elected the first general secretary of the Pan Africanist Movement - the PAC's internal wing - when the organisation was still banned.

His election came as a bolt out of the blue. He was, to most political activists, a completely unknown factor. Even some known PAC sympathisers did not know much about him.

Who is this Benny, where does he come from, is he black or white? These were some of the questions asked by those who had not yet met the fire-spitting Alexander.

Overnight Alexander caught the public imagination. And when Zeph Mothopeng, the late PAC president, was released from jail, Alexander became his personal aide and at times spokesman, travelling with him to Britain, the US, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

This further enhanced the visibility of Alexander. If the ailing Mothopeng was then regarded as uncompromising

and a hardliner, his aide was as controversial as he was articulate.

Alexander says for two years before the PAM launch, he and several other activists in the trade union movement had been working underground to re-establish PAC structures.

"We held the first consultative meeting in Cape Town in 1987 where it was decided to form a front for the PAC."

Alexander might have remained in the backwaters of Kimberley but for the government's decision to ban and banish PAC founding president Robert Sobukwe to the town.

"Sobukwe's presence overpowered the whole of Kimberley. He was, among us Africans, the pride of a not very well-known town.

"To see him walking down the street towards his law offices and the fear this inspired in whites had a strong impact on us. This, I think, is what really attracted us to the PAC."

After completing matric at William Pescod, Alexander worked in the Department of Manpower.

He soon trekked to Johannesburg where he worked as a sales representative for a pharmaceutical company.

He became a member of the Black, Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa and later moved to the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union.

It was during this period as a fulltime office-bearer of Sabmawu that Alexander started identifying strongly with PAC tendencies in the trade union movement.

(11A)

The PAC has been criticised for adopting radical but ineffective political positions. Their insistence that they will only negotiate the transfer of power, not the terms of the transfer, is regarded in white circles as unrealistic. Even among a large number of blacks this position has been criticised.

Alexander dismisses claims that the positions are unrealistic. "The PAC has taken the wisest strategies. We are an organisation of the oppressed and see deeper and further than anybody."

"When we said we wanted our comrades in jail to be released unconditionally, it was said we were being radical. They have all been released unconditionally. We said the deadlines set for the release of all political prisoners and return of exiles were not practical and again we were accused of being radical. Again on these two points we have been proved correct. We will be proved correct on many other points."

One of the points he believes will prove correct is his claim that the PAC has the largest following in the country.

"We have three very strong regions in the Orange Free State - an area where traditionally we were very weak. This is a clear indication that we represent the masses."

Alexander, a non-smoker, non-drinker and practising Christian, says he rarely misses a church service at Ennerdale, south of Johannesburg, where he lives. If he is not at church or attending to political matters, this son of a working class family enjoys playing ten-pin bowling or socialising outdoors.



EXPERIENCED OPPONENT ... Benny Alexander is undaunted by criticism of the PAC.

It is not often that we, at City Press, pat ourselves on the back for the good work we do. Normally we leave this to our readers - and they have certainly not let us down.

However, this time I feel compelled to mention a successful but low-key campaign we launched almost three-and-a-half years ago.

This idea of a patriotic front was greeted by severe criticism from our detractors.

More cynical critics dismissed it as an idea of people with "delusions of grandeur", saying we wanted unity for the sake of unity while we disregarded deep-rooted ideological differences between the PAC, Azapo and the ANC.

We were undaunted and unperturbed by those remarks. We felt the priority of a new South Africa was unity among our people and we were prepared to push for this until the goal was attained.

Also, we realised that as soon as this was achieved, it would be

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyana

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Our 'delusions' are now real



easy to build bridges among all the peoples of this country. Apartheid divided not only black and white people but black people as well.

We knew that the escalation of violence in Natal and later on the Reef was partly because of the divisions in our community.

We said then that until such time that our people realised they had a common problem and that there was a need for them to speak with one voice, they might as well forget about their liberation. We said the

road ahead would be hard and thorny.

Violence had irreparably damaged the once peaceful, tranquil and beautiful province of Natal. Children in that part of the country had all been severely traumatised by the mayhem. On the Reef the violence goes on unabated.

Whether we like it or not we still find people who talk about us and them; the Xhosas and the Zulus. That must come to an end.

We at City Press are pleased to see the patriotic

front getting off the ground at last. More pleasing is that the Labour Party, which was labelled a sell-out organisation when it opted for the tri-cameral parliament in 1983, has finally seen the light by taking part in the front.

We are confident that the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the LP will find more common ground the minute they sit around the table to discuss the road towards democracy. We are sure they will realise they have been speaking the same language but from different platforms. They

could also discover the government is not about to hand over power but could be forced to reach a consensus when confronted with one, united voice.

It is unfortunate that the Inkatha Freedom Party could not be part of this front. Signing the peace accord was a laudable step, but there are forces still bent on making the country ungovernable.

We also hope that the patriotic front conference will address a bridge-building strategy which this newspaper has advocated for some time now.

While we are aware that apartheid has caused serious problems, we are convinced they are not insurmountable.

As a polarised nation, we need to close this artificial divide. We need to extend a hand of friendship to those who have been sitting on the other side of the fence and convince them they have a bright future.

Difficult as it may seem, the time has finally come for all of us to work towards a truly non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Slovo to lay down reins of SACP for ANC duty

Star 13/10/91.

Ivor Powell

RED JOE turns pink!

SACP General Secretary Joe Slovo — after guiding his party through the transition from hard-line Marxist-Leninism to democratic socialism — told the Sunday Star in an exclusive interview he would not be standing for re-election at the party's national congress in December.

Dismissing speculation that ill-health could force him to stand down, the SACP stalwart said the real reason was that his increasing involvement in ANC structures and decision-making was making it difficult for him to perform his SACP duties to the full.

"I have been devoting most of my energies to my role in the ANC and I believe the party has suffered as a result. We will have to look for somebody who will wear only one hat," Mr Slovo said.

But while he would be standing down from the SACP's top leadership, he would certainly not be giving up his party membership.

"I will continue to be an active member of the party and I will continue to work for its ideals."

The party ideals, Mr Slovo pointed out with something approaching paternal pride, have changed considerably over the past three years.



ONE HAT . . .
Joe Slovo is to concentrate on serving the ANC after the SACP congress.



"At our congress we will be finalising a new manifesto to replace the old party programme, taking account of the very major changes since 1989 when that programme was adopted.

"We will also be adopting a new constitution which will attempt to chart the path of the new kind of party we are trying to build, based on the experiences of the failed models of the past.

"We are unconditionally committed to multi-party democracy in both our draft manifesto and constitution," Mr Slovo said.

He said the party had moved away from the Stalinist conception of a vanguardist party in the sense in which the term has been used to indicate a party claiming a natural and constitutional right to govern

and to lead its constituents.

"We now believe we have to achieve this role in context with other political forces, earning and re-earning our right to claim such leadership."

Mr Slovo also stressed that the SACP would cast off the mantle of secrecy it had adopted during the years of illegality.

"We no longer want to be a conspiratorial cabal. We want to emerge from this congress with the kind of party we had before we were made illegal. Before 1950 there was not a single secret member of the SACP."

Mr Slovo pointed out that the new SACP draft constitution went way beyond most of its counterparts by specifying that "members in fraternal organisations (like the ANC) shall be bound by the discipline and decisions of such organisations and movements. They shall not create or participate in caucuses designed to influence either elections or policies.

"Let us hope that convinces people who still think we manipulate the ANC."

At the time of its unbanning the SACP had a membership of approximately 1 000. This is now 20 000 and Mr Slovo hopes by the time of the congress it would be closing on 30 000.

Makwetu puzzled by reaction to 'One Settler, One Bullet' slogan

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu says he is puzzled by reaction to the PAC's slogan "One Settler, One Bullet".

Speaking on SATV's *Agenda* programme last night, he said to understand the slogan, it had to be examined in its historical context.

The slogan had been adopted by the PAC's armed wing in Tanzania after it had been introduced by the Zanu-PF party of Zimbabwe prior to independence, he added.

He pointed out that the slogan was used by Zanu-PF during its struggle and had a limited lifespan as it was used for

a particular purpose and period.

Mr Makwetu was of the opinion there were more serious issues which should attract attention.

Regarding negotiations, Mr Makwetu said the PAC was prepared to negotiate with the government and other parties, but stressed the talks would have to deal with the formation of a constituent assembly.

With regard to the PAC's armed struggle Mr Makwetu said this would be suspended when freedom was achieved and defined freedom as when the ballot was given to all those who did not have the vote. — Sapa

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PAC, Azapo call for one-third 'wealth tax'

Political Staff
THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) would support any strategy which would redistribute the country's wealth, including some forms of taxation.

Responding to a proposal made at a weekend ANC affirmative action conference in Port Elizabeth, Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaupé Mokoape and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said political freedom without economic redistribution would be meaningless to the black majority.

The ANC proposal, which ANC economic policy head Mr Max Sisulu said had "the authority of the people", would force South Africans to pay one-third of their assets to the state. It was adopted by a working group at the weekend conference.

Asked if his organisation would support a wealth tax, Mr Moseneke said although he did not want to comment on the

ANC's proposal, he wanted to state that the central question was that there had to be a redistribution of wealth.

That, he said, could be done in many ways, "and taxation is one of the ways".

Mr Moseneke said the PAC would adopt "a whole range of redistributive mechanisms, including taxation". He said the criticism of the ANC's proposal was blown out of proportion by capitalists. Wealth tax was "one sensible way" to be considered.

Dr Mokoape said although he had only read about the proposal in the media, he could confirm that Azapo would support "any measure that would seriously redress the economic imbalance in the country".

The proposal, Dr Mokoape said, was serious and deserved an equally serious consideration. He said glaring inequalities in the country had to be addressed, otherwise political freedom would be "meaningless for our people".

11A 14/10/91

PAC 'voice' back, but not happy

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MR WATERS TOBOTI, the man behind the Pan Africanist Congress's voice in Tanzania, has returned home temporarily from exile, not as a victorious freedom fighter, but as an unhappy political activist saddened by the poverty, violence, unemployment and educational mess in South Africa.

Incarcerated for three years on Robben Island for PAC-related activities from 1963, he left South Africa in 1982 to take up arms.

However, he ended up in the movement's department of information and publicity, before being posted to Zimbabwe, where he was chief PAC representative from 1985 until 1988, when he returned to Tanzania to head the department.

He returned home last month on a visit which will take him to this month's Patriotic Front conference, organised by the African National

Congress, PAC and Azanian People's Organisation, in Durban.

The gathering of liberation movements was necessary to strengthen "our thrust against the forces of liberation and imperialism", he said.

The "unity of the oppressed" also would be one of the most important topics discussed.

"My feeling is that the Patriotic Front must be able to address the feelings and aspirations of the oppressed and dispossessed African majority."

Still wedded to its armed struggle, the PAC is not interested in government plans for a multi-party conference.

He recalled that PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu



Mr Toboti

said last month: "We have said it in the past, we are saying it today, and we will say it tomorrow, that we will not have anything to do with a multi-party conference."

Spelling out PAC demands for a transfer of power, he said: "We don't want a transfer of power from the National Party to the PAC, we want power transferred from the white minority to the African majority."

This majority could be any political party.

He said: "A constituent assembly will be a fitting mechanism to democratise the political system and show if De Klerk (President F W de Klerk) is sincere."

"I can see he's beginning to vacillate, he's not sincere."

Recruiting and training for the PAC's army was a "serious issue".

He added: "We have not denounced the armed struggle. We will never denounce it. We

have not suspended our armed struggle."

The armed struggle would continue as long as the SADF, security police and SAP existed.

"That is how people in the PAC feel, how our armed forces feel, and the feelings at grassroots level."

Coming home did not excite him.

"When I left the country 10 years ago, I said to myself: 'When I come back, I'll return victorious and with honour.' Today I have come back to nothing."

The people were in a worse position than when the PAC was banned in 1960.

Poverty was rife, educational institutions were in a mess, violence rampant, and the unemployment rate was approaching 9-million.

Exiles were far better off, he said.

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wealth is 'only an ANC option'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A wealth tax was just one of a number of proposals which could be considered as a means of addressing SA's racial disparities, ANC constitutional committee spokesman Mr Dullah Omar said yesterday.

The issue was raised at a weekend conference in Port Elizabeth on affirmative action arranged by the constitutional committee. It was proposed that a levy equal to one-third of individuals' assets be payable over 10 years.

Mr Omar said the proposal had to be seen in the context of the purpose of the conference which was to examine ways of eliminating disparities created by apartheid.

"This was not a policy-making conference," he said, "but was designed to place issues on the agenda for discussion."

Mr Omar said it had not been decided whether the levy would be suitable in SA.

A Cape member of the ANC's national executive committee said the wealth levy would be totally contrary to the guidelines laid down by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He told Sapa that weekend reports about the levy were a "specious example of sensational journalism". The proposal was neither ANC policy nor a concrete position of the workshop.

● ANC allays fears on investments in SA — Page 2

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Spell it out says Mandela

Sowetan 14/10/91

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AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela has reiterated support for nationalisation but said the ANC would drop the policy if business came up with an alternative.

Mandela told businessmen in Durban on Saturday: "We have no ideological attachment to nationalisation, but it's the only effective way to ensure there's an equal distribution of wealth.

"We say to the business community, if you have a better alternative and if it's effective, we'll abandon nationalisation."

He accepted criticism that the ANC had not put forward a detailed blueprint for a post-apartheid economy, but "what has business produced apart from general cliches about the free market, growth and trickle-down effects?"

"Have we seen a single programme that the inherited privilege of apartheid on which business has flourished will be addressed as a resource which will begin to benefit all our people?" - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Labour joins fray

THE battle for the coloured vote has shifted into a new phase with the Labour Party joining the ANC/PAC Patriotic Front initiative to regain a foothold in mainstream politics.

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All the major parties in the Western Cape are going out of their way to attract voters from the region's biggest population group.

Sowetan 14/10/91

After pointed remarks from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC's regional congress recently chose Dr Allan Boesak to head its local regional executive.

The NP in the Cape this week elected former Labour Party chairman the Rev Andrew Julies as one of three deputy chairmen. He is now one of the top four leadership figures in the Cape NP hierarchy.

Tax on wealth 'is an option for the future'

B/Dam 14/10/91 (11A) (11A)

SUSAN RUSSELL

A WEALTH tax was just one of a number of proposals which could be considered as a means of addressing SA's racial disparities, ANC constitutional committee spokesman Dullah Omar said yesterday.

The issue was raised at a weekend conference arranged by the constitutional committee in Port Elizabeth on affirmative action. It was proposed that a levy equal to one third of individuals' assets be payable over 10 years.

Omar said the proposal had to be seen in the context of the purpose of the conference, which was to examine ways of eliminating disparities created by apartheid.

"This was not a policy-making con-

ference, but was designed to place issues on the agenda for discussion," he said.

"We looked at methods which had been used in other countries. It appears it was a measure used highly successfully in West Germany to ensure orderly development."

"No specific details have been worked out," Omar said, "but we will certainly be looking into it."

Our political staff reports ANC economic policy committee member Don Mkwanzani told the conference there was a necessity to create a "crisis" in business.

"If they continue to make huge profits there will be no incentive to implement affirmative action programmes," Mkwanzani said. He said affirmative action was an interim strategy — and did not involve compromising standards.

Sapa reports ANC president Nelson Mandela on Saturday told a function in Durban that the ANC was prepared to abandon its nationalisation policies if business could provide an alternative to redressing economic imbalances.

The ANC had gone out of its way to bring the business community into the debate, but business people had failed to provide an alternative.

MK man heads ANC on Reef

11A
14/10/91
JOHANNESBURG. — A commander of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, was elected chairman of the organisation's PWV region yesterday.

Thirty-eight-year-old Mr Tokyo Sexwale, with 189 votes, beat two other contestants in the secret ballot. About 200 delegates from 90 branches in the region voted.

The elections marked the end of the ANC's PWV regional conference.

Ms Barbara Hogan retained her position as secretary of the ANC's biggest region.

Addressing a news conference after the elections for 20 positions, Mr Sexwale pledged to work towards the eradication of violence. — Sapa

ANC, SACP 'will separate'

Political Staff

THE ANC and the SA Communist Party would go their separate ways once apartheid was defeated, the ANC's Western Cape chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday.

"That is what Mr Mandela says. I think that has helped me come to terms with the alliance."

He also said dual membership of the ANC and SACP could not be explained logically.

Dr Boesak was approached yesterday to confirm statements he was quoted as making in an interview with the Sunday Times and he said the report was an accurate reflection of his views.

He said communism was not an ideology that had any future.

Front invites all but IFP and NP

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 15/10/91

NEITHER the Inkatha Freedom Party nor the National Party have been invited to next week's patriotic front conference.

The conference, to be held in Durban from October 25 to 27, will be attended by up to 84 organisations, including political, religious, labour and student groups, according to the Azanian People's Organisation's Mr Steven Peter.

The ANC, the PAC and Azapo would each have 24 delegates and each of the invited organisations four.

But the IFP and the NP had not been invited.

Mr Peter said the IFP had not been invited because Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who recently described the patriotic front as "a ganging-up against whites", which would have been appropriate in the past, had already indicated his party would not attend the conference.

The DP, Mr Peter said, had not yet accepted and had raised concern about "our basic condition for participation", which was the endorsement of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Registration will begin on Thursday evening and the conference at 9 am on Friday. The conference is expected to end on Sunday afternoon.

SACP pledges 'power through democracy'

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ARG 15/10/4

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party has committed itself to winning power through democratic means in an ideological contest with other parties.

In its new constitution, the SACP reaffirms its alliance with the African National Congress and the leadership role it is playing on the liberation front.

The SACP says its ultimate aim is to build a communist society in which "all forms of exploitation of person by person will end".

In this society "all the products of human endeavour will be distributed according to need".

According to the document the attainment of such a society would need "an interim socialist formation in which reward will be measured by contribution".

The social order envisaged by the SACP would respect cultural, language and religious rights as well as the democratic rights of the individual.

This, according to the document, would safeguard and support the independence of all social organisations and political parties.

"This implies a multi-party political framework in which there will be regular open and free elections."

In this framework the SACP would dedicate itself to "advancing the interests of the working class and its allies in a democratic contest with other political forces".

The party's guiding light would be the principles of Marxism.

Membership of the SACP would be open to all South Africans older than 18 and the party's highest authority would be a three-yearly congress.

The central committee would have the same powers as the congress to direct party policy and issue binding instructions and would comprise 25 members elected at congress as well as the general-secretary, his deputy, the treasurer and the secretaries of all regions.

Human rights challenge to Commonwealth

ART 15/10/91

(11A)



Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Commonwealth leaders meeting here this week have been urged to agree to take action in member countries where major human rights violations have occurred or where democratic governments have been overthrown by unlawful means.

They have been asked to agree to impose sanctions on, or suspend the membership of, governments in member countries.

The call was made by an Africa Human Rights Conference which has been meeting here ahead of the summit due to open tomorrow.

A communique released yesterday called on Commonwealth leaders to ensure that member states promote democratic practices including the freedom of political association, the freedom from arbitrary arrest, the elimination of all forms of discrimination and the freedom of the Press.

The conference also said the powers and terms of office of executive heads of state should be limited and emergency powers should be revoked.

Invitation not yet received

It recommended that a standing commission to monitor compliance with human rights standards be set up.

● Tos Wentzel of the Argus Political Staff writes that the South African government has not yet had an invitation to send observers to the conference, but a decision is expected today.

An "appraisal group" of representatives of some 10 Commonwealth countries will today finalise the agenda for the conference.

Foreign Affairs sources in Pretoria today said that an invitation would be considered.

Observer invitations have already been sent to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Clarence Makwethu of the PAC.

South Africa will watch developments in Harare closely. In the pipeline are a lifting of "person to person" sanctions affecting travel, tourism and visa restrictions, sports ties and the phased withdrawal of trade and financial measures.

BCMA members in court

GABORONE - The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's secretary for defence; Mr Nkutsoeu Petros Motsau (37), appeared with 10 other-members in the Botswana High Court in Lobatse yesterday. *Sapa 15/10/91*

The accused are facing charges of murder, unlawful possession of arms of war, unlawful possession of ammunition, unlawful burial of people and conspiracy to murder. They have pleaded not guilty.

The other 10 accused are Mr Harrison

Mr Kgotso Phiri (21) Mr Lewis Lebogang Koalane (23) Mr Neville Alexander (19) Mr Nick Bell (29) Mr Bethuel Motaung (24) Mr Vusimizi Thabetha (23) Mr Welcome Rapodile (21) Mr Robert Ndebele (20) Mr Vuyo Katsinya (19) and Mr Plaatjie Mashogo. *(114)*

They are charged with murdering two people and burying their bodies in the Lobatse district between September 1 and October 6 1990.

The case was postponed to today. - *Sapa*

South Africa
15/10/91

Mandela denies plan to heavily tax the wealthy

IIA

SAPA

ANC president Nelson Mandela has denied weekend news reports saying the ANC was preparing a plan that would heavily tax wealthy South Africans.

Speaking to reporters at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, Mandela said: "It is certainly not the policy of the ANC. No such statement was made by the ANC."

The proposal, which would require people to pay a levy equivalent to one third of their assets to the Government for uplifting the impoverished, was merely discussed at a seminar of an ANC committee on affirmative action in Port Elizabeth.

"It was not even taken up," Mandela said.

He said it was tragic that the journalist who had written the weekend report had got his facts wrong despite having been present during the debate.

The whole matter was unfortunate, Mandela said.

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Wealth tax

B/day 15/10/91

an option, 'not ANC policy'

THE ANC moved yesterday to defuse the growing row and confusion over reports that it was considering imposing a one-off wealth tax to redress SA's economic imbalances.

ANC president Nelson Mandela denied his organisation was preparing a plan to impose a one-third tax on the assets of wealthy South Africans. "It is certainly not the policy of the ANC. No such statement was made by the ANC," he told Sapa.

He said the proposal was merely discussed at a seminar on affirmative action in Port Elizabeth. "It was not even taken up," Mandela said the whole matter was unfortunate.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said he was not present at the conference but should the wealth tax form part of the ANC's economic policy unit's proposals, it would be discussed at the national executive committee meeting in December or January. Only if it was accepted by the NEC would it become policy.

Ramaphosa said that as a result of the news reports the proposal had gained a fair amount of support from ANC members.

ANC NEC member Saki Macozoma clarified the position further and said the conference had no status as an ANC meeting; it was jointly organised by the ANC's constitutional committee, the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape and the US Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under the Law.

Experts from such countries as Zambia, Tanzania, the US and Norway had attended the conference, which was investigating the issue of affirmative action, regarding women, business and land.

BILLY PADDOCK

He said the so-called proposal had formed part of the report-back by the committee looking at redressing the disparity in land distribution. ANC constitutional committee member Heinz Klug, reading the report, had said wealth tax was one of the measures initiated by Conrad Adenauer in post-war Germany.

"It incenses us when this is then taken to mean we are going to implement this as part of our economic plan," Macozoma said. But he said it was totally legitimate for the ANC to discuss a variety of options available to deal with the disparities in SA.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant in a statement said he noted that the workshop was not a policy-making conference.

"I do not wish, at this stage, to take issue with other political organisations about controversial proposals for redressing imbalances in the economy, but the government will take a firm stand on such matters once the negotiations for a new constitution and new political and economic dispensations begin in earnest."

ALAN FINE reports that tax expert Prof Denis Davis, who advised the Cosatulu VAT Co-ordinating Committee in its dealings with Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, yesterday slammed the proposals for the wealth tax as "harebrained and utterly unimplementable".

Davis, director of Wits University's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said such a confiscatory tax would give rise to huge shifts of wealth from corporations and in-

□ To Page 2

Wealth tax

B/day 15/10/91

dividuals to structures such as trusts as a means of tax avoidance.

The wealthiest section of the population would cope through avoidance or capital flight, and the burden of the tax would fall on the middle classes whose most important assets were their homes.

However, Davis said there were certain types of wealth taxes not confiscatory in nature, which were simple to administer and could be implemented in SA.

These included a capital gains tax, estate duties at a rate higher than is the case in SA but similar to the situation in the US, UK and Europe; and a land tax on large commercial farmers.

Davis estimated that if these taxes were introduced at a reasonable level so as not to engender capital flight, they could bring in R2,5bn to R3bn a year.

Meanwhile, Sacob said the wealth tax

idea was linked to previous ANC views on nationalisation and foreign loans. Sacob's annual convention would design a business response to the tax proposal tomorrow.

ANDREW GILL reports that contradictory statements by the ANC and Cosatu had created the impression there were parties intent on destabilising the economy for short-term political gain, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) said yesterday.

Seifsa president Robert Barbour said it appeared these organisations were adopting "a scorched-earth policy". Recent "utterances" on nationalisation, re-evaluation of foreign loans, destabilisation of industry and the assumption of political power were confusing local business while the international business community simply steered clear of the country.

● Comment: Page 14

□ From Page 1

Reaction to 'settler' slogan a puzzle — PAC



CLARENCE MAKWETU

PAN Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu says he is "puzzled" by reaction to the PAC's slogan "One settler, one bullet". (1/A)

Speaking on SATV's *Agenda* programme on Sunday night, Makwetu said to understand the slogan, it had to be examined in its historical context.

He said the slogan had been adopted by the PAC's armed wing in Tanzania after it had been introduced by the Zanu-PF party of Zimbabwe prior to its independence. Sowetan 15/10/91

He pointed out the slogan was used by Zanu-PF during its struggle and had a limited lifespan, as it was used for a particular purpose and period.

Regarding negotiations, Makwetu said the PAC was prepared to negotiate with the Government and other parties, but stressed the negotiations would have to deal with the formation of a constituent assembly.

With regard to the armed struggle, Makwetu said this would be suspended when freedom was achieved and he defined freedom as when the ballot was given to all those who did not have the vote. - Sapa.

SACP pledges to work with Boesak

(11A)

THE South African Communist Party yesterday committed itself to working very closely with Dr Allan Boesak, an outspoken critic of communism. *Sowetan 15/10/91.*

Boesak, newly elected Western Cape chairman of the ANC, said at the weekend that communism had no future in South Africa.

He said he understood the historical reasons for the alliance between the ANC and the SACP, but added that the two would part company once apartheid had been defeated.

Senior SACP member Mr Essop Pahad said the whole question of the alliance between the ANC, SACP and Congress of South African Trade Unions was "under discussion".

"Quite clearly, where there are members of the ANC, SACP or Cosatu who have difficulty in understanding

how the alliance works, then it is up to the organisations to clarify the issue for them," he said.

The future would decide if the ideology of Marxism was dead, he said.

The SACP had fought and worked for alliances with all anti-apartheid forums, irrespective of their ideological persuasion.

Imbalances

It was absolutely vital for the redressing of historical imbalances that the alliance be broadened, he said.

"Members of the SACP will continue to work very closely with Boesak in terms of his own commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle and his newly elected position."

The party was looking forward to more fruitful working relations, he said.

SACP to continue ^(1/A)

work with *Star 15/10/91* Boesak

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The South African Communist Party yesterday committed itself to work very closely with Dr Allan Boesak, an outspoken critic of communism.

Dr Boesak, newly elected Western Cape chairman of the ANC, said at the weekend that communism had no future in South Africa.

He said he understood the historical reasons for the alliance between the ANC and the SACP, but added that the two would part company once apartheid had been defeated.

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Dead

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"Members of the SACP will continue to work very closely with Dr. Boesak in terms of his own commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle and his newly elected position."

Star
PAC congress
15/10/91 *11A*
in Botswana

GABORONE — The Pan Africanist Congress is to hold an economic conference in Gaborone from October 18 to October 24.

About 50 delegates are expected to attend, including 18 PAC officials from South Africa.

The PAC's national executive committee, which is in exile in Tanzania, indicated it would be represented by its administrative secretary, Joe Mkhwanazi.

The conference is expected to draw up a comprehensive economic policy programme for the PAC. — Star Africa Service.

BCMA 11 are on trial in Botswana

LOBATSE - Eleven members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, appearing in the Botswana High Court on several charges, were body searched in the dock before the in resumption of their case yesterday.

The accused entered court in leg-irons and handcuffs.

The body search was ordered by Mr Justice Gyeke Dako, who said it was the practice of his court to have all accused searched before entering the dock.

"I am doing that from experience," he said.

The main accused is the BCMA's secretary for defence, Mr Nkutsoeu Petros Motsau (37). The other 10 are Mr Harrison Kgotso Phiri (21) Mr Lewis Lebogang Koalane (23) Mr Neville Alexander

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

(19) Mr Nick Bell (29) Mr Bethuel Motaung (24) Mr Vusimizi Thabethe (23) Mr Welcome Rapodile (21) Mr Robert Ndebele (20) Mr Vuyo Katsinya (19) and Mr Plaatjie Mashego, no age given.

Motsau and the first five accused are charged with two counts of conspiracy to murder, two counts of murder and two counts of unlawful burial of persons.

They are also charged, together with the remaining accused, with the unlawful possession of arms and ammunition.

The accused have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

The State alleges that Motsau and the first five accused conspired to murder Mr Tsakane Seepa and Mr Sizwe Dhlamini.

The State charges that the six murdered the two men between September 1 and October 6 1990.

The State also alleges that all 11 were found in unlawful possession of a Luger pistol and a Scorpion machine gun.

Sowetan 16/10/91

11A

12

PF makes a pass ^(11A) at Rugby Board

ESTHER WAUGH
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The South African Rugby Board and the Committee of University Principals are among 84 organisations invited to the Patriotic Front conference.

The conference, organised by the ANC, PAC and Azapo, takes place in Durban next weekend and is aimed at forming a united front of all those organisations which accept the need for a constituent assembly elected by one-person-one-vote in a unitary state.

But rugby board president Dr Danie Craven said today that the board would not attend the conference.

So far only six organisations have accepted invitations — the Natal Indian Congress, Cosatu, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), the Transkei Military Council, the ANC Women's League and the Labour Party.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the party had been invited but he had written to the organisers requesting replies to "certain queries". Only when it knew the answers would the DP decide whether to attend the conference.

Azapo's Mr Strini Moodley said: "As far as Azapo is concerned parliamentary political parties and homeland leaders, and that includes the DP, would have to resign from the tricameral parliament and homeland structures if they want to be part of the Patriotic Front."

ANC embraces Rory as a member

THE ANC has welcomed Port Elizabeth Democratic Party leader Rory Riordan as a member.

Riordan resigned from the DP recently and joined the ANC. He was regional chairman of the DP and is director of the Human Rights Trust.

ANC spokesman Phila Nkayi said Riordan would be treated like an ordinary member but he had special skills that could be used. He would serve on the ANC's "one city task force".

11A

16/1/99
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ANC mounts lobby to keep up sanctions

ANC president Nelson Mandela left for the Commonwealth summit in Harare yesterday to argue for the retention of sanctions — in the face of Commonwealth pressure to speed up the timetable to phase them out.

Addressing a news conference shortly before his departure, Mandela said the violence in SA had reached unacceptably high levels and he would be "urging Commonwealth members to take action on those fuelling the violence by keeping in place sanctions".

A senior ANC national executive committee member travelling with Mandela said the ANC was prepared to propose the immediate end of "people-to-people" sanctions (air links, visa and consular restrictions, sport and cultural links, tourism and the scientific boycott). However, it would vigorously oppose the lifting of any economic sanctions before an interim government was in place.

"We would be very unhappy and oppose trade and investment and financial sanctions being lifted before an interim government is in place," the source said.

He said this was the position ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki had argued at the Notre Dame conference in Indiana when explaining that the ANC would re-evaluate loans to SA.

The source stressed that loans made before an interim government was in place would be subject to a future ANC-led government possibly reneging on the terms agreed with the current government.

Mandela refused to disclose the ANC's proposals to the Commonwealth. He said they would be fully discussed with various

3/Day 16/10/91
BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

heads of government in meetings. "We don't want to go public with our position but have arranged bilateral meetings with the heads of the UK, Canada, Australia, Nigeria, Tanzania, India and others who will, we hope, convey our idea to the conference," Mandela said.

He indicated that the position the ANC was going to fight for was that taken at the organisation's national conference in July.

In Harare a senior British diplomat said yesterday the ANC would be seeking to convince 50 Commonwealth governments to change the position arrived at by Commonwealth foreign ministers at New Delhi last month.

The Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee agreed in New Delhi to a three-phased lifting of sanctions with people-to-people sanctions going immediately, followed by trade and investment sanctions when "interim arrangements had been made".

The phrase "interim arrangements" was interpreted as the start of constitutional talks, while the third phase would be the lifting of financial sanctions once constitutional talks had been completed.

The oil and arms embargo was not part of the Commonwealth plan and would fall away once elections had been held.

The diplomat said the ANC intended to propose that phase two and three of the New Delhi proposals be merged into one and both made dependent on an interim government. "What we are not sure of is the trigger," the diplomat said. He said the

□ To Page 2

Sanctions

British would be pressing for the speeding up of the process even beyond the new ANC position.

Both PAC president Clarence Makwetu and Mandela are due to attend the conference as observers.

It was not clear last night whether SA

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11A
□ From Page 1

government or Inkatha representatives would be invited to the meeting which begins today. The diplomatic source said there was a feeling at meetings yesterday that if the conference was going to discuss SA's constitutional future, all major political groups ought to be represented.

● Picture: Page 3

ANC plans to train bureaucrats in UK

BILLY PADDOCK

(11A)

ANC plans to train a public service corps in the UK were advanced, and president Nelson Mandela would fine-tune these arrangements in talks with British Prime Minister John Major during the Commonwealth meeting this week.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for Harare yesterday, Mandela said the training would not be done exclusively by Britain. He was involved in plans to have some candidates trained by other Western governments as well.

He said it was essential to train a body of public servants to lead administration for the transition to a democratic society.

Mandela indicated that the ANC's view was that those already in public service, with their specific training in implementing apartheid, were not ideal for the needs of a transforming society.

The people the ANC was recruiting were "nonracial democrats of all races who are qualified to undertake the training".

He said the first group would be trained in Britain but, "depending on the numbers, others might be trained in SA" by foreign representatives. *B/Daw 16/10/91*

Mandela said current public servants would not benefit from this training because they were still under government control and would not be available.

He did not specify the numbers the organisation envisaged training, the costs involved or who would bear them.

UK to train civil servants Mandela ^(11A) ~~(11A)~~

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

16/10/91

The British government would become the first of several Western governments to train South African civil servants in an effort to equip the public sector for its crucial role in the transition from apartheid to a nonracial democracy, ANC president Nelson Mandela announced yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving for the Commonwealth conference in Harare, Mr Mandela said the ANC would emerge from the conference with a "complete

plan of action" for the training of civil servants.

The first group of people — exiles or people in the country — would be trained in Britain, but the programme might be shifted to South Africa depending on the number of recruits.

Mr Mandela said the programme had not necessarily been initiated because of unhappiness with the public service but because it was important to have a civil service committed to a new dispensation.

Race would not be a factor in the selection process and "all democrats" would be eligible.

Mr Mandela said the ANC

delegation, which would not have official status at the Commonwealth conference, would meet the leaders of attending countries.

He said the ANC would insist that "those fuelling the violence" should be isolated. One way of doing that was through sanctions.

Star Africa Service reports that a Commonwealth task force on human resources and development has said in a report to the leaders attending the conference that there is an immediate need to train black South Africans for senior jobs in a post-apartheid government.

The group of experts recommends that £5 million (about R25 million) be set aside yearly for at least three years for this purpose.

The report says that of 3 000 top positions at central and local government level in South Africa, 600 must be filled by blacks as soon as possible.

Commonwealth countries are being asked to pledge assistance to a Commonwealth multilateral programme on human resources development.

The international community is also being asked to help and the report suggests a global donors' conference be convened.

All set for PF indaba



PREPARATIONS: Members of the Preparatory Committee, from left, Josia Jele (ANC), Mosebyana Malatsi (PAC), and Lybon Mabaso (Azapo)

By Mono Badela

11A

South 17/10-23/10/91.
PREPARATIONS have reached an advanced stage for the Patriotic Front conference. The three-day conference starts on Friday, October 25 in a five-star Durban beach-front hotel and ends on Sunday, October 27.

PF preparatory committee officials were this week putting final touches to the agenda and programme.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) secretary-general Mr Salim Salim will deliver the keynote address.

Other speeches during the opening session will be by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe.

Azapo's Mr Lybon Mabasa, a member of the the joint working group of the PF, said in an interview this week the conference would be at-

tended by political, religious, labour, business and student organisations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has not been invited. Mabasa said the IFP excluded itself because it did not subscribe to the principle of a constituent assembly elected on a one person, one vote system. He said 84 organisations were invited, including some from the homelands and those working within the system.

"These have committed themselves to the principles of a constituent assembly, common voters roll, one person one vote in a unitary South Africa and to an interim authority or government to monitor the transitional government."

Mabasa said besides not subscribing to the principle of an elected constituent assembly, Buthelezi, who recently described the formation of the PF as a "ganging-up against whites" which would have been appropriate in the past, had indicated his party

would not attend. The Democratic Party has not yet accepted an invitation to attend. Apart from the ANC, PAC and Azapo — the three convenors — organisations invited include the South African Communist Party, Cosatu, Nactu, Workers Organisation For Socialist Action, the New Unity Movement, the Labour Party, the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Mabasa said none of the political bodies in the House of Delegates indicated they would like to attend.

"We believe the conference will represent the first bricks of unity and from this there is hope that the oppressed will come out much more united than before. Of course, it will not solve every problem of the oppressed people. It is, however, a step in the right direction."

Registration of delegates will start on Thursday October 24 with the first session open to the media.

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ANC wrong on war 'wealth tax'

B/Day 17/10/91

(11A) (19)
DARIUS SANAI

THE controversial "wealth tax" suggested by an ANC member bears little resemblance to measures used to rebuild the economy in post-war Germany despite assertions to the contrary by leading ANC officials.

The wealth levy in Germany consisted of a levy of 0.2% of property value, paid over 20 years by owners of property not damaged during the Second World War.

The SA proposal, raised by an ANC member at an affirmative action workshop sponsored partly by the organisation, is for a levy equal to one third of an individual's assets to be paid over a period of 10 years.

Dismissed

ANC president Nelson Mandela has subsequently said the wealth tax was not official ANC policy.

ANC constitutional committee spokesman Dullah Omar claimed at the weekend that such a measure had been used "highly successfully" in West Germany after the end of the Second World War.

The German levy came in the context of a wave of reform and rebuilding, and has been dismissed by most historians as incidental to the rebuilding process in post-war West Germany.

The Marshall Plan, involving massive US assistance to Western Europe; free market reforms initiat-

ed by political leaders Ludwig Erhard and Konrad Adenauer; the German industrial base; and the global economic boom, enhanced by the Korean War, are the commonly cited reasons behind the West German "economic miracle" of the '50s.

Golo Mann's The History of Germany since 1789, widely considered to be one of the most authoritative commentaries on German history, does not even mention the levy in its four chapters on the country in the post-war period.

University of Stellenbosch economics professor Sampie Terreblanche said yesterday the ANC's plan appeared to be a misinterpretation of a plan put forward by a visiting US professor earlier this year.

He said Wesleyan University economics professor Basil Moore said during his visit that all South Africans with net assets of over R500 000 should pay one-third of the excess to government in a one-off payment.

But, under Moore's plan, the payee would receive exactly the same amount back from a loan granted to SA by a "world financial body", to be paid off over 20 years.

The effect would be the instant raising of a large sum, with the effect being cushioned for the taxpayers over a period of years.

This was different to what had happened in Germany, Terreblanche said.

NEWS IN BRIEF

B/Day 17/10/91 Bail court at prison

GOVERNMENT has approved the institution of a so-called bail court at Pretoria Prison, Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday.

He said the court was to be instituted as a pilot project.

"The objective of the institution of such a court is to simplify the application for, and payment of bail and to promote the accessibility of the court of law."

B/Day 17/10/91 Political inmate dies

BOPHUTHATSWANA political prisoner Rabusang "Black Mamba" Monnane, 37, of Leeuwfontein died at the homeland's Rooigrond Prison on Tuesday, the homeland's Commissioner of Prisons Brig S S Thooe said yesterday.

He said Monnane was admitted to the sickbay on October 3 with "high blood pressure".

No gun restriction

THE proposed amendment to the Arms and Ammunition Act was definitely not intended to restrict firearm ownership to only one firearm per person, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

"All the proposed amendment does is that it recognises the needs of the collector. It does not negate any other provisions. It is as simple as that. We are not disarming people," he said.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporter, Sapa.

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ANC accuses IDT of misinformation

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17/10/91

LONDON — The Independent Development Trust (IDT) has run into a storm of controversy over its proposed international bond offering.

AP-DJ reports that the ANC, which had previously raised objections to the planned \$100m five-year issue, yesterday railed against both the IDT and its underwriter, J P Morgan Securities, for issuing a "bogus" joint statement.

The statement characterised the ANC's disapproval as merely a "misunderstanding" which the ANC and IDT "are convinced ... will be resolved".

In a news release, the ANC said its objections had been made clear in a letter to J P Morgan officials the day before "with a request that it be brought to the attention of those attending the (media) presentation in London".

"The ANC, therefore, calls on the IDT and J P Morgan to explain their action and motivation in seeking to mislead the world by issuing this bogus statement."

The ANC has supported the IDT's aid for housing, education and health programmes for poor South Africans.

But the original ANC statement on Tuesday said that, though the ANC "is not op-

posed to the IDT's efforts to raise money ... in the form of grants, (that support) is not an endorsement for the IDT to raise loans on the financial markets".

The ANC has maintained opposition to any foreign aid and international capital raising by the SA government.

Two weeks ago, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation might re-evaluate loans made to the present government.

In its statement, the ANC said "the granting of loans to the IDT will undermine financial sanctions which remain an important part of the sanctions campaign against apartheid".

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that initial opposition was voiced earlier by Ramaphosa, who went as far as asking the US sanctions movement to deter the bank from lead managing the Euro-bond issue.

In response, the American Committee on Africa (Acoa), a UN- and privately financed lobby that acts for the ANC, issued an "action alert" calling on state and city governments to "make clear to J P Morgan that it risked losing their business".

Azapo will talk - but not inside S Africa

IIA
~~IIA~~

Sowetan
 17/10/91

HARARE - The Azanian People's Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania have called for negotiations with the South African Government at a neutral venue outside the country.

The two movements expressed concern with those countries which were "prematurely" lifting sanctions in the economic, financial, sporting and cultural fields.

In a message faxed to the Commonwealth Heads of State Meeting in Harare, the two movements said the measures taken by the South African Government so far had done nothing to change the political climate in the country.

"The measures taken so far by the De Klerk regime have done nothing to change the political, social and economic power

relations in Azania.

"Power remains firmly in the hands of the white minority and the effects of apartheid remain, despite the repeal of the laws.

"The oppressed majority are still waiting for fundamental and positive change that could have a meaningful impact on their lives.

Rights

"However, the international community seems so impressed by De Klerk that some are prematurely lifting sanctions.

"Azapo and the BCMA are calling for negotiations at a neutral venue outside Azania, chaired by a neutral mediator which will work out modalities for the holding of democratic elections to a constituent assembly which will in turn draw up a new constitution for the country," says the message, titled "The Situation in South Africa".

The two movements envisaged an anti-racist, democratic, multiparty and unitary South Africa, in which all citizens over the age of 18 years would be given an equal vote on one voters' roll.

"In our assessment, the National Party and other white rightwing parties are not yet ready for genuine democracy in Azania.

"As a result, negotiations for a new constitution will not be easy. The probability exists for such negotiations to fail," said Azapo and the BMCA.

They urged the Commonwealth to support the "oppressed people" in South Africa in their quest for full democratic rights.

"Sanctions of various kinds have played a role in bringing about the present climate in Azania. We urge that all sanctions be maintained until a democratic order is created in Azania," the message says. - Sapa.

Warning bells should be heard

Sowetan 24/10/91

LONDON - Mystified? Despairing? How does one describe the reaction of businessmen here to the latest pronouncements by the ANC on economic policy?

Outside the Foreign Office (which receives daily analyses), there can be few people in Britain who know what the devil is going on in South Africa.

Even businessmen with close contacts cannot be expected from this distance to be able to decode the daily rhetoric. It was simple before the Enlightenment (February 1990): there were goodies and baddies, and it needed no great effort to make up your mind. Now it's all fogging over.

South Africa should not push its luck. Incomprehension begets indifference and indifference begets switch-off. Already, the media's eyes glaze over when South Africa's name is mentioned, because the pattern is no longer understood.

Sanctions evoke no more than a knee-jerk interest, and even reports of violence are read more for the horror than for what they reveal about the state of politics.

When businessmen's eyes start to glaze over, the warning bells should be heard.

Ritualistic

Not only the ANC is to blame. What are people here to make of the almost ritualistic slaughter of innocent blacks by hit-men with AK-47s?

The Government's denial of complicity makes sense - the killings threaten the negotiations process and frighten off foreign investors. But why are the legendary security forces unable to catch the killers - because they can't, or because they won't? Either explanation is deeply worrying.

Businessmen I have spoken to make some pertinent comments on the ANC's economic pronouncements (nationalisation, repudiation of foreign debts, seizure of one-third of personal assets over 10 years - all subject to explanations, qualifications and codicils).

First, they accept that the ANC, after 30 years in exile, is still finding its feet; that it is perfectly entitled to address the issue of "redistribution", whatever this means; and that a measure of rhetoric, even a large measure, is to be expected, because of the impatient activists snapping at the ANC's heels.

But, they say, the ANC understands as well as we do that South Africa's economic

Sanctions evoke no more than a knee-jerk interest in Britain today, and even reports of violence are read more for the horror than for what they reveal about the state of politics.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

more, not less, into the mire.

The conclusion that is drawn from this analysis is that the ANC's dilemma is deep-seated, and that it is entangled in contradictions that are becoming unmanageable.

The organisation was unable to reply definitively whether Mr Cyril Ramaphosa or Mr Tito Mboweni were stating official policy, because there is no official policy.

The best it could manage was to say that ANC policy was in a state of "flux," but that it would be clarified at conferences later this year or next year.

The ANC repeatedly has pleaded with South African business leaders to suggest an alternative to nationalisation and "redistribution," warning that otherwise it would have to impose its own (unpalatable) policies.

The reason for the strategy has been explained.

The understanding of businessmen here, however, is that some of South Africa's conglomerates have responded to this plea by inviting talks on the whole issue, but that the ANC has been evasive - that it has dodged the talks, saying it is not ready for them.

This raises the whole question of how tenable the ANC's strategy is of making do with discussion papers and working documents instead of drawing up policies.

It has been explained often enough: if the ANC makes the

transition from liberation movement to political party, defining its policies in the process, it will lose members (and leaders).

So it wants to postpone the policy decisions until it is safely in power.

This is perfectly natural: the ANC knows the days of its existence as a "broad church" are coming to an end, and the option of prolonging the "liberation" format is the eminently desirable one.

But the question potential investors are asking is whether this strategy can be reconciled with their own need for definitive directions and unambiguous policies.

Recovery

It is the same with sanctions. The ANC feels the only leverage it has over the Government is international economic pressure, but this same pressure postpones the day when the country's recovery can begin.

The question these investors are asking goes right to the heart of the ANC as a challenger for political power.

Can it resolve the contradiction between wielding economic pressure and mobilising its supporters on the one hand, and participating in South Africa's reconstruction on the other?

If the ANC can answer this question, the future might look a little less opaque.

-Sowetan Correspondent

As political parties jockey for position during the run-up to negotiations for a new constitution, surprising alliances are taking place. REHANA ROSSOUW raises an eyebrow at a flirtation between the ANC and Labour Party:

LAST YEAR THE ANC snubbed the Labour Party by ignoring an invitation to address their annual congress in Cape Town. This year it was the National Party which snubbed Labour, while the ANC sent four representatives to a LP conference in the Eastern Cape. While president FW de Klerk delivered a blistering attack on the Labour Party at the NP Cape congress, LP leader Rev Allan Hendrickse, speaking at his party's Eastern Cape congress, waxed lyrical about his "comrades in the struggle" in the ANC.

Keeping track of political alliances while organisations jockey for support at the negotiating table could leave some observers breathless.

Old enemies have become comrades, soft targets have become allies.

"Yes, Labour Party members have been attacked. Their homes have been bombed and they have lost material

Labour Party is now swinging both ways

South 17/10 - 23/10/91.



possessions," said LP spokesperson Mr Peter Hendrickse. "But look at Llewelyn Landers, the former MP for Mitchells Plain. His house was attacked but he was the main speaker for the LP during argument on the Indemnity Bill, saying ANC members involved in violence should be allowed to return home.

"We have reached the point where we must consider what is for the greater good of the people and the country and not dwell on what has happened in the past."

Hendrickse said the LP was not afraid it would be absorbed by the ANC, rather, it was joining its "brothers in the struggle".

He denied that by forming an alliance with the ANC the Labour Party was negating decades of acrimony and tension between the two organisations.

The two organisations differed only on strategies to reach their goals, not on their aims, he said.

The major break between the LP and the ANC occurred in 1983 when Labour decided at their Eshowe conference to participate in the tricameral parliament.

"It was only then that we became the enemy — that we were accused

of selling out to the system."

Hendrickse said the LP believed then, it still held firm to the belief that its strategy complemented the ANC's. It was just as important to conduct the "struggle" inside the "system" as it was outside.

"At this stage it is important for all liberation movements to pool their resources rather than fight each other," he said.

Hendrickse denied the decision to participate was an attempt at survival. He said despite the split in the LP caucus and the defection of 35 MPs to the National Party earlier this year, the LP was experiencing a resurgence in interest.

The NP had not succeeded in winning large scale support from rank and file LP membership, as was evident by the large turnout at the party's conference last weekend.

With the easing of political tensions in South Africa, it was now becoming more possible for people to publicly support the Labour Party, he said.

Hendrickse denounced attempts by the National Party to link Labour's participation in the Patriotic Front with an acceptance of the programme of the South African Communist

Party. He said the LP would continue to be as vociferously anti-communist as it has been throughout its history.

"Our response to these people is that we have sat through countless meetings in parliament with the National Party and the Conservative Party.

"We have not joined either and it is possible for us to sit in meetings with the SACP without joining them."

In the past two years the tensions between political parties have been defused and people recognised each other's right to exist and operate, Hendrickse said.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Reggie September, who accompanied Professor Kader Asmal, Mr Raymond Mhlaba and Mr Franklin Sonn to the LP conference to present the ANC's viewpoints on a range of issues, said the decision to invite the LP to the PatrioticFront was not a "question of principles".

"We must not mix up principles with what is happening now," September said.

He said the government used the period of the ANC's banning to impose a system of regional and national government and administration, like the tricameral parliament, the

community councils and the management committees.

This system, September said, was imposed with "naked brutality" with the "unforgettable" experiences in the Western Cape of African people being removed and District Six being bulldozed.

"The government played a game of divide and rule and used its security forces where it saw fit.

"Our organisations used its own methods in order to promote its own programmes and often had to survive despite the machinations of the security branch.

"During that period misunderstandings between organisations and individuals were commonplace and strife was the norm. We have now won the space to organise in an open fashion and we are on the verge of meeting the other side in negotiations."

September said the ANC needed to devise "maximum unity of the oppressed" before it met the National Party at the All Party Conference.

The Labour Party consisted of people who were disenfranchised and it was essential that they and the ANC worked out a common approach to issues now, September said.

Sisters are doing it for themselves

South 17/10 - 23/10/91

Women's groups are laying the groundwork for an all-embracing Women's Charter that could ultimately ensure that gender equality becomes entrenched at all levels of our society. **SHEREEN SINGH** reports:



WOMEN'S RIGHTS HAVE always been a contentious issue — not the least because so much is always said about them but so little is done to change the status quo.

The ANC's national executive committee declared in May last year that the "emancipation of women is not a by-product of a struggle for democracy, national liberation or socialism. It has to be addressed in its own right within our organisation, the Mass Democratic Movement and in society as a whole."

Similarly, Cosatu, Nactu and other progressive forces committed themselves several years ago to non-sexism and the emancipation of women.

However, no significant moves have been made in putting any of these well-meaning policies into practice.

The organisations' leadership remains male-dominated or entirely male — in the case of Cosatu — and women have to work twice as hard to prove themselves as equals and have their voices heard.

Let alone their battle outside the confines of progressive organisations — at home, at work and in their communities. The PWV branch of the ANC Womens League recently spearheaded an initiative which poses a definite challenge to progressive organisations to move beyond the rhetoric of "women's emancipation".

A seminar called by the Womens League a few weeks ago under the banner — "Women raise your voice in a new constitution" — brought together women from organisations across the class and political divide.

Delegates included the National Party, the Democratic Party, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, and some 25 other organisations. It was at this meeting that broad consensus was reached on the need for a Charter for Women's Rights to be entrenched in a future constitution. The parties recognised that there were differences in the kind and levels of discrimination affecting middle class and working class women, black and white women.

But in the final analysis, "all women face gender oppression in more ways than one, which in itself is enough common ground to unite all women in their common plight," Women's League spokesperson Feroza Adams said. The seminar did not define the contents of the Charter; rather discus-



NOT BORN TO BE RAPED: Embroidery by Sandra Kriel

sion focussed on why a Women's Charter was needed and the process by which it should be drawn up.

This Charter would override the existing ANC Women's Charter which was drafted by a group of exiled women in Lusaka.

Adams was quick to point out that the process involved in drawing up the Charter for Women's Rights would ensure democratic participation from the widest possible representation of women.

This would not be an ANC Women's Charter, but a document drawn up by women across class and political ideology where urban and rural women would, through a rigorous

process of education and discussion, "in their own voice define the issues of greatest concern to them".

It is this democratic process that would make this Charter fundamentally different to the existing ANC Women's Charter, said Adams. A co-ordinating committee has been formed with representatives from the different organisations, to look at aims and objectives and a programme of action. Regional committees and working groups are to be set up to mobilise women to take up the issue. These committees would not

pre-empt demands to be included in the Charter — this would be a bottom-up process, said Adams.

"Many intellectuals have a misconception that working class women simply accept their oppression or do not know that they are oppressed — this is not really the case. Once you set women talking about issues in the languages they feel most comfortable with, all their problems are let out."

Issues that are bound to emerge are those relating to the economic empowerment of women, such as education; training; equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity employment practice; laws which discriminate against women in owning prop-

erty, housing and land; laws on marriage, divorce and inheritance.

Adams believes that new laws ensuring equality of men and women in all spheres of society, including family relations, would be the foundation for true emancipation of women.

However, she pointed out that in several European and Scandinavian countries such laws exist, but many women are not aware of their rights or they do not have access to organisational assistance to challenge the breach of such laws.

The problem in these countries is precisely because the laws were formulated without the participation of the majority of women, she said.

"We would ensure that the process of drawing up the Charter for Women's Rights would educate women of their rights and how any breach of these rights could be challenged, thereby overcoming the deficiency experienced in other countries."

It is only after the groundwork has been done in popularising the Charter, engaging in debate and discussion, and involving as many women as possible, that a national Women's Charter campaign would be launched, possibly sometime next year.

The co-ordinating committee has already started approaching organisations that are not currently involved, said Adams. The emphasis at this stage is on the process, rather than the content of the Charter.

"We have learnt from the experience of losing out on the demand for a 30 percent quota of women on the ANC's executive, that we still have a mammoth task in conscientising our members and those of other organisations. If the Women's Charter is not accepted in the new constitution, it would seriously question the ANC's credibility in its stated commitment to ensure gender equality in a new South Africa."

DP pulls out of conference

Azapo move threatens PF alliance

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Star 17/10/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The proposed Patriotic Front (PF) alliance against the Government is coming under severe strain. Several parliamentary parties, ethnic organisations and homeland governments have received a letter from Azapo, one of the conveners of the PF, which they say demands they resign their positions.

The Democratic Party became the first casualty when it pulled out of next week's Patriotic Front conference in Durban. Other parties are also reconsidering.

Today Azapo denied it was trying to drive parties from the PF, saying it had merely reminded parties about its position regarding their participation in the tricameral Parliament.

Senior sources in the PF said Azapo could be expelled because of its extraordinary initiative, taken without consulting its two PF partners, the ANC and the PAC. The joint committee organising the conference was expected to discuss the crisis today.

The controversy was sparked by a letter which Azapo's secretary-general, Don Nkadimeng, sent to parliamentary parties, homeland leaders and even pro-ANC "ethnic" organisations like the Transvaal Indian Congress which had been invited to the PF conference.

The parties say it effectively demanded that they resign their positions before attending the conference.



Zach de Beer... his party has withdrawn.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation had no comment.

PAC member of the PF planning committee Mosebyane Malatsi said today: "If they did that with the intention of undermining the PF, then we find that completely unacceptable. However, I don't believe Azapo wants to undermine the PF and so for the moment nothing is threatening the conference."

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the DP, which had been considering an invitation to attend the PF conference, would not do so while Azapo was one of the conveners.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said last night ANC leaders had told him the letter was contrary to the agreement between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa said he had not yet received the Azapo letter but he believed Azapo had breached an agreement.

Dr de Beer had received

an invitation from the PF national preparatory committee suggesting that only parties which supported a constituent assembly should attend. He asked for clarification of the term "constituent assembly".

Before receiving a reply, Dr de Beer received the controversial Azapo letter which said that because of its opposition to the tricameral parliament, Azapo "finds it impossible to request your party... to be part of a Patriotic Front".

Today Azapo disputed that it had launched a campaign to force these parties out of the PF, Kaizer Nyatumba reports.

Mr Nkadimeng, said he wrote "a fairly general letter" to the DP and other parliamentary and homeland organisations invited to attend the PF conference.

His letter, he said, was written strictly on behalf of Azapo and not the joint ANC-PAC-Azapo planning group.

"I just wanted to remind these parties and organisations that our position regarding their participation in the tricameral parliament and other Government-created structures has not changed.

"However, as far as we are concerned they are welcome to attend the PF meeting. We cannot stop them from attending," Mr Nkadimeng said.

He denied the PF conference was now in jeopardy. He said the joint working group on the PF was continuing a meeting today which began yesterday. A meeting had not specifically been called "to discuss the crisis".

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FM 18/10/91

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse has perfected the art of political survival. By engineering an invitation to next month's "patriotic front" conference in Durban, Hendrickse drew the LP closer than ever to the ANC. He has probably established a significant role for himself in the coming all-party talks.

The move means Hendrickse has almost gone full circle — from (relatively) radical government opponent who wrecked the old Coloured Representative Council, through Minister in P W Botha's Cabinet and back to old-style confrontational politics.

His ability to bounce back is extraordinary. Earlier this year the LP was almost crushed by a National Party onslaught. By wooing over 34 of the 85 coloured MPs and having the backing of eight independent members, the Nats came within a whisker of controlling the House of Representatives.

Since 1984, Hendrickse has roller-coastered through a series of political minefields. He shattered an alliance with Mangosuthu Buthelezi by deciding to enter the tricameral system; had a theoretical (but not effective) governing alliance with P W Botha; enraged Botha by quitting the Cabinet and establishing what was essentially the first real parliamentary opposition the Nats had faced since winning power; watched his party split as the NP eroded it; and finally last week he was welcomed back into the "struggle" fold.

His strong words at the LP's eastern Cape congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend must be seen in the context of the patriotic front indaba and the role he hopes to play in future negotiations. It's clearly absurd for him to say, as he did at the weekend, that he would never allow the LP to be "tainted" by an association with "those people who have the blood of so many innocents on their hands" — an obvious reference to the Nats. He conveniently forgets the cosy relationship his party had with Botha, whose defence of apartheid and oppression of extra-parliamentary forces tainted Hendrickse far more than any dealings with F W de Klerk could ever do.

But that's politics.

Labour spokesman Peter Hendrickse says it's too early to speculate on whether the party will now withdraw from parliament

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Hendrickse ... the art of political survival

and throw its weight fully behind the patriotic front alliance (most observers believe it highly unlikely). He says the party's congress in Durban at the end of the year will have to decide on both parliamentary participation and future alliances with other groups.

However, he regards as significant the results of a poll among LP delegates to the eastern Cape congress. This indicated that 98% believed the LP should continue to exist as an independent party — and 94% support-

ed attendance of the party at the patriotic front conference. They weren't asked whether the party should withdraw from parliament.

Peter Hendrickse says the shedding of the "conservative" element of the party to the NP has made it leaner and more focused on its ultimate goal — the establishment of a nonracial democracy in SA. He says the party's relationship with both the ANC and the PAC is now better than at any time in its history and there are definite grounds for considering alliances.

He also foresees an active role for the LP in the all-party conference. "Our almost daily contact with the NP in parliament and parliamentary committees means we have developed skills in dealing with them that the ANC may not have." He believes the party can also be a bridge-builder between the ANC and other "struggle" groups and "system" organisations such as coloured management committees around the country, which are generally dominated by LP members.

"The mood in the party is very positive. In the past few months, we've held nine regional congresses and attendance at all of them has been better than ever before."

He rejects claims that the NP is making major gains in coloured areas and says the LP's information is that even in the conservative northern Cape region, the Nats are struggling to recruit coloured members. ■

Shed a tear for Khutsong

Gun-toting thugs kill and loot in name of Mandela

By RICH MKHONDO



NELSON MANDELA

and consolidating their ranks, the ANC and other groups have been forced to concentrate on putting out the fires of sectarian strife and gang warfare.

The ANC blames apartheid for the township gangs.

"Our whole system of education is not under our control. It was the responsibility of the Government to create the conditions whereby we can appeal to the youth to discipline themselves, go back to school and concentrate on their studies," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said earlier this year.

In Khutsong - "Place of Harmony" in Sotho language - one gang tortured another by cutting youths' ears with razor blades, forcing them to eat the flesh.

Called "comtsotsis" - comrade-thugs in township slang - they are found

THEY defy parental control, smoke dagga openly, tote guns and live by looting and robbing, but they say they do it in the name of Nelson Mandela and his ANC.

Mounds of fresh graves, the burnt embers of once-prosperous businesses and torched homes bear witness to the mindless violence that has torn apart Khutsong and other black communities in a fierce battle between rival gangs.

Gang warfare in this seedy township near Carletonville in the Transvaal is not simply hooliganism.

Violence is often committed in the name of one political group or another.

"Township gang warfare caused by a generation of youth brutalised by apartheid is very complicated," said Ms Sally Sealy of the anti-apartheid Independent Board of Inquiry.

"In many cases it is caused by a rift between young and old township comrades. Gangs are formed and thuggery creeps in.

"In some cases it is caused by fighting between political groups and by police taking advantage of the fighting to set one group against the other."

Armed gangs

Many people have died in recent months as armed gangs go on the rampage across South Africa.

Rumours abound that police act in collusion with groups of unruly blacks who oppose the ANC, the old enemy of the security forces.

Instead of mobilising new members

They remain one of the most disruptive 'wild cards' in the long, hard struggle for peace and political normality.

began in January last year, when two groups of youths broke away from the pro-ANC "comrades" in the township.

The first group called themselves the Zim-Zims and said they wanted to protect businessmen who were targets of community boycotts called by militants.

A second group broke away when a community leader they supported was not elected to a new civic group.

Thus the Gadaffis were born.

The Gadaffis, according to residents, waged war against the Zim-Zims but also targeted innocent youths and set up kangaroo courts to discipline erring comrades.

The rivalry resulted in a chain of violent deaths as revenge attacks swept the township.

Khutsong became a no-go area at night. Many people, weary of the violence, fled.

Residents said the Zim-Zims collaborated with the police. They said security forces shot dead several Gadaffi members.

The ANC and other groups monitoring unrest, such as Sealy's Independent Board of Inquiry, stepped in and persuaded the groups to sign a truce.

A number of policemen were suspended from duty and will soon be charged for misconduct after a joint ANC-Government inquiry found they took sides in the carnage.

Now other gangs are emerging in other townships across the country, reported to comprise youths who were active in an anti-Government insurrection that swept South African townships between 1984 and 1986.

Unemployment

They say these anti-apartheid shock troops are driven by unemployment and school boycotts to commit crimes such as looting.

Their targets are shops belonging to suspected Government spies.

At the height of the 1984-86 uprisings, civic and union leaders, capable of imposing some discipline, were in detention and the comtsotsis had the run of the townships.

But when the ANC was unbanned and black leaders released from prison, the comtsotsis still resisted discipline.

They remain one of the most disruptive "wild cards" in South Africa's long, hard struggle for peace and political normality. - Sapa-Reuter

Meaning of patriot may wreck the PF

Sowetan 18/10/91

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FOCUS

In this two-part series, Sowetan staffer MATHATHA TSEDU takes a closer look at the Patriotic Front due to be launched in Durban next Friday.

THE definition of a patriot and a seeming attempt to maintain a seniority position in the stakes seem to be threatening the Patriotic Front set to be launched next Friday.

While the ANC and the PAC have accepted the need for homeland leaders to be present at the front, Azapo, the other convener, does not.

Questions are being posed about whether the homeland leaders should be seated at a conference of patriots. Azapo this week sent a letter to all tribal and "system orientated" organisations and individuals who had been invited, telling them they had to resign from such structures first before they can "sit with patriots".

This unilateral action by Azapo has seemingly raised the ire of the other two who feel it was unfair as the original invitation that went out had been signed by Azapo.

Amicable solution

The debate about this rages on and whether an amicable solution will be found is another matter. One of the affected parties, the DP, has already indicated that unless Azapo is kicked out of the convening committee, it would not consider attending the conference.

On the other hand, the ANC, which previously agreed to equal representation with the other two convenors, has been at pains trying to reverse the decision. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela called Mr Clarence Makwetu and Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of the PAC and Azapo respectively and told them his organisation felt it should have 24 delegates, the PAC 12 and Azapo 6.

It is understood Mandela argued that his organisation had more sup-

port and should therefore have more representatives. This was rejected by both PAC and Azapo who said the matter had been deliberated on and agreement had been reached at the liaison committee level that no consideration would be given to either young or old, or perceived strengths.

This week, the ANC came with another proposal that all organisations taking part should have equal representation of six delegates each, including convenors. The standing agreement is that the convenors would have 24 each, Nactu and Cosatu 15 each and other organisations four each.

ANC spokesman and National Working Committee member, Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim, said the proposal for six across the board was to equalise representation.

The PAC and Azapo have both rejected this, insisting again that the original agreement be left in place. The ANC on the other hand is said to have informed the others on Wednesday that if its proposal was not accepted, the front may as well not take off.

Analysts say the ANC preoccupation with figures and seniority was an attempt to make sure that its perceived position as number one internationally is not affected by the PF representation of convenors.

PF insiders say this seems to be so particularly for Azapo which is not recognised by the OAU or UN.

"With international observers including OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim in the offing, the ANC seems to feel that this could launch Azapo internationally and all efforts are therefore being made to ensure that that perception does not occur," one insider said.

The reduction of all delegations to six each would remove that possibility, it is felt. And so again on this score the front may still stumble and fall.

What is the Patriotic Front?

The idea of a front to unite the oppressed is as old as the struggle for freedom. This stems from the acceptance of the fact that unity is strength. While efforts have been made on occasions, it was a meeting earlier this year between the ANC and PAC that took the front off.

Following on that meeting, Azapo was roped in as co convenor and the front was to have been launched in Cape Town last month.

This was changed to Durban next Friday. The basic aim of the front is unite the fighting forces ranged against the minority racist regime of President FW de Klerk and formulate areas of common agreement and joint campaigns.

The key players in this are the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu and Nactu.

ANC

Led by Mandela, the ANC was formed in 1912 and represents a

wide spectrum of South African society, including many whites. It stands for a mixed economy with minimal state intervention and a possibility of nationalisation of some industries, including mines and banks.

PAC

It was formed in 1959 and adheres to the ideology of Pan Africanism. Led by Makwetu, the organisation was unbanned last year and believes in African Socialism as propounded by the founding father of the OAU, Kwame Nkrumah.

The PAC policy does not rule out white membership as membership is open to all Africans, who are described as all those who believe and are prepared to die for Africa. The repossession of land is central to PAC policy.

Azapo

The youngest of the three, it was formed in 1978 after the banning of 17 Black Consciousness organisations. Rooted in the Black Consciousness ideology, Azapo membership is restricted to black people only, which definition includes Indians and Coloureds.

Socialism

It believes in scientific socialism. Led by Nefolovhodwe, land forms the central theme of its policy.

Cosatu

The biggest labour federation in the country, Cosatu was formed in 1985 and presently claims a membership of over 1,3 million. Its secretary general is Mr Jay Naidoo and president Mr John Gomomo. Cosatu is part of the ANC alliance together with the SACP.

● On Monday, we will talk about Nactu's position and that of independent trade unions.

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

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Front disowns Azapo letter

AZAPO's letter to homeland, ethnic and establishment political parties, which threatened to throw arrangements for the patriotic front conference into disarray, was irrelevant and should be ignored, the patriotic front liaison committee said yesterday.

The letter from Azapo secretary-general Don Nkademeng triggered an urgent crisis meeting of the organisers, the ANC, the PAC and Azapo, yesterday.

The Azapo letter to the DP said that because of its opposition to the tricameral parliament, Azapo found it "impossible to request your party" to be part of the PF.

The DP immediately withdrew and turned down the invitation to attend the talks and other parties, such as the LP, were reconsidering their attendance.

The ANC and PAC were incensed by the letter and immediately acted to try and repair the damage, with some senior members of the ANC and PAC stating privately that Azapo should be kicked out of the PF.

One senior source said Azapo had no right to circumvent the structures of the

B/day 18/10/91
BILLY PADDOCK

patriotic front as they had equal representation on the liaison committee and were part of the consultations throughout.

"Azapo representatives were part of the meeting that decided to invite the people to the patriotic front. That was the time to reject the parties on the list. This is a unilateral action that has no validity within the patriotic front," he said.

Patriotic front liaison committee member and PAC member Mosabyane Malatsi said the parties and organisations had been invited by the patriotic front and not by Azapo.

"The letter has no relevance and is of no consequence to the patriotic front. It should be ignored by all the parties that we invited that may have received copies of the letter," he said.

He said it was totally unacceptable for Azapo to have sent the letter if its intention was to undermine the patriotic front.

He said the two Azapo representatives sitting on the liaison committee had no

knowledge of the letter being sent and did not know why it had been sent.

"They are totally behind the plans we have concluded so far and the PF will go ahead as planned with all those we invited extremely welcome," Malatsi said.

He said that if the DP wanted to refuse the invitation they should do so for their own reasons and not use the Azapo letter as an excuse. "The patriotic front invited them and until the patriotic front withdraws that invitation it stands and will be honoured."

Malatsi said the patriotic front would be holding a news conference today to outline the position and Azapo would also then clarify its position on the letter.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley denied that his organisation had broken the protocol of the patriotic front, and said the letter was intended purely to inform these parties of Azapo's position and to show that it had not shifted from its demands for a constituent assembly and wanted to also remind the parties of their collaboration with the system over the years.

Bophuthatswana frees 18 political prisoners

BOPHUTHATSWANA yesterday announced the release of 18 political prisoners — two days after political prisoner Rabusang Monnane died at Rooigrond prison.

Justice Minister Godfrey Mothibe said the releases were part of an "ongoing process" which began on September 12 when President Lucas Mangope announced the release of 19 prisoners being held for their part in the abortive 1988 coup attempt.

The Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref) said in a statement yesterday there were still 128 political prisoners in the homeland's prisons. Twenty-four were on hunger strike.

Maref also released a statement — citing prisoners — detailing the circumstances leading to Monnane's death. The prisoners claimed Monnane had been ill for some time but that his illness had not been taken seriously by prison medical staff.

They claimed he was not examined, but was given tablets. They said when his condition deteriorated he was taken to a doctor who did not examine him thoroughly.

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ANTHONY NDLOVU

"On Tuesday morning his condition worsened and he died at 10am with two prison medical staff in attendance. There was no doctor," they said.

Bophuthatswana authorities said the detailed cause of the death would be made known after a post-mortem.

Lawyers representing Monnane were yesterday still awaiting the results.

Sapa reports more than 140 ANC Youth League members were arrested during protest actions organised countrywide yesterday to demand the release of all political prisoners, particularly those incarcerated in Bophuthatswana, the organisation said.

Regional police spokesmen contacted were unable to confirm the arrests.

More than 40 placard-carrying ANC Youth League members yesterday picketed outside the Bophuthatswana embassy in Pretoria.

Ambassador Joshua Manyapelo told delegates he could allow only two people in the building to hold talks or present their case.

Think-tank

It is understood that some senior ANC leaders are not convinced the organisation and its allies should enter such a forum, which would impose responsibilities on the alliance. These elements argue that the ANC should seek joint control in an interim government over only such areas as the security forces, the SABC and the electoral process.

However, Cosatu appears set to stick to

Anglovaal

sions did particularly well in the year.

He said AVI's proposed R786m rights offers would ensure that adequate funds would be available to take advantage of future business opportunities as well as further strengthen the capital bases of AVI, Consol and Irvin & Johnson.

The cost/price squeeze which gripped the gold mines in the past four years continued in 1991. The group's Loraine mine was in danger of closing, he said.

"If all the group's mines are to contain increases in the rand/kilogram costs of gold produced to levels substantially below the national inflation rate to maintain

IDT

J.P. Morgan is the first IIS bank to announce

Sisulu puts IDT bond issue back on track

THE Independent Development Trust's effort to raise \$100m on international bond markets was back on track yesterday after a flurry of contradictory ANC statements and news reports.

The campaign came under strong pressure when the ANC's London office rejected a joint statement which described the organisation's earlier disapproval of the bond issue as a "misunderstanding".

At one stage it appeared the IDT's foreign underwriter J P Morgan would withdraw because of the unwanted attention the bond issue was attracting.

But spokesmen from J P Morgan and the IDT confirmed yesterday that the joint

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LESLEY L'AMBERT

statement was valid and that presentations to drum up foreign support for the five-year issue would continue.

An IDT statement said ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu confirmed yesterday the joint statement that the ANC's London office had previously rejected as "bogus". Sisulu faxed the confirmation to IDT chairman Jan Steyn in Frankfurt, the venue of one of the presentations which went ahead yesterday.

The confusion appears to have arisen as a result of a statement issued by the ANC on Monday. The statement implied the IDT

was passing off the ANC's endorsement of IDT trustee Mamphele Ramphele's inclusion in the capital-raising campaign as approval of the campaign itself.

The statement said: "The ANC is not against the IDT's efforts to raise funds for its projects from funders who are prepared to donate funds. But the letter (endorsing Ramphele's inclusion) was not an endorsement for the IDT to raise loans on the stock market through the issue of bonds. The issue of bonds and loans... will undermine financial sanctions which remain the most effective pillar of the sanctions campaign against apartheid."

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IDT B/pay 18/10/91

J P Morgan is the first US bank to support an SA capital raising exercise since President George Bush repealed federal sanctions laws.

The IDT, which had canvassed and received the support of ANC president Nelson Mandela, then issued the joint statement with J P Morgan in which it said the ANC's disapproval was based on a misunderstanding which would be resolved when the IDT delegation returned to SA.

Confusion reigned yesterday as the statement was rejected by the ANC's London office as "bogus" and later confirmed by Sisulu — but not before a US news

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service reported J P Morgan had, in the meantime, withdrawn its support. Steyn said from Frankfurt yesterday he was distressed and concerned at the miscommunication within the ANC's ranks and the potential for damage to J P Morgan, the IDT and the ANC leadership.

"The IDT would never have embarked on an international bond issue of this kind without the support of the leaders of all concerned parties. Support was explicitly canvassed and received from Nelson Mandela, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk."

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

ANC 'keen to end sanctions'

HARARE — The Commonwealth summit discussed SA almost exclusively yesterday, endorsing the phased lifting of sanctions which will see person-to-person sanctions disappearing almost immediately.

Briefing journalists after discussions Commonwealth spokesman Patsy Robertson said the 50 heads of government were expected to endorse the phased lifting of sanctions outlined at the New Delhi foreign ministers conference last month.

In a news conference after the discussion, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the New Delhi position was not very different from the ANC's point of view.

Earlier in the day after a meeting with Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke,

TIM COHEN and
MICHAEL HARTNACK

Mandela surprised journalists by expressing concern about the effect sanctions had had on the SA economy.

He said: "We are very keen that sanctions should be lifted because the people are suffering, our people are suffering as a result of sanctions."

Mandela said sanctions were a price the people of SA were prepared to pay to win the right to determine their own affairs. "But nevertheless, they are creating a great deal of hardship. Our economy today is in tatters and that is why, therefore, we

□ To Page 2

Sanctions

are very keen that sanctions should be lifted, but there are certain conditions that must be met before that decision is taken."

After his meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney Mandela said it would "not be proper" for him to discuss his plans for a revised formula on lifting sanctions while this was still under discussion by the heads of government.

Robertson said President Quett Masire of Botswana, speaking during the initial session on southern Africa, expressed "continuing worry about violence" although remarkable changes had taken place. He urged liberation movements to unify, and greater Commonwealth assistance for the development of human resources for a post-apartheid society.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Britain signalled it might distance itself from any Commonwealth communiqué calling for continued sanctions. A senior official said Britain might "enter a reserve" in a sum-

mit communiqué next week likely to call for continued sanctions until a new constitution is in place enshrining nonracial principles.

But he said the thrust of the debate was not on sanctions but on how the Commonwealth could help build democracy in SA. □ Security police prevented students at Zimbabwe University from leaving the campus yesterday for a planned protest about academic freedom at the summit.

About 2 500 students, a quarter of the student population, threw stones at truncheon-wielding police, who answered with teargas.

The University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act makes provision for substantially increased government representation on the university's senate and lays down stringent disciplinary measures for students who transgress university regulations.

● See Pages 3 and 4

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



'Blacks should take credit'

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Sowetan
18/10/91

IT was self-denial by blacks to credit sanctions as being solely responsible for change in South Africa, Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon said yesterday.

The major force for change had come from resistance to apartheid by ordinary people in the country, Leon said on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

"Sanctions are not the only thing that worked," he said.

Answering to caller Mandla on why the DP did not support sanctions called for by black organisations, Leon said his party's opposition was because of the great cost to the disadvantaged which could not be supported on a moral basis.

Leon also discussed a variety of subjects and the DP's position on the constituent assembly, nationalisation and the violence sweeping the country.

He believed that State President FW De Klerk was a sensitive leader, responsive to all pressures.

If the country was still under the leadership of former President PW Botha there would probably still have been no moves for change, he said.

"Nothing seemed to work on PW," he said. On a constituent assembly demanded by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Leon said the DP was opposed to the idea as it was like putting the cart before the horse.

Azapo call over Front supported

Sowetan
18/10/91

(11A)

THE Azanian Youth Organisation yesterday supported Azapo's call for the resignation of homeland leaders and parliamentary parties before attending the Patriotic Front conference.

The call by Azapo, on the eve of the PF conference in Durban next week, has stunned several ethnic and parliamentary parties and has led to the withdrawal of the Democratic Party, which was considering an invitation to form part of the broad Patriotic Front to oppose the Government.

Azapo deputy-president Mr Goerge Ngwenya said: "This call is in line with the

Sowetan Reporter

call for the constituent assembly.

People should understand that we cannot tolerate double standards and double speak where people will be at home with De Klerk." Azapo is the youth wing of Azapo.

Several other parties which received letters sent by Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Don Nkadameng, demanding that they resign their positions before attending the conference, were also considering withdrawal.

Senior sources in the PF are said to have viewed the surprise demand by Azapo as out of step with the other co-conveners, the ANC and PAC.

They believe it was taken without consultation. Inside sources also believe that Azapo could be expelled from the PF.

Nkadameng denies that the letter was intended to force other parties out of the PF.

He said he had written "a fairly general letter" to the DP and other parliamentary and homeland organisations invited to the meeting, outlining its position regarding tri-cameral parliament participation and on participation in Government-created structures."

The ANC declined to comment on the development, while the PAC said it did not believe Azapo intended to undermine the PF.

* See also page 8

ANC's French connection linked to SADF

W/mcut 18/10-24/10/91
A Frenchman with past links to the SADF is now helping the ANC with military matters.

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL African National Congress military delegation leaves for India today in a bid to get its soldiers trained in conventional warfare to prepare them for integration into a post-apartheid defence force.

The trip follows similar visits to France earlier this year, and the movement is also approaching Japan and Britain asking them for military assistance.

But in a bizarre twist it has emerged that one of the men helping them is Frenchman Alain Guenon, who has also made propaganda films for the South African Defence Force and has been accused of having close links with SADF Military Intelligence.

According to senior Umkhonto weSizwe representative Tokyo Sexwale, members of MK are currently being trained in conventional warfare in the Soviet Union and this has "not yet" been affected by the changes taking place there. Other MK officials are being trained in Cuba, he said.

The delegation to India includes Sexwale, MK chief of staff Chris Hani, Transkei military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa and one other, still to be named.

"We will be going to New Delhi for two weeks at the invitation of the Indian government. We are taking definite proposals with regard to training, and will also inspect a number of facilities. We will look at their ground forces, airforce and navy and see what they can offer," Sexwale said.

Holomisa and Sexwale both confirmed that Guenon had arranged their April visit to Paris, where they met French arms manufacturers, senior military officials and the Industries Minister Roger Fouroux, to discuss future French arms sales to South Africa and the training of MK cadres.



OFF TO INDIA ... Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani



ANC DELEGATE ... Transkel leader Major General Bantu Holomisa

Acting as a consultant for the French military industrial company, SAGEM, Guenon set up the visit to discuss the possibilities of re-establishing French military links with a post-apartheid South Africa. SAGEM paid all the delegation's expenses and for a follow-up trip in which Sexwale attended the Paris airshow.

According to ANC sources, the initial secret talks caught unawares both the South African embassy in France and the ANC's international relations department (whose head, Thabo Mbeki, was in Paris at the time), and caused "disquiet" in the French foreign ministry.

But despite a personal warning from French president Francois Mitterrand to ANC president Nelson Mandela about Guenon, the ANC has continued to deal with the South African-based Frenchman.

A former lecturer in medieval philosophy in Paris, he came to South Africa in the early 1980s and turned to film

and television production, establishing two companies, Ubeck and Good Ideas Company, with Roelof Frederik Botha, cousin of the cabinet minister, as co-director.

Good Ideas and Ubeck formed part of the filmmaking group Brigadiers, a company run by Albie Venter and his father, former security policeman Lieutenant General John Venter. According to former SADF intelligence officer, Major Nico Basson, Brigadiers made propaganda films on behalf of the SADF, and Guenon was frequently mentioned by SADF intelligence as being "one of our guys".

"It was known in the government that Venter and Guenon were people who would do what the government wanted," said Basson.

Asked why the ANC delegation was dealing with Guenon, Sexwale said he was a South African representative of several French companies, "some of whom insisted he represented them on the French visit".

AFFIRMATIVE action to redress the wrongs of apartheid, one of the key constitutional debates on a future South Africa, got off to a stormy start this week with newspaper reports that the African National Congress had a plan to levy one third of the wealth of the affluent.

The fact that the newspaper reports bore little resemblance to the conference where the suggestion emanated from, and had nothing to do with ANC policy, did not prevent whites reaching for their guns or their second passports.

At least part of the problem lay with the ANC's initially ineffectual and ambivalent response to the reports.

But what the reaction did reveal is the intense heat that the debate on affirmative action is likely to generate. Many whites are jittery about the future of their property and their positions in a democratic South Africa.

Not surprisingly, many blacks are hungry for the spoils of liberation and would eagerly endorse any move to overcome the deprivation of their lives at the expense of the privileged.

The prospect of rule by a majority which has historically been disadvantaged by apartheid creates an equally unsurprising feeling of vulnerability among whites.

Having started out as a passing suggestion at a conference workshop, the idea of a wealth levy has now been given widespread publicity where it is likely to be popular among ANC supporters.

The wealth levy controversy exploded just as the affirmative action debate was only warming up. In the process the debate has been skewed.

What got lost in the furor was ANC president Nelson Mandela's opening remarks to the Port Elizabeth confer-

Creaming the rich or a safeguard in the constitution?

The creation of a future constitution is paved with pitfalls. Perhaps one of the most difficult aspects emerged in the current controversy over affirmative action and redistribution of wealth.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports



Feathering the nest or the redistribution of wealth?

ence, where he sought to stress the delicate balance between reassuring whites and meeting black aspirations.

In a landmark speech on the issue, Mandela defined affirmative action as a "means of dealing in as just and realistic a manner as possible with the progressive eradication of the gulf created by past discrimination". He went on to sketch clearly the parameters of such action.

"It must be seen as an alternative both to waiting centuries for the market on its own to eliminate the massive inequalities left by apartheid and to lawless confiscation and arbitrary sharing out."

There are few either in the upper

echelons of government or the private sector who would find such sentiments horrendous.

At the opening of parliament this year, President FW de Klerk acknowledged the need for a fundamental restructuring of the economy to reduce, and ultimately eliminate, the great disparities of wealth left by apartheid and a history of racial discrimination.

However, the pull of their respective constituencies could see affirmative action emerge as the dividing line between a status quo-oriented National Party alliance and the ANC alliance in post-apartheid politics.

In applying affirmative action, says

Though the debate is only beginning, the ANC's 1988 constitutional proposals identified the need for affirmative action as a means of sweeping away the "centuries-old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination".

The National Party constitutional proposals, as they stand, contain no provision for affirmative action.

However, section two of the South African Law Commission's proposed Bill of Rights recognises that the principle of non-discrimination and equality before the law can be overridden by temporary legislation for the improvement of historically disadvantaged people.

The ANC's Bill of Rights does make provision for any private or public body to take actions designed to open up opportunities including "access to education, skills, employment and land" and the "general advancement ... of men and women who have been disadvantaged by discrimination".

The problem, as ANC constitutional lawyer Kader Asmal has pointed out, is that the government must have the power to implement satisfactory the Bill of Rights. This is why affirmative action is not simply a policy issue but central to the developing constitutional debate between the ANC and the National Party.

Asmal says that in order effectively to implement an affirmative action programme, there would have to be strong and effective central, regional and local government.

The National Party's September constitutional proposals, apart from making no reference to affirmative action, provide for the diffusion of political power. This, Asmal says, impinges dramatically on the capacity of the state to implement affirmative action policies.

"The central proposals of the Nation-

... HOW TO REASSURE WHITES AND MEET BLACK ASPIRATIONS

at Party will entrench privilege, status and domination at every level of government," he claims.

Because blacks have been denied access or been discriminated against in almost every sphere of their lives, the need for affirmative action in South Africa is widespread — starting with the enormous disparities in education.

Mandela said that the whole social programme of the new democratic government would be one of affirmative action:

"It will mean giving the people a chance in every area of life: health, housing, education, nutrition, employment, access to land ... Our whole legislative programme will concentrate on these areas."

Both the public and the private sector are firmly in white hands and would be targets for affirmative action.

The state of black career advancement is parlous, not least because of the extraordinary inequalities in education. Some 80 percent of black professionals are teachers. There are only 41 black chartered accountants in South Africa, four of them women.

This disparity is reflected in where the wealth of the country is spread. More than 95 percent of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are in white hands.

Though some South African companies started years ago to promote blacks into senior positions, the good old boy network of white males,

mainly members of the Rand Club, still dominates corporate South Africa.

"Parachuting former homeland leaders on to the board will not solve the problem," points out ANC economist Don Mkhwanazi.

Holding up the holy grail of the free market, many businessmen resist the notion of affirmative action for women and blacks because they claim to prefer promotion on merit.

"Talk of merit is used as a device to preserve the status quo," says Mkhwanazi, who claims that many whites have been placed in positions beyond their level of competence.

And, as Mandela pointed out: "Affirmative action is based on the paradox

that to eliminate race and gender as significant categories, it is necessary to take account of the way race and gender impact on everyday existence."

Though there are problems in the private sector, the public sector is a more intractable problem. What does one do with an already bloated, over-staffed bureaucracy top-heavy with whites? In Namibia, reform of the civil service has been held back by a constitutional provision guaranteeing security of tenure.

The bureaucracy has vast potential to block progressive change by a democratic government.

In Zimbabwe, the problem was partly resolved by the departure of thou-

sands of top civil servants. Blacks could be pushed up the ladder with greater ease, enabling a process of Africanisation to begin with very little pain.

Aside from these problems, Mandela has pointed to one key advantage that South Africa has over other societies wishing to implement affirmative action programmes — the existence of a spirit of non-racialism in the ANC and the country at large.

"This ensures that the goal of affirmative action will be truly to achieve equal chances for all, and not amount either to a vengeful turning of the tables of oppression or the creaming off of the riches of the country by a new class of exploiters," he said.

IT'S not many years ago that militant opposition groups called for confiscating land and "expropriating the expropriator" to redistribute wealth. These days, there's more caution and less rhetoric, as this survey of major political groups reveals.

The African National Congress says the key will be the redistribution of state expenditure to the poor.

This will ensure a substantial improvement in the medium term in health, nutrition, housing and education. Also, within the limits of the budget, employment guarantee schemes can be offered aimed at employing those now unemployed.

Tax will become an important instrument for mobilising resources for redistribution, says the ANC. Tax reforms will be aimed at shifting the burden from individuals and indirect tax to corporations and applying progressive tax. Also, the ANC will consider a capital gains tax, a capital transfer tax, and progressive property and land taxes.

A further option will be a prescribed asset requirement for financial institutions, requiring the investment of a portion of their funds in specified areas, eg state housing funds.

To facilitate democratisation of the economy, the ANC will look at ways in which the population can have a greater control of economic resources. These will include:

- Creating a more democratic industrial relations framework based on full rights for workers in all sectors, including domestic work and agriculture.

- Developing an efficient public sector oriented towards providing the infrastructural base for meeting the basic needs of the people. Not only will the ANC keep public corporations in state hands, it envisages incorporating particular enterprises in the state sector. This could happen through nationalisation, purchase on the market, or establishment of state enterprises. This will be done on a case by case basis where it is advantageous to the state's overall objectives.

- Tackling the concentration of economic power to encourage more equitable and efficient ownership in the private sector. "Particular attention will be given to rectifying social and gender imbalances in the business sector and encouraging small business." Anti-trust legislation will be considered.

- Implementing a major land redistribution strategy, supported by among other things extension services and marketing credit. All heavily indebted, or underused land, or with absentee landlords will be up for redistribution.

The Democratic Party suggests that redress should come through the expenditure side of the budget with the money raised in the normal way through taxes.

The DP's Zach de Beer says money for redistribution, raised through normal taxes, should be channelled into housing, education and health for rapid upliftment of the disadvantaged.

The DP lays a strong emphasis on economic growth and free enterprise.

De Beer says there will be no real hope of redistribution without rapid and sustained economic growth.

"The money to bring about effective redistribution doesn't exist yet. It must still be created, hence the need for growth."

The economy must operate on free market principles. But government expenditure is a top priority to provide better services for the underprivileged. This is the only way to narrow the wealth gap.

Getting down to brass tacks on righting past injustice

The mere suggestion, at an ANC congress, that a levy of one third of individuals' assets be used for redistribution has stirred up a storm. REG HUMNEY asked the main opposition parties what their specific suggestions were for redressing the economic wrongs of the past.

The Pan Africanist Congress deals with the issue in its recent publication *Towards a Democratic Economic Order*.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai says the organisation's strategy is two-pronged. One important prong is to address the land question; the other is to redress economic deprivation.

Having rejected confiscation without compensation as an option, the PAC is considering two other courses of action.

One is nationalisation of all the land and then making it available to all present and future landholders on leasehold which will not be saleable but will be inheritable.

Another option is through budgetary and fiscal measures to reallocate the excess of land owned by farmers, eg absentee landlords. There might be incentives for land owners to sell land to the state and disincentives to keep land beyond a certain size. The subsidisation of the uneconomic use of land by the Land Bank would be done away with, and this would free land for distribution to the dispossessed. The PAC, says Desai, would follow an approach of least resistance without bucking the problem.

Government-owned land would be handed over to co-operatives and individuals.

The PAC would encourage the economic use of arable land. Water resources would be investigated to see if irrigation could provide more arable land.

Desai says the PAC realises depopulation of the rural areas has made the land question

a less pressing issue. So it will not ignore industry.

The PAC is not wedded to the idea of nationalisation, and would only use it in the national interest.

It wants to make industry more community oriented without interfering with profit. "We would develop co-operatives on a big scale with the co-operation of businessmen." Where possible private enterprise would contribute to co-ops and community-oriented job-creation programmes.

Workers must also have an increasingly meaningful stake in the equity of companies, he adds, and a system of acquiring such a stake will be worked out between industry and the government.

Conservative Party economic spokesman Caspar Uys believes there is little need for new and extra forms of redistribution since the present structure already redistributes from rich to poor.

"The perception abounds that white people obtained their wealth by stealth or theft. This is simply not true. They earned it with the help of others who were paid wages for their work. It was white initiative that developed South Africa.

"In every modern society there is redistribution of wealth." Income tax itself is redistributive.

Uys points out payments such as pensions, and services such as education, and health care are provided free to all while tax is paid on a sliding scale according to wealth. "The only real way of putting things right is by creating job opportunities and developing the economy. You can't plunder the economy and then think things will come right. Free enterprise remains the basis for prosperity and economic growth is a priority."

Azapo would, according to spokesman Strini Moodley, put an end to private monopolies, and turn over primary industries to the ownership and control of the people who work on them. This is a form of nationalisation, says Moodley, but ownership does not reside in the state.

Azapo would seriously consider imposing a tax on the wealthy, in addition to normal taxes, to accelerate the process of redistribution.

Such taxes would be used for housing, hospitals, schools and recreation.

Further, money would be raised by imposing taxes on any corporation which refused to "democratise itself economically". "We are not going to walk in and 'nationalise' companies overnight." High taxes would be levied on monopoly industries which were targets for nationalisation.

The Inkatha Freedom Party rules out the "quick fixes" of nationalisation, random expropriation, excessive tax or levies on private assets.

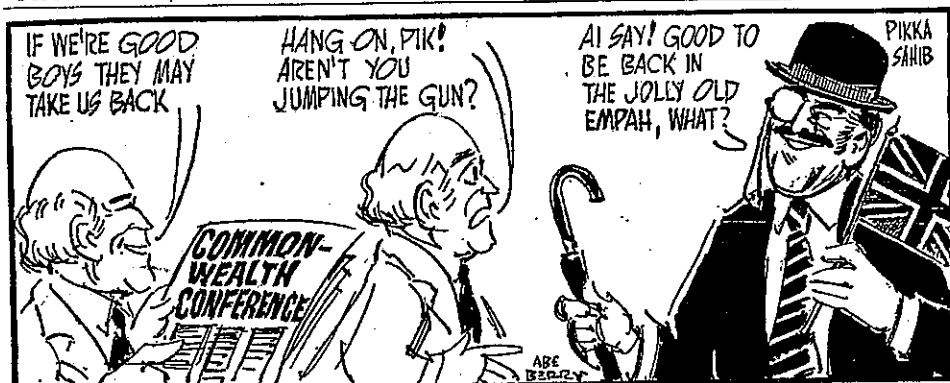
It believes wealth is created by economic growth which in turn is created by adherence to economic fundamentals. It says the most effective and permanent redistributive process is having increasing numbers of disadvantaged people becoming participants in the growing economy as employees or entrepreneurs.

"The government's main role in redressing the economic wrongs of the past is thus one which concentrates considerable of its available resources on promoting the industrial base and in fostering that which enhances its economic competitiveness."

The IFP mentions educational opportunity as being important, and says that once the growth path is established the fiscus will play an increasingly redistributive role.

STATE THEATRE

Abe Berry



ANC and PAC could unite to fight the Nats

(VA)
DURBAN — The patriotic front, bolstered by an unprecedented agreement between the ANC and PAC, could emerge as a single force to contest elections against an NP alliance.

United around the attainment of a constituent assembly as its prime objective, the ANC and PAC had begun a process that could see them fighting an election under a patriotic front banner, a front source said at the weekend.

Meeting in Durban with 90 other organisations, the ANC and PAC put aside the animosities that have divided them for three decades and agreed to jointly engage government in all-party talks.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said that while the front did not represent a merger of the two organisations, it would seek to pursue a common approach on central issues. He said the front should engage in "a whole range of joint campaigns and joint mass action to achieve common demands".

He said the November 4 and 5 anti-VAT strike would be the beginning of the joint

B/day 28/10/91

PATRICK BULGER

strategy.

The unity process should not be confined to the ANC and PAC, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said. The patriotic front should reach out to other organisations and win them over.

(These are thought to include Inkatha, which was not invited to the conference, and Azapo.)

A patriotic front source said the front's organisers were confident that both Inkatha and Azapo could be persuaded to come on board.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo added a note of caution to the unity euphoria. He warned against "a super executive" which could paralyse the right of individual organisations to act outside of the front.

The ANC and PAC's joint approach on constitutional processes places the PAC firmly in the negotiating process. The agreement came after the two organisations' leaders met on Saturday.

Azapo on tightrope with PF bedfellows

Political Staff

(117) ANC 19/10/91

AZAPO'S role as one of the convenors of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference is still hanging in the balance.

The presidents of the ANC, the PAC and Azapo — the three convenors of the PF — meet in Johannesburg later today to try to decide whether Azapo should remain a co-convenor of the conference, which starts in Durban next Friday.

Azapo jeopardised its leading position by firing off a letter this week to 14 parliamentary and homeland leaders — without consulting the ANC and PAC — in effect asking them to resign from apartheid structures.

The joint liaison committee of the conference met yesterday and it is understood the ANC and PAC asked for Azapo to be expelled from the committee unless it retracted its original letter and signed a joint request to the 14 organisations welcoming them to attend the conference.

The matter was not resolved at the meeting with Azapo reportedly digging its heels in, and it is now up to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovodwe to resolve the most serious threat yet to the Patriotic Front.

The ANC and PAC pointed out this week that they too were calling for the resignation of parliamentary and homeland leaders, but not before the conference.

Senior members said Azapo's call was a carefully played card which would have broad popular appeal.

Observers noted that Azapo's call could effectively put the invited parliamentary and homeland leaders into the "government camp."

Azapo, however, was adamant that its letter was never intended to "disinvite" these leaders but to clearly state the organisation's own position.

ANC 19/10/91
New ANC
economic proposals
political posturing

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE ANC's recent "hair-raising" economic proposals were probably just part of the pre-negotiation process and would fall away when a multi-party conference began.

The Minister of Public Works, Land Affairs and Development Aid, Mr Jacob de Villiers, forecast this last night at a National Party meeting in Breyten.

Mr De Villiers said the ANC had made a concerted effort to expand support before negotiations with several actions, including a campaign against VAT, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's threat to nationalise certain industries, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa's hint that the ANC might not honour foreign loans and the proposal of a wealth levy.

These actions should be seen in the context of the negotiation process, he said.

Mr De Villiers said the government had removed all obstacles which prevented all political parties from competing equally, sparking "fierce competition" for supporters between — among others — the National Party and the ANC alliance.

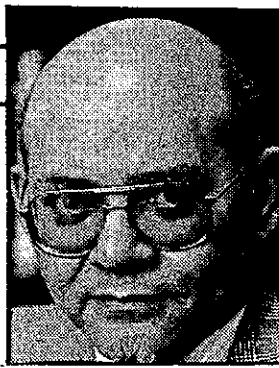
These "positioning" statements from parties like the ANC belonged to the phase which preceded serious negotiations, he said.

This phase allowed political parties to gauge what their supporters demanded and what they were prepared to give up.

"When negotiations begin in earnest in the multi-party conference, the time for radical standpoints and relentless demands will be past and all the involved parties will be ready to reach compromises."

● Clarifying the government's land reform policy, Mr De Villiers said it did not intend an artificial, socialist redistribution of land but a "re-own land"

The government realised it had to provide support to improve access to land and participation in economic growth. People would also have to get help and support to acquire the knowledge to work land properly, he said.



THE three main players in this week's Patriotic Front Conference in Durban — the ANC, PAC and Azapo — have all run the gauntlet of security police harassment in the struggle against oppression and inequality.

But so have many of the bodies they have invited to be part of the patriotic front conference (PFC), including the Labour Party, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Another common denominator among the participants is that at one stage or another, all of them, including the LP, NIC and TIC, have had of their leaders jailed or detained without trial.

The last time such a divergent group of political bodies came together was in December 1989 when the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), consisting mostly of members of the broad-based — but now-defunct — United Democratic Front, gathered at the Wits Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF).

Although there was a strong unofficial ANC, PAC, Azapo, Cosatu and Nactu presence, the main political parties were still banned and their leaders in jail or in exile.

Never before in the history of South Africa have such a wide range of political organisations with so many different ideologies and agendas been brought together for the common purpose of finding a unified approach in dealings with the government.

Azapo

The Azanian People's Organisation was established in May 1978 to fill the gap left by the banning of numerous black consciousness movements in October 1977.

Azapo has some affinities to the Pan Africanist Congress, although no official ties between them exist.

Azapo is a fairly small organisation but has branches countrywide, although it has little support outside the PWV area and the Western Cape. Azapo has consistently refused to

**Patriotic
3 share
much in
history**

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participate in — or be associated with — government-initiated structures such as the Tricameral Parliament and local government bodies.

Azapo also rejected ANC proposals for an all-party or multi-party conference and, until recently, for a patriotic front.

There are no figures available, but Azapo is counting its membership in tens of thousands rather than hundreds of thousands.

ANC

The African National Congress seems to have matured faster politically than its detractors by largely choosing the path of the politically practical and possible, although controversial statements on matters like the economy, which have often led to

quick damage control exercises, reveal that policy differences within the movement still exist.

The ANC also seems to be closer to its original ideals of an undivided democratic South Africa based on adult suffrage than it had ever been since the first South African Native National Congress was held in 1912.

The organisation was formed in reaction to the exclusion of blacks from the political process at the time of Union in 1910.

The constitution of the Congress, approved by the executive committee in 1918, stated that its aims included the achievement of adult franchise and the creation of a united South Africa.

In 1923 the Congress became the African National Congress.

The ANC estimates its paid-up membership to be just over 700 000.

PAC

The current president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is Clarence Makwetu with Benny Alexander as his secretary-general.

The PAC was unbanned at the same time as the ANC, after the historic opening of parliament speech by State President F W de Klerk on February 2, 1990.

There is a subtle difference between the PAC and ANC on the question of an all-party or multi-party conference.

Together with Azapo, PAC rejects this idea in favour of a "forum" where all organisations of the oppressed should be consulted to develop a mutual strategy against "the oppressors".

The main aim is to further a democratic solution to the country's problems by means of a constituent assembly, elected according to the principle of one person, one vote.

However, the proposed all-party conference is regarded by PAC as an attempt to circumvent the constituent assembly.

By the end of 1990 the PAC officially estimated its signed-up membership to be more than 25 000.

NORMAN WEST PREVIEWS LABOUR PARTY-ANC TALKS

LABOUR Party leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse, will hold his first face-to-face discussions with ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Thursday to plot a "side-by-side" future political role for the LP with the ANC.

The meeting at Mr Mandela's Johannesburg office, is to take place a day before the Patriotic Front Conference in Durban.

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday the meeting was taking place at his request. The meeting would be "historically significant" as it would be his first meeting with a major extra-parliamentary leader since he received a mandate from his party in Port Elizabeth last weekend to change course.

It was also significant because it signalled "an acceptance by Mr Mandela of the bona-fides of the Labour Party and its irrevocable commitment to the liberation struggle alongside other recognised liberation movements — although on a different platform", said Mr Hendrickse.

He said he and Mr Mandela hoped to have a "team-talk" before the PFC

**LP cosies
up to
Mandela**

11A
S/Times 20/10/91 (CM)

to further cement the new "healthy" spirit that existed between them. He admitted that in the past there had been "some distancing" between himself and the ANC leadership and a lot of suspicion and reservations, particularly among the ANC youth, about his and his party's decision to align themselves with extra-parliamentary bodies, still existed.

"The ANC was well-represented at a high level at our national seminar in Port Elizabeth, which proves that it has understanding for the effective complementary, albeit temporary, role we can play inside Parliament," he said.

"The ANC has understanding for the powerful trump card we hold by virtue of our veto right over any amendments to the constitution the government might want to bring about.

"While we have no intention of being swallowed up by the ANC or any other political body, we can consult with the ANC about our role in Parliament and I think Mr Mandela is wise enough to realise that through us he has political clout and leverage both inside and outside Parliament," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Hendrickse said when Mr Mandela embraced him after he had addressed the conference where the Pretoria Peace Accord was signed recently, "it was an emotional moment for me because it was a public demonstration by Mr Mandela that he accepted me as a brother-in-the-struggle".

He said he and Mr Mandela will also discuss how to effectively inform the grassroots supporters of the ANC about the complementary role the LP could play next to the ANC.

All-party meeting set for

December

S/Times 26/10/91.

11A

THE resumption of talks on a new constitution between the government and the ANC this week has paved the way for the multiparty conference to be held in December.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday that the ANC's preparedness to formally resume talks before the Patriotic Front meeting had persuaded him that the first meeting of the conference could take place in December.

ANC negotiations committee member, Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa, said that after the talks the organisation believed it was feasible that a first meeting of the all-party conference (the ANC's preferred term) could be held before the end of the year.

Mr Valli Moosa agreed that the meeting would probably take place in December.

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Political Correspondent

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen headed the government delegation at this week's meeting. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa led the ANC team.

No firm decisions were made but the participants agreed that there was a lot of common ground.

Mr Valli Moosa said there was general agreement that items on the agenda of the first meeting of the conference would include: general constitutional principles, the constitution-making process, establishment of an interim government or interim mechanisms, the role of the international community and time frames for deciding the above.

A government spokesman said the first meeting would also have to discuss the ground rules for decision-making at the confer-

ence and items to be referred to working groups.

Mr Valli Moosa said the ANC believed all political parties, including those of the TVBC states, should attend the meeting and that all should have equal representation.

The government believes that the conference should decide on TVBC participation and agrees that all parties should have equal representation.

But there is disagreement about the conference's convenor. Mr Valli Moosa said the ANC wanted a neutral convenor.

"We are attracted by the idea of religious and business leaders convening the conference because of the successful manner in which they handled the peace conference," he said.

The government favours the establishment of a preparatory committee consisting of potential participants to work out logistics. It believes President FW de Klerk should then issue invitations on behalf of this committee.

However, a government spokesman said this was not a rigid view.

Proposals

The ANC, Mr Valli Moosa said, wanted the conference to be held at a venue that "was not associated with the apartheid regime" - it should be acceptable to the majority of participants". The government accepted this.

Both parties agree that the first meeting of the APC/MPC should decide on who will chair the conference.

A government spokesman said there were a number of proposals for this. These included appointing an impartial outsider, someone from the parties' ranks or a group of chairmen.

The government favours the latter. It argues that once the conference is under way it will pay a lump sum to meet running costs and that more than one person would be needed to administer these funds as well as the secretariats that would be appointed to assist the parties.

Both parties agree that working groups should be appointed to pursue various agenda items at the first meeting.

They also agree that decisions at the conference should be made on "sufficient consensus".

Asked what this meant, a government spokesman said: "None of the major parties walking out."

Mr Valli Moosa said that next week's Patriotic Front conference would be an important precursor to the APC/MPC.

"The purposes of the PF is to establish a front of organisations that will agree on the negotiation process," he said.

Mr Valli Moosa said that in the coming weeks the ANC would continue to meet other parties, including the NP, on the conference.

"We will not enter into any agreement with the government without first arriving at agreement with our closest allies," he said.

A government spokesman said it believed it necessary to establish a preparatory committee representing all parties to get the conference started in December.

Will Front's threesome outlast the honeymoon?

By SEKOLA SELLO

C/P News 20/10/91

THE three-day launch of the Patriotic Front – set for Durban next weekend – is now increasingly looking like a shotgun marriage that is not likely to survive the coming storms.

By yesterday the three organisations were still engaged in last minute efforts to resolve the latest crisis emanating from a letter one of the three convenors, Azapo, wrote to some organisations invited to the conference.

Throughout Friday the three convenors of the Front – Azapo, the ANC and PAC – were still locked in behind-the-scenes talks in an attempt to resolve the latest problem.

A press conference to report on the outcome, planned for Friday morning, was postponed several times until it was finally set for yesterday.

There is little doubt that the Azapo letter – sent to several parliamentary organisations like the Democratic and Labour parties and homeland governments such as Transkei's – has renewed differences among the three.

It is now becoming apparent that although the three convenors of the Front will go through the motions of unity in Durban, the whole exercise is not likely to last long.

The launch of the Front has been beset with problems since it was mooted towards the end of last year. As a result the launch, initially scheduled for Cape Town, had to be postponed more than once.

Although financial reasons were cited as the primary causes of the earlier postponements, this was only part of the problem. It is reliably learnt that "ideological differences" also played a major part.

Although the three organisations were expected to present a united front at yesterday's press conference, there is no longer any denying that the much sought after but elusive Front is likely to be a marriage of convenience not expected to last long.

Downplay problem

Ideological differences aside, there was a lot of bickering over whether Azapo, which is not recognised by international bodies such as the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations, must be accorded equal status with the other two.

This issue was no sooner resolved with agreement that all three parties must have equal status when another hiccup arose. ANC leader Nelson Mandela was reported to have required that his organisation must have more representatives than the others to "reflect their respective strengths on the ground".

The latest incident involving Azapo is just another on the long list which has threatened the Front. Both the ANC and PAC have tried to downplay the seriousness of the problem.

Azapo spokesmen dismiss the fracas over their letter as a storm in a teacup. They claim that the letter merely reiterated their well-known stance that they considered it a serious contradiction that organisations engaged in government-created structures such as homelands and the tricameral system can at the same time purport to fight apartheid through the Front.

Azapo's opposition to the participation of homeland leaders in particular places it in conflict with the ANC, which has good relations with the governments of Transkei and Kangwane and is also wooing several other homeland leaders.

It may be a debatable point whether Azapo should have written those letters. At the same time, it is also questionable whether bringing all the organisations which purport to be opposed to apartheid will make the Front an effective opposition vehicle.

It would be a pity if the Front, an important factor in political developments, foundered.

The three convenors declare they are committed to the Front, but in spite of this, the prognosis does not hold much hope of it lasting.

At the same time all South Africans of goodwill must wish this marriage success. It is vital to breaking the country's political logjam.

Crisis talks to save Patriotic Front meeting

S/Times 20/10/91 (11A)

LEADERS of the Patriotic Front Conference held crisis talks yesterday in an effort to get the Azanian People's Organisation to retract a letter which has threatened to derail the conference.

The letter, sent to 14 parliamentary and homeland leaders, warned that unless they stopped participating in apartheid structures, they were not welcome at the talks.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress have told Azapo that unless it retracts the letter and extends its welcome to the offended parties, it would be expelled from the convening committee of the conference.

A meeting held on Friday in an attempt to resolve the problem was inconclusive. The three parties met yesterday to try to break the logjam.

Threat

A statement on the outcome of the meetings will be made today.

Azapo's letter has threatened to destroy attempts by the ANC and the PAC to form a broad front with a common negotiating stance for talks with government.

The Democratic Party has stated that unless the letter is retracted, it will not attend the conference.

The leaders of the convening parties have agreed that the main aim of the Patriotic Front should be the empowerment of the broad liberation movement for the transfer of

Sunday Times Reporters

political power.

They have also reached consensus that the government and the present parliament should dissolve and make way for a transitional authority or interim government.

The transition of power should be monitored and supervised by the international community, they decided.

Sources said this week that the controversial letter sent by Azapo secretary-general Don Nkandimeng to "system" politicians had exposed a secret cabal inside Azapo.

The cabal is said to have planned over a long period to sabotage the conference, because of the attendance of "establishment" parties, and the letter was part of that plot.

The leader of the objectors was Mr Strini Moodley, the Azapo publicity secretary, who is said to head the secret cabal.

PAC and ANC sources expressed amazement at the "political acrobatics" by Azapo in sending off the letter to groups it had earlier approved of jointly as equal-liaison committee partners with the PAC and ANC.

Still on road to socialism (11A)

Star 25/10/91
GABORONE — The Pan Africanist Congress remained committed to socialism, first deputy vice-president Johnson Mlambo told a PAC economic seminar in the Botswana capital.

Mr Mlambo urged the week-long seminar, on Friday's opening, to draw up an economic policy for a non-racial democratic South Africa, taking into account internal, regional and international factors.

Referring to events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Mr Mlambo said: "The people of Eastern Europe have thrown away the baby (socialism) with the dirty water of totalitarianism hegemony. Our vision is therefore not dependent upon the specific path of Eastern Europe. — Sapa-Reuter.

Now Patriotic Front looks for way out of Azapo affair

Star 20/10/91

11A

SunStar Reporters

THE Patriotic Front (PF) liaison committee was late yesterday still trying to find a face-saving formula which will enable the Azanian People's Organisation to withdraw its damaging letter without suffering public humiliation.

On the eve of the Durban summit of some 84 organisations ranged against the Government's apartheid policies, Azapo's general-secretary Don Nkadameng sent out a letter to 14 invited groups, virtually demanding they resign their positions in State-created structures. Among them were the Democratic Party (DP), the Labour Party, the SA Rugby Board, homeland governments, and the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses.

Despite the furore caused by its letter, Azapo has so far — in public at least — remained both adamant and defiant. Yesterday it was still maintaining it would neither withdraw the letter nor apologise for it.

On receiving the letter both the Labour Party (LP) and the DP withdrew from the talks, but late yesterday the LP — after discussions with the Pan Africanist Congress, another key member of the PF — said it would be attending the summit after all.

A joint statement by Benny Alexander, PAC secretary-general, and Peter Hendrickse, PRO for the LP, said the two parties had agreed that the sole purpose of the PF was to determine the route to the creation of a new constitution.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the party would have nothing to do with the conference unless he and the other recipients received a written withdrawal, or Azapo withdrew from the conference.

The conference was originally convened jointly by the ANC, the PAC, and Azapo.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus told the Sunday Star that the ANC and PAC were still discussing the issue with Azapo in the PF liaison committee, but she added that if Azapo did not withdraw the letter

“then the Patriotic Front will continue without it”.

She said that the invitations to all other parties still stood.

DP MP for Sandton Dave Dalling, who is due to attend the conference, said the ANC had assured him it would do its utmost to persuade Azapo to withdraw the letter. He agreed with Dr de Beer's stand on the issue — “we also have our self-respect as a party”.

Mr Dalling said the ANC had told him the invitation would be open-ended without insisting the DP support a constituent assembly.

Dr de Beer has suggested that the DP could attend as observers if attendance as delegates is conditional upon support for a constituent assembly.

The conference in Durban will attempt to reach agreement on goals and the mass action needed to attain them.

The strategy is designed to soften up the NP and make it buckle to far-reaching demands when negotiations start.

This tactic is in direct conflict with the Government view that only a peaceful climate will guarantee the success of talks.

Insiders say the entire negotiating process could become a test of will and nerve, in spite of earlier forecasts that the contenders were close on many fundamental issues, and that violence ignited outside the conference chamber through mass action and counter action would inflict yet another mugging on the economy.

The ANC backs the action campaign, according to a discussion paper of its department of political education, because “while the NP has presented a new face to the world, it has simultaneously involved itself through the complicity of its security forces and collusion with Inkatha in a campaign of violence and terror against the people.”

“This has been aimed at destabilising communities and undermining the ability of the ANC to organise.”

The ANC hopes that the conference will devise a consensus approach on the demand for a constituent assembly, interim government and an all-party congress.

US group arrives in SA

Sowetan 21/10/91
A 31-MEMBER anti-apartheid delegation from the United States, led by Trans-Africa director Mr Randall Robinson and music supremo Mr Quincy Jones, arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning.

The group, called the Democracy Now Tour, are in the country for three days as guests of the ANC. In addition to Robinson and Jones, members of the group include tennis star

Arthur Ashe, and US Congresswoman Maxine Waters.

ANC leaders Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Walter Sisulu, and US Ambassador Mr William Swing met the delegation.

The anti-apartheid activists did not speak to the media.

The group was due to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and other NEC members yesterday

afternoon

Several meetings are planned with the ANC before the delegation departs tomorrow. However, no meetings are scheduled with either the Government or any opposition groups.

The US embassy said the purpose of the visit was to allow the delegation to come to grips with "the new political playing field" in South Africa. - Sapa

ANC, PAC act over PF letter

Azapo out!

Sowetan 21/10/91

11A



THE ANC and PAC have ousted Azapo as a co-convenor of the Patriotic Front conference in Durban this week.

The move was announced by the PF Liaison Committee, comprising the ANC and PAC, at a Press conference yesterday.

Azapo was not at the conference, but held its own later.

The same status

The Liaison Committee said Azapo would still be "welcome to fully take part in the conference with the same status as all other participants".

At its Press conference, Azapo said the ANC and PAC unilaterally decided to exclude the organisation from the PF convening committee.

Azapo said the confusion was due to a "lack of a clear conception of what a PF is all about".

At the same time, the ANC and PAC Liaison Committee said Azapo's letter to 14 participants

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**, Political Staff

- which led to its expulsion - was calculated to undermine the convening committee.

The letter, sent by Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkademeng, called on homeland leaders and others to resign from "system" structures.

Azapo said the letter did not "amount to the veto against the desire of other liberation movements within the PF to invite Government-created structures and formations".

"Azapo is simply making its attitude clear to the people concerned."

Azapo said it had "learned with dismay" of the decision to exclude it.

"Azapo has, to date, not received any invitation from either of the two convenors in our supposed new status.

10 PAGE 2

P.T.O

Azapo out of talks committee

(11A)

CT21/10/91

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Azapo was expelled from the convening committee of the patriotic front yesterday — opening the door to Democratic Party participation in the conference which begins here on Friday.

Last night the black consciousness organisation had yet to decide whether it would pull out of the entire conference, which it can still attend as an ordinary participant.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley told a Johannesburg press conference that it "would consider an invitation if extended".

The decision to oust Azapo from the committee follows the letter it sent to 14 organisations last week in which it said they should withdraw from "apartheid structures" before attending. The DP pulled out of the conference immediately after receiving the letter.

Mr Moodley said: "We wish to point out that it is regrettable that the front intended to consolidate the final onslaught against the regime is being torpedoed by a seeming need to accommodate liberals and puppets."

Bona fides

The decision was taken after three days of often heated talks between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

The PAC's representative on the conference liaison committee, Mr Mark Shinnars, said the letter had undermined the bona fides of the conveners.

His ANC counterpart Mr Murphy Morobe said: "It was strongly felt that the interest of the whole conference can at this juncture best be served by reverting to the original convening basis comprising the ANC and the PAC."

Last night DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the party's position would now revert to what it had been before getting the letter — it had yet to decide whether or not to attend.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party has confirmed that a five-member delegation led by party leader the Rev Allan Hendrikse will attend.

Sapa reports that more than 30 organisations of the Indian community have backed the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) to attend and represent them at the patriotic front conference.

A TIC statement said a meeting yesterday rejected any participation by members of the House of Delegates at the conference.

Azapo stripped of co-convenor role in Patriotic Front

Political Staff (110) ARG 21/10/91

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has been stripped of its position as co-convenor of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference to be held in Durban this week.

The PAC and the ANC are now sole co-convenors. Members of the ANC-PAC PF joint liaison committee told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that Azapo would "no longer be part of the joint structures set up to prepare for the conference".

Azapo's exclusion as co-convenor follows the organisation's letter, signed by secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng, to 14 invited organisations demanding that they resign from government-created structures on which they served.

ANC PF liaison committee representative Mr Murphy Morobe said in a joint statement that the decision to exclude Azapo was reached after "numerous consultations" at different levels of the three organisations' structures, including the secretaries-general and presidents.

The ANC and the PAC said Azapo remained welcome to attend the October 25-27 conference like any other invited organisations.

At a separate Press conference Azapo leaders said they had "learned with dismay" of the decision to exclude them as conference co-convenors and they found it regrettable that the PF was being "torpedoed by a seeming need to accommodate liberals and puppets".

Azapo foreign affairs secretary Mr Mbulelo Rakwena said the Democratic Party, which withdrew from the PF conference because of Azapo's letter, had "felt that it would be easy to make a scapegoat of Azapo".

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said the DP was "back to the position where it was" before the letter.

He said he had written to the PF liaison committee asking for more information on "the general purposes of the conference", and asking about the possibility of the DP being allowed to attend as observers.

He expected to hear from the committee today.

SACP launches three new regional branches

Political Staff

11A ARC 7/10/91

TWO veteran anti-apartheid campaigners, Mr Billy Nair and Mr Eric Mtshali, have been elected to the executive committee of the South African Communist Party's Southern Natal region.

The regional branch was launched at a congress attended by 104 delegates. So far the SACP has seven regional branches.

Trade unionist Mr Thami Mohlomi was elected regional chairman, with Mr Important Mkize vice-chairman. Others elected to the executive were Mr Dennis Nkosi, secretary; Ms Nozizwe Madlala, deputy secretary; Mr Dumisane Mgeyane, treasurer; Mr Mpho Scott, Mr Thami Msimang, Mr Fareed Abdullah, Mr Yousuf Vawda, Mr Norman Levy, Mr Jonathan Gumbi and Mr Lenford Ndibi.

Confusion over conference

IT WAS still unclear yesterday whether support for a constituent assembly was still a principle to which parties attending the patriotic front conference should subscribe. *8/04 21/10/91*

The ANC was under intense pressure from Africanist groupings to clear up the disarray that has characterised arrangements since former co-convenor Azapo said tricameral, ethnic and homeland parties were no longer welcome.

PAC member and spokesman for the patriotic front liaison committee Mark Shinnars said yesterday a constituent assembly was "still one of the guiding principles" for participants. *(11/10/91)*

"Parties which don't support it exclude themselves from participation in the conference," he said.

But DP leader Zach de Beer said his party had not been told by the liaison committee not to attend the conference because it did not support a constituent assembly.

The DP had been invited "on the clear understanding that our attendance does not imply any acceptance by us of any policy other than our own in relation to the

WILSON ZWANE

constitution-making process," he said.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley said although his party — which was dismissed as a co-host of the conference on Sunday — had been invited as a normal participant, it would only decide whether to take part in the conference within two days "after all discussions have been concluded".

"The number of delegates of the convening parties, the ANC and PAC, is still to be finalised," he said.

Meanwhile the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) has condemned the dismissal of Azapo as co-host and called on the ANC and PAC to redress the situation before the conference begins, Sapa reports.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said the move against Azapo was seen as "an effort to placate people who have stood against the interests of our struggle".

"Nactu believes that the action of the ANC and PAC was an unpatriotic act against an organisation that has been principled throughout the course of our struggle," he said.

Mandela hits back at FW

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday accused President F W de Klerk of being "less than frank" and of complicity in alleged security force involvement in violence. (11A) (GAP)

His remarks followed a weekend interview in which he told the SABC in Harare that De Klerk was not the man of integrity he had believed him to be.

Mandela said that perhaps the ANC had been naive to trust De Klerk.

Addressing visiting Americans including Randall Robinson at a Johannesburg hotel, he said: "De Klerk criticised me for remarks I made at the Commonwealth conference in Harare, where I referred to the SA police as the country's killing machine. It is no use for De Klerk to squeal now,

DAVE LOURENS

because that is the position."

He was responding to De Klerk's questioning the ANC's commitment to the national peace accord.

"We have lost 10 000 people since 1984. The security forces have allowed this carnage to continue, despite the fact that I have taken advantage of confidential meetings to brief De Klerk on the situation.

"It is clear he has either lost control of the security forces, or else they are doing exactly what he wants them to do."

Mandela said he was delighted his guests on the Democracy Now Tour would be able to "see for yourselves the scars left by the wave of violence which is sweeping the country".

16/10/91
SIPAS 21/10/91

ANC guests set to 'help build new SA'

DAVE LOURENS

THE US Democracy Now Tour arrived in Johannesburg yesterday morning for a whirlwind three-day visit to SA as guests of the ANC.

Tour leader and veteran anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson said the US group was "ready and able to help build a new SA".

Others in the delegation include former Wimbledon and SA Open champion Arthur Ashe and National Council of Negro Women president Dorothy Height.

The 33-strong US delegation was welcomed to SA by ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Cyril Ramaphosa and Oliver Tambo.

Mandela said he was confident the visit would enable the delegation to persuade US opinion-makers to maintain pressure on SA until the desired democratic changes had been achieved.

Robinson reaffirmed the solidarity of black Americans and South Africans.

"All of us in the US grew up under harsh segregation and discrimination. We have known the pain of exclusion."

The delegation is to meet representatives of the business, labour, sports, cultural and education sectors, but there are no plans to meet government representatives.

Robinson said the delegates were in SA to listen and to learn, and would defer to their hosts to set their schedule and determine the parameters of discussions.

● Picture: Page 3

ing all our products in SA and are confident the Equity ban on performances there will be lifted before

average annual compound rate of 47% to £75m and profits by 60% a year to £6.9m.

adviser of the UNHCR, will be accompanied by four administrative staff members. — Sapa.

ANC, PAC to press ahead with Durban conference

B/day 21/10/91 11A

THE patriotic front conference would go ahead as planned in spite of the furore caused by a letter emanating from Azapo, senior ANC and PAC officials said at the weekend.

The letter from Azapo secretary-general Don Nkademeng warned 14 parliamentary and homeland leaders that unless they stopped participating in apartheid structures, they would not be welcome at the conference, scheduled for Durban later this week.

In an earlier joint statement, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said "all invitations stand as issued".

DP leader Zach de Beer said his party would have nothing to do with the conference if it had to accept the principles laid down by Azapo.

"Azapo informed us in a letter that unless we do a number of things, including getting out of Parliament, we should not

WILSON ZWANE

participate in the conference.

"Because we are not getting out of Parliament, no Democrat can have anything to do with the conference," De Beer said.

He added that even if the letter was withdrawn or Azapo dismissed as one of the convenors of the conference, his party would still want clarification on the patriotic front's interpretation of a constituent assembly — a principle, say the organisers, to which parties who would participate in the conference should subscribe.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party has confirmed that a five-member delegation led by party leader the Rev Allan Hendrikse would attend.

□ The controversial "Azapo letter" about the patriotic front meeting was inadvertently referred to as the "PAC letter" in a front page cross-reference on Friday. Business Day regrets the error.

Released hunger striker 'recovering'

B/day 21/10/91

RELEASED Bophuthatswana hunger striker Johannes Simelane is improving steadily in GaRankuwa Hospital, his lawyer Jakes Maseka said yesterday.

Simelane ended his 61-day hunger strike after his release at 1am on Saturday and transfer from Odi Hospital.

Wits University Medical School associate professor John Kalk, who visited Simelane shortly before his release, said Simelane was severely dehydrated and had lost about 20kg (30% of his body weight).

"Available literature on starvation indicates death is likely to occur when there is a weight loss of between 30 and 50% of body weight," said Kalk.

"But my feeling is he will recover completely if the re-feeding phase is successful. The next two or three days will be critical."

Simelane was likely to be kept on a

DAVE LOURENS

vitamin-enriched glucose drip for the next few days, but could be back on a normal diet within 10 days, said Kalk.

Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (Maref) publicity secretary Paul Daphne hailed the release as a major victory for Simelane but said there were still 126 political prisoners in Bophuthatswana jails.

According to the Bophuthatswana Prisons Department, at least 23 are on hunger strike but Maref had unconfirmed reports from prisoners that up to 48 people were taking such action, Daphne said.

"We hope the other political prisoners will be released soon to avoid a repeat of the same scenario," he said.

"We hope this is a sign of changes to come, but we are not confident."

Azapo stripped of its role in PF

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Star 21/10/91

The Azanian People's Organisation has been stripped of its position as co-convenor of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference to be held in Durban this week.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, members of the ANC-PAC PF joint liaison committee said Azapo would "no longer be part of the joint structures set up to prepare for the conference".

The exclusion follows an Azapo letter, signed by secretary-general Don Nkadimeng, to 14 invited organisations demanding that they resign from Government-created structures on which they serve.

ANC PF liaison committee representative Murphy Morobe said the decision to exclude Azapo had been reached after consultations at different levels of the three organisations' structures.

Azapo was still welcome to attend the October 25-27 PF

conference.

At a separate press conference, Azapo leaders said they had learnt with dismay of the ANC-PAC decision. They found it regrettable that the PF was being "torpedoed by a seeming need to accommodate liberals and puppets".

Azapo said it would consider the invitation to attend the PF conference "in our supposed new status" when they received an invitation.

Azapo's letter, said Mr Morobe and the PAC's Mark Shinnars, had cast doubt on

the conveners' bona fides.

In a statement read at the press conference, Azapo said its involvement in the PF was in line with the organisation's "long-standing desire to secure maximum unity of the oppressed and the exploited people for the purposes of liberation with minimum delay".

The misunderstanding that had arisen in light of the letter was a result of "a clear misconception of what a PF is all about", the statement said.

Views on FW were 'hasty' - Mandela

By Robin Drew
Star Africa Service

HARARE — ANC leader Nelson Mandela was yesterday quoted by the Sunday Mail newspaper as having said in an interview that he may have been hasty in saying President de Klerk was a man of integrity.

The quotation in the report

reads: "We believed in the statement we made that President de Klerk was a man of integrity, but subsequent events have shown that perhaps we were hasty and that there was a little bit of naivety on our part because he has turned out to be a totally different man from what he was initially."

The report said Umkhonto commander Joe Modise con-

curred with Mr Mandela and accused Mr de Klerk of cheating and of being behind violence in the townships.

The report said Mr Mandela then said it was irrelevant whether or not Mr de Klerk was a man of integrity. "What is clear is that the violence that is raging in the country at the moment suits his purposes," the report

quoted Mr Mandela as saying.

The Sunday Mail also quoted Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira as saying Zimbabwe would like to see a South Africa in which a simple majority and a direct election on the basis of one person, one vote decided the government.

President de Klerk last night refused to comment.

Star 21/10/91
Voted on to SACF 11A

Two veteran anti-apartheid campaigners, Billy Nair and Eric Mtshali, were elected to the executive committee of the South African Communist Party's southern Natal region at the weekend.

US group to study SA situation

Star 21/10/91
By Carina le Grange

A top-level delegation of opinion-making Americans arrived in Johannesburg yesterday for a whirlwind three-day tour.

The Democracy Now Tour is in South Africa at the invitation of Nelson Mandela.

Among those in the tour group are anti-apartheid activist Randall Robinson, former tennis star Arthur Ashe, musician Quincy Jones, Congressman Maxine Waters, trade unionist Willie Baker, boxing promoter Butch Lewis and

church leader Bishop John Adams.

Mr Robinson, executive director of the US anti-apartheid lobby group TransAfrica, said the group was in South Africa to assess the situation.

When he announced the visit, Mr Mandela had said he hoped the trip would contribute towards convincing prominent US opinion-makers that it was not yet time to "reduce pressure (on South Africa) until the situation had reached a 'profound point of irreversibility'".

Miss Waters said she

intended to report back to Congress as well as foreign affairs interest groups on her impressions and findings.

The group was welcomed at Jan Smuts Airport by ANC vice-president Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and several other high-ranking ANC officials. They later met Mr Mandela for lunch at the Carlton hotel.

The Democracy Now Tour faces a packed three-day programme which will include working sessions with various groups.

SACP defies the tide of history

Sowetan 22/10/91

11A

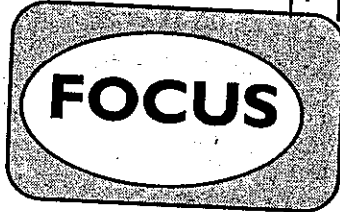
WHILE many of the world's senior communists tear up their membership cards, their disciples in South Africa are sticking to the faith and could soon be in government.

"I am not prepared to accept that, just because communist parties have been disbanded elsewhere, we must change the South African Communist Party," said party spokesman Mr Raymond Suttner.

"Our critique of capitalism and its South African form remains valid."

Political analysts say the SACP, thanks to its alliance with Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, has a chance of defying the tide of history and gaining a share of power in post-apartheid South Africa.

SACP members occupy powerful positions within the ANC's policy-making national executive - voted into office in open elections which silenced criticism that they



did not have rank and file support. "We have begun to establish ourselves. We are growing...our popularity has not waned at all," said SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

In December, the SACP - banned until early last year - will hold its first legal congress inside South Africa since 1950.

South African opponents of communism - including most whites - say its failure in Eastern Europe means the SACP should accept its ideology is outdated and disband.

Foreign funds for the SACP are drying up and it has signed up no more than 15 000 members despite canvassing for more than a year.

But analysts say the failure of

communism in Eastern Europe will not torpedo the party because South African blacks have no direct experience of communist rule.

Slovo says the SACP has learned from the mistakes of the Soviet Union, and its commitment to socialism in South Africa remains intact.

"It is a vision that will never die. We will find... a form of society in which people can live in equality, without poverty and squalor," he said.

Analysts say communism's support among some sectors in South Africa results from a variety of factors specific to the country.

"The SACP has an undeniable, and invaluable historical legacy as one of the earliest opponents of apartheid," said political scientist Mr Mervyn Frost. He added that it recognised the failures of communism elsewhere, but was still convinced that its own stand was correct.

Slovo has conceded that the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union could undermine commu-

nist morale in South Africa but dismisses suggestions the SACP should disband.

"The SACP has over the last years identified and analysed the collapse of communism. Its essential cause is the separation of socialism and democracy," Slovo said.

"While the depth and speed of events in Eastern Europe need to be taken very seriously, there is no call for a dramatic U-turn by the SACP.

"We believe one of the key economic failures in the socialist world has been the elimination of the market as a measure of economic viability."

Slovo said the SACP's acceptance of this principle was not inconsistent with socialism.

He said socialism would succeed in South Africa because it was the only way to eliminate the gap between the rich and poor and to ensure that no one lived off the labour of another.

Socialism in Eastern Europe had been stifled by massive bureaucracy, Slovo said. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Defiant Azapo may quit PF talks

Sowetan
22/10/91 By THEMBA MOLEFE (IIA)
Political Staff

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation remained defiant yesterday and indicated it might pull out of the Patriotic Front conference to be held in Durban this weekend.

This followed a decision by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to expel Azapo as a co-convenor of the three-day summit.

Mr Don Nkdimeng, Azapo's general secretary, said a decision on whether to participate also depended on the ANC/PAC Patriotic Front liaison committee, which according to him, still had to issue a formal invitation.

Response to a letter

Committee spokesman Mr Mark Shinnars said Azapo was a participant in the convening committee and would not be issued with an invitation. He said a decision would be taken on that specific issue.

Azapo's exclusion from the convening committee was in response to a letter the organisation sent to 14 participants, questioning their status as "patriots".

Nkdimeng said: "If Azapo goes to the PF conference it cannot fail to question the participation of homeland leaders and collaborators."

On the timing of the letter, Nkdimeng said it was better to object now than at the conference.

To page 2

Azapo defiant

From page 1

He said Azapo was a late-comer to the PF convening committee initiated by the ANC and PAC in Harare and would therefore not reverse certain decisions already taken. (IIA)

"Before we joined the PF committee we had written letters to the PAC on May 9 and the ANC on June 24, informing them that we were joining as a liberation movement and believed in non-collaboration with Government structures.

"The 14's participation in the PF contradicts the principles of its formation.

16/10/91
Sowetan 22/10/91

DP agrees to attend front talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The DP yesterday decided to attend the patriotic front conference after the organisers, the ANC and PAC, said it did not have to subscribe to a constituent assembly to take part.

Azapo, which was at the weekend dismissed as a co-host of the conference and invited instead as a normal participant, said yesterday that it had not yet received a formal invitation. It was still considering whether to go, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said.

ANC and PAC officials on the liaison commit-

tee told a news conference on Sunday that the decision to dismiss Azapo as co-host was taken after "numerous consultations" to defuse the crisis caused by a controversial Azapo letter to 14 parliamentary and homeland leaders.

● The expulsion of Azapo as co-hosts rendered the Patriotic Front a non-starter, the Azanian Students' Convention said in a statement to Sapa yesterday.

An Azasco spokesman said there was a distinction between a front of patriots with an aim of emancipating black people from oppression and a conglomeration of organisations "including homeland puppets".

(11A) ARCT 22/10/91

DP 'will attend' Front conference

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff**

THE Democratic Party has decided, after all, to attend this weekend's Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said last night he had decided to attend after an assurance from the PF organisers that the DP did not have to endorse any specific policy on the constitution-making process.

This may be taken to mean that the PF organisers have not insisted that the DP should endorse their idea of a constituent assembly as a condition for attendance.

This has so far been regarded as a condition for attending.

Dr De Beer announced last week that the DP would not attend the conference because of a letter from Azapo to the DP and other "system" organisations, saying they would not be welcome unless they first resigned from parliament and other official institutions.

Dr de Beer said then that the letter amounted to a "disinvitation" and that he would reconsider his decision only if Azapo did not attend and if the organisers made it clear that the DP was not being committed to any specific constituent assembly policy.

On Sunday the PF organisers announced that Azapo had been dismissed as a co-convenor of the conference because of the letter.

Azapo said later that it was still considering whether or not to attend as an ordinary participant.

Last night Dr De Beer said he had received a message from the PF preparatory committee indicating that the DP was invited "on the clear understanding that our atten-

dance does not imply any acceptance by us of any policy other than our own in relation to the constitution-making process.

"This being the case, our long-established policy of holding political discussions with other parties is now applicable and we have decided we should attend for the purpose of listening to other participants and discussing the issues with them."

Dr De Beer said he would announce the names of the DP delegates later.

Meanwhile the action by the ANC and PAC against Azapo has prompted the Azanian Students Convention (Azasco) to pull out of the conference.

A spokesman for the Azapo-aligned student organisation, Mr Mark Mfikoe, denounced the "double standards" of both the Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress for clubbing together with government-created structures against Azapo.



Dr De Beer

Reassured DP will attend conference

WILSON ZWANE

THE DP will attend the patriotic front conference after the organisers, the ANC and PAC, told it yesterday it did not have to subscribe to a constituent assembly to take part.

8/Dec 2/10/91
CIA (S)

Azapo, dismissed on Sunday as a co-host of the conference and invited instead as a normal participant, said yesterday it had not yet received a formal invitation. It was still considering whether to go, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said.

DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday the liaison committee had told him the party had been invited "on the clear understanding that our attendance does not im-

ply any acceptance by us of any policy other than our own in relation to the constitution-making process ... our long-established policy of holding political discussions with other parties is now applicable, and we have decided to attend for the purpose of listening to other participants and discussing issues with them."

Controversy arose when an Azapo letter was sent to parliamentary and homeland leaders saying they would not be welcome at the conference unless they stopped participating in apartheid structures.

Nat and ANC row could derail talks

Sowetan

22/10/91

11A

NATIONAL Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has acknowledged that the public row between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is bound to have a "negative effect" on the negotiation process.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer has urged the two leaders to stop their public slanging match and put the national interest above party interests.

"They must stop bickering just to pick up a few votes in a future hypothetical election.

"We think the country is in a

Political Staff

crisis, particularly in the economy, and that what South Africa requires is a government of national unity. That means, in the interim, De Klerk and Mandela simply have to work together," De Beer said.

Negative

Van der Merwe and De Beer were responding to the sharp statements made at the weekend by the President and the leader of the ANC. ANC spokesmen were not available for comment.

Van Der Merwe said: "This will have a negative effect, but

whether it will be so negative as to create a problem is difficult to say."

He said the NP's chief "desire" was to "get negotiations going as soon as possible".

He said it was "regrettably necessary" to respond to allegations from the ANC.

"It is regrettable because we are not yet in the phase of opposition politics. We are still in the phase where we have to determine the rules of the game and for that we need co-operation, not opposition.

"But, of course, one cannot sit still when another party accuses you so vociferously and seriously. It is necessary to respond if

the allegations are harmful and unjustified."

De Beer said: "I think this public row between the leaders is thoroughly bad for South Africa.

"I think the sooner we all get together in a multiparty conference the better. It is desperately urgent that De Klerk and Mandela get together. And if they cannot work together now, they will simply have to learn to work together.

"I really think this is a time when people have to submerge partisan interests in favour of the national interest, at least for the period until we have a new constitution."



Callers split on Azapo ousting

Sowetan 22/10/91.

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

CALLERS to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show were divided on the expulsion of Azanian People's Organisation from the convening committee of the Patriotic Front.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe told Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise that the expulsion was unfortunate.

He said although Azapo had sanctioned the invitations with the ANC and PAC this did not mean it had abandoned its policy of not co-operating with bantustan and tricameral leaders.

"The expulsion shows that the politics of intolerance have gone very deep," he said.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the sending of letters to 14 organisations made it impossible for Azapo to remain a co-convenor although it was still welcome to attend.

John of Mapetla said the expulsion was heartbreaking as Azapo was an organisation for blacks which did not want to deal with people who had ties with "Boers".

Mabitsela of Tembisa slammed Azapo's action but criticised the decision to expel it.

Mandla of Katlehong said Azapo erred by making the decision alone to call on organisations on Government-created platforms to resign, when the PF was a joint effort.

Head of ^(11A) Azapo has loads of ^{Star} ^{22/10/91} experience

Political writer KAIZER
NYATSUMBA profiles
Azapo president Pande-
lani Nefolovhodwe.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk must certainly have had no idea when he opened Parliament on February 2 last year and made his "New South Africa" speech that he was about to give Pandelani Nefolovhodwe a memorable birthday present.

For Mr Nefolovhodwe — "Nef" to his friends — the charismatic Azanian People's Organisation president for whom "the black experience" has held a special fascination from his student days at the University of the North — February 2 1990 was a day to remember for at least two reasons.

It was his 43rd birthday and his organisation was among many others which had been declared unrestricted.

For a man who was once a barefoot herdboyc in the rural northern Transvaal, Mr Nefolovhodwe has made great strides.

Not only is he president of Azapo, but he is also the labour co-ordinator and personnel officer of the Roodepoort-based Ubuntu Social Development Institute.

A member of a royal family in the tiny village of Folovhodwe in Venda, Mr Nefolovhodwe left home in 1982 for Pietersburg when the Venda government tried to lure him to serve in the homeland government. As the son of a chief, he had a seat for the taking in the Venda Legislative Assembly, but he turned it down.

This was shortly after he had served a six-year prison term on Robben Island for his political activities as president of the South African Students Organisation (Saso)

Mr Nefolovhodwe was elected Azapo president at its congress in Cape Town last December. He was also one of the key players in the formation of the National Council of Trade Unions and, before it, the Azanian Council of Trade Unions. Previously he was Azapo's general-secretary.

The Azapo leader was educated at schools in Venda, including the then Vendaleland Training Institute, before registering for a BSc degree in zoology and botany at the University of the North.

It was there that he cut his teeth in serious politics, holding, among others, the positions of Students Representative Council publicity secretary and later president. A founding member of Saso, he was chosen as its president in July 1974.

In that position, the Azapo leader played a leading role in organising the "Viva Frelimo!" rally in the same year. He and a number of his comrades were subsequently arrested, tried and jailed on Robben Island.

A former general-secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, Mr Nefolovhodwe is a qualified quality controller, holding diplomas in datametrix as well as management and administration of community projects from the University of South Africa and the University of the Witwatersrand respectively. He is now finishing a degree in operation research and management science with Unisa. □

Optimistic PAC ^{Star} 22/10/91 keeps **(11A)** door ajar

The PAC is showing signs of a shift towards negotiation, reports
KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

UNTIL ITS unbanning on February 2 last year, the Pan Africanist Congress was a little-known organisation among whites and had been forgotten by many blacks.

Like the exiled Back Consciousness Movement of Azania, the then-banned PAC enjoyed little press coverage compared with its main rival the ANC.

However, in a recent interview with The Star, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the organisation had always had "an underground presence" in the country, and that its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was active.

It was not until December 1989 that the PAC had a sister organisation in the country, the short-lived Pan Africanist Movement (PAM), which Mr Moseneke admitted was a front for the PAC.

The PAM, launched at Shareworld south of Johannesburg merely two months before the unbanning of the PAC, decided at a meeting in Bloemfontein in March last year to legally become the PAC's internal wing. The external PAC mission was to maintain its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and its leadership was to remain outside South Africa.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC has experienced "phenomenal" growth and had formed more than 400 branches.

"We have pursued our aim of being a national liberation movement," he said.

He counted among the PAC's achievements the fact that "virtually all" political prisoners who were PAC members had been released unconditionally despite the organisation's refusal to enter into "talks about talks" with Pretoria. This, he said, was a major victory, especially because the prisoners had not signed any indemnity forms.

Some of the issues which have been high on the PAC's agenda since February 2 1990 have been inter-organisational violence and the need for a patriotic front and a constituent

assembly.

On violence, Mr Moseneke said the PAC's policy and slogan of "peace among the Africans and war against the enemy" had paid dividends because "the involvement of PAC supporters or members in the violence is very low".

Mr Moseneke reiterated the PAC's position on negotiations, and endorsed the ANC-supported all-party congress. The PAC, he said, was not against negotiations, but wanted negotiations to take place within a democratically elected constituent assembly.

While the PAC had always insisted on the principle that all it was prepared to discuss with Pretoria was the transfer of power to the majority, at its national congress last year it had pronounced itself ready to hold talks with the Government on the modalities of creating a constituent assembly.

Mr Moseneke said the most important development for the PAC within the next few months would be the formation of a patriotic front. □

Dinkins coming to SA to 'eradicate slavery'

Star 22/10/91.
By Ramsay Milne
Star Bureau (11A)

NEW YORK — The trouble-prone visit to South Africa by New York Mayor David Dinkins has come under renewed fire following a declaration that the purpose of the trip is to "eradicate legalised slavery".

Questioned by reporters about the controversial trip — originally cancelled in the face of heavy criticism because the mayor planned to charter a 300-seat jetliner to fly a huge contingent of officials and businessmen to Johannesburg, for which there were insufficient funds — Mr Dinkins complained that some of the criticism levelled at him "had a racial cast".

"I suggest that it's because not enough people appreciate the significance of a trip to South Africa, the only place where we have legalised slavery in the world," he said.

The same theme was taken up today by Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch who defended the mayor's trip saying it is "important for this nation ... because South Africa is the only legalised home of slavery in the world. We must eradicate it, and that's why he is going".

These comments came after a hastily organised jazz fundraiser for the visit, organised by the South African jazz pianist Abdullah Ibrahim during the weekend, fell short of its goal.

Only 200 people showed up at the concert, from which organisers hoped to raise R150,000. — itself only one-fifth of the estimated cost of R750,000 for the trip at the ANC's invitation.

Plans for a more elaborate



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trip to South Africa in a chartered jet, with costs set at R1.5 million, collapsed last month in the face of strong public criticism.

The mayor, promoter of some of the harshest sanctions measures in place in any American city, has also been criticised for

his apparent "infatuation" with Nelson Mandela since the ANC leader's visit to New York last year.

Doubts remain whether enough public funds will become available for the week-long visit, which is due to begin on November 10.

Now DP opts to attend front conference

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

11A

star 22/10/91

The Democratic Party will attend this weekend's patriotic front conference in Durban.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night he had decided to attend after an assurance from the PF organisers that the DP did not have to endorse any specific policy on the constitution-making process.

This may be taken to mean that the PF organisers have not insisted the DP endorse their idea of a constituent assembly as a condition for attendance.

~~DP~~
Dr de Beer announced last week that the DP would not attend the conference because of a letter from Azapo to the DP and other "system" organisations saying they would not be welcome unless they first resigned from Parliament and other official institutions.

Dr de Beer said the letter amounted to a "disinvitation" and that he would reconsider his decision only if Azapo did not attend and if the organisers made it clear the DP would not be committed to any specific constituent assembly policy.

On Sunday the PF organisers

announced that Azapo had been dismissed as a co-convenor of the conference.

● The Azanian Youth Organisation yesterday condemned Azapo's exclusion from the patriotic front's joint liaison committee, and said it was now re-considering taking part in the conference.

In another development, the Azanian Students Convention has pulled out of the conference, citing as a reason Azapo's ousting as a convenor.

● Slippery eel of unity

Slippery eel of unity

SA 22/10/91

11A

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FALLING ANY further last-minute setbacks, some 500 delegates from about 80 organisations of the Left will gather in Durban at the weekend in a bid to forge a unified "patriotic front" against the Government in the all-party/multi-party conference which could now take place as early as December.

Just how difficult that could be was vividly illustrated at the weekend when Azapo — ironically the foremost champion of black unity among liberation movements — was summarily stripped of its status as one of the three co-conveners of the conference because of its unauthorised letter to parliamentary parties and homeland leaders effectively warning them they would not be welcome at the PF unless they resigned their positions.

Azapo, which has been intimately involved all through the year-long, troubled gestation of the PF, may or may not now attend as an ordinary member.

All major political organisations and parties on the Left of the political spectrum, including homeland parties and governments, have been invited, except for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Also invited are numerous religious, student, labour, sports, business and professional organisations, including the South African Council of Churches.

the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, the National Soccer League, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the National Council of Trade Unions and Independent Trade Unions.

Each invited organisation will have a maximum of four delegates. Before Azapo's letter last week, the three co-conveners — the ANC, the PAC and Azapo — were each going to have 24 delegates, although Azapo's voting power is now under review.

Over the past six weeks a PF joint liaison committee of ANC, PAC and Azapo delegates has cleared away many of the initial differences in strategy, policy and procedures for the PF conference.

The committee narrowed down conditions for participation to a simple endorsement of demands for a democratic, elected constituent assembly and universal adult franchise.

While the conference will focus mainly on the demand for a constituent assembly, it will also discuss a number of other related issues such as the ANC's demand for an interim government, the insistence by Azapo and the PAC on a transitional authority, the forthcoming all-party congress, and negotiations.

The Government and the IFP — the two most conspicuous absentees from the conference —

The much-postponed patriotic front conference finally gets under way in Durban next week. Political writer KAIZER NYATSUMBA previews the gathering.

have both, perhaps rather nervously, condemned the PF as a "ganging-up of blacks against whites".

The organisers dismiss this and insist that the PF is merely an attempt to muster support and achieve coherence for certain negotiation strategies such as a constituent assembly and some form of interim or transitional authority.

They point to the fact that several of the organisations invited are not predominantly black, including the Democratic Party, the SA Rugby Board and the Consultative Business Movement (all of which, however, have declined) — and that a conspicuous black party, the IFP, has not been invited.

If it is a ganging up at all, the PF should rather perhaps be seen as a ganging up against the National Party, and an attempt to mobilise a broad informal coalition against the moderate alliance which the NP seems to be contemplating.

From that point of view, a successful outcome of the PF conference on Sunday could be bad news for the NP and any others who oppose a constituent assembly, since that is the point on which agreement is most

likely. That could make for harder bargaining at the negotiation table.

But it may not be bad for the negotiation process as a whole — as it seems to have performed the valuable function of offering the PAC a convenient route into negotiations.

The PAC and Azapo have, in the past three months, modified their positions on contact with Pretoria.

Indeed, in a significant departure from their position of non-collaboration with the Government and Government-created structures, both Azapo and the PAC attended recent church-convened peace summits, including the National Peace Convention with SA and homeland government representatives, with whom Azapo and the PAC would never before have shared a platform.

It is possible that the PAC — and perhaps less so Azapo — might decide to be involved in negotiations after the PF conference. Already they have conceded that the transfer of political power was a priority and that this could occur through negotiations, which implied "contact with the regime".

Both organisations have now said they will attend an all-party congress. PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said this in an interview with The Star more than two months ago, and some Azapo spokesmen have recently said the organisation would be willing to attend a pre-constituent assembly congress.

The pre-constituent assembly congress, the all-party congress and the Government's multi-party conference seem to be the same thing, as Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerit Viljoen and the ANC's Peniel Maduna recently conceded at a Johannesburg Press Club function.

If so, then the PF conference might serve as a convenient platform for Azapo and the PAC to hold talks with the Government — initially on the question of a constituent assembly. But the two organisations could be restrained by their past rhetoric and fear of alienating their rank and file.

As Azapo's controversial letter has already proved, both organisations feel the need to tread carefully so as not to be seen to have departed radically and too quickly from their known positions.

The continuing violence and the widespread perception that Pretoria has outsmarted the ANC in every encounter will also not make things easy for

the organisations.

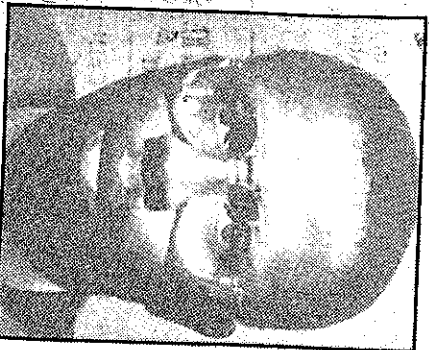
This makes it possible that the ANC could come under extreme pressure from Azapo and the PAC at least to suspend any contact with Pretoria until the Government has stopped the ongoing carnage on the Reef and in Natal.

If the PAC and the Azapo do indeed join the negotiations, it could allow the ANC to be more flexible, knowing that both organisations are bound into the process and cannot easily pick up supporters who might otherwise defect from the ANC as a result.

Obviously the best result for the ANC, the PAC and others would be a completely unified front emerging from the conference on Sunday.

But even if this does not happen, negotiations are not likely to be delayed. It is clear that the conference is more important to the PAC and Azapo than it is to the ANC. ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a recent interview with The Star that agreement at the PF was not a condition for the ANC's participation in an all-party conference — although other ANC spokesmen appear to give it more importance.

But on the whole, the spin-off of the PF conference will be that an all-party congress, and hopefully real constitutional negotiations, could start shortly afterwards. □



Dikgang Moseneke . . . PAC will talk with Pretoria.



Nelson Mandela . . . ANC agreement no prerequisite.



Chief Buthelezi . . . his Inkatha Freedom Party not invited.



Pandelani Nefolovhwe . . . once a barefoot herdboyc in rural northern Transvaal, the son of a Venda chief has risen to be the charismatic president of the Azanian People's Organisation.

Freedom Charter is ANC beacon

Star 22/10/91



WHENEVER African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela talks of nationalisation, South Africa's business moguls either accuse him of "regressing" to economic infancy or of succumbing to the machinations of the South African Communist Party.

From their perspective, and that of the whites generally, the position is both worse and better than that.

Official ANC economic policy advocates the transfer of mineral wealth, banks and "monopoly industry" to "ownership of the people" and the redistribution of the land among "those who work it".

It is set out in two short paragraphs in the Freedom Charter, adopted as long ago as June 1955, more than three decades before socialism and nationalisation were discredited by the collapse of the communism and command economies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Thus, when Mr Mandela states that nationalisation of the mines, banks and "monopoly industry" is ANC policy, he is not suffering from an aberration induced by fatigue or complying with dictates of a communist cabal within the ANC.

His dramatic commitment to na-

tionalisation, in a letter smuggled out of prison via the "people's post" shortly before his release in February 1990, was a reaffirmation of the Freedom Charter. So, too, was his re-endorsement of nationalisation in the Western Cape last month.

It is instructive to note that no resolutions were passed on economic policy at the ANC's annual conference in Durban in July, and that the Freedom Charter still stands as a cardinal document.

It is, therefore, pertinent to recall the key sentences in the Charter: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the bank and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole ... All the land (shall be) re-divided amongst those who work it."

But, if the Freedom Charter represents the worst-case scenario for South African capitalism, there is a more positive vista for capitalists to contemplate.

The ANC, while still adhering officially to the Freedom Charter, is engaged in a vigorous debate about its future economic policy. The decision to prolong the debate instead of settling it at the July

conference testifies to the intensity of the discourse.

The ANC's new policy directions are contained in a short position paper entitled "Draft Resolution on ANC Economic Policy". Adopted in May as a draft policy document by the ANC's Department of Economic Policy, it is the product of several seminars, stretching back over many months.

The manifesto contradicts the boardroom view that the ANC's economic policies are determined by doctrinaire Marxists who refuse to either acknowledge or learn from the crisis of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

It declares that the ANC is in favour of a "mixed economy", explaining: "We are convinced that neither a commandist central planning system nor an unfettered free market system can provide adequate solutions to the problems confronting us."

One of those problems is the inequality of income and wealth in South Africa because of — to paraphrase the ANC manifesto — the "systematic economic exploitation and oppression of black people". Another is concentration of the "vast bulk of productive assets" in a few white hands.

"The overriding objective."

writes Professor Laurence Harris of the School of Oriental and African Studies, who has worked with ANC economists, "is to raise black living standards and reduce dramatically the great inequalities that exist".

But there is greater flexibility about the means to attain that end. Nationalisation of some sectors of the economy is mooted as a possible method. It is not accorded the status of a panacea.

The ferment within the ANC over its future economic policy — there are still forces within its ranks who favour extensive nationalisation — forms the background to Mr Mandela's statement to financial notables in May last year.

"The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken," Mr Mandela said. He refused, however, to rule out nationalisation all together.

The ANC leader took a firm stand against the privatisation of the huge parastatals which, until recently, were owned by the State and which were used to empower Afrikaners economically.

The ANC's commitment to debate on nationalisation is reflected in the columns of its journal,

Mayibuye. It has stated the pro and cons of the policy and invited its readers to contribute to the discussion. "All of us must take part in drawing up economic policy," it says.

ANC economic policy is relatively fluid at the moment. Its fluidity is one explanation for the apparent oscillation in ANC economic pronouncements. Its parameters allow for a certain latitude.

When Mr Mandela re-states Freedom Charter policy, he may be reminding the financial barons about the deprived black community and, as the ANC has put it, about South Africa's socio-economic imbalances.

He may, however, be prompted by another consideration: the perceived intransigence of the financial establishment and a desire to remind it of the ANC's iron fist and its commitment to readdressing the disparities wrought by decades of race discrimination.

The same explanations seem to hold for the recent warning by ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa that a democratic government would "not be keen" to honour international loans raised by the present white Government.

Mr Ramaphosa's statement may have had another political motive:

to sustain the investment boycott of South Africa until the advent of a more representative government.

The most recent controversy over a wealth tax, precipitated by the suggestion of a member of the ANC at conference, must be seen in the same general light. It is linked to the ANC's continuing search for ways and means of addressing the inequity in wealth.

The financial establishment should heed a warning from Mr Ramaphosa. Over-reaction to these and similar ideas by the financial magnates and their ideological supporters gives them greater credibility among ANC members.

The indignation of the financial establishment triggers a predictable response in ANC ranks: "If it is bad for them, it must be good for us." It may thus tip the balance within the ANC towards radicalism.

Against that, however, apparent contradiction and confusion in ANC policy may well precipitate an exodus of white capital and skills and delay, if not block, the desperately needed infusion of investment capital. Either development could be disastrous for ANC hopes of engineering a substantial upliftment in black living standards. □

Groups back Azapo over 'front' summit

THE National Council of Trade Unions yesterday condemned as "unpatriotic" the decision by the ANC and PAC to expel Azapo from the convening committee of the forthcoming Patriotic Front conference.

In a statement issued by Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana the federation said: "Nactu believes that the action was an unpatriotic act against an organisation that has been principled throughout the course of our struggle."

"Azapo has a democratic right to express its political views in whatever form, including the writing of letters to any organisation."

Nactu said Azapo had written letters to 14 groups it perceived as "puppets", not as part of the convening committee but as an organisation.

Therefore, the recipients should have been told by the convening committee to ignore the Azapo letter, Nactu said. It called on the ANC and PAC to "redress the situation"

Sowetan 23/10/91

(11A)

By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

before the Patriotic Front conference on Friday.

However, Nactu said it would participate in the conference.

Meanwhile, in a new twist to the controversy, Azapo yesterday received a formal invitation to participate in the summit.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Don Nkadameng, said Azapo would make public its decision today whether or not to attend the conference.

Azapo indicated this week that it might pull out of the conference and that its decision to participate would depend on whether it was afforded the same status as a former co-convenor or as the other groups participating. This would mean equal representation.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action supported Azapo and indicated it might not attend.



NGCUKANA

PAC starts schools plan

Sowetan 23/10/91
THE Atteridgeville branch of the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday officially launched a campaign to normalise education in the area.

The exercise is part of the "All In Learning National Campaign" announced by the PAC this year.

PAC regional information officer Mr Fortesque Mtimkulu said yesterday they would meet local school principals to explain the campaign.

"Our major aim is to try and bring normality and discipline back at schools, especially secondary schools where there has been continual disruption of classes throughout the year," said Mtimkulu.

Another objective was to involve parents

SO *11A*
By MONK NKOMO

in the running of the schools.

"Parents should be informed of anything that is happening at the schools. They should approve or reject boycotts by teachers or pupils.

"They should be informed of teachers or pupils who disrupt classes or intimidate principals while they carry out their duties," he said.

Mtimkulu said parents had been "spectators in the education field for a long time".

"Things fell apart while parents watched. Some were afraid to take action because of intimidation," he said.

Azapo lifts the veil on 'selfish' reform

Sowetan 23/10/91. (11A)

YOU don't stop the war to negotiate, you negotiate to stop the war.

We have said we do not believe that what is going on between so-called major players is negotiations. Here are the reasons.

The argument has become almost hackneyed, but time has not sapped its strength. The Black Consciousness Movement, through Mr Lybon Mabasa, was the first to allude to the undemocratic nature of these "negotiations".

He was quoted early last year as saying "De Klerk cannot be both referee and player" in real negotiations.

Shortly thereafter, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, expressed the need for neutral terrain too.

He said talks would have to take place outside the boundaries of this country, for security reasons.

Needless to say, many moons after "negotiations" neither the referee nor the terrain has become neutral.

Insurance

The regime lured a section of the liberation movement into "talks-about-talks" to supposedly "create a climate for negotiations".

Now, as any insurance salesman can attest, when one's car or any other property has been "damaged" by a second party, the latter cannot then beseech one into a process of repairing the damage.

Put another way, the regime alone, without the liberation movement's help, has the capacity to create the said "climate for negotiations". This much was encapsu-



lated in a widely publicised, joint position statement of the Azanian People's Organisation and the BCMA.

Such "repair", in the case of the regime, would entail, among others:

Unconditional release of all political prisoners - those whose convictions were related to their political activities against the regime's racist policies.

Unconditional return of all political exiles.

The regime's concession to an intervention of a neutral force in the quarantining of both the SAP and SADF whose loyalties lie with the present regime.

Free and unhindered political activity.

Mr Muntu ka-Myeza, Azapo's late secretary of defence and publicity, put the whole question of negotiations succinctly: "You don't stop the war to negotiate, you negotiate to stop the war".

Political power, despite so-

called negotiations, and as never before, remains securely within the white minority regime's grip.

Take the recent furore over VAT, when the regime rode roughshod over the feelings of the majority. It did not even attempt to disguise its contempt for its putative negotiating partner, proving to cynics like us the merits of "negotiations".

What do you have to say about all the positive changes introduced by what you call the regime since February - one can almost hear some detractors ask.

In an address to Azapo's 1990

congress at Shareworld, BC champion Professor Itumeleng Mosala dealt with such "positive changes" like the unbanning of some liberation movements.

"In the late 60s, performing for volk and capital, the regime banned these liberation movements and jailed their leaders.

"Now in 1990, again for volk and capital,

it is unbanning them and releasing the leaders..."

In a nutshell, all so-called reforms are not a response to the dictates of the inner soul, of a Saul-turned-Paul on the road to Damascus, if you will.

Rather, they are well-orches-

trated manoeuvres to save white people and the rand.

Far-fetched? In recent Press reports, some Nats admitted that they had been conducting secret talks with key figures within the ANC without the knowledge of both its leadership and the rank-and-file since 1987.

This, they stated, was in line with a Broederbond blueprint for "the survival of the white race".

Clearly then, when De Klerk introduced the said "reforms", he was not acting on his own volition, but according to a master plan written by his mentors, the Broederbond.

Thriller

That De Klerk is now the toast of the imperialist world bears testimony to his great, Oscar-deserving performance in this thriller.

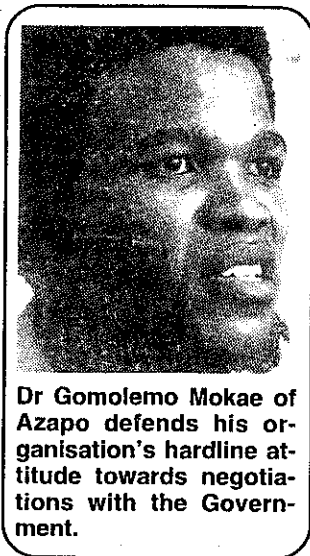
Besides displacing the liberation movement by becoming the new apple of the world's eye, De Klerk's "reforms" "swallowed" a section of the liberation movement in another way.

By allowing some of the "boys from across the border" to come back home, and releasing its leadership, he extinguished the aura around a banned, exiled liberation movement and a leadership jailed for many years.

The myth of the genie in the bottle has been squashed, and, as the novelty wears off by the day, the Nats' political star rises.

For the masses the forbidden fruit of yesterday, now that it is plentiful, takes on a sour taste by the day.

In summarising, then, it is the view of the BCM that De Klerk can do without our authentication.



Dr Gomolemo Mokae of Azapo defends his organisation's hardline attitude towards negotiations with the Government.

Azapo pulls out of patriotic front talks

AZAPO will not take part in the patriotic front conference in Durban this weekend.

WILSON ZWANE

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the decision not to participate was taken after consultations with Azapo's supporters, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the ANC and PAC.

"We are not happy with the way the PAC and ANC have dealt with us," Nefolovhodwe said, adding that the decision, which had been communicated to the patriotic front's liaison committee, "must be seen in the interest of the struggling masses".

Azapo projects co-ordinator Lybon Mabasa said Azapo's decision was not binding on its allies, such as the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo). "We want our formations to take independent positions on the matter because we don't want to look like spoilsports," he said.

Azayo has already said it is reconsidering its attendance because the dismissal of Azapo as a co-host of the conference had threatened to "reduce the patriotic front to a pathetic front".

ANC member and spokesman for the patriotic front liaison committee Josia Jele said his committee had not been informed of

Azapo's decision not to take part in the conference.

Azapo, which claims to have 150 000 paid-up members, was dismissed on Sunday as a co-host of the conference but invited as a participant.

Controversy arose when Azapo sent a letter to 14 parliamentary and homeland leaders, saying they would not be welcome at the conference unless they stopped participating in apartheid structures.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana this week said the dismissal of Azapo as a co-host of the conference was "an effort to placate people who have stood against the interests of our struggle".

"Nactu believes that the action of the ANC and PAC was an unpatriotic act against an organisation that has been principled throughout the course of our struggle," Ngcukana said.



The South Af

Industries Limited

(118) Sowetan 24/10/91

Warning bells should be heard

LONDON - Mystified? Despairing? How does one describe the reaction of businessmen here to the latest pronouncements by the ANC on economic policy?

Outside the Foreign Office (which receives daily analyses), there can be few people in Britain who know what the devil is going on in South Africa.

Even businessmen with close contacts cannot be expected from this distance to be able to decode the daily rhetoric. It was simple before the Enlightenment (February 1990): there were goodies and baddies, and it needed no great effort to make up your mind. Now it's all fogging over.

South Africa should not push its luck. Incomprehension begets indifference and indifference begets switch-off. Already, the media's eyes glaze over when South Africa's name is mentioned, because the pattern is no longer understood.

Sanctions evoke no more than a knee-jerk interest, and even reports of violence are read more for the horror than for what they reveal about the state of politics.

When businessmen's eyes start to glaze over, the warning bells should be heard.

Ritualistic

Not only the ANC is to blame. What are people here to make of the almost ritualistic slaughter of innocent blacks by hit-men with AK-47s?

The Government's denial of complicity makes sense - the killings threaten the negotiations process and frighten off foreign investors. But why are the legendary security forces unable to catch the killers - because they can't, or because they won't? Either explanation is deeply worrying.

Businessmen I have spoken to make some pertinent comments on the ANC's economic pronouncements (nationalisation, repudiation of foreign debts, seizure of one-third of personal assets over 10 years - all subject to explanations, qualifications and codicils).

First, they accept that the ANC, after 30 years in exile, is still finding its feet; that it is perfectly entitled to address the issue of "redistribution", whatever this means; and that a measure of rhetoric, even a large measure, is to be expected, because of the impatient activists snapping at the ANC's heels.

But, they say, the ANC understands as well as anyone else that South Africa's economic

Sanctions evoke no more than a knee-jerk interest in Britain today, and even reports of violence are read more for the horror than for what they reveal about the state of politics.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

recovery (as Mr Louis Shill, chairman of Sage, told a SA Foundation forum here recently) has become a race against time.

When statements are made on economic issues, therefore, the consequences must be weighed. The feeling about the ANC here is that it does not know where to draw the line between playing games and playing for real.

The ANC cannot tell foreign investors one day that they will be nationalised, the next day that they will not be nationalised, then that they will be nationalised again, and now that they will be nationalised only with compensation.

Snakes and ladders

It cannot play snakes and ladders with economic policy. Investment does not work like this.

It takes time to make investment decisions and then to implement them - sometimes two or three years may elapse between the two points.

If the ANC wants foreign investment, as indeed it does, it will have to play by the rules of investment. If it knows of other rules, it should say so.

Second, and this is what really worries businessmen here, it seems that ANC economic policy is becoming more, not less, contradictory, that the future is becoming more, not less, opaque, and that the ANC is getting itself

more, not less, into the mire.

The conclusion that is drawn from this analysis is that the ANC's dilemma is deep-seated, and that it is entangled in contradictions that are becoming unmanageable.

The organisation was unable to reply definitively whether Mr Cyril Ramaphosa or Mr Tito Mboweni were stating official policy, because there is no official policy.

The best it could manage was to say that ANC policy was in a state of "flux," but that it would be clarified at conferences later this year or next year.

The ANC repeatedly has pleaded with South African business leaders to suggest an alternative to nationalisation and "redistribution," warning that otherwise it would have to impose its own (unpalatable) policies.

The reason for the strategy has been explained. The understanding of businessmen here, however, is that some of South Africa's conglomerates have responded to this plea by inviting talks on the whole issue, but that the ANC has been evasive - that it has dodged the talks, saying it is not ready for them.

This raises the whole question of how tenable the ANC's strategy is of making do with discussion papers and working documents instead of drawing up policies.

It has been explained often enough: if the ANC makes the

transition from liberation movement to political party, defining its policies in the process, it will lose members (and leaders).

So it wants to postpone the policy decisions until it is safely in power.

This is perfectly natural: the ANC knows the days of its existence as a "broad church" are coming to an end, and the option of prolonging the "liberation" format is the eminently desirable one.

But the question potential investors are asking is whether this strategy can be reconciled with their own need for definitive directions and unambiguous policies.

Recovery

It is the same with sanctions. The ANC feels the only leverage it has over the Government is international economic pressure, but this same pressure postpones the day when the country's recovery can begin.

The question these investors are asking goes right to the heart of the ANC as a challenger for political power.

Can it resolve the contradiction between wielding economic pressure and mobilising its supporters on the one hand, and participating in South Africa's reconstruction on the other?

If the ANC can answer this question, the future might look a little less opaque.

-Sowetan Correspondent

Divided patriots to meet at the Front

South 24/10-30/10/91.
Special Correspondent

UNHAPPINESS over criteria used to determine participants for the Patriotic Front conference, starting in Durban on Friday, is threatening solidarity between liberation organisations.

Widespread dissatisfaction, especially over invitations extended to the Labour Party, Democratic Party, and homeland political parties, has seen several organisations attack the two remaining convenors of the PF.

The issue of invitations, a reason for the ousting of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) as a co-convenor, has dogged the conference since planning started.

Azapo asked whether criteria originally agreed on by the ANC, PAC and Azapo still stood.

The three organisations determined participants would have to be anti-apartheid, have recognised constituencies and accept the idea of a Constituent Assembly.

Although the LP has endorsed the pre-conditions, the DP has raised questions about them following a letter from Azapo to participants demanding all parties operating from government-created platforms resign before participating in the PF.

The letter, which strained relations between the three organisations, served to highlight the discontent within the broad liberation movement over the invitations.

An Azapo spokesperson, Mr Lybon Mabaso, said the organisation would not apologise for stating its position. He said the ANC and PAC demanded Azapo withdraw its letter and apolo-

11A

The Patriotic Front summit will take place at the five-star Malibu Hotel on the Durban beachfront this weekend, whether the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) participates or not.

Barring last minute setbacks, some 500 delegates from 80 opposition organisations will gather in Durban to try to forge a "patriotic front" against the government in the all-party/multi-party conference which could now take place as early as December.

Among those invited are the SA Council of Churches, the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, the National Soccer League, Cosatu, Nactu and other labour groups.

Resolutions will be adopted by consensus and a PF declaration is to be adopted on Sunday.

gise publicly. Mabaso added the organisation had withdrawn from the talks.

At least two organisations attacked the ANC/PAC decision for siding with the "puppets" as opposed to a liberation ally.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action has reiterated Azapo's call, demanding the "puppets" resign. Azapo affiliates, including youth and student organisations, have since withdrawn from the PF.

The first indications of the LP participating drew rumblings of discontent from organisations which had embarked vigorously on "don't vote" campaigns during the tricameral elections.

And indications last week that the Solidarity Party in the House of Del-

egates could join the LP at the conference met largely the same response.

ANC activists, many of whom have tentatively accepted the participation of the "tricameral organisations", still feel a sense of being betrayed because of their relentless campaigns against participants in the tricameral elections and Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

A result of the inclusion of the LP and the possible inclusion of Solidarity in the PF has led to a resuscitation of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses with a view that "if the Indian community is going to be represented, it may as well be by the Indian Congresses".

ANC activists have disputed this, believing that there is no need for minority representation at the conference.

At a meeting of the NIC in Durban on Wednesday, the organisation declared it would participate in the conference despite acknowledging it has no branches, no membership and has not been functioning for some time.

Against this scenario on the eve of the conference, it is unsure whether the conference will achieve what it set out to do — define unity and a broad front of all anti-apartheid organisations.

However, a spokesperson for the PF committee, Mr Mark Shinnars, said everything was "on track" for the conference and organisers were optimistic it would be a success.

Shinnars said the PF committee was expecting Azapo to participate as the organisation had only been removed as a convenor.

He refused to be drawn on the issue of demands Azapo has made or the allegations that the PAC/ANC has "sided with the puppets".

Agonising over the Labour Party

South 24/10 - 30/10/91
 The Labour Party's participation in the Patriotic Front conference this weekend has drawn conflicting reactions from activists and observers. HENRY LUDSKI sounded out the opinions of a cross-section:



Mr Allie Parker, a printer and ANC supporter:

I think the Labour Party contains opportunists. I can't understand how our leaders are sitting with them after all the suffering they caused our people. I am furious with the ANC. I feel that I should go up to Mandela and ask him who gave him the right to negotiate with these people. I know a lot of people are unhappy with this decision, but most of them don't have the courage to speak out against it.

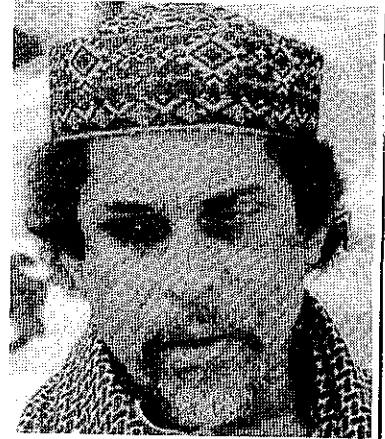


Ms Sandra Nagfaal, national president of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa):

The Labour Party is still part of the system and as far as I am concerned they are still the enemy. If they had resigned from the tricameral parliament when the people of this country asked them to, I might have felt differently.

As an ANC supporter I find that politics is changing so fast that you just don't feel at home with the decisions that are being taken.

I believe that even before you get to a situation where you negotiate with your former enemy, you have to consult with the community. I don't believe that the Patriotic Front concept was that well discussed in the townships.



Mr Achmat Cassiem, theologian and former Robben Island prisoner:

The Labour Party is not an agent of oppression, but a contributing factor of oppression and I believe it is important that the oppressed get together at a national convention.

In my opinion the Labour Party won't be the only party at the Patriotic Front who is guilty of being contributing factors to oppression.



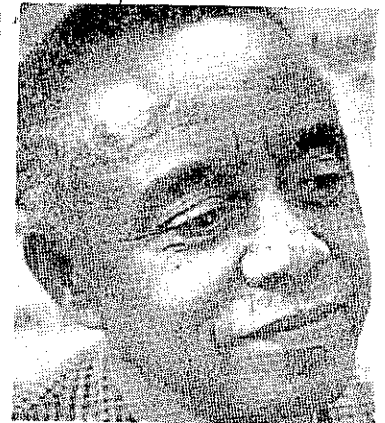
Mr Shepherd Mladlana, president of the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu):

While we as a union are experiencing a lot of problems with the Labour Party in the way they are dealing with our teachers, I believe that if one looks at it in the broader political context then it is a strategically correct decision to involve them in the Patriotic Front.

One can only hope that their involvement means they will be closer to the democratic movement — and that they will consider the recognition of our union more seriously.

I think they should be judged after they come out of the Patriotic Front, not the week before.

It must be remembered that there are other forces in the Patriotic Front who are a lot more insignificant than the Labour Party.



Mr Neville Alexander, chairperson of the Workers Association for Socialist Action:

We don't see how these institutions in the tricameral parliament can be allowed to participate in the Patriotic Front.

We would have been prepared to participate in the PF because we saw it as a united front of all liberation movements against apartheid. I don't believe the Labour Party or homeland leaders can lay claim to that status. Unless they resign from these institutions we cannot see how they can be allowed to sit on the Patriotic Front, because to us it would be the same as allowing the National Party to become part of the discussions.

11A CT 24/10/91

Azapo out of patriotic front

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo will not take part in this weekend's patriotic front conference in Durban.

At a news conference yesterday Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said the decision not to participate was taken after consultations with Azapo's supporters, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the ANC and PAC.

"We are not happy with the way the PAC and ANC have dealt with us," Mr Nefolovhodwe said, adding that the decision "must be seen in the interest of the struggling masses".

Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said Azapo's decision was not binding on its allies, such as the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo). "We want our formations to take independent positions on the matter, because we don't want to look like spoilsports," he said.

Azayo has already said it is reconsidering its attendance because the dismissal of Azapo as a co-host of the conference had threatened to "reduce the patriotic front to a pathetic front".

Azapo was dismissed on Sunday as a co-host of the conference, following controversy over the organisation's letter to 14 parliamentary and

homeland leaders that said they would not be welcome at the conference unless they stopped participating in apartheid structures.

Azapo refused to retract the letter, saying they could not "apologise to people who have been against the struggle all these years".

"Under these circumstances it is not possible for us to attend the conference," said Mr Mabasa.

Nactu general secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana said this week that the dismissal of Azapo as a co-host of the conference was "an effort to placate people who have stood against the interests of our struggle". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Azapo out of Patriotic Front talks

Sowetan 24/10/91

11A

AZAPO announced yesterday it would not take part in the Patriotic Front conference.

The announcement followed a last-minute meeting between Azapo, the PAC and the National Council of Trade Unions, at which attempts were made to prevent Azapo from pulling out of the conference, which begins in Durban tomorrow.

Azapo said in a statement that it was offended at the way its expulsion as a conference co-convenor had been handled, as it had not been officially informed of the decision by the ANC/PAC liaison committee.

Azapo also said it would not apologise for writing a letter to 14 groups it perceived as apartheid creations.

Meanwhile, in another turn in the con-

The guest on Face the Nation on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show today will be a senior official of Azapo to talk about the Patriotic Front which now seems to be going ahead without Azapo.

Phone host Tim Modise between 5 and 6pm and air your opinion live.

The hotline number is 714-8063.

Listen to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show on medium wave 576KHz.

**By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff**

trovery, the PAC accused Azapo of a "breach of trust".

The PAC claimed agreement had been reached at yesterday's talks that Azapo would be granted the status of a liberation movement but not as a co-convenor.

Nactu, which acted as mediator between the ANC/PAC liaison committee and Azapo, said it understood Azapo's position but hoped it would be able to persuade the principal players to reverse their decision.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told the Press conference Azapo was not prepared to apologise to people who had been "anti-struggle".

Azapo's sister organisations, the Azanian Youth Organisation and the Azanian Students Convention, will also not attend the conference.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the Democratic Party would attend as an observer, and not a delegate, because it had not committed itself to the Constituent Assembly, a condition he said had been accepted by 80-plus organisations, including the Labour Party.

The PF liaison committee is expected to make an announcement today on the question of equal representation of the ANC and PAC.

Govt and ANC all set for crucial talks

Star 24/10/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent (1/1)

The Government and the ANC are to meet today for a second round of official talks on arrangements for the all-party/multiparty conference on constitutional negotiations now expected to take place as early as late November or early December.

Today's meeting will con-

tinue the talks begun last week on the preparations for the conference, including matters such as the date, venue, agenda, decision-making procedure, who should convene it and who should attend.

Although no firm agreements have been reached so far, some sources believe the first meeting of the conference will take place in the Johannesburg/Witwatersrand area — and not Pretoria.

Pretoria will probably be ruled out because of its strong

associations with the Government.

Subsequent meetings of the conference could take place in Cape Town, according to sources close to the talks.

There is still disagreement about who should convene the conference, with the ANC favouring an independent convenor — possibly a church/business group such as that which called the National Peace Convention — and the Government favouring political parties themselves convening jointly.

There has been speculation that the ANC is against this idea because it would probably involve the Inkatha Freedom Party.

However, Government sources believe the ANC would object only if a Government/ANC/IFP "troika" called the conference, and not if the IFP was just one of many parties which co-convened it.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a member of the ANC's national executive committee and its negotiating committee, stressed

last night that the ANC would not reach any agreements with the Government before consulting with its allies at the patriotic front indaba starting in Durban tomorrow.

But he did not think the PF conference would make much difference to the talks with the Government as the ANC had already held broad discussions with the PAC and other parties taking part in the PF conference.

The Government and the ANC have provisionally agreed

that the order of discussion at the all-party/multiparty conference should be the broad constitutional principles which should underlie a new constitution; the constitution-making process; and transitional mechanisms.

Mr Moosa said discussion on the broad constitutional principles had been put at the top of the agenda because unless the parties could agree on these, there was no point in discussing the mechanisms for negotiating the constitution or transitional mechanisms.

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'Betrayed' Azapo decides to pull out of PF conference

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A
24/10/91
Star

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and all its other Black Consciousness allies will not attend the Patriotic Front (PF) conference which starts in Durban tomorrow, it was announced yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said his organisation, which was this week stripped of its status as conference co-convener, will not be attending.

Azapo's decision comes in the wake of the organisation's exclusion from the PF liaison committee as a result of its letter to 14 invited organisations, demanding that they resign from the Government-created structures on which they serve.

Senior Azapo leaders said they felt betrayed by the PAC, their ideological ally, which supported their expulsion.

"There is no meeting in our country where Azapo has pro-

posed that the PAC be shut out. Indeed, we have often said if the PAC is not there we will not participate," an Azapo source said.

He said there was "a high degree of intolerance in the country", and Azapo's exclusion from the PF liaison committee was a reflection of that intolerance.

Azapo revealed at yesterday's press conference it had not been officially notified of its expulsion and that the ANC and the PAC had demanded that it withdraw its letter and also issue a public apology.

In a statement yesterday, Azanian Students' Convention president Sipho Maseko denounced "the double standards by both the ANC and the PAC", saying that while they purported to be liberation movements, they "find themselves at home with sectors of the racist regime — the Zach de Beers and Hendrickses of this world".

● Start of SA's
'end game' — Page 32

Patrick Laurence assesses the importance of the imminent birth of the Patriotic F

Beginning of SA's 'end game'

Star 24/10/91



THE three-day Patriotic Front conference, starting in Durban tomorrow, signals the "beginning of the end game" in South Africa's negotiations.

The expulsion of the Azanian Peoples Organisation as a co-convenor is a complication, but does not mean the political chess board has been up-ended and the pieces strewn all over the floor.

The controversy raises the question of whether Azapo will be a participant in the end game. But, with or without them, the PF conference will go ahead and mark the start of play barely 20 months after President de Klerk's bold opening gambit.

Mr de Klerk initiated the negotiating process in February last year when he unbaned the "liberation movements" and released Nelson Mandela. But, with the upcoming PF conference serving as a prelude to more comprehensive talks between all the main players, a new phase has begun.

The two main interlocutors, Mr de Klerk's National Party and the ANC, are pressing for preliminary talks before end of the year.

These talks will set the scene for more serious deliberations next year. Each of the main players uses a different label for the anticipated meetings:

The NP speaks of a multi-party conference, the ANC talks about an all-party congress, and the PAC and its ideological cousin, Azapo, refer to a "pre-constituent assembly conference".

But essentially they concur that round-table discussions on the future have to take place soon. So, too, does Mangusotho Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and several lesser political parties.

But before comprehensive discussions take place anti-apartheid forces — pre-eminently but not only the ANC, the PAC and, until last weekend, Azapo — meet at Durban for three days.

Their purpose is to establish a Patriotic Front as a counter-weight to the alliance — tenta-

tively named the Christian Democratic Alliance — which Mr de Klerk's NP is hoping to form.

The envisaged PF will be forged around two central demands: The election of a constituent assembly, on the basis of one person, one vote, whose primary task will be to draft a new constitution and the formation of an interim authority to manage the critical transition from the present to the installation of a post-apartheid government.

These are issues they will put on the agenda at the round table talks.

A third item will be "constitutional principles", signalling the beginning of substantive negotiations rather than mere "talks about talks".

The anticipated presence at the round table talks of the PAC and, perhaps, Azapo — both of which at one stage refused to talk to Mr de Klerk's "minority regime," except to discuss the transfer of power — is an indication of how far the pro-

cess has advanced.

Even the right-wing Conservative Party seems to be wavering in its rejection of invitations to sit at the round table.

Resistance to the official party line that it must boycott the talks comes from the New Right led by Koos van der Merwe.

It is an open secret that straight-talking Mr van der Merwe believes that the party must go to the multi-party conference to negotiate strongly for a "white fatherland".

At one stage the chasm between Mr de Klerk's NP and its adversaries in the nascent PF seemed unbridgeable. But it may have narrowed in recent months.

The NP has so far balked at the idea of transferring the task of drafting a new constitution to a popularly-elected constituent assembly. It puts the cart before the horse, the NP says. Elections should follow rather than proceed agreement on a constitution.

But the basis of a compromise exists: if discussions on constitu-

tional principles end in consensus, then the actual drafting of a constitution based on the agreed principles may be delegated to an elected constituent assembly.

Mr de Klerk has talked of "transitional arrangements" which will give the interlocutors at the negotiating table a say in the formation of policy, at both legislative and executive level.

The ANC, fearing that Mr de Klerk's offer is a form of co-optation, is pressing for the establishment of an "interim government" to replace rather than supplement the "minority regime".

The ANC's approach presumes that the present Government will be replaced, a step which will require, at the least, suspension of the present racially-structured constitution.

Mr de Klerk has an "open mind on alternative methods" and is prepared to make the question of an interim authority the first item on the agenda.

Negotiations has been compli-

The clock is meanwhile ticking for advantage by the ANC and the IFP. IFF. The clock is meanwhile ticking away. President De Klerk has gone a fair way in meeting the ANC demands that he create a climate favourable to negotiations, although the vexatious issue of violence remains. Apart from unteasing the "liberation movements", he has freed many, if not all, political prisoners, signed an agreement with the United Nations allowing it to facilitate the return of exiles, and cleared the statute book of racially discriminatory laws. But Mr de Klerk only has until early 1995, at the latest, to complete the negotiation process. If he does not, he will be forced to call a general election under the present constitution. That could vastly complicate, if not finally wreck, the process. □

Undeserved inequalities have to be redressed

B (Day) 25/10/91.

THE ANC's views on affirmative action have recently been misrepresented as destructive. On the contrary, we believe affirmative action could unleash not only the potential of our people, but of the entire economy.

Affirmative action is a concept of change. To accelerate affirmative action, we need to understand how change takes place. Change can take place when one stakeholder group feels dissatisfied with the status quo. Change can take place in response to a crisis. It can occur when human and economic costs become too great and the status quo cannot be maintained. The changes taking place in SA are due, in the main, to the prohibitive cost of maintaining apartheid.

SA companies are well known for their reactive and short-term approach. They have never been proactive. We must encourage them to embrace affirmative action in their own enlightened self-interest and in the national interest.

If we succeed in convincing corporate SA, there will not be a need to create a crisis which would induce

the desired change. Furthermore, we need to show corporate SA that the human and economic costs of maintaining white exclusivity in management and white minority domination of the economy would prove too high in the long run, and this could be prevented by accelerating the process of bringing qualified blacks into management. However, judging from past corporate practice, we might be forced to apply pressure to make affirmative action a reality.

We need to identify the reasons why change and affirmative action is resisted in corporate SA. It is resisted because of perceived fear of loss. White middle managers, in particular, resist it because there might be changes in the power balance, relationships (new and old), rewards and identity.

New skills and competencies might be required to manage the influx of blacks into the higher echelons of management. These new skills may be difficult to acquire, thus threatening the very survival of the white incumbents.

We need to incorporate in our strategies mechanisms which would

~~SA~~ ~~SA~~ ~~SA~~
DON MKHWANAZI

eliminate or reduce resistance. If the cost of change is perceived as likely to be high, resistance to change becomes strong. Some of these fears are not completely unfounded. We must find a way of overcoming them. But affirmative action cannot be left solely in the hands of corporate SA because of these vested interests.

One can identify obstacles to, and causes of failure of, affirmative action programmes. So far, unfortunately, the emphasis in SA has been on structure, strategy and systems in implementing affirmative action programmes. We have not completed the process.

We have ignored questions of people, attitudes, behaviour, values and culture, skills, staff, management style and shared visions and values. These need to be revisited if affirmative action is to succeed. There must be fundamental change in the workplace, there must be fundamental

shifts in attitude, behaviour and value systems. Affirmative action means a new way of life in corporate SA.

Affirmative action is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. The desired goal is the democratisation of the SA economy. Affirmative action is a very important interim measure which would assist us in taking the process of political transformation to its logical conclusion. There can be no freedom, there can be no human dignity nor human respect, without democratisation of economic life. There can be no peace, freedom or stability if economic power relations remain intact as they are today.

Affirmative action is a deliberate and sustainable strategy, owing its existence to the principle of compensatory justice. This concept says undeserved inequalities require redress. Affirmative action aims to redress imbalances and inequalities imposed by apartheid. It is a process which would make black economic empowerment a reality from the level of worker to top management.

Affirmative action means equalis-

ation of opportunity. It means a deliberate attempt to enhance the ability and capacity of the disadvantaged masses to participate and compete on an equal footing with those who have benefited from apartheid. It is aimed not only at redressing imbalances, but overcoming the effects of the economics of exclusion.

For us, affirmative action does not mean compromising merit, nor undermining standards. We do not seek reverse discrimination, but positive empowerment of the disadvantaged. It is a systematic attempt to increase self-reliance and the ability to participate unhindered in all endeavours of human life and all sectors of the economy.

Affirmative action is a concept rooted in the principles of equity, justice and fairness. A black skin is no passport to privilege. White skin should stop being a passport to status and privilege in the future.

Mkhwanazi is the corporate affairs and management specialist in the ANC's economic policy department.

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The legacy of Steve Bantu Biko

SB IIA
Soulman 25/10/91

Title: Bounds of Possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness

Edited by: Barney Pityana et al.

Publisher: David Philip

Reviewed by: Dennis Cruywagen



THE irony of the latest book on the life of the father of black consciousness, Steve Biko, is that the person it elevates would have been most embarrassed by it, says Mr Barney Pityana.

He is one of four editors of *Bounds of Possibility: The legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness*, which was launched in Cape Town last night.

The others are Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Mr Malusi Mpumlwana and Miss Lindy Wilson.

Biko died in detention on September 12 1977. Five weeks after his death, on October 19, all Black Consciousness organisations were banned.

In assessing the legacy of Biko, Pityana writes that he was no saint.

"He would not wish to be considered as set apart from the people. If hero he was, then it was not by his ambition but by force of circumstance whose only virtue was that he willed the people to stand up and to bring an end to the rule of oppression," he writes in a chapter entitled *The legacy of Steve Biko*.

The greatest and deepest manifestation of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness was best expressed in those hidden and unquantifiable virtues which made people human.

"It infused blacks with a spiritual fibre, a mettle and a fighting

spirit. It is the inner soul-force seen to be invincible and without which we would never withstand the psychological onslaught that apartheid so ruthlessly inflicted upon us."

Pityana writes that Biko would have found the prevailing mood of discord among blacks most unfortunate.

"Black Consciousness prides itself on its capacity to bring people into active participation in the struggle regardless of their ideological positions.

"To do so requires sensitivity and an overriding commitment to the absolute liberation to the extent that strategically we could appreciate our need of allies."

It was, therefore, not without significance that Black Consciousness had been defined as a way of life and attitude of mind.

"It is the fibre or material that we take with us into battle."

Such was the influence of Black Consciousness that there is hardly a

notable leader in South Africa today who was in his or her 20s in the early 1970s who has not been through the Black Consciousness mill, Pityana writes.

No book on Bantu Steve Biko would be complete without a reference to Ramphele, the mother of two of his children, one of whom died at the age of two months.

The parting words by a Captain Schoeman when he served her with a banning order in April 1977 are an indication of how much she troubled the authorities.

Schoeman told her: "Goodbye, Ramphele, you bitch."

Wilson says in a chapter entitled *Steve Biko: A Life* that two relationships had been of paramount importance to him.

One was with Miss Ntsiki Mashalaba, who later became his wife and the mother of two of his children, and the other was with Ramphele.

Inkatha youth rejects PF as a hindrance

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Transvaal Youth Brigade yesterday rejected the concept of a Patriotic Front, charging the PF would hinder the negotiation process and harden racial attitudes.

IFP Youth Brigade spokesman Mr Themba Khosa said in a statement, a constituent assembly - as advocated by those taking part in the coming PF conference - "negates compromise negotiations and promotes a winner-loser approach".

The PF would also hinder the negotiating process in that elections for a CA "during this troubled period will foster continued conflict and violence . . .

"We simply cannot afford this," Khosa said.

"Whatever its nonracial rhetoric, the reality of minimal white - or other minority - representation in the PF will be tantamount to blacks ganging up against whites, squaring up the negotiation process on the retrogressive basis of skin colour," Khosa charged.

"From . . . minority perceptions, this is really counter-productive, and is likely to cement a hardening of attitudes. And from the perspective of black groupings such as the IFP trying to build bridges with minorities . . . trying to move into a joint future as eventual partners rather than enemies, this implicit racialism is offensive." - Sapa.

Agreement on PF numbers

Sowetan 25/10/91

(11A)

THE ANC and PAC have finally reached agreement on equal representation at the Patriotic Front conference in Durban tomorrow.

After weeks of behind-the-scenes bargaining the two co-conveners of the PF agreed on Wednesday that each will have 12 delegates at the summit. All other invited groups may send up to four representatives each.

The question of equal representation nearly derailed the much-awaited PF conference of organisations opposed to apartheid when ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela informed PAC and Azapo leaders at a meeting that he did not favour equal representation.

He reportedly said the ANC should have 24 delegates, the ANC 16 and Azapo six.

The ANC and PAC stripped Azapo of its status as a co-convener of the PF last Sunday. This followed Azapo's writing a letter to 14 participants it perceived as "anti-struggle".

Azapo has now pulled out of the talks and is adamant that it will not apologise for its principles and that it demanded the ANC

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

and PAC recognise its status as a liberation movement.

All its formations have also pulled out of the talks.

However, the National Council of Trade Unions, which this week condemned Azapo's expulsion

and tried fruitlessly to get the organisation back as co-convener, was yesterday still involved in last-minute endeavours to mediate between the groups.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on his arrival in Durban yesterday that Azapo was still welcome to take part in the conference and that it was

still an ally of the PAC.

Meanwhile, the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday reiterated its opposition to the PF and demands for a constituent assembly.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and African Writers Association are among groups that have said they will not attend.

IFP outraged at 'attacks by ANC'

Sowetan 25/10/91

INKATHA Freedom Party officials have expressed their outrage at continued attacks on its leaders and members.

Mr Kim Hodgson, head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit said Mrs Thandiwe Ndlovu, the wife of KwaZulu deputy minister of works Mr VB Ndlovu, survived an assassination attempt on Tuesday when three gunmen opened fire on her vehicle as she left home for work.

He said Inkatha had obtained information that an ANC hit squad was operating in the Richmond and Imbali areas.

"Yesterday morning prominent IFP activist in the Richmond area, Mr Vusi Cele, was ambushed at the gates of Ndaleni Mission.

"He was attacked by gunmen armed with R4 rifles, and was shot and seriously wounded.

"In another attack yesterday morning at Nhlalakhale near Greytown, IFP activist Mr Obert Cele was ambushed by alleged ANC comrades using 9mm pistols," he said.

Sowetan Correspondent

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PAC puts blame on SA business

THE PAC has blamed domestic business rather than sanctions for the poor state of the country's economy.

PAC first deputy vice-president Johnson Mlambo told journalists after a conference in Botswana - aimed at drawing up an economic policy for a non-racial democratic South Africa - that sanctions should be maintained for the meantime.

But he added: "Sanctions played only a minor role in the poor performance of the South African economy."

Mlambo said the PAC believed South Africa had suffered over-reliance on primary production and too little emphasis on other sectors, particularly manufacturing.

"An important issue we learned from this conference is that the very people who

call out against sanctions, the domestic business corporations, are the ones who practice sanctions. They externalise the country's assets and come back as external investors." *Sowetan 25/10/91*

Mlambo said South Africa's external assets had grown to R56 billion in 1988.

But he said foreign sanctions against Pretoria should stay until a constitutional assembly was elected to draw up a new constitution.

He said the PAC was undaunted by the demise of communism in Eastern Europe.

"We are in no way intimidated by the collapse of totalitarian systems in Eastern Europe. The PAC believes that socialism can be practised within the framework of a democracy," he said. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

ANC probes jail gang's release

Edwilem 25/10/91
By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Kroonstad ANC branch is to institute an independent commission of inquiry to look into the release of the notorious "Three Million Gang" which has renewed fear among the residents.

According to Mr Dennis Bloem, the branch publicity secretary, all 36 members of the Maokeng-based gang have been released "under mysterious circumstances".

The last group of 18, he said, were freed last month, while the rest were released earlier.

The gang was arrested in June, this year, in connection with crimes

committed during October 1990 and February this year.

Since their arrest, the gang members made several court appearances on charges including murder, robbery, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, arson and malicious damage to property.

Bloem said the Maokeng community was unhappy about the gang's release. This, he said, was why the ANC was planning to have a commission of inquiry before the

end of this year to investigate the affair.

He dismissed a Press statement by the investigating officer, Captain Koot de Ru of Sasolburg, that the gangsters were released after they had signed a "peace treaty" with the ANC and both parties agreed to drop charges against each other.

"We reject this in the strongest terms. Although we are willing to talk to different political organisations, we will never go into meetings with gangsters and sign peace agreements," he said.

Bloem said soon after learning of the gang's release, they held a meeting with police to get clarity.

A Captain Heystek from the police headquarters in Pretoria told them complainants had agreed to drop charges against the gang.

"Shortly after this explanation, we made our own investigations and found no one among the complainants had withdrawn charges.

"The community is puzzled and angry about the whole thing. We in the ANC have a strong feeling that the police are hiding something and misleading the public.

AZAPO TAKES THE SHINE OFF PATRIOTIC FRONT CONFERENCE

By Phillip van Niekerk and Hubert Matlou

THE withdrawal of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its allied organisations has taken the shine off this weekend's Patriotic Front (PF) conference, but the aim of putting up a united front against the National Party remains a top priority.

About 500 individuals representing 70 organisations will be attending the conference, to forge common positions on issues such as an interim government, a constituent assembly and basic constitutional principles.

The conference's most significant political outcome could be a closer working relationship between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, which

was accused this week of betraying its ally, Azapo, when it chose to remain a co-host after Azapo's withdrawal.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said yesterday his party would attend the conference in spite of a PAC statement that support for a constituent assembly was a minimum demand for participation in the conference.

De Beer said the DP had tried in vain to establish whether delegates would be observers or fully-fledged participants at the conference. "Frankly, I don't know whether it matters," he said. "We will be there. We won't be committed to any position unless we choose to be."

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said a key aim of the PF would be to ensure unity via a constituent assembly, rather than a negotiated

settlement behind closed doors.

Apart from several other extra-parliamentary parties and those working in government structures such as the Labour Party and homeland parties, the PF conference will also draw attendance from student, religious, business and sport organisations.

The only notable "uninvited guest" is the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose invitation had not yet been issued when an IFP spokesman described the PF as a "sectarian forum, amounting to a ganging-up against other races, which breeds on fear and violence". The organisers decided an invitation under the circumstances would be a waste of time.

On the conference's agenda are items dealing with a mechanism for

the transitional process towards a democratic order, internecine violence and possibly the proposed general strike against Value-Added Tax.

However, strategic differences exist on questions regarding the transitional process.

The PAC is calling for an internationally sponsored authority, and rejects calls for the government's multi-party conference and the ANC's all-party congress, which it thinks would make it "co-managers of apartheid".

The common denominator for participants in the PF is adherence to the demand for an elected constituent assembly — a factor which made it possible for the invitation of homeland and parliamentary parties which subscribe to that view.

Boesak won't be at front conference

11A
ET 25/10/91

ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak will not attend this weekend's patriotic front conference.

His personal aide, Mr Norman Michaels, said Dr Boesak had another engagement to fulfil and could not attend the patriotic front meeting.

Dr Boesak was in Springbok and could not be contacted for comment.

Mr Michaels dismissed media speculation that Dr Boesak would not attend the conference because Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had announced his intention to participate.

He said Dr Boesak's diary was arranged "months in advance" and the Durban conference front had only been arranged recently.

During the 1980s there was bitter rivalry between Mr Hendrickse Dr Boesak, who was then patron of the UDF.

The LP and Mr Hendrickse's cooperation with the tricameral Parlia-

ment was seen by the UDF as "selling out".

Meanwhile Mr Nelson Mandela met Mr Hendrickse on the eve of the patriotic front conference in Durban yesterday.

After the first meeting of its kind between the ANC and the LP at ANC headquarters, Mr Hendrickse told reporters his party had wished to gain clarity on certain issues, including transitional arrangements towards democracy.

"We are not looking for gain, we are looking for an opportunity to make a contribution," Mr Hendrickse said in the wake of Azapo's demand that his party and others resign operating in the tricameral Parliament as a condition for participation.

● Organisation of African Unity executive secretary Mr Hashim Mbita arrives today at the head of a two-man OAU delegation to attend the patriotic front conference.

PRETORIA. — The establishment of a patriotic front could lead to further unrest and amounted to a "ganging up" of political parties against the government, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen has warned.

He said in an interview to be published in the January edition of RSA Policy Review, an SA Communication Service publication, that he feared the PF would be an unnecessary institution that may build rigidity and inflexibility into the negotiation process.

"To my mind, the intention of this patriotic front is more negative than positive," he said.

Dr Viljoen also said the government would be prepared to negotiate what might constitute an interim government.

"The government has consistently reiterated that it believes in an open agenda," he said.

But an interim government requiring constitutional amendments would be instituted only if the government obtained support for this through a referendum, as it had undertaken to do. — Sapa

Viljoen slams Patriotic Front

11A
ET 25/10/91

Azapo's revealing indiscretion

FM 25/10/91
When the communists took power in eastern Europe after 1945, their first targets for elimination were not the Nazis and their fellow-travellers. They could wait; indeed, were often painlessly assimilated by the new power structure.

No, what had to go first were the liberals, whose unremitting protests against fascist dictatorships were rewarded by extirpation by their equally intolerant successors.

This is not really surprising. If classical liberalism means anything, it is a belief in personal liberty and justice and the primacy of the individual over the structure. Political structures are there to serve the individual, not vice versa. Injustice is not made justice by the nobility of the cause.

Hardly a message that absolutists and ideologues of any complexion can find palatable.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Azapo — in its notorious letter to would-be participants at the Patriotic Front conference (see page 47) — being so dismissive of "liberals and puppets." The juxtaposition of these two in fact incompatible bedfellows says far more about some elements of the so-called "liberation movement" than it does about

liberals and their principles. (11A)

The exposure of the philosophy behind the remark is actually more important than whatever short-term impact it may have on this weekend's proceedings. Anyone who is still blindly confident that the new SA will be more solicitous of individual rights and freedoms than the old, should take note.

To its credit, the Institute of Race Relations came to this realisation some time ago.

Of course, it does not follow that all government's radical opponents are tarred by the same brush. The necessity to suspect all politicians' motives should not be extended thoughtlessly into an automatic assumption that all politicians are despotic blackguards.

But, equally, it does not follow that all those opposed to the injustices of apartheid are working selflessly towards a liberal democracy. Azapo's unguarded indiscretion will thus serve a beneficial purpose if it awakens liberals to the danger of being co-opted by essentially illiberal radical bodies, to be exploited while convenient and then cast aside — or worse. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

A bigger picture

FM 25/10/91

11A ~~5/11/91~~

The unfortunate cooling in personal relations — or at least the perception that this is so — between Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk should not obscure the possibility that SA's major parties to a new constitution may yet meet this year to formally map out a path to the future. Mandela has spoken of a "Christmas present" for all SA — a far more refreshing and constructive thing to hear than that De Klerk has unleashed his "hounds" upon the people.

Alas, the verbal spats between the leaders of government and the main liberation grouping, signal wider and possibly more intractable discontents: over the ambivalencies of the ANC's economic policy; the dreadful repetitiveness of violence; ethnic rivalries; and the imminence of a national strike which, whether it succeeds or not, will be disruptive and polarise attitudes. Yet perhaps these wider discontents are thrown up by the fear which rules political behaviour on all sides.

The fear is fear of the future.

This is why it is important for the multi-party talks to be seen to be going ahead — to validate a logic of optimism regarding the big picture. Nothing scares off investment so surely as uncertainty — and if the ANC has been prepared to create uncertainty as a means of consolidating its support, that would at least be comprehensible. Better than the suggestion that it is merely blithely proceeding into the new era with nothing more constructive to offer on the economy than nationalisation and asset confiscation.

Participation in a real body with the mission of constructing a real constitution should bring the ANC closer to the realities of the modern world — closer to a realisation that scarce resources cannot be infinitely diluted in a non-enterprise, centralist State. After a while, there would be little capital left — and those with the skills to create it would have left.

As the multi-party talks move the ANC towards such a perception, so too should they have an effect on the level of violence. Unfortunately, in the short term, this level will not necessarily abate. If the mainspring of the violence is the desire of unknown people for negotiations to fail, progress and compromise could themselves trigger mad-dog behaviour. There will be tremendous pressure on the participants in the talks to get it all over with in a hurry — to carry their constituencies along — which shouldn't happen.

Modern SA has been through the torments of two failed constitutions — and it should never be allowed to happen again. The constitution should be both a strong and a sensitive instrument; it should not be a piece of paper which can be thrown away by politicians. Every step and clause must be scrutinised. And if this takes time, that is no bad thing. The ANC — frustrated because the world has not been given to it on a platter — and government, facing the steady blood-rhetoric of the Right, must both become considerably more conscious of how much they actually need each other. ■

SACP withdraws request for Chris Hani's transfer

PATRICK BULGER

(11A)

THE SA Communist Party has withdrawn its request for the transfer of prominent ANC leader Chris Hani to the SACP as a full-time official — a development that does not augur well for the future of one of the world's last communist parties. *Blow 25/10/91*

Hani, who is a member of the ANC's inner cabinet — the national working committee — as well as chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was expected to replace ailing SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo.

It was believed his militancy and high profile, especially among township youth, would boost the SACP, which is battling under a lack of resources and the demise of its international communist partners.

While Slovo is widely tipped to step down from the party at its December congress, the central committee will now have to plan its future without Hani in a commanding position.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday the issue of Hani had been "resolved" because "the SACP is not pursuing the issue".

THE months ahead offer South African women both an opportunity and a challenge.

The opportunity is there because we are discussing and negotiating a new South African dispensation, and so the way is open for women to incorporate clauses and mechanisms that will facilitate genuine equality between men and women in the future South Africa.

The challenge arises because our circumstances are unique. The experience of institutionalised racism and oppression has led to a fairly widespread recognition that we have to make very fundamental changes in South Africa. It is true that in large measure this extends only to race, but the very fact that we are engaged in a process that will require systematic changes in attitudes as well as in almost all of the institutions in our society opens the way for women simultaneously to seek the structural changes that will transform our society into a non-sexist one.

How can women seize the opportunity?

We must make sure women participate in all the discussions and negotiations, within the organisations we belong to and between them.

Hitherto, women have been noticeable by their absence in the delegations of all the parties engaged in the process.

When the process began at Groote Schuur, there were two women on the African National Congress delegation. Since then, women have not participated in the meetings or in the working groups. The same was evident in the processes leading up to the Peace Accord.

Women cannot allow this situation to remain unchallenged. Regardless of our political allegiance, all women must ensure that they are present in the delegations of their own organisations.

In addition, all women should draw constant attention to the general absence of women in the vital processes concerning our country's future, and engage in public debate on the matter so as to raise overall consciousness and mobilise support for women's participation.

Women must understand the options before the country. We need therefore to engage in debate amongst ourselves, and in the broader debate: - to both learn and contribute.

Women need to come together, work through and put forward specific proposals on gender equality, using whatever avenues and channels as may be available to each of us. Women can work within their own organisations and across organisations — organising meetings, seminars, workshops, rallies. We should communicate our views within political parties and by representations to all the parties engaging in negotiations.

Women should also consider what type of protection we want in the constitution. Is it enough just to have general rights, or do we want some specific document or clauses that provide for equality between men and women?

Women will have to make sure that the constitution goes beyond a ritualistic commitment to equality, and actually lays the basis for effective gender equality.

There is no automatic checklist of what we need, but here are some examples:

Among the principles usually set out in a preamble, we need to make sure that South Africa is explicitly characterised as non-sexist as well as non-racial.

It's now or never for South African women

If women don't fight for their rights now, gender issues will not be dealt with adequately in the new constitution. The ANC's head of research, **FRENE GINWALA**, says the time to act has come

In many constitutions there is a general equality clause, declaring either that there will be full equality between men and women, or that there will be no discrimination on grounds of race, sex, religion etc.

Yet when we look at the situation on the ground we find that in effect women are not equal.

The problem arises because such equality clauses leave it up to women to go through a legal process in order to claim and enforce their right to full equality.

In South Africa this would mean in effect that a woman in the rural areas, who is not literate and without resources, would first have to find out that she has a specific right under the constitution; then she would have to find the resources and a lawyer who would take her case to court and establish her right. In addition, as every woman knows, she would have to find the courage and strength to withstand family and community pressures, for in many cases her right would have to be asserted against them. Such a "right" has very little effect in bringing change to women.

We therefore have to place the responsibility on the state to ensure that women's equality is enforced, and not leave it for individual women to claim their rights.

Provision should be made to permit the state to take affirmative action and positive action. Unless this is done, positive discrimination or an attempt to make special provisions for women, such as employment quotas, could fall foul of the constitution as unequal treatment of male and female citizens.

We need to take a special look at the franchise. The adoption of systems that provide for special votes for particular groups such as property owners, or with special educational qualifications, will effectively mean that women are being denied an equal franchise.

We need also to look at the legal system and the judiciary. Legal systems have been used to retain the status quo and operate against women's interests. Simply having women judges and magistrates — though absolutely necessary — will not be sufficient.

Women must look at all the proposals that

will be put forward and examine them for gender bias. For example, we must make sure that the right to education is not limited by gender stereotyping that might exclude men or women from certain types of training.

The right to social welfare should not be based on an assumption of female dependency within a family as is the case in so many countries. Nor should provisions regarding the family discriminate against single parent families.

Women should not take anything for granted in this exercise. The ANC draft Bill of Rights contains an article on gender rights that needs significant revision, and many of the other articles need to be amended as illustrated above. The first draft of the Law Commission's Bill of Rights did not provide for gender equality. We will have to scrutinise the new draft very carefully.

Women must also make sure that where there is any conflict of rights, equality of women should take priority. ANC women have recommended a blanket clause to the effect that any law, custom or practice that discriminates against women shall be held to be unconstitutional.

Is a good Bill of Rights sufficient to ensure equality for women or do we need something to supplement it?

As already indicated, the area of genuine gender equality is relatively new and untested. Moreover, all of us, both men and women, have been socialised into a society in which the dominant perceptions, institutions, and interpretations are male-shaped.

Logic reinforced by the experience of other countries dictates that women need something more than the general rights in a Bill of Rights, even when there is specific reference to gender equality.

This makes it vital for us to have a document that will spell out how women understand gender oppression and what a non-sexist society should be.

Such a document could be attached (an annexure or schedule) to the Bill of Rights and be referred to by the courts and institutions in interpreting, clarifying and expanding the Bill of Rights in a manner consistent with real and meaningful equality of men and women. This document would provide the specific detail to the broad rights spelt out in the Bill of Rights. We have to recognise that despite our best efforts, those in the courts and parliament doing the interpreting are likely to be mostly men.

We will have to make special provision to ensure that women will determine how this document is to be amended in future. In some countries, male-dominated parliaments have reduced women's rights that have been granted in constitutions.

South African women have got to come together in a systematic campaign which will culminate in the preparation of a Charter for Women's Rights, whilst at the same time campaigning for the inclusion of such a charter in the constitutional arrangements.

Last, we have to start thinking about getting women into the constituent assembly or whatever final constitution-making body is agreed. If we elect a body dominated by patriarchal men, then all our efforts will be in vain.

COMMUNISM may have been blown out of the water on the other side of the globe, but in South Africa, the party's not yet over.

Those who believe the South African Communist Party should disband in the face of the failure of its ideology elsewhere should note that the SACP is now bigger than ever before in its 70-year history.

It doesn't necessarily follow that the party is also stronger. But in the months since its unbanning early last year the SACP has emerged as something of a beacon of hope for those elsewhere in the world who, while they might now eschew communist doctrine, still cherish a socialist ideal.

On December 4, SACP delegates will gather in Soweto to debate a new manifesto and ratify a constitution during the party's first legal conference inside South Africa since 1950.

By then, party officials hope membership will have swelled from a mid-September tally of 16 626 to "between 20 000 and 25 000" — a base on which they plan to build.

In themselves, the figures are hardly startling. But it should be remembered that the party only emerged above ground early last year; that most of its skilled cadres have been engaged primarily in building its alliance partner, the African National Congress, and that it has had to deal with

In a small corner of the globe, communism thrives despite all. Yes, it's SA

at least 25/10 - 31/10/91

GAYE DAVIS ponders the riddle of why the SACP gets stronger while world communism gets weaker

a radically changed political situation both locally and internationally.

For sociologist Eddie Webster, the party is both stronger and weaker: "To many activists, it stands for a more radical redistribution of wealth than does the ANC and is stronger in the sense that it enjoys more support than before.

"Paradoxically, it is also weaker, in the sense that a lot of the ideological cement that's held it together has to be re-thought and alternatives fleshed out. It lacks a clarity of vision or a programme to back it up. Whether the party rises to this challenge at its congress remains to be seen. It's certainly too early to start writing obituaries."

To write the party off as a future political force would be to miss a fundamental point: that the whirlwind of change which swept through Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union barely ruffled the consciousness of the majority of its supporters in South Africa.

Charles Nqakula, convener of the party's national organising committee, identifies the biggest single problem confronting the SACP as its present inability to reap the wealth of support it enjoys among people who remain convinced that "socialism is the answer to all our problems".

"There has been a slowness in our putting infrastructures on the ground because the cadres

are doing ANC work. But this has nothing to do with people not wanting to join the party," Nqakula said.

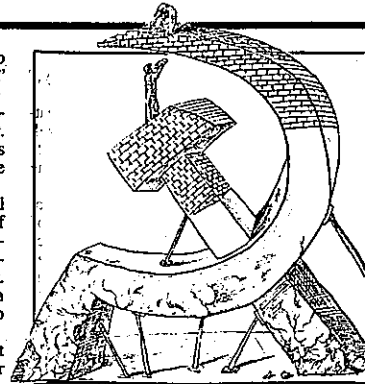
It has, however, had quite a bit to do with creating ideological confusion at grassroots level. Why should activists join the party when its immediate aims extend no further than getting the ANC up and running?

For Dr Mike Morris, of the Centre for Social and Urban Studies at the University of Durban-Westville, the paramount challenge facing the party is the need to establish itself as independent of the ANC and the labour movement. But he believes the party is ill-equipped — both organisationally and ideologically — to step into the future.

"Given the party's inability to confront its past and the fact that it has no current policies bar those of the ANC, I can't see it maintaining political coherence. Either it will collapse into the ANC or whittle away to a hard core of supporters.

"It is not building an alternative socialist perspective, but asking people to build another organisation. It needs to establish itself as an independent force," Morris said.

But internal leadership group member Jeremy Cronin sees nothing anomalous in the party's present role: it is working towards its first goal — achieving a national democratic transformation



take years, according to Cronin. Only then will the way lie open for the party to achieve its ultimate goal — a socialist state.

This is why the party has been able to accept that it will not be getting Umkhonto weSizwe's Chris Hani, because the ANC's need for him is greater. For the same reason general secretary Joe Slovo will not be available for re-election.

This is also why the party is giving the impression of being caught in a leadership crisis. When party veteran Raymond Mhlaba (71) was tipped

recently to become Slovo's successor, critics charged that the SACP was headed back to the dinosaur era.

But perhaps the post might go to someone like Charles Nqakula: now 49, he was born and bred in Cradock and later worked as a journalist in the Eastern Cape until his banning in 1981. He founded the Veritas news agency in 1982 before going into exile in 1984. After undergoing military and political training in Angola, the Soviet Union and East Germany, he covertly re-entered South Africa to emerge above-ground just before the ANC's June congress.

Mhlaba and Nqakula mirror what observers see as the old and the new within the SACP: an old guard nostalgic for the strength of the Russian bear at a time when the rest of the world had turned its back on the ANC; and more innovative thinkers happy to jettison old ideological baggage to forge a new socialist vision.

Cronin believes an emerging perspective within the party holds the key: the view that socialism cannot work in the absence of democracy — and that the stifling of democracy by a relentless bureaucracy lies at the roots of communism's collapse abroad.

"To understand this is to better understand the party's strength in South Africa," he said. "In Eastern Europe, mass-based organisations withered. Here they are robust."

AFTER 20 months of murder, mayhem and despair, the Multi-Party Conference which will probably be held in December is beginning to shimmer on the horizon like an oasis at the end of a long stretch of desert.

Who could have guessed when Nelson Mandela stood on the balcony of the Cape Town city hall last year that it would take so long for the transformation of South Africa to begin?

Events of the past two years have discredited the notion of a quick fix new South Africa but it is now time to really get cracking on the making of the new constitution.

Some analysts argue that the process must be slow in order to be as inclusive as possible, that only a new society built on painstaking negotiation and consultation will stand the test of time.

But the endless delays, the power struggle prompted by the perception that the place is up for grabs and the sheer confusion and uncertainty are slowly bleeding this country dry.

This is not to argue for ratcheting together a phoney settlement behind the backs of the people, just not to allow doctrinaire positions, semantics or political posturing to obstruct what most people want: a peaceful democratic South Africa.

The biggest obstruction to negotiations has been the township violence which has put orderly change at risk. Yet, if the negotiations have to wait for the violence to end, they will never start.

It has dawned on the ANC that it is better to hasten the change so that they can equip themselves with the instruments of state to counter the violence, particularly covert activity, rather than rely on the National Party to do it for them.

In fact, with the national peace accord in tatters, it is increasingly apparent that the only piece of paper that could end the political violence is a new constitution.

It is in the ANC's interests to speed up the transition, instead of allowing potential delays such as waiting for all the parties to clamber aboard.

The ANC's semantic preference for the term All-Party Conference rather than Multi-Party Conference implies that nobody must be left out, which is like holding the train until the Conservative Party or the Herstigte Nasionale Party gets on board.

There has to be a cut-off point for parties who wish to participate in the Conference, or the whole process of working out a new constitution will be held back by splinter groups on the extreme right or left.

The decision by the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) not to attend the Patriotic Front conference this weekend probably rules them out as participants in the Multi-Party conference.

But its effect is more likely to marginalize Azapo than stall the Multi-Party conference.

What is more significant is that the Patriotic Front conference could deliver the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to the negotiating table.

This would mean that, with the exception of the Conservative Party, all the major players in terms of opinion poll support will be seated around that table.

The question is whether the parties could

find anything to agree on given the emphasis that has been placed on those areas that the Multi-Party Conference is likely to dam up on - such as the interim government or the constituent assembly, where the ANC and the NP hold very different positions.

But item number one on the agenda is likely to be a discussion on the broad principles of a new constitution, over which there is already a substantial meeting of minds.

All parties to the talks would have little difficulty in agreeing on the principle of a bill of rights, one man one vote in the lower house, a two tier parliament and proportional representation.

There are also substantial differences but differences are the reason for holding negotiations in the first place.

In negotiating the transition, the ANC makes the crucial distinction between specific mechanisms, which are negotiable, and principles, which are not.

There is reason to believe that a compromise could be put together on an interim arrangement not least because there is no alternative for the National Party and the ANC.

De Klerk said, after his government's credibility was eroded by the Inkathagate scandal, that the government had no desire to be player and referee at the same time during the interim period.

He committed himself to transitional arrangements which would ensure that the government was unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its negotiating partners.

That is not necessarily inconsistent with the PAC's proposals that a transitional authority be set up with control over broadcasting and the security forces and a mechanism to ensure free and fair elections.

The ANC, which was busy formulating a more exact definition of its interim government demand this week, would not want the responsibility of sharing in every little chore of government.

The sticking point could be over the question of sovereignty. Firstly, the ANC does not want the transitional government to fall under De Klerk and his cabinet, who would presumably continue the day to day running of the country.

Further, the ANC is talking about international participation in overseeing the security forces - and the PAC wants the international community to oversee the process of free and fair elections. The NP is likely to object to both proposals. Once agreed on, the bones of the constitutional principles would have

flesh put on them by a constitution-making body such as a constituent assembly.

The constitution would have to be somehow legitimated by a popular mandate. But the problem with an election is that, if held in the present climate, it could result in a bloodbath.

Yet there has to be a way of ensuring popular participation in the drawing up of a new constitution, not simply because it would be wrong for politicians and constitutional lawyers to decide the future of the country behind closed doors.

The vast majority of South Africans want peace and democracy. Acting on that assumption, finding a way to open up popular participation in the constitution should not be feared as life-threatening to the process. In fact, it could be its strongest plank.

When Mandela stepped out of jail last year, who could guess how troubled the road ahead would be?

With the peace accord in danger of coming apart, it is increasingly apparent that the only piece of paper that might end the violence is a new constitution.
By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



WATCH OUT FOR NEXT WEEK'S REVIEW OF EDUCATION, FOCUSING ON LITERACY

'Struggle continues' for former exile

NAT SERACHE has been on the move ever since his return from exile in June. Finding accommodation is a major problem for most returning exiles — but Nat's nomadic existence has more to do with fears for his life and those of the people around him than the chronic housing shortage.

A former *Rand Daily Mail* journalist, he experienced two attempts on his life after fleeing to exile in Botswana in 1977.

The first was in 1980, when a car with South African registration plates which witnesses said was driven by a white man, rammed the van he was travelling in, forcing him into a ditch.

The second, in 1985, was more determined: the house in which he was sleeping was reduced to rubble by an explosion heard kilometres away. Sixteen neighbouring houses, a shopping complex and a school were damaged, but Serache and his housemate escaped — injured, but alive.

A former Civil Co-operation Bureau agent later admitted planting the bomb when he gave evidence before the Harms Commission of Inquiry. He said he thought that Serache had died.

On leaving hospital, Serache realised the threat he had become to his neighbours. "I saw the extent of the damage and thought how many lives it could have cost. I didn't feel my presence in Botswana did any good for the people around me," he

W/Mail 25/10-31/10/91.
His life is no less threatened in South Africa than it was during his days in exile. Nat Serache — and many others — have no one to turn to, reports GAYE DAVIS.

recalled this week.

Vigilance was a part of life, he added, citing the instance of a car which was on the way to collect him for work one day when it narrowly avoided travelling over a mine. Fortunately, the driver had taken the precaution of travelling another route.

"One had to be concerned about one's security on a daily basis. But on joining the struggle, you knew to expect this."

For Serache and countless others like him, being back in South Africa means being more vigilant than ever.

Two weeks ago Serache went home with African National Congress official Gill Marcus, who had told him her Hillbrow flat was being watched by unidentified men. They split up before approaching the building, which was when Serache spotted first a waiting yellow combi, then a man concealed in the shadows signalling to its occupants.

"When I realised this person had seen me, I instinctively ran towards him. He pulled out a pistol from under his jacket and cocked it. I stopped and pretended to reach for a gun myself. This made him hesi-

tate, giving me time to jump off the stairs and head down a dark alley between the buildings.

"About 100 yards inside the alleyway, I saw four men coming into it. They were arguing about something, about whether or not to shoot me ... but I was running for dear life."

Serache duly made a statement to the police, but he believes this has achieved little more than "putting my name up front".

Some time after this incident, he was followed to the house where he was staying. It was time to move again.

"I'm a nomad, with no fixed abode," he said. "It's more out of concern for my neighbours than my own security."

Serache said he feels less safe back home than he did in exile, where certain ANC members were issued with handguns for their own protection: "Outside, one could take precautions — here one cannot."

He believes that a hit-list exists, "partly because I have no reason to believe there isn't one and partly because of the pattern of attacks we are seeing. The victims are mainly middle-level to senior cadres, not only of the ANC but other organisations as well."

For Serache and other activists, the phrase "the struggle continues" is no empty slogan.

In a dossier compiled for delegates at the recent Commonwealth

summit, the ANC noted that Katilehong civic leader Sam Ntuli's recent murder was the 61st assassination of an ANC or community activist since June last year.

"Serious investigation under the auspices of the commission established in terms of the peace accord should begin immediately to determine the circumstances, causes and extent of this clear policy of eliminating political activists," the dossier stated.

"It is increasingly clear that this government is talking peace while waging war against the people. This strategy is disastrous and likely to dash all hopes for peace."

Commented the ANC's media liaison officer, Saki Macozoma: "The impact on people's ability to function is serious. It would be stupid of me to get into a bus or a taxi, though I'm lucky to have a car."

"In my opinion, there has been a qualitative change in the violence: away from random killings and towards targeted assassinations.

"People don't understand the level of intimidation or the oppression it gives rise to. It's particularly a matter of concern for those of us with high profiles, whose names appear in the press.

"It's impossible for the ANC to safeguard everyone — we have limited resources — and the people we are dealing with appear to have superior organisational capacity and training, in some instances."

'Campaign' to kill ANC activists

W/Mail 25/10-31/10/91.
AMONG the 61 people said by the African National Congress to have been assassinated since June 1990 are civic leaders, unionists, ANC activists and community leaders.

A common denominator appears to be their effectiveness within their communities, which gives rise to the ANC's conviction that a campaign to eliminate activists is under way.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal regional secretary, Joe Nkuna, was attacked by assailants on October 3. Publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu said the attack came a week after the office received a hoax call "from a known member of the police", saying Nkuna had been shot.

According to the ANC, those who have died since June 1990 include: Jeff Wabena, national organiser of the South African Domestic Workers' Union, who was shot by a gunman in East London; Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, an ANC activist in the western Cape, who was shot in June; Joseph Thwala, vice-chairman of the ANC's Mbhaya branch, shot on September 19; Christopher Nangalembe, Youth League organiser found strangled in Sebokeng in January; and Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal, gunned down in Thokoza on September 29.

Azapo gets new branch

Sowetan
25/10/91 By DON SEOKANE

(11A)

THE Northern Transvaal region of the Azanian Peoples Organisation is to launch a branch at GaMokaba village near Mahwelereng on Sunday.

Speakers at the launch will include the Rev Leputu, regional organiser for Azapo in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Khangale Makhado, publicity director, representatives of Azayo, Azasco and Imbeleko.

The agenda will include a discussion on the Patriotic Front and constituent assembly.

Azapo's general secretary, Mr Don Nkadameng, will be the guest speaker.

The Lebowa School Principals Association is to hold its sixth annual conference at Radio Lebowa Hall in Pietersburg on November 2.

The Association of Officers of Education in Lebowa, Gazankulu Principals Union, Lebowa Rectors Union, Lebowa Nurses Association and Lebowa Public Servants Association and founder members and past executives of the association have been invited to attend.

Bekkersdal wins where PF fails

AS the major liberation movements gather in Durban today for the formation of the long awaited Patriotic Front, the small West Rand township of Bekkersdal could best serve as a model for grassroots unity against a common opponent.

After months of deliberations, the local branches of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have succeeded in forming a civic association not tied to any political ideology but committed to a single goal.

The Bekkersdal Interim Civic Association (BICA) was given unqualified support by the township's residents in a meeting two weeks ago with a mandate to transform the organisation speedily into a permanent "bread and butter" structure for residents.

There are some parallels. For example, the only organisation not included in the Bekkersdal civic association is the Inkatha Freedom Party — which is also not participating in the Patriotic Front.

W/mall 25/10-31/10/91
Convincing more than 70 different anti-apartheid groups to join in a Patriotic Front has been a process fraught with difficulties. Perhaps the organisers should have consulted the people of tiny Bekkersdal, who know how these things are done. By
WALLY MBHELE

In Bekkersdal, however, Inkatha was actually asked to participate, but according to organisers, never responded to invitations.

And the small Bekkersdal township could have provided the Patriotic Front organisers — had they asked — with a tacit answer to the query of how to deal with a common enemy: put unity above ideology.

According to Bekkersdal Interim Civic Association chairman Isaac Mathambo, "if you have a problem, you have it as a community of Bekkersdal, not as a member or a representative of a certain political group. When things go wrong, they go wrong for all of us."

"We did not want to leave out any



Benny Alexander

community organisation because we have seen in the past that in the pursuit of a single goal, when you exclude one group, you won't easily succeed in your quest for reconstruction."

In contrast, the launch of the Patriotic Front was threatened when

11A
Azapo sent a letter to 14 invited homeland and parliamentary parties questioning their status and advising them to withdraw from the conference. Subsequently, Azapo was stripped of its position as a co-convenor of the PF conference by the ANC and the PAC's joint liaison committee, accusing it of undermining the convening committee.

At a press conference on Sunday, the two organisations said although Azapo would no longer enjoy the status of a PF co-convenor, it was "welcome to take part in the conference with the same status as all other political participants". However, on Wednesday Azapo withdrew from the PF conference.

One of the most pressing problems that necessitated the formation of a civic in Bekkersdal was the violence that swept the area last year and early this year.

Like the Patriotic Front, says Mathambo, BICA has a duty to see that political tolerance is forged among various political formations in the township.

He stressed that many civics have put ideology first — but that major problems facing communities do not discriminate according to political ideology. "We have seen a lot of civics that are aligned to one political party only. In the end when you ask residents how the civic functions, they tell you its shortcomings are due to its following one political tendency.

For a civic to be a real mouthpiece and a watchdog, "mass consultation and mobilisation of all political groups around a common problem is an effective rallying point," he says. "For us to reach our goal as black people, we must be one. People must understand that a civic must deal and work for each and every one. It must not be one-sided."

During its first public mass meeting earlier this month, BICA attracted a massive attendance: an estimated 95 percent of the residents of Bekkersdal. In that meeting, says Mathambo, BICA was given a unanimous mandate to facilitate the formation of a permanent civic in the township and mandated to engage in negotiations with the council for better and affordable services in the township. The electricity problem is on top of their agenda. Attempts since 1984 to form a civic in the township have been consistently foiled at an advanced stage by the councillors. "At least four previous attempts were rendered ineffective by council spies who divided people on the civic. Previous attempts just disappeared into the thin air.

"You must be aware when you are dealing with councillors, you are dealing with the 'system'," he said, accusing the council of being responsible for the formation of the civic because of councillors' corrupt maladministration. Mathambo described the working relations among the three organisations in the civic as cordial. "As a chairman, I make them aware that we are here as Bekkersdal residents, not political groups."

More than 500 delegates from a wide spectrum of organisations are expected to attend today's conference.

AZAPO TAKES THE SHINE OFF PATRIOTIC FRONT CONFERENCE

By Phillip van Niekerk and Hubert Matlou

THE withdrawal of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its allied organisations has taken the shine off this weekend's Patriotic Front (PF) conference, but the aim of putting up a united front against the National Party remains a top priority.

About 500 individuals representing 70 organisations will be attending the conference, to forge common positions on issues such as an interim government, a constituent assembly and basic constitutional principles.

The conference's most significant political outcome could be a closer working relationship between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, which

was accused this week of betraying its ally, Azapo, when it chose to remain a co-host after Azapo's withdrawal.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said yesterday his party would attend the conference in spite of a PAC statement that support for a constituent assembly was a minimum demand for participation in the conference.

De Beer said the DP had tried in vain to establish whether delegates would be observers or fully-fledged participants at the conference. "Frankly, I don't know whether it matters," he said. "We will be there. We won't be committed to any position unless we choose to be."

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said a key aim of the PF would be to ensure unity via a constituent assembly, rather than a negotiated

settlement behind closed doors.

Apart from several other extra-parliamentary parties and those working in government structures such as the Labour Party and homeland parties, the PF conference will also draw attendance from student, religious, business and sport organisations.

The only notable "uninvited guest" is the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose invitation had not yet been issued when an IFP spokesman described the PF as a "sectarian forum, amounting to a ganging-up against other races, which breeds on fear and violence". The organisers decided an invitation under the circumstances would be a waste of time.

On the conference's agenda are items dealing with a mechanism for

the transitional process towards a democratic order, internecine violence and possibly the proposed general strike against Value-Added Tax.

However, strategic differences exist on questions regarding the transitional process.

The PAC is calling for an internationally sponsored authority, and rejects calls for the government's multi-party conference and the ANC's all-party congress, which it thinks would make it "co-managers of apartheid".

The common denominator for participants in the PF is adherence to the demand for an elected constituent assembly — a factor which made it possible for the invitation of homeland and parliamentary parties which subscribe to that view.



TALKBACK

Azapo spells it out to callers

By PHANGISILE

MTSHALI

25/10/91.
 DESPITE its expulsion from this weekend's Patriotic Front conference, the Azanian Peoples Organisation is still committed to unity among black liberation movements.

This was said by Azapo's vice-president for political education, Mr Molatlhegi Tlhale, to DJ Tim Modise in the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday.

Answering questions from worried callers who saw Azapo's expulsion as "doom for the black liberation struggle", Tlhale said his organisation would work with the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress on projects "to uplift our people".

Agenda

Asked by Moses from Rockville why Azapo had not put the status of "collaborators" on the agenda as part of the conference, Tlhale said the conveners had agreed that all participants must be in favour of a constituent assembly - an idea which was rejected by many "collaborators".

"When defining patriotism there is no way we can compare Mr Nelson Mandela, who spent 27 years in jail, to Amichand Rajbansi, who participates in a tricameral parliament," he said.

"Azapo is not apologetic for sending those letters to 14 organisations. What we object to is the way our expulsion was publicised before we were formally told," Tlhale said.



Mr Clarence
Makwetu

ARC 25/10/91

Unity aim of PF meeting, says PAC leader

DURBAN. — The aim of the Patriotic Front conference was to unite organisations behind the call for a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

This was the view expressed in a speech prepared for delivery at the opening session of the conference here today by the Pan African Congress President Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Mr Makwetu said the ANC and other organisations attending the conference "agree with me that the only legitimate and democratic forum for the

Durban deluge as 400 pour in for PF meeting

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Hundreds of delegates have poured in here for the Patriotic Front conference.

(11A)

ARG 25/10/91

They will spend three days deliberating key issues from which optimists hope a common strategy on constitutional negotiations and transition politics will emerge.

More than 400 delegates — representing 75 political, labour, religious, community and other organisations — flew into Durban for the conference, which was to be opened this morning jointly by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

The opening will also be addressed by the Organisation of African Unity's Brigadier Hashim Mbita.

Each of the organisations will be allowed to register six delegates and some of the major groupings are expected to have up to 24 observers.

The conference will take place at two venues, with the first and third days being held at the Malibu Hotel on the beachfront and Saturday's session at the Durban Inn.

The agenda includes discussions on an interim government, a constituent assembly, the all-party conference and the violence. Resolutions and declarations will be adopted at the closing session on Sunday.

Not so solid after Azapo

The withdrawal of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) from this weekend's "patriotic front" (PF) conference in Durban, following a bust-up with co-conveners the ANC and PAC, could see the creation of a small but ultra-radical leftwing power group.

Azapo was effectively forced out when the ANC and PAC stripped the organisation of its co-convenor status after demands it made to prospective participants to pull out of government-created political structures.

The demand affected the participation of a wide range of groups, including the Demo-

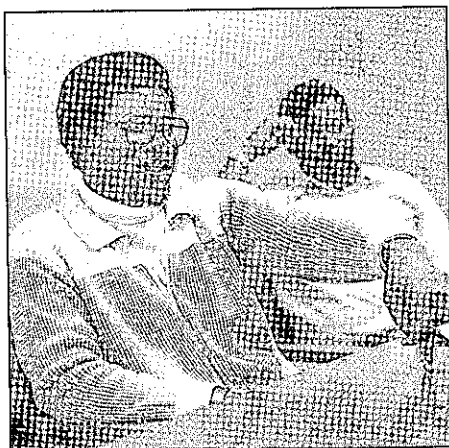
all-party talks (though the PAC has still not committed itself to constitutional negotiations to the extent that the ANC has).

It seems Azapo under general secretary Pandelani Nefolohodwe may now become the Herstigte Nasionale Party of the Left, using its "purified" status to rally support in its two power centres, the PWV and the western Cape.

At this stage, its potential for growth is considered to be limited, particularly in the light of closer ties between the ANC and PAC.

One commentator said this week that Azapo's following could be counted in the "tens of thousands."

Its potential to act as a spoiler could be considerable, particularly if it capitalises on the inability of the ANC and PAC to deliver the fruits of negotiations as quickly as many township dwellers may demand. ■



Azapo's Nefolohodwe ... out on the Left

cratic Party, the Labour Party and homeland leaders.

But Azapo apparently had no mandate for making the demand — contained in letters to the organisations — and was repudiated by the ANC and PAC. The conference will now go ahead without Azapo or its ally, the Azanian Students Convention.

The split between Azapo and the PAC is regarded as significant. Though the two organisations are not officially linked, they share ideology. Up to now they have formed the foundation of resistance to participation in all-party talks. They regard the election of a constituent assembly followed by negotiations to transfer power as the key to change.

Their role in organising the Patriotic Front conference was seen by the ANC as a breakthrough in convincing them to become involved in constitutional negotiations.

Azapo's letter last week broke the veneer of unity among the main "struggle" actors and revealed the extent of resistance within the organisation to alliances with "system" groups.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said the PF conference would now be little more than a caucus of groups that will attend

Patriotic Front conveners deny 'ganging up' on Govt

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

IIA

DURBAN — The co-conveners of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference which begins here today have vigorously denied allegations by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen that the PF is ganging-up against the Government.

In an interview with RSA Policy Review's January edition, released yesterday, Dr Viljoen said ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa's description of the PF conference as a "parliament in the making" was "presumptuous".

At a press briefing at the Malibu Beach Hotel — where the three-day conference is taking place — PF liaison committee members last night said Dr Viljoen's allegations were unfounded because the PF was an attempt to forge unity among the

Star 25/10/91
oppressed and bring together all those organisations which supported demands for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen said the PF — which endeavoured to establish an alliance between parties — might not be conducive to negotiations because it might lead to "rigidity".

A positive outcome of the PF conference might be that more parties could be brought into the negotiation process.

"However, it remains an open question whether this is a sufficient advantage to balance out the disadvantages of the false impression created by a PF," Dr Viljoen said.

The ANC and PAC, co-conveners of the conference, yesterday disclosed that the Democratic Party had not yet indicated whether it would attend the indaba.

All-party conference could be next month

11A (11A) star 25/10/91

By Peter Fabricius
and Jacqueline Myburgh

A growing sense of urgency is being injected into preparations for the multiparty/all-party conference, with indications that it could take place as early as next month.

The Government met the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party for separate talks yesterday on the convening of the conference, and joint statements issued afterwards stressed the need to get it under way before the end of the year.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday that the all-party conference — as the ANC calls it — could take place "within the month".

This confirmed the trend indicated earlier by Government sources that the conference could start as early as the last week of November.

After meeting yesterday,

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in a joint statement that further progress had been made on the convening of the conference.

"There was agreement on the urgency of the matter and the desirability of a multiparty/all-party conference before the end of the year."

Earlier Dr Viljoen had met IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose on the same subject. The two issued a joint statement expressing their sense of urgency about getting the conference started.

They said good progress had been made and an understanding achieved on all issues.

"It was agreed that, as previously stated, a first meeting of a multiparty conference is urgent and should take place before the end of the year."

The Patriotic Front (PF) conference of the ANC, PAC and smaller parties, which starts in Durban today, is expected to

give impetus to the plans for an all-party conference.

If the major PF parties agree on the basic terms of an all-party conference, as expected, the way should be open for it to start soon.

In an interview in the RSA Policy Review's January edition released yesterday, Dr Viljoen said violence was a main reason for the delay in convening a multiparty conference.

The recent signing of the National Peace Accord by more than 30 organisations had made it imperative to convene such a conference.

"It would be far easier to discuss the reasons underlying violence at such a multiparty conference, and to solve it and act against it jointly," Dr Viljoen said.

Certain organisations were trying to delay constitutional negotiations "to gain the greatest possible control and influence over the negotiation process by exerting pressure and by destabilisation".

No 'selfish interests' in constitution

11A
CT 26/10/91

DURBAN. — The ANC believes a new constitution should not simply reflect the "selfish interests" of any organisation but should be an all-South African "enabling" constitution.

This emerged in an ANC document presented to delegates at the start of the patriotic front conference here.

The paper, written by ANC national executive committee member Mr Joel "Mayibuye" Netshitenzhe, states that in forming the first democratic government, voluntary account would have to be taken by the majority party of a variety of interests to ensure national unity and stability.

Mr Netshitenzhe added that the most appropriate forum for drawing up a new constitution was a constituent assembly which should be elected on the basis of one-person, one-vote and should be subordinated to no other governmental or legal authority.

In another discussion paper, the ANC's Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said that if transition was to work at all, it had to be supervised by an interim government of national unity composed of "an effective mix of political forces".

The interim government would also have to create conditions for free political activity, disband vigilante groups and hit squads and place a moratorium on controversial projects. — Sapa

Hendrickse urges unity

DURBAN. — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday called for unity among all groups opposed to apartheid.

Addressing the the patriotic front conference here, he said the emphasis should now be on issues which unified rather those which divided.

"We cannot afford the luxury of being divided because of our different ideologies, strategies and personalities," he said. — Sapa

DURBAN. — The PAC yesterday proposed that a united patriotic front engage the government in a two-sided confrontation rather than multi-party negotiations.

The proposal was drafted and circulated at the start of the patriotic front conference which hopes to establish a united front among the opponents of apartheid.

The document confirms the PAC position that it will not enter into constitutional talks until democratic elections are held to create a constituent assembly. This is the main goal of the conference, the document said.

The PAC accepts the



GREETINGS . . . The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu (left), and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu greet each other at the start of the patriotic front conference in Durban yesterday.

Picture: AP

Front 'should take on SA govt'

need for a forum to press "our legitimate demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly". The suggestions offered are for a pre-constituent assembly meeting and an all-party conference.

The movement rejects the regime's multiparty

conference because the "proven-support qualification" for participation is undemocratic.

The agenda of such a forum will depend on agreements at the present conference where there is consensus on the demand for a constituent assembly. The envisaged forum's main thrust will therefore be to strengthen this demand.

"At whatever forum we raise and press our demand we must, at all times, ensure that we act as the patriotic united front, speak with one voice and press our common demand," the document said. — Sapa



PATRIOTIC SMILES: The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, left, and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, greet each other at the start of the Patriotic Front conference.

(11A) ARG 26/10/97

Joint control on line again as unity talks open

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu said yesterday at the Patriotic Front conference here that South Africa's security forces, the state media, finances and the voting mechanism should come under joint political control in the run-up to a new constitution.

The idea of joint political control of the areas suggested by Mr Makwetu surfaced in African National Congress thinking in the middle of the year — but was shot down.

Now Mr Makwetu told delegates to the PF conference it was necessary to ensure an impartial and fair supervision of the transition.

"Such an authority should control at least the security forces, electoral process, state media, defined areas of budget and finance. Joint structures, which will be sovereign, will be set up to control these areas. It shall not implement apartheid legislation. It shall have limited duration," Mr Makwetu said.

The ANC has told the Patriotic Front that the all-party congress would have to discuss the political climate, the re-incorporation of the TBVC states, constitutional principles, interim government, the mechanisms to draw up the new constitution, the role of the international community and the time frame for the constitutional process.

Two Organisation of African Unity leaders were warmly greeted by delegates yesterday. Brigadier Hashiem Aim Mbitha, the executive secretary of the co-ordinating committee for the liberation of Africa, will speak today. He was accompanied by Mr Mamoudou Kane, head of the de-colonisation and sanctions division.

The ANC deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, denied charges that the PF conference represented a ganging up of blacks against whites, saying it constituted a broad spectrum of the South African population and represented "the best of our nation from every walk of life, from every population group — truly an embryo of our future nation".

He said the National Party government, whose continuation in office was "the major obstacle in the path to negotiations", was trying in vain to deny the legitimacy and efficacy of the people's struggle for liberation and to distort their democratic objectives.

President De Klerk, Mr Sisulu said, wanted "to be referee, player, linesman and write the score" during negotiations.

Extending a hand of friendship to those who had worked "within the system, in the bantustans and within parliament", Mr Sisulu said unity demanded everyone's participation.

ANC denies enmity kept Boesak away

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

THE ANC in the Western Cape has dismissed speculation that its chairman Dr Allan Boesak is not attending the Patriotic Front conference because of enmity between him and Labour leader Rev Allan Hendrickse.

"The reason why Dr Boesak is not attending the conference is because he was not included in the delegation chosen by the ANC National Executive Committee at a meeting in Johannesburg this week," said Western Cape secretary-general Mr Tony Yengeni.

He said it was true the ANC saw the Labour Party as "a collaborator" during the 1980s and it still served in the tricameral Parliament, but this did not rule out the possibility of the two groups developing "a common approach on certain issues".

"Besides this, Dr Boesak has a very busy schedule and is tied up with other engagements this weekend," Mr Yengeni said.

Slovo 'a believing unbeliever' . . .

(11A) ARG 26/10/91

QUIET-spoken, Joe Slovo is a thoughtful person able to talk at length on a number of subjects. He has a keen interest in religion and the origins of religious belief, while being eager to explain his secular humanism and materialist understanding of life. This left me, as a theologian, feeling that in spite of some differences between us, I was in dialogue with a kindred spirit.

To the theologian, much of what Slovo says sounds a bit like theology in secular dress. Yet clearly he is operating from a different premise. He has what he calls "a bent for a scientific approach to reality".

His case is simply stated: "I cannot present a scientific argument for the non-existence of God, but then neither can I prove the existence of God." On that one Joe, we are all in the same boat!

Having listened to his views on life, his socialist vision and understanding of religion, I suggested he might be "a kind of believing unbeliever". Thinking for a moment, he responded: "In the sense that I believe in the roots of faith and understand its driving energy, I think that is a pretty neat way of describing me."

NOT THE OPIATE OF THE MASSES

Slovo rejects as unMarxian the notion that religion is the opiate of the masses. When elevated to the status of a general statement on all religion, it is "unMarxist, because it is undialectical and unscientific," says Slovo. The anti-religious stance of Marxism on religion, he insists, emerged as a critique of the specific crimes committed in the name of a specific kind of religion, which undergirded economic greed and political exploitation. "To the extent," he continues, "that religion distracts the attention of the poor away from the causes of their oppressive social conditions on earth, by directing their attention to a future reward in heaven, religion is the opium of the people." He is ready to allow that not all religion serves this end.

"There are, in fact, many different Gods," he says. "The God of Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop Tutu, Frank Chikane and others, but also the God of Verwoerd and his cohorts — as well as the Gods of an array of religionists who use other more subtle ways of subverting the strug-

CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO, Professor of Religion and Society at the University of Cape Town, speaks to Joe Slovo about his views on life, his socialist vision and his understanding of religion.

gle of the oppressed." Fascinated with the religion of Jesus, his challenge to the church is that it return to its origins, relocating itself, like Jesus, on the side of the poor and the marginalised in society. "From my perspective," he continues, "the Sermon on the Mount comes very close to a socialist manifesto."

He sees Jesus as a liberation leader in every sense of the term, who resorted to such tactics of struggle as the situation required. Reflecting on the New Testament story, he points out that: "When Jesus' disciples faced danger he advised them to sell their cloaks and buy swords. When hunted by the state he withdrew underground. When entering Jerusalem shortly before his arrest he sought the protection of the masses." Slovo is quite sure: "The religion of Jesus is not an opiate." Then with a wry smile he adds: "I am no theologian, but wonder whether Jesus would not at least have understood Operation Vula as something demanded by our context."

AN UNREHABILITATED UTOPIAN

Moving on from Slovo's exegetical forays into the New Testament, his understanding of the human quest for fulfillment is tough but not uncompromising. "Religion teaches us that God made people in His or Her image. That notion needs to be stood on its feet. I believe it is rather the human collective that made God in its image."

He suggests humanity has projected "into the heavens" what it has not been able to accomplish on earth. The notion of a perfect God and a world to come within which poverty and tyranny are defeated, is for Slovo a manifestation of the sense of human powerlessness that has emerged over the millenniums. "What Marxism has done," he argues, "is take the human longing for the perfect society and incorporate it into a socialist vision."

"It turns an otherworldly religious notion into a political programme. Sure there are weaknesses, sometimes called sinful dimensions, to the human character such as greed and the lust for power. That is partly why democracy is so important. It is an important antidote against tyranny, a dangerous possibility that lies deep within the human spirit. But I also believe in the greatness of the human spirit, the ability of humanity to build a paradise on earth, at least in the sense of putting together a society that is a vast improvement on what is seen in either the capitalist world or the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"I am an unrehabilitated utopian, and intend remaining one until the day I die."

Slovo points to the coalescence of the social visions of true Christians, Jews, Muslims and socialists. "Of course we have all fallen short in translating our visions into practice, but that does not invalidate these visions." He believes there is a need for religious people to rediscover the moral vision that constitutes the roots of all great religions. Similarly, it is the task of socialists to acknowledge the failure of socialist countries, return to basics, and ask what the socialist dream means in present historical circumstances. "Without a socialist vision," he argues, "I believe the world will be a poorer place. I say this conscious that the destruction of this vision constitutes the undermining of an important part of what the religions' traditions of our country are all about."

PERHAPS AN AGNOSTIC

I asked Slovo to explain the source of his restlessness. "What drives you?" I asked. "Does the word 'transcendence' have any meaning for you?"

His reply was decisive. "I have a sense of human transcendence. I am driven by the incompleteness of society. I have a vision of what society can and ought to become, which functions as a lure, drawing me into social engagement."

Rejecting any suggestion that he might be seen by some as a martyr or hero, he insists that life is a two-way process. "You get out of it what you put into it." He regards himself as having lived a privileged life, despite the tragedies and suffering he has endured. "To pursue a goal and to be driven by a cause is a glorious and fulfilling thing. When that goal and cause is recognised by global consensus to be right, noble and good, one can only be grateful to have been some small part of it." And what is the nature of that goal? "First and foremost it is a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa," is his unqualified reply. "The struggle for socialism is a longer term project."

Asked why he is an atheist, the reply came quickly: "Because I fundamentally believe our fate is in our own hands rather than being determined by some mysterious force outside of history." I suggested to him that the biblical God is to be found within history — a spirit, dynamic, a presence that drives the human soul and history itself towards completion, emancipation and hope. Quick to respond, Slovo insists: "Well, that is pretty close to what I tried to say earlier. My concern is that the

human drive for fulfillment be realised in an age of equality, in a situation where morality and caring for one another is executed in a concrete and practical manner in this world, not in some distance world-to-come. There is, I believe, a certain drive to this kind of fulfillment which is part of the human soul — a notion which I employ in a non-religious sense! Maybe I need to say I am agnostic rather than an atheist."

Slovo insists on the absolute freedom of religion. "It is an essential ingredient of democracy. I totally and completely support the freedom of religion. I have no desire whatsoever to deny anyone the right to believe or the right to practice their religion. I ask only that atheists and agnostics be afforded the same right, without prejudice or censure."

WHEN RELIGION NO LONGER MAKES SENSE

Raised a Jew in a Lithuanian village ghetto, Slovo was educated in a school run by the local rabbi "I had the Bible drummed into my head over and over again". Not sure that he ever fully grasped what the rabbi was getting at, it provided him with a sense of belonging and self-identity in the face of the anti-semitism of the time.

His mother died shortly after he emigrated to South Africa with his family at the age of nine, and he went through the ritual of saying prayers for the dead. "While other boys were playing football, I had an irrational sense of obligation to repeat the same prayers over and over again. That, I think is where my religious doubts began." Compelled to leave school at the age of 13 he found employment as a dispatch clerk, becoming involved in the labour movement and the Communist Party. He later graduated with a BA and a LLB degree from Wits.

The religion of Slovo's childhood is no more than a distant memory. A static religion cannot cope with the demands of a dynamic life. Asked to comment on the challenge facing religious institutions in South Africa, his comment is a telling one: "It has something to do with reaffirming their roots. It is to replicate in the contemporary context the liberating dimensions which are at the foundation of religious aspirations. Marxists and religious people owe one another a whole bunch of mea culpas. We actually have a hell of a lot in common."

Slovo is reminded of one of Lenin's more conciliatory comments on religion. "We must stop arguing about whether or not there is a paradise in heaven. Whatever we may believe about that matter, let's build a paradise on earth." "That's about where I am at," says Slovo. "And should I eventually discover that there is a paradise in heaven, that would be a bonus!"



□ Rory Riordan . . . "We must help organise and prosper"

Weekend Argus Bureau

ANC's 'killing fields' convert

PORT ELIZABETH. — A visit to the "killing fields of Natal" earlier this year is what finally made former Eastern Cape regional chairman of the Democratic Party, Mr Rory Riordan, join the African National Congress. It was a decision not taken lightly and not without much soul-searching.

But for someone with a deep-seated sense of justice, who resents seeing the powerful gang up on the powerless and the pervading "sense of evil and the utter misery of the ghost towns of Natal", the transition to the

political science academics and anti-apartheid activists here and overseas. Above all, he has met and knows many black leaders who appreciate his sense of perspective and integrity.

Today he also serves on the One City Task Force, a project which he feels strongly about.

He knows there are no easy answers but feels something must be done or the country "will saturate itself in the suffering of the black people".

He says: "We must help organise and prosper."

He is optimistic that the enormous amount of energy released will lead to a liberal, human rights-based democracy. He realises and understands the fears and reservation of white South Africans and their uncertainty about the future.

He realises that the ANC's long tradition of loyalty to the South African Communist Party is hurting its growth. He realises that many see it as an anti-Christian organisation and points out that blacks are mostly Christian.

But he admires the loyalty of the ANC to former friends and says he has the utmost confidence in the integrity of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

For the next year he intends keeping a low profile, watching and learning.

"There are people who have been in jail, who have spent a lifetime devoted to the ANC. These are the people who must hold office.

Meanwhile, each day is a challenge. He admits he is fortunate indeed to be able to get up every morning and really look forward to his job. He regards his position as a rare privilege and is happy to be working at grass-roots level towards a new South Africa.

Nor does he find the pressure of work too much. A self-confessed workaholic, he enjoys every moment of what he is doing. And he believes that slowly more and more whites will come to realise that they too can find a home in an organisation which is genuinely concerned about human rights and working for a true democracy.

'If we gang up on the powerless I'll leave'

ANC was inevitable.

And he is quick to warn, if the ANC "gangs up on the powerless" he will leave them. With his strong tradition of human rights he refuses to be on the side of the powerful in any particular equation.

Rory, who heads the Human Rights Trust and produces the highly respected Monitor, has come a long way since who started work as a clerk in a bank.

Born in Port Elizabeth, he matriculated at Marist Brothers and obtained a BA and honours in philosophy and psychology from Rhodes University. He later went into the family's paint business before opening a business selling building materials.

On his staff was a young African man with an impish sense of humour, Mr Mkhusele Jack, a member of the PE Youth Congress. His name was to become a household word in 1985 when he arranged the highly successful black consumer boycott of white shops. At this stage Rory was an active worker for the Progressive Federal Party.

He was also drawn into the fold of the United Democratic Front and became one of those involved in an ongoing war with the security police.

He became the victim of a vicious slander campaign which eventually led to the closing of his business. It was also during this time that he was approached to serve as inaugural board chairman for an organisation aimed at improving township conditions after the death of human rights activist Molly Blackburn in a car accident.

Eventually the Human Rights Trust emerged which has led him on fascinating and exciting path. He has met foreign diplomats and correspondents,

ANC, PAC gear up for joint action

Star 26/10/91

PATRICK LAURENCE

11A
20/10/91

DURBAN — The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday put aside their past enmity to launch a concerted drive for the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

The move, initiated at the opening of the patriotic front conference, came after two meetings in the last 10 days between the ANC and the Government on the need to hold preliminary round-table talks before the end of the year.

See Pages 2 and 8

It signalled the unfolding of two significant developments:

- A marked speeding up of the negotiation process.
- A determined bid by the ANC and PAC to persuade the majority of South Africans that the drafting of a new constitution should be entrusted to a constituent assembly, elected on a one-person, one-vote basis.

The demand for a popularly elected constituent assembly was linked to another objective: the formation, before the election of a constituent assembly, of an interim government or authority to oversee the transition from the old apartheid order to a new nonracial South Africa.

These interlinked demands are designed to shift the balance of power during the vital transitional process away from the De Klerk administration towards the "liberation forces".

In an apparent bid to discredit the notion of a patriotic front, Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen labelled the term a "misnomer" and warned that the conference might only succeed in tying its participants to fixed positions before the start of round-

TO PAGE 2.



COUNTDOWN TO TRAGEDY: Thomas Scherp pictured seconds before his hang-glider crashed into a cliff face 200 m below.

Tourist plunges to death in hang-glider horror

GRAHAM LIZAMORE

from the top of Table Mountain, said Mr Scherp waited for about 20 seconds before he took off.

Mr Barnes, who is in South Africa for the Wartime Air Training Scheme (WATS) reunion, said he had seen Mr Reiss takeoff and had positioned himself to photograph

TO PAGE 2.



CAPE TOWN — A young German holiday-maker, filming her boyfriend as he launched his hang-glider off Table Mountain, watched in horror as he plunged 200 m to his death after a wing appeared to collapse.

Thomas Scherp (30) was on holiday in South Africa with his girlfriend Renate Fritsch.

Mr Scherp was about to join another pilot, Mike Reiss, who had already taken off, when the accident occurred.

Frank Barnes, from Somerset, England, who was taking photographs of Mr Scherp as he prepared to launch his hang-glider

theme ran through the speeches of Mr Sisulu and Mr Makwetu: concern over those organisations which, for one reason or another, were not present at the conference.

Their remarks came after the controversial expulsion of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) as a convenor of the PF conference and its adamant refusal to accept its relegation and to attend as merely one of many invited organisations.

Azapo, which has a long history of unpromising opposition to "collaboration", was expelled after it sent a letter to 14 of the invited organisations objecting to their presence in "apartheid institutions" — legislative assemblies in the tribal "homelands" or the "racist" central parliament — or to the ethnically exclusive nature of their membership.

The PAC president referred directly to the absence of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, arguing that it had excluded itself.

"The IFP was approached and initially showed some interest, but unfortunately became negative during their congress and resolved not to join the front."

PF talks

FROM PAGE 1.

table talks proper. Zach de Beer's Democratic Party attended the conference, but kept its options open by making clear that it could not wholly endorse the campaign for a constituent assembly. Its four-man team was given observer status, with the right to contribute to debate but not to vote.

Representatives of 75 organisations — which the ANC-PAC alliance hopes to draw into the infant Patriotic Front — heard the ANC's Walter Sisulu declare that President de Klerk's National Party could not be trusted to control the transition process.

Describing yesterday's PF conference as the "largest gathering of patriotic forces in our country's history", Mr Sisulu asked: "Who can trust De Klerk to govern our country during the transition?"

Mr Sisulu, who stood in for ANC president Nelson Mandela (who was suffering from laryngitis), said to cheers: "We all know (De Klerk) wants to be referee, player, linesman — and write the score."

Another common

FW and Nelson should cut out the mudslinging

Star 26/10/91

I GUESS no democrat would deny Messrs Mandela and De Klerk the right to politically attack and criticise each other from time to time.

After all, the two are leaders of principal parties that are destined to play a crucial if not decisive role in shaping the new post-apartheid South Africa.

As seasoned politicians, the two leaders can also not be blamed for going about their political business with one eye on the process of political transition and the other eye on the democratic elections that are to usher in the birth of post-apartheid South Africa.

However, all this does not exempt the two leaders from their prime responsibility to concentrate first on ending the violence and promoting economic stability, and guiding the process of political transition to its successful conclusion before resorting to party politicking.

They will have ample time for politicking after they and their political allies have given us a new nonracial and democratic constitution.

One therefore gets worried when the two leaders appear to be putting the cart before the horse in this regard — playing party politics when they should be playing statesmanship.

They must not forget that even the international community tends to lump them together as the two main architects of a democratic South Africa.

How often have we heard world leaders and spokesmen of world organisations calling on Messrs Mandela and De Klerk virtually in one breath to

Through
My Eyes

OSCAR
DHOMO



work for reconciliation and democratisation in South Africa?

Nowadays they even receive international awards together!

It would appear there is no way the two leaders can wish each other away — certainly not during this crucial phase of transition.

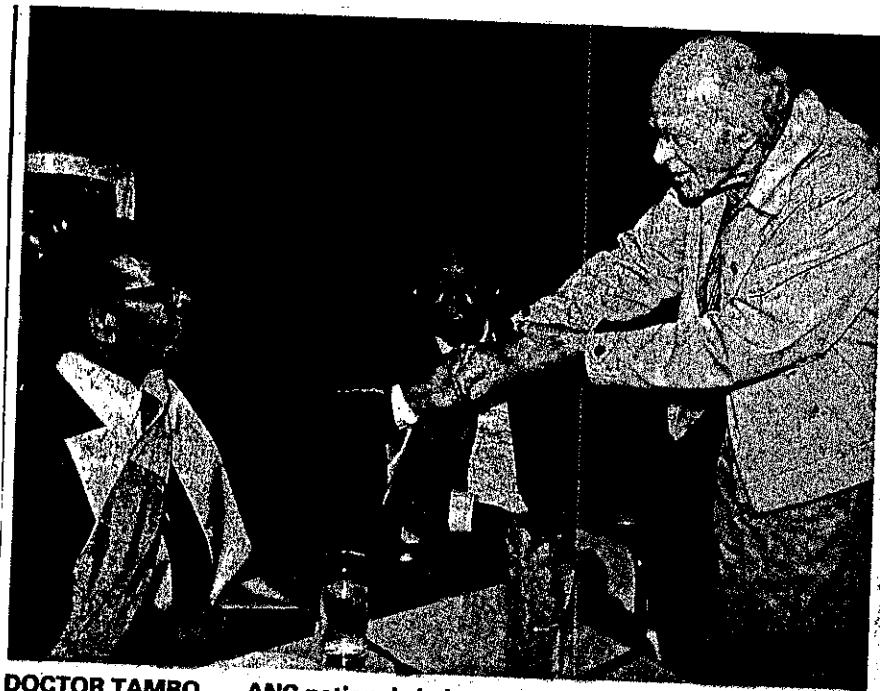
Some would even go further and speculate that, if the future South Africa is destined to be governed by a government of national unity at least during the first five years of its existence, that government would find it difficult to survive if at least Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, among others, were not playing a significant role.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe this week came close to admitting the Mandela-De Klerk political sparring session was causing some concern, but then pointed out that his party had to respond to some of Mr Mandela's anti-NP statements.

This may well be so, but the fact is that the only show in town at the moment is how the two leaders can deliver a stable and peaceful process of political transition.

All other things should play second fiddle to that.

How about a new political slogan for the two gentlemen: "Transition now, politicking later"?



DOCTOR TAMBO . . . ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo with old friends, veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha and former UCT academic, Professor Jack Simon

Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

Oscar has his moment as award goes to Tambo

S Times (C.M.) 27/10/91
 THE forgotten old man of anti-apartheid politics, Mr Oscar Mpetha, came in from the cold this week at a special graduation ceremony at the University of the Western Cape where ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo received an honorary law degree.

By RYLAND FISHER

Diabetic Mr Mpetha, 82, a former Western Cape president of the ANC, was greeted with a standing ovation as he was led into the sports stadium where the ceremony was held on Friday afternoon.

The university's Creative Arts Society led the crowd of 4 000 in singing "Na Sisi Bam iAngola" (There are guns in Angola), which was considered Mr Mpetha's "theme song" when he led the United Democratic Front in the mid-1980s.

Mr Mpetha, in a wheelchair, was seated in front of the specially-erected stage and, at the end of the ceremony, spoke to Mr Tambo in an emotional reunion of two ANC stalwarts.

At a private party afterwards, Mr Tambo said Mr Mpetha had been his first contact in the Western Cape in the early days of the ANC. The two had last seen each other before Mr Tambo left for exile more than 30 years ago.

His visit to Cape Town this week was Mr Tambo's first since his return from exile earlier this year.

The open-air graduation ceremony was opened with a cultural mix of choir singing, toyi-toyi and jazz.

Several of the celebrities were applauded enthusiastically as they arrived.

Among those present were Mrs Adelaide Tambo, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, prominent academics and businessmen and the entire regional executive committee of the ANC, including its chairman, Dr Allan Boesak.

But the biggest applause and standing ovations were reserved for Mr Tambo who, several speakers said, had "built up a battered ANC in exile in the dark days of repression".

Before closing the ceremony, UWC chancellor Archbishop Desmond Tutu broke with tradition to lead the singing of "Happy Birthday" to Mr Tambo, who turns 74 today.

WHERE to now Azapo, seeing that the patriotic front gravy train has left you behind?

Under Steve Biko you had a vision many years ago about the need to engage the white government as a unified force. What happened to that spirit?

Under the banner of black consciousness philosophy you were able for many years to bridge the gap between the PAC and the ANC.

It was supporters of BC philosophy who shortly after the 1976 Soweto uprisings revived the lull in the ANC and PAC army camps.

I could not help but ask what the future holds for this once formidable liberation movement.

In the past, BC structures provided a forum when Archbishop Desmond Tutu preached his gospel. The same structures were used by Winnie Mandela, Dr Nthato Motlana, Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota, Murphy Morobe and many others.

It was the black consciousness movement

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Azapo, don't stay outside!

C/Pres 27/10/91.

11A



which kept the home fires burning while the ANC and the PAC were forced into exile.

This movement, under the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's Convention, successfully moved black people away from apathy and self-pity.

The PAC and ANC cadres who waged war against the white minority regime were young men and women taught not to be inferior to other human beings because of skin colour.

They stood up to baasskap and white supremacy in a proud manner.

Many paid a heavy price. Steve Biko would still be alive today if he had succumbed to the white superiority myth.

Mapetla Mohapi would not have "hanged" himself in that remote jail in King William's Town if he had admitted under interrogation that BC was racist.

Onkgopotse Tero would have survived a parcel bomb in Botswana if he had not told Turfloop students at a graduation ceremony that Bantu Education was poison which must be fed to whites as well.

Mthuli ka Shezi would have had a safe journey

home from Natal if he had not stood up to the train guard who forced his white supremacy on him. The list is endless.

BC is as important today as it was in 1968. Affirmative action will not succeed unless we know who we are - and what we want.

It is therefore sad indeed to see Azapo out in the cold.

This is the last mile to our liberation and it is all systems go to reach the tape. Azapo should know this.

Yes, Azapo made a blunder by going against the spirit of the patriotic front by writing letters to

the 14 organisations reminding them of their sellout positions. It was an unwise decision and they had to be reprimanded - but not forced out.

It is also about time Azapo learnt to grow with the times.

The political wisdom of today is not to drive people to the enemy camp, but to woo them to yours in order to form a strong alliance.

To call people stooges and sellouts is self-defeating.

We all know that the homelands will soon disintegrate.

We also know that the tri-cameral Parliament will soon be a thing of the past, with the Rajbansi's, Hendrickse's and Reddy's relegated back to the rank-and-file where they belong.

Unless Azapo reconsiders its position, it will be a lonely voice in the wilderness.

The Inkatha Freedom Party too, by not joining the PF, may find themselves forming an alliance with the National Party.

No party will survive on its own in the politics of the future.

By S'BU MINGADI

A STRONG air of comradeship pervaded this weekend's Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

Set in a three-star Durban beachfront hotel, the three-day conference - which began on Friday - could have easily passed for a business indaba.

About 500 people, mostly wearing business suits while others wore the leopard skins and headgear that marked their status as chiefs and royalty, had responded to the joint ANC-PAC call for a patriotic front.

They were closely observed by about 100 local and foreign journalists and diplomats.

Delegates began trickling into the hotel as early as 5 am on Friday, arriving in luxury buses, chauffeur-driven German cabs and metered taxis.

Conspicuously absent were the toyi-toying and sloganeering crowds, a familiar feature at such events.

Instead, dignified delegates exchanged hugs and handshakes with opposite numbers from organisations ranging from the Black Deaf Community of South Africa to the South African Communist Party.

A large contingent of eagle-eyed, business-suited ANC-PAC security personnel took over the security of the entire building earlier this week.

Those entering the conference hall went through an electronic security gate and a computer card access system.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, accompanied by senior officials of both organisations, took their positions on the podium at 11.15 am - more than two hours later than the advertised time.

UNITED FRONT

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COMRADES ALL... Business-suited conference delegates are 'an unlikely set of gangsters', says Sisulu.

gates.

But it was obvious to many the conference was awaiting the arrival of Makwethu and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Sisulu later announced Mandela was suffering from laryngitis and had been advised by his doctor not to strain his vocal chords for seven days.

Mandela was expected to make a surprise appearance towards the end of the conference today, according to senior ANC officials.

So broad was the spectrum of organisations re-

presented, that Moserke's announcement that Moslem delegates would be temporarily leaving at 11.45 pm on Friday for traditional prayers caused a stir.

"It's definitely not a walkout," he assured amused delegates. Setting the tone for the conference, both Sisulu and Makwethu used the ANC's clenched fist and the PAC's open palm salutes interchangeably during the singing of the national anthem.

The leaders also chanted ANC-PAC slo-

gans without bias.

Sisulu said, it had been claimed the PF represented a "ganging up" of black people against whites and a return to yesterday's politics.

"As I look around this hall, I have never seen a more unlikely set of gangsters!

"What I do see is a broad spectrum of the South African population which, in its composition and intent, represents the best of our nation from every walk of life - truly an embryo of our future nation," he said to thun-

derous applause.

The previous night, Umhla leader Jonas Savimbi and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe embraced emotionally for the first time.

In the absence of Mandela, Makwethu stole the thunder. His speech was punctuated with applause and the top table gave him a standing ovation.

This prompted a PAC young lion to remark: "Thanks to the PF comrade Makwethu is now discarding his lamb-of-Azania image at last."

Hailing the birth of the

PF, Makwethu sounded a warning to the government: "We are not prepared to enter the 21st century still slaves of alien rule in our country, in fact we are not prepared to delay our liberation by a second."

Democratic Party MP Colin Eglin captivated even the most radical of delegates when he opened his speech with "comrades chat" and "comrades all".

He was speaking during a plenary session on the interim government

and a transitional authority, advocated by the ANC and PAC respectively.

The fact that the participation of the DP and other "system organisations" had almost derailed the conference and resulted in the expulsion of Azapo from the tripartite convening committee, was momentarily forgotten.

Eglin said the National Party government was illegitimate, incapable of steering the country into a non-racial democracy and did not enjoy popular support.

Next on the list was an equally controversial figure - Labour Party and House of Representatives leader Rev Alan Hendrickse.

The announcement of his name by the ANC's international affairs director Thabo Mbeki as the next speaker, was greeted with subdued hisses and boos. However, these were replaced with "shshsh! shshsh!" from other delegates.

Whatever the differences, all speakers agreed they had more in common than not.

All wanted to see a speedy transfer of political power from a racist minority regime to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa.

Even on thorny issues such as an interim government, an all-party congress, a constituent assembly, the PAC's transitional authority and pre-constituent assembly conference, everybody - from PAC radicals to the ANC's young lions - called for consensus.

It would come as no surprise if by the end of the conference this afternoon, the PF had consolidated one position on negotiations with the South African Government.

Azapo's contribution to the deliberations was sorely missed. But the black consciousness movement was hardly mentioned throughout Friday, in spite of its last-minute withdrawal from the conference.

Perhaps Sisulu's remarks summarised the mood of the conference: "Let those who are opposed to apartheid come forward now and fill the empty chairs waiting for them in our midst. There is place among us for every true patriot."

"Let us unite to defeat apartheid. Unity in action is the way forward. Our people's hopes for peace and freedom are vested in all of us. We dare not fail them."



TAKING A BOW... Leaders show their true unity colours.



ALL SMILES... Sisulu and Makwethu greet each other.

Picture: AP

'Liberation movement threatened'

Azapo's standpoint set out by secretary-general DON NKADIMENG.

A JOINT preparatory committee for a patriotic/united front was formed after consultations between Azapo, the ANC, PAC and BCMA earlier this year.

This committee was to plan and prepare for the patriotic conference that took place this weekend.

By the time Azapo became a full member of this committee, decisions on issues such as fundraising and who would be invited had been made by the ANC and PAC.

It was not possible for Azapo to reverse some of these decisions, such as the one to invite organisations operating within the system.

Azapo's letter of October 16 was addressed to these groups.

Destroy

In our letter we warned these parties that Azapo would not support their attendance unless they resigned from their puppet structures and joined people's organisations.

We wrote to 14 organisations - including the Democratic Party (DP), the Labour Party (LP), the South African Rugby Board, Ximoko Xa Rixaka of Gazankulu, and Intando Yesizwe of Kwa-Ndebele - demanding that they support the idea of a constituent assembly, resign from ethnic structures, support the principles of one person one vote, and destroy the structures within which they worked before they could attend a conference of patriots.

Azapo believes liberation organisations are formed primarily to wage the struggle against oppression and exploitation, to fight and defeat the regime and to install a democratic order in this country. These organisations must honestly carry out the mandate of the oppressed in doing so.

The DP and the Rugby Board cannot claim to be organisations of the oppressed - nor can non-white bantustan parties, white, coloured, and Indian political parties and community councils.

They are part of the regime and must be treated as instruments of oppression.

Forming an alliance with these organisations

amounts to collaborating with the regime. A front comprising elements of the regime will not have the capacity or the will to destroy its foundations.

This is Azapo's main objection to these parties attending the conference.

On October 15 we received a list of organisations invited to the conference, and on October 16 we dispatched the letter. Because the letter was sent out less than 10 days before the conference, there are suggestions that it was timed to have maximum effect. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Our view on these parties was communicated to the preparatory committee well in advance.

On receipt of the letter, the DP threatened to withdraw from the conference unless the ANC and PAC expelled Azapo from the preparatory committee.

The ANC and PAC called on Azapo to withdraw the letter, apologise to the parties to which it was sent, and to give them public assurance that Azapo would welcome them at the conference.

Azapo refused, as this would have meant renouncing its policies - and was expelled.

We believe the ANC and PAC were pressured to expel us from the committee by parties which are essentially unpatriotic.

Threat

The patriotic front formed this weekend will lack the capacity and the will to pursue the black revolution's objectives. It will be incapacitated by the elements of the regime inside the front.

There is a serious threat that the front might adopt a more moderate and conciliatory attitude than the liberation movement's.

As long as the DP is a white party, Ximoko Xa Rixaka a Shangaan party and the LP coloured, the struggle will remain fragmented and the unity of the oppressed an illusion.

Azapo will continue to support the liberation movement, and will be willing to engage in joint programmes of the oppressed, but will not support those planned with elements in the system or those lacking in revolutionary content.

Beware these accoutrements

11A

Open 27/10/91

■ PRESS WATCH 27/10/91

What the Afrikaans papers are saying

INKATHA doublespeak reached a new peak this week when youth leader Themba Khoza announced at a press conference that there was no such thing as a cultural weapon.

Khoza, reports *Beeld* columnist Lood, told a press conference on Wednesday that the axes, spears and knobkieries carried by Inkatha members at rallies were mere "cultural accoutrements".

Now, who would elect to be murdered with a weapon if there is such a range of accoutrements doing the rounds?

And what about the Kalashnikov accoutrements some of Khoza's supporters are so brazenly firing from our trains?

I am relieved to learn that that instrument is not a weapon, as a bullet from one barely missed me the other day while a trainload of young men waving

Inkatha Youth Brigade banners travelled past Doornfontein station.

Perhaps Khoza should try explain to some of this country's dead what an accoutrement is.

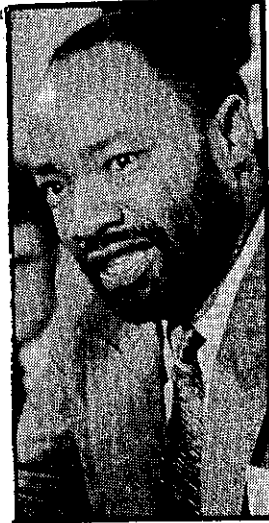
□ □ □ □

SUNDAY paper *Rapport* this week said that if the ANC did not soon bring clarity on issues such as the honouring of foreign loans, a wealth tax and the training of civil servants in the UK, whites would be justified in thinking negotiations the "worst possible option".

One wonders what options to peaceful negotiations a man of the cloth such as editor Ds IL de Villiers is referring to?

□ □ □ □

THE ANC had only itself to blame if doubts were increasing on whether it was really serious about peace in the country, *Die Burger* said this week.



DOUBLESPEAK . . . Axes are not weapons, says Themba Khoza.

The Cape morning daily said the harsh language of Nelson Mandela and other ANC spokesman against State President FW de Klerk and the police gave the impression their "pious undertakings" at the recent National Peace Accord were merely lip service.

It was totally unacceptable, it said, to allege without proof that elements within the police had become a "murder machine" performing De Klerk's wishes.

The paper slammed the ANC for continuing to recruit MK members "in contravention of stipulations of the Peace Accord and other agreements", adding the police alleged the ANC had broken "these solemn agreements" in more than 40 instances.

It rejected the ANC response at the weekend that this claim was a police propaganda ploy against the ANC and that mechanisms existed to investigate these alleged breaches.

The ANC should stop "smearing" the police if it wanted to prove its bonafides, the paper said.

"President De Klerk has been very patient with the ANC for a long time," the editorial said, adding things would go better for the organisation if it realised there were limits to the government's patience. It said the ANC could expect more resistance if it continued on its chosen way.

Constitutional talks a step closer

By S'BU MNGADI

THE path has been cleared for constitutional talks between the government and the ANC/PAC-led patriotic front alliance following the front's three-day conference in Durban this weekend.

If the government endorses proposals made by the conference, the country could hold its first nonracial elections within two years.

Although the government has criticised the Front as a "ganging-up of political parties eager to unite against the (National) Party", De Klerk has repeatedly said he is ready to start serious talks leading to a new constitution.

By late yesterday, the conference had agreed that an interim government be set up, though differences emerged on several issues.

The ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa proposed that an interim government be strictly concerned with the process of transition.

"It should not be framed as an open-ended process which allows for it to persist indefinitely.

The ANC, supported by some PAC-aligned delegates, said an interim government - set up for not longer than 18 months - would be necessary for

the period after an all-party congress and the first elections under a new constitution. (I/A) ~~27/10/91~~

Delegates unanimously agreed that an all-party congress be convened by an independent mediator.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said it was important that the front focus on the demand for a constituent assembly.

ANC internal affairs director Thabo Mbeki said it was necessary to

bring together political parties and organisations to take the country towards the adoption of a democratic constitution.

C. P. M. 27/10/91
"It's important that all shades of political opinion be represented at such a gathering so that we have an inclusive process rather than one which excludes some organisations which are perceived to be small or their views unpopular," Mbeki said.

PF agrees on talks agenda

S/Times 24/10/91. (11A)

THE Patriotic Front conference yesterday agreed on an agenda for all-party talks which will be presented to the government within weeks.

Talk within the conference in Durban, which was attended by 70 organisations, was that the first all-party talks would take place in the last week of November.

The conveners of the conference, the ANC and PAC, reached agreement on the all-party talks agenda at a lunchtime meeting behind closed doors.

Role

The decision to call early talks represents an important breakthrough in efforts to form a united front to face the government in negotiations. The PAC had previously refused to enter into negotiations with the government.

Parties at the PF conference agreed that the agenda of the first all-party meeting should include:

- Constitutional principles;
- An interim authority;
- Re-incorporation of the homelands;
- The role of the international community;

EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

● Time frames for transition;

● The method of drafting a constitution — meaning, specifically, discussions on a constituent assembly.

The PF agreed that the all-party talks should be convened by an independent body. The ANC and PAC will hold discussions to decide on a convener before meeting the government.

The parties at the PF undertook to present a united front against the government at the first meeting on matters on which they had reached consensus.

They also agreed a constituent assembly should be an elected body with

sovereign powers as far as decisions on drawing up a constitution were concerned.

Elections for a constituent assembly should take place on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a proportional representation basis.

Agreement was reached on broad principles for an interim government.

The PF is expected to issue a declaration today on a common position to be used as a guideline in forthcoming all-party talks.

The main elements of the proposed transitional arrangements are:

● The interim government would have control over security forces, electoral processes, the SABC

and defined areas of finance and the Budget;

● The interim arrangement would last 18 months during which the present parliament and government would dissolve;

● The interim government would not administer discriminatory laws;

● International involvement in monitoring transition.

Despite opposition from the PAC, all sessions at the meeting have been open after a request by Cosatu.

The majority felt organisations did not trust the present government to oversee the transition.

ANC NEC member Mohamed Valli Moosa told the conference that apart from political change, socio-economic issues also needed to be addressed.

THE ANC is having enough trouble readying itself for the responsibilities of power without having to deal with the additional burden of foreign friends who can't, or won't, take a hint.

Sensible people in the movement — foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki springs to mind — seem to grasp the need for foreign investment but are constrained from saying so too explicitly for fear that such statements may be turned against them by less sensible rivals. They are thus obliged to communicate in code.

If one had to hazard a translation of what Mbeki was trying to tell US businessmen at the recent conference at Notre Dame university, it might boil down to one word: help.

To which, alas, the businessmen had to reply that they could not base their decisions on nudges and winks alone. This was not because they could not take Mbeki at his codeword. The trouble was simply that the ANC's US support network would not let them.

THE principal reason US capital is not returning to South Africa is not the ANC's archaic rhetoric, nor even the violence. Businessmen may cite those things, and indeed they are a factor. But they are also a convenient cover for the truth.

The truth: state and local sanctions are the real impediment. It's just that companies would rather not admit it — at least until late at night and after one too many beers — for fear of confessing their vulnerability to such non-market forces.

This puts the ANC's saner heads in a bind. They recognise they need all the economic support they can get. With good political reason, they do not want to have to get up and tell the US sanctions lobby to lay off.

Elsewhere in the world, or at least that portion of it that counts economically, they have been spared that necessity. Serious governments made up their own minds about what was hap-



STIM
27/10/91

SIMON BARBER'S Washington Diary

pening in South Africa and adjusted their policies accordingly. They did not wait to be told.

Here, state and local authorities will only act when they are given permission.

Compounding the ANC's problem is the question of whose permission the authorities will accept. It is entirely plausible that even if Nelson Mandela himself were to give the word tomorrow, it would not be heeded here.

This is not only because local governments are notoriously slow about changing their regulations — note the persistence of sanctions on Namibia — but because the sanctions industry could well argue that Mandela

had been misconstrued.

It might even insist, as some of its operatives have in regard to Namibia, that it knows better and should have the final word.

In this context, the ANC would do well to beware the flying wedges of African-Americans that are starting to descend on what some refer to as their South African "homeland".

THE agendas of people like Randall Robinson and his Democracy Now tour, and New York mayor David Dinkins, who arrives next month, are quite distinct from those of the ANC and most of its allies.

Some see South Africa as fresh terrain upon which to continue a civil rights "struggle" that has lost its appeal and momentum at home. Others, sensing an easy mark and thinking they are owed something, are looking for consulting contracts and other special favours.

All tend to view the movement as somehow belonging to them, and therefore theirs to exploit in one way or another to their own benefit.

It is worth bearing in mind that many of their number have no interest in seeing the new South Africa succeed. When Robinson returned from his tour of Soweto and Alexandra last week, he declared himself "in a state of shock". Actually, he was probably thrilled by the conditions he saw.

What would really shock him would be the absence of the shocking.

VIA

Full text of goals of the PF summit

11A

Souelan 28/10/91

THIS is the full text of the declaration adopted at the Patriotic/United Front Conference held in Durban from Friday to yesterday:

We, women and men, together as equals assembled under the banners of political, labour, women's, religious, youth, professional, sports, cultural and business formations as well as organisations of traditional leaders; experienced in diverse ways of engaging in the struggle against apartheid and minority rule; repositories of true democratic values and champions of human rights in our country, gathered together in this conference of the Patriotic/United Front in Durban on 25-27 October 1991.

Reaffirming our commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, nonsexist, democratic, unfragmented and unitary country; recognising that through struggle our country has reached a point where transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole now, is the most urgent necessity of struggle; convinced that the De Klerk regime cannot be, and is not the agent of democratic change; resolved together to seize this moment in history to ensure the speedy establishment of national democracy.

Believing that a democratic order can only be ushered in through a mechanism in which our entire nation elects by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage, a constituent assembly that drafts and adopts a democratic constitution which shall constitute the basis for unifying our divided and tortured land around a common patriotism; recognising that the De Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate and totally discredited and does not enjoy the trust of our people, and that it has unilaterally embarked

upon restructuring our economy and shaping our social life in order to perpetuate, in a new guise, the old social order based on white privilege and black impoverishment; pledging ourselves to ensure that these designs shall be defeated; we demand that the regime ceases such action forthwith and acknowledges it has no right to unilaterally take such measures; condemn the introduction of Value Added Tax and call upon all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November 1991 and all other forms of united action on this and other issues.

Noting further that the violence raging throughout our country today has been initiated and sponsored by the apartheid State, including the use of foreign mercenaries, and that it has the power to stop it, we demand that it does so forthwith.

Further that there should be the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries from our soil; call upon our people to refuse to become tools of the regime, assert our inherent desire for peace and take all measures to contain and eliminate the violence which constitutes a prime obstacle to the establishment of a genuine democratic order.

Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community; sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching for their lost ones and concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage; call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our

traditional chiefs.

Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including helping in the creation of self-defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the victims of violence.

Now therefore:

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist upon the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority to ensure that the De Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over State power and resources; commit ourselves to a sovereign interim government/transitional authority that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, State media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation

DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a all-party congress/pre-constituent assembly meeting which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected constituent assembly which shall effect the transfer of power

CONFIRM

Our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the constitutional principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly, realise the establishment of the IG/TA, ensure the re-incorporation of the bantustans, define the role of the international community and agree upon the time frame to bring about a democratic order.

Resolve further that the joint li-

aison committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-conference follow-up as well as look into ways and means, including the establishment of a consultative forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation, joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process.

Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles:

That the regime complies with these requirements forthwith; and pledge to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.

United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities and independence, we assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate future, a truly democratic order in which nonsexism, nonracialism and democratic majority rule shall be non-negotiable and be realised in practice.

To this end and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for united action and widening the areas of common understanding, call upon our people wherever they are to join and engage in this process emanating from our conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself. - Sapa.



CHILD PROTEST ... Children join in a picket protest on Saturday at John Vorster Square. The ANC is demanding a full investigation into the deaths of political prisoners who died in detention.

Picture: AP

Cosatu, SACP scrap rallies

HA
CT 28/10/91

TWO planned political protests — Cosatu's anti-VAT rally and the SA Communist Party's picket for political prisoners — were cancelled at the weekend, an apparent indication that support for protest action is on the wane in the Western Cape.

Yesterday Cosatu failed to draw workers to an anti-VAT rally even though Western Cape ANC regional chairman Dr Alan Boesak, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo and Cosatu assistant general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa were billed to speak.

Cosatu regional secretary Mr Allan Roberts said the rally had not been well advertised and transport to the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone had been organised too late.

He also said the stadium was not well known to workers. Fewer than 100 people turned

up while four Tramways double-decker buses and two traffic vehicles parked outside the stadium.

Asked where the speakers were, Mr Roberts said Mr Slovo was still at the patriotic front meetings in Durban and Dr Boesak and Mr Shilowa "were around".

The rally was to have "popularised Cosatu's campaign against the implementation of VAT, economic restructuring without consultation and other basic demands".

Issues such as "violence plaguing the country and the Peace Accord" as well as the November 4 and 5 general strike against VAT would also have been discussed according to the pre-rally statement.

A picket for political prisoners which was to have taken place on Saturday was cancelled because SACP protesters backed by the ANC were not prepared to be arrested, SACP spokesman Mr Garth Strachan said yesterday.

The organisers of the picket

had municipal permission but not magisterial permission.

During the height of the state of emergency thousands of protesters were undeterred about whether they had permission or not and fearlessly faced arrest and beatings.

Police vans were parked at the advertised venues of St George's Cathedral, the Grand Parade and the police security branch headquarters at Culemborg on the Foreshore.

The picket was organised by the SACP to "commemorate those who have died in detention and to call for the release of all political prisoners".

● In Johannesburg, ANC and SACP members held a picket on Saturday outside John Vorster Square police station, where they laid wreaths on the 20th anniversary of Mr Ahmed Timol's death in detention.

Negotiations boost as PAC 'ready to talk'

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and Political Staff

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ANC 28/10/91

THE Patriotic Front conference and the PAC's shift in attitude have boosted hopes that an all-party conference will meet before the end of the year to start negotiations.

Government sources said today the single most positive result of the weekend meeting was the readiness of the PAC to enter dialogue.

They said discussions between all the major parties were to resume with renewed vigour to settle the three remaining issues — when and where the all-party conference should be held and who would issue invitations.

The PAC — vital newcomers to the talks process — will be drawn into these discussions as soon as possible.

President De Klerk was today studying the results of the Durban conference with his ministerial committee on negotiations, comprising the four National Party provincial leaders and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen. A full statement is expected.

The initial response from the government to the Patriotic Front came from Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport who told TV viewers last night: "At long last we can move to the multiparty congress."

The government and the ANC have had two exploratory meetings in recent weeks on the talks, following a breakdown in discussions in April.

Further meetings, which the government hopes will include the PAC, will be held soon.

A major shift in the PAC's position towards talks with the government is believed to have contributed largely to the remarkable consensus reached at the PF conference.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the Press after the conference: "We are going to be meeting obviously with the Pan Africanist Congress to discuss the various issues we have discussed with the government.

"We will jointly determine how best to take this process forward."

This round of exploratory talks had succeeded in advancing "quite a lot fur-

ther" than when the talks were broken off, Mr Ramaphosa said. The ANC and government had touched on the venue of the talks and who should take part, but no firm agreements had been reached.

Patriotic Front members envisage a meeting of all parties within the next few weeks to discuss the date and venue of the all-party talks.

PF members believe that eminent South Africans, international figures or institutions should act as neutral conveners of the talks and have a support staff to ensure the talks proceed properly.

PF organisations have also pledged themselves to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and others into joining them.

At the closure of the conference, both the ANC and PAC committed themselves to broadening the base of the PF.

Mr Ramaphosa said a meeting with Azapo would follow on the heels of the conference so that the organisation could be briefed about the deliberations, the resolutions and the declaration.

Both organisations reaffirmed the need for the IFP to be part of the PF.

In the PF Mr De Klerk faces a powerful opponent. Mr Ramaphosa said that in forming the PF, the liberation organisations had "outwitted" Mr De Klerk.

"We have taken the initiative and we are going to teach him a lesson," he said.

Most of the 83 organisations attending the conference as delegates backed demands for a constituent assembly, interim government, the normalisation of relations between people and traditional chiefs, the reincorporation of the 10 homelands and the expulsion of foreign mercenaries.

Consensus has solidified the unity between the organisations although it is "still too early" to speculate on whether the conference is the start of an organisation that will contest an election, said Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC.

The declaration committed the liaison committee, established by the co-conveners in the run-up to the conference, to continue its work.

NP regrets 'rigid positions'

FW moves quickly on PF's call

Star 28/10/91
Political Staff

DURBAN — President de Klerk was today studying the demands made by the newly formed Patriotic Front in Durban at the weekend for an all-party conference within two months leading to an interim government and a constituent assembly.

He will meet members of the ministerial committee on negotiations — comprising the four National Party provincial leaders — and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to work out the Government's position.

Government reaction to the PF demands came today from the National Party's information chief, Piet Coetzer MP, who said: "It is pity that the PF has apparently locked itself into rigid positions on some crucial matters that should be subjects for discussion and negotiation at a conference."

This was expected to some extent when "organisations of such diversity had tried to form artificial unity".

In a unanimously adopted declaration issued at the end of the historic three-day PF conference, the attending organisations said the all-party congress — which the Pan

Africanist Congress calls a pre-constituent assembly meeting — should be convened by independent and neutral conveners as a matter of urgency.

Yesterday's declaration came after an earlier joint statement by co-conveners, the ANC and the PAC, saying a meeting should be held with the Government and other interested parties "within the next few weeks" to discuss the date, venue and convener of the all-party congress.

Struggle

The ANC and PAC, which said the transfer of power "from the minority regime to the people" was the main objective of "the struggle", said the all-party congress's duties would be to work out the procedures of setting up a constituent assembly; work towards the creation of an interim government or transitional authority with sovereign powers; ensure the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa; define the role of the international community in the transitional process and agree on the time frame to bring about a democratic order.

The PF declaration said the interim government or transitional authority would,

at the very least, control areas of major concern such as security forces and related matters, the electoral process, State media, and defined areas of budget and finance. It would also secure international participation in the process.

The PF pledged itself to ensure that the Government's unilateral restructuring of the economy was defeated. All the organisations vowed to create mechanisms for harmonising their approach to socio-economic transformation.

Condemning the introduction of VAT, the PF called on all South Africans to join the anti-VAT general strike on November 4 and 5.

Other resolutions passed at the conference included calls for:

- The Government to stop the violence in the country and to expel all "foreign mercenaries".
- The people to refuse "to become tools of the regime" in violence and a pledge that all peace initiatives, including the recently signed National Peace Accord, are fully implemented.
- The normalisation of relations between the people and traditional chiefs.
- The release of remaining political prisoners and the granting of general amnesty to all exiles.

It was also resolved that the joint ANC-PAC liaison committee, which handled preparations for the conference, be maintained to coordinate the PF and convene another PF conference within six months.

At a press conference afterwards, PAC and ANC leaders said they would fully brief the Azanian People's Organisation whom they would endeavour to bring back into the PF.

Inkatha, which was not invited because of its known rejection of a PF as "a gang-ing-up against whites", was welcome to join if it would endorse demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.



Getting it together . . . Walter Sisulu (left) and Clarence Makwetu in Durban yesterday. Picture: AP

PAC to join ANC in talks with govt to set up negotiating process

DURBAN — The PAC will join the ANC at a meeting with government to be held "within weeks" to finalise the date, venue and convenor of an all party conference on constitutional negotiations.

The Patriot Front, formed after a meeting attended by 92 organisations said in a declaration yesterday it wanted such talks as soon as possible.

The talks would convey the front's declaration of an interim government and a proportional assembly, the latter elected on a proportional basis.

The front's two major components, the

ANC and PAC, agreed at the weekend that the PAC would in future be involved in constitutional talks aimed at securing a constituent assembly.

It called for a sovereign interim government with control over the security forces, the electoral process, state media and defence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday other meetings with the PAC would now accompany the discussion with government to date.

The ANC would brief the PAC on its discussions with government to date.

Closing the conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu called on govern-

ment to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected constituent assembly, which shall effect the transfer of power.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday other meetings with the PAC would now accompany the discussion with government to date.

The ANC would brief the PAC on its discussions with government to date.

Closing the conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu called on govern-

ment to abandon its role as the "supreme manager" of the transition.

He said the NP had not yet come to terms with the concept of democracy and that it was not worthy of acting as referee in the negotiations.

"We call on government to stop resisting the overwhelming demand for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote," Sisulu said.

The conference, observers said, represented a victory for the ANC which had finally brought the PAC around to its way of thinking on talks with government.

When the conference opened, the PAC was insisting that only the PAC and ANC confront government as a single patriotic front. However, in a series of meetings, the ANC persuaded the PAC to allow a multiplicity of parties and interest groups to put forward their own ideas at a forum at which the NP would be just one of the participants.

PAC president Clarence Makweh said it was important that those parties not be presented in the front, be brought into it.

● See Page 3

PF takes off

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1 NOV 19

Sowetan 28/10/91 (11A) ~~11A~~

94 groups ready to tackle Government



ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu (left) chats with Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday during the final day of the Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

PIC: Associated Press

NINETY-FOUR organisations yesterday adopted a declaration to demand an interim government and an end to National Party rule.

The organisations took the pledge at the end of the three-day Patriotic Front Conference in Durban.

The groups, hosted by the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, committed themselves to the establishment of an interim government or transitional authority which would control security forces, the electoral process, State media and the defined areas of budget and finance.

They resolved to demand the urgent holding of an all-party congress and/or pre-constituent assembly meeting to be brought together by independent and neutral convenors, which in turn would lead to an elected constituent assembly.

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

The constituent assembly should be the only mechanism to effect the transfer of power to the majority.

Furthermore, the APC/PCAM would underwrite the constitutional principles and find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly.

The agreement to establish the interim government or transitional authority is considered a milestone in the politics of the liberation movement and a major unifying factor between the ANC and PAC.

This process, it was decided, would ensure the re-incorporation of homelands, define the role of the international community and set a timetable for the establishment of a democratic order.

● To page 2

PF (11A) ~~11A~~
Sowetan
tells 28/10/91
govt
to quit

From page 1

In their closing addresses, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu both expressed the need to bring Azapo into the PF as well as other 'organisations of the oppressed' which did not take part.

The conference emphasised the need for an all-inclusive APC/PCAM which would prevent a civil war such as in Angola and Mozambique.

The conference was sponsored by the Organisation of African Unity.

Executive secretary of the OAU's liberation committee, Brigadier Hashim Mbita, pledged support for the PF.

Addressing the conference, he said the whole world was waiting for the outcome of the conference and "you can't let them down".

Addressing the Press ANC and PAC leaders confirmed that the Government would be engaged in talks about the constituent assembly.

The ANC had already begun the process and the PAC announced it would talk to the Government on the issue and had already received a letter from State President FW de Klerk agreeing to such talks.
Full text of declaration - Page 10.

Joint front

ANC wins PAC over



own Correspondents
— The PAC will join the meeting with the government "within weeks" to decide on the date, venue and convenor of a conference on constitutional arrangements.
The decision was announced after a meeting attended by ANC and PAC leaders in a declaration at the weekend that it wanted such talks as

components, the ANC and the PAC and that in future the PAC would be invited to participate in constitutional talks aimed at a constituent assembly.
The interim government with the ANC and PAC forces, the electoral process, the media and defined areas as well as international relations and the transition process.
The all-party talks should be independent and neutral and should set into motion a democratically elected

UNITED FRONT . . . Deputy president of the African National Congress Mr Walter Sisulu chats with the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Mxwatu, at the end of the patriotic front conference in Durban at the weekend.

Picture: AP

constituent assembly which shall effect the transfer of power".
ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday that other meetings with the government had been planned, to which the PAC would now accompany the ANC.
The ANC would brief the PAC on its discussions with the government to date.
Closing the conference, ANC deputy presi-

dent Mr Walter Sisulu called on the government to abandon its role as the "supreme manager" of the transition.
He said the NP had not yet come to terms with the concept of democracy and that it was not worthy of acting as referee in the negotiations.
"We call on the government to stop resisting the overwhelming demand for a constituent

assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote," Mr Sisulu said.
The conference, observers said, represented a victory for the ANC, which had finally brought the PAC around to its way of thinking

To page 2

FW studies PF call

Sowetan 29/10/91

22/10/91

11A

STATE President FW de Klerk was yesterday studying the demands made by the Patriotic Front for an all-party conference within two months leading to an interim government and a constituent assembly.

He will meet members of the ministerial committee on negotiations - comprising the four National Party provincial leaders - and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to work out the Government's position.

Initial response from the Government to the Patriotic Front came from the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, who said on SABC television last night:

"At long last we can move to the multiparty congress."

The Government and the African National Congress have had two exploratory meetings in recent weeks on the all-in talks, following the breakdown in discussions in April.

Further meetings will be held soon. There is a chance that the Pan Africanist Congress - which gave its blessing

Sowetan Correspondent

to talks with the Government at the Patriotic Front conference - will join these exploratory talks.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress, said at a Press briefing after the Patriotic Front conference: "We are going to meet the Pan Africanist Congress to discuss the various issues we have discussed with the Government.

"We will jointly determine how best to take this process forward."

This round of exploratory talks had succeeded in advancing "quite a lot further" than when the talks were broken off, Ramaphosa said. The ANC and Government had touched on the venue of the talks and who should participate, but no firm agreement had been reached.

By forming the Patriotic Front, the liberation organisations had outwitted De Klerk, Ramaphosa said: "We have taken the initiative and we are going to teach him a lesson."

Realism prevails as talks win out

Blouy 29/10/91
PATRICK HULGER 11A

IF UNITY was the offspring of the patriotic front conference held in Durban at the weekend, realism and impatience were its midwives.

By the time the conference drew to a close, ANC and PAC speakers had all but adopted each other's salutes and slogans. However, it was not so much that the ANC and PAC had finally found each other after three decades of alienation as it was a realisation that constitutional negotiations with government have become the only viable mechanism for affecting the "transfer of power".

The PAC, in the past avowedly opposed to talks with the "regime", emerged from the conference committed to talks with the NP — a development that vindicates the ANC's often unpopular negotiation strategy.

If the ANC's commitment to negotiations was used in the past to label it collaborationist, the PAC's antipathy to negotiations seemed by comparison increasingly steeped in the romantic notion that revolutionary struggle by its righteousness alone would deliver the goods. The ANC view prevailed, and the two groups will meet government within weeks to arrange all-party talks.

Apart from the negotiating table now having to be a little bigger than it might otherwise have been, the front conference delivered little by way of surprise.

Its tone had in fact been settled a week earlier when Azapo tried to steer it in a radical direction by "disinviting" tricameral, ethnic and homeland parties. Had it succeeded, the conference may have found itself questioning the efficacy and morality of negotiations. It could have deteriorated into a mudslinging match pitting negotiator against revolutionary, talker against fighter.

As it happened, there were few among the participants prepared seriously to question negotiations. Even so, the PAC went into the conference hoping for a front to confront government as a single voice of the oppressed. It

wanted not so much to negotiate as to present government with rigid pre-determined demands it deemed non-negotiable.

The ANC, its negotiators by now well-versed in the political arm wrestling that is the stuff of talks, was able to persuade the PAC against such a meeting which would likely be short, gruff and acrimonious.

All that was left was for the smaller players in the political arm wrestling that is the stuff of talks, was able to persuade the PAC against such a meeting which would likely be short, gruff and acrimonious.

However, when their turn under the spotlight came, they used it to articulate their specific interests. Would the interests of women necessarily be advanced by an interim government? How would a constituent assembly help the disabled? Could a front bridge the acrimonious divide between traditional leaders and their counterparts in the modern political sector?

United

In general, delegates seemed satisfied that a democratic and accountable government would by its nature be better able to promote special interests.

At the end of the day, the front united around demands for all-party talks with government leading to an interim authority to oversee elections to a constituent assembly which would in turn draw up a new constitution. While none of these demands is startling or even new, the implications for the future of the negotiations process are profound.

The ANC will be significantly less open to the charge that its demand for a constituent assembly is a selfish power grab dressed in the negotiation idiom.

From now on, the front and its constituent

partners will argue that its demands represent the desires of a majority of South Africans. The ANC now feels bolstered with the legitimacy conferred on it by 92 organisations representing, as it was boasted, 15-million people.

Mohammed Valli Moosa, a member of the ANC's negotiating team, said the front had given the opposition forces the strategic initiative. There has long been a sense in the ANC that government had the moral high ground and was running negotiations. A renewed sense of righteousness in its cause will lend the ANC negotiating team greater confidence, and the strength to push hard for its demands.

Conference delegates warmed to government's charge that the front represented a "ganging-up" against it, warning that government's perception was on the mark. It was indeed a "ganging-up".

Whether this will help or hinder the negotiations process remains to be seen.

Government spokesmen, while welcoming the legitimacy the front has conferred on the process, are uneasy about a broad and rigid commitment to specific political forms like an interim government and a constituent assembly. Such forms should rather be the subject of talks conducted in a give-and-take spirit of reconciliation.

By bringing together the parties to the front, its organisers are aware that the exercise tends further to isolate government as illegitimate. The front's stance was not overtly anti-reconciliatory. By demonstrating how broadly based was the dissatisfaction with 40 years of apartheid rule, the front signalled its impatience with NP constitutional tinkering.

Impatience with government ran like a chord through conference proceedings. The front would follow a strategy steeped in the realism that negotiations are the only viable way forward. But it will be tinged with the populist overtones of mass action and propelled by the fuel of impatience.

● Comment: Page 8

'The sacrifice would bring back Christ'

Slaughter bulls says

ANC's spiritual guide

ANC president Nelson Mandela could be the next State President, Walter Sisulu, Minister of Finance and Desmond Tutu and Dr Frank Chikane Minister of Religion and Minister of Justice respectively.

This will only be if they heed the word of God as proclaimed by prophetess Nana Makhubo.

"The Holy Spirit has been speaking to me through parables and dreams since 1980.

"I have finally pieced together the puzzle," Makhubo said.

"God wants to raze the present Government and replace it with a black one. He told me that when America falls, He would lift Africa and the government that will rule will be

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

different from the present one."

She claims that when Christ said "the last will be the first", He meant that the last people to receive His word, which she said were Africans, will be the first to be raised when He comes.

Corrupt

"It is time up for the white Government. The ANC as the first political movement to be formed will take over.

"The other political organisations have played a role in bringing down a corrupt leadership.

"They will therefore

also have a place in the new government," she said.

What the ANC has to do, according to Makhubo, as the "natural heirs to the throne", is to make a Holy sacrifice.

"For its freedom and the redemption of the nation it should slaughter seven young bulls.

"I have to carry out the job since I am the organisation's spiritual guide and God instructed me to make the sacrifice through an inner voice that He always uses when He communicates with me.

"The seven bulls represent the seven words Christ uttered before He died, the last of which was 'It is finished...' (John 19:30).



NANA MAKHUBO

"The interpretation also forms part of my last vision, on the day of the signing of the Peace Accord.

"I saw seven horses appearing from the ground, coming out only up to the lower abdomen.

"Soon after the horses disappeared I saw a big blue flame which sparked seven sharp rays," the born again Christian from Rockville, Soweto, said.

Open doors

Makhubo said the sacrifice would open doors for the second coming of Christ, who is to bring peace in the world and restore the kingdom to the Black nation.

She said Black people had always listened to God's word and God will award them (Isaiah 66:1-5).

Their heavily spiritual nature, which was there when they believed in magic and witchcraft, before the coming of Christ, makes them tremble when He speaks to them unlike some whites, particularly the Government, who ignore His word.

She said the Government, which represents the father, corrupted the nation by turning against the church, which stands for the mother, and starting a new church in the form of the NGK.

"The policies they introduced were totally against God's word.

"They introduced sectarianism and divided people according to colour. The nation, through the ANC, alerted them of their mistake.

"They ignored them and that sparked the rebellion and persecution of the black child.

"But all this should be forgotten, according to God's word. All participants should never feel guilty or cheated.

"We have to forget the past because both the good and evil of the past were God's will.

Forgotten

"God said He will create new heavens and a new earth and when He does the past would have to be forgotten (Isaiah 65:17).

"We are soon to have a new kingdom and a new earth in Christ's second coming.

"No one will rise to heaven, as said by the scribes who have misinterpreted the parabolic Bible," she explained.

Makhubo has been sending scripts of her revelations to pastors of her Pentecostal church, ministers of other churches and some friends whom she associates with.

Scripts

They include Pastor Raymond Vanda of Alpha and Omega, Pastor Musa Sono of the Grace Bible Church, both in Soweto, Pastor Ray MacCauley of the Rhema Bible Church in Randburg, and Dr Frank Chikane among others.

Vanda agreed to having received several scripts



ARIES: March 21 - April 21
You may not relate very well to your partner and closest friends today yet could get along famously with complete strangers and newcomers. In fact, you may be the recipient of special considerations from people who are new to you.

TAURUS: April 21 - May 21
You will be torn between pressures on the work front and problems in your home. Stay calm and deal firmly with those matters. On a better note, you will benefit through a new arrangement or development in your partnership.

GEMINI: May 21 - June 22
While you will deal competently and effectively with work issues and other practical matters, you may not make any headway in your talks with close relatives. Your special aspiration or hope may be stymied by opposition.

CANCER: June 22 - July 23
Mercury puts you mentally and romantically in touch with your sweetheart but an adverse aspect between the moon and Saturn suggests that shared financial interests could become a bone of contention and may sour your relationship.

LEO: July 23 - August 24
While your general relationships within the domestic circle will prosper due to your clear understanding with others, the same cannot be said of your romantic alliance. Emotionalism and jealousy could easily get out of control.

VIRGO: August 24 - September 23
Your quickness of mind should make you adept in your general communications. However, you may experience temporary emotional strain and physical depletion due to adverse astral forces centring on your inner and outer wellbeing.

LIBRA: September 23 - October 23
You ought to fare well in the financial sense, thanks to your enhanced mental astuteness. In contrast, negative cosmic influences contrive to place you at odds with your sweetheart and friends. Differences flare but only briefly.

SCORPIO: October 23 - November 23
Mercury animates your personality, enhances your mindpower and enables you to express yourself well. Yet, those assets will not help you to resolve a domestic contingency or stop you from falling foul of authority in business.

SAGITTARIUS: November 23 - December 22
You will readily find the answers to personal questions yet may not get very far in your attempts to sort out other issues. Messages may go astray or become garbled in transit. You cannot put much trust in promises given today.

CAPRICORN: December 22 - January 21
You can confide in your best friends if you need advice. Your social life ought to be quite lively. Your problems, thankfulness of brief duration, will concern your personal finances and shared responsibilities, respectively.

AQUARIUS: January 21 - February 20
Mercury is your shining star now. It enables you to have fruitful talks concerning your business and career aims. Saturn and the moon in opposition may render your selfish and apt to get emotionally at odds with close companions.

PISCES: February 20 - March 21
Your future prospects could be brightened by a good news or helpful information coming your way. However, immediate personal concerns, work issues and your vitality may briefly falter due to the Saturn's polarity to the moon.

If today is your birthday: Your next twelfth month could be characterised by great success and big failures unless you plan your actions every inch of the way. Trust your own intuition and nothing else. Others may let you down, so aim to be self-reliant.



from Makhubo, one of which accurately prophesied the release of Mandela and all political prisoners.

He received the script three years before the release.

"I take her revelations seriously. They are scrip-

tural and in line with what the Bible says," Vanda said.

"But I think she has gone wrong somewhere with her last prediction. You cannot connect rituals with Christianity.

"Rituals were a shadow of what would come and they were practised before Christ. We cannot go back to them," he said.

Sono said he had not seen Makhubo for the past three years.

Differed

"She did bring scripts to me. But we differed most of the time because some contradicted the scriptures. I think she still needs grooming.

"A prophet has to be judged by others with the same gift. She also has to wait and see if her prophecy will be fulfilled," Sono said.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, through her secretary, asked that she and the ANC be excluded for comment.

She agreed though to having received the final script sent to her by Makhubo.

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ANC youths held for 'jobs' sit-in

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight ANC Youth League members were arrested last night when they tried to stage a sit-in at the offices of the Department of Manpower.

APC 24/10/71
The sit-in forms part of the league's "Jobs For All" campaign. — Sapa

PF achieved its objectives

Sowetan 29/10/91 (11A)

THE Three-day Patriotic Front conference held here at the weekend has come and gone, leaving in its wake a semblance of unprecedented black unity.

Now that the controversy that surrounded the PF has died down and the conference has finalised its deliberations, it might be in order to assess the conference's success and implications for South African politics.

In doing so, one will have to consider the objectives the conference convenors had set for them-

Labelled by the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party as "a ganging up against whites", the Patriotic Front conference was just what the negotiating process needed, argues political writer KAIZER NYATSUMBA, reporting from Durban.

selves and whether these were met.

The ideal of black unity is as old as the African National Congress, one of the co-convenors of the PF conference.

The late Mr Pixley ka-Izaka Seme, uncle of Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the one who was

instrumental in the formation of the ANC in 1912, then known as the South African Native National Congress.

A year before the formation of the PF he declared: "We are one people. Let us forget the differences between Xhosa, Fingo, Zulus and Tsongas, Basutos and other

natives."

Many years after the formation of the ANC, the dividing lines Seme wanted expunged were no longer as tribal as they were political and ideological, beginning with the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress by disgruntled former ANC members in 1959 - four years after the adoption of the Freedom Charter.

Mr Steve Biko, widely regarded as the father of Black Conscious-

*To Page 7

cont

Black unity is crucial

Sowetan 29/10/91

*From Page 8

ness, again discouraged divisions, ethnic or political, and strongly advocated black unity.

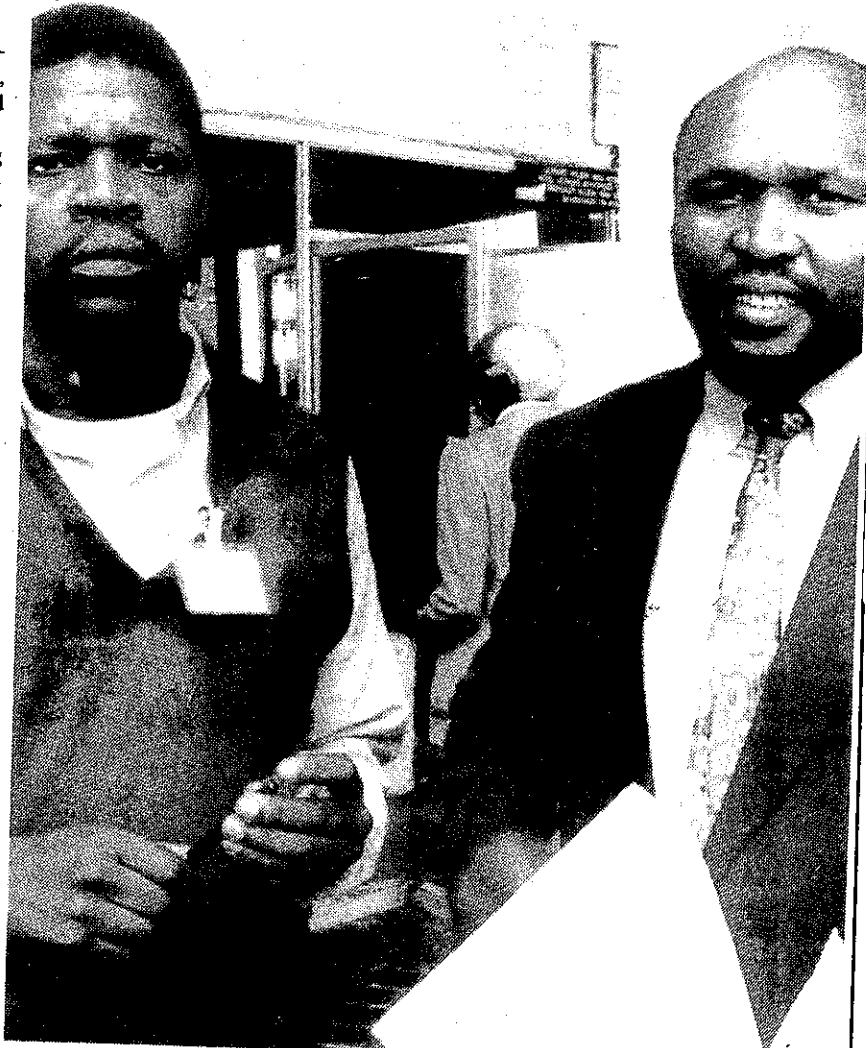
In their opening speeches on Friday morning, PAC president Mr Mlamuli Makwetu and ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu again stressed unity, briefly sketching the kind of role they envisaged for the PF.

Contradiction

The aim of the PF, Makwetu said, was "to rally all those who have a contradiction with the regime behind the call for a constituent assembly" and to consult as broadly as possible on strategies and means of speeding up "the liberation of the oppressed".

Sisulu, accusing President FW de Klerk of wanting "to be referee, player, linesman and write the score" during the negotiation process, said the PF's responsibility will be to find common ground "so that while preserving the distinct identity and integrity of each one of the organisations represented here, we are able to march in step".

Sisulu and Makwetu said the PF conference was a huge success.



A highlight of the PF conference in Durban was the participation of the Black Deaf Community led by Mr Tumane Mokoena (left) whose speech was read by the ANC's Mr Murphy Morobe. Tumane said his group was inspired by Azapo.

Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

Politics destined for change in SA

Sowetan 29/10/91 (11A)

TWO historic events which took place at the weekend are destined to change the South African politics.

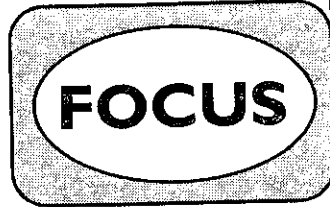
First, 94 organisations - some old enemies - allied themselves in a Patriotic Front to establish a new democratic order and negotiate the transfer of power to the majority.

Second, the PAC is ready to negotiate with the Government, a radical departure from its previous position of open war with the National Party rulers.

Effectively, a new era of consensus has begun, but with an enormous responsibility for the PF leaders.

A test for the PF will be taking its decisions and programmes to grassroots supporters in the townships, cities and rural areas.

Speakers at the successful conference launch in Durban acknowledged this responsibility as they repeatedly pointed out

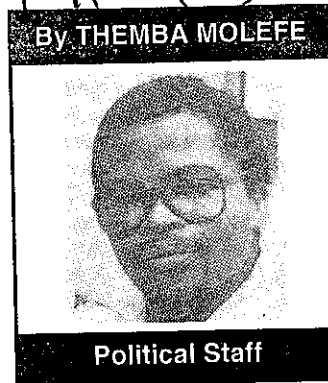


that, collectively, the PF represents three quarters of the South African population.

Logically it would mean the ANC and PAC sharing platforms in different parts of the country with organisations such as the Labour Party, Ximoko Xa Rixaka (in Gazankulu) and Dikwankwetla Party (in Qwa Qwa).

It would also mean consensus should not only be among the leaders of the 94 organisations in the PF, but among followers as well.

There is a time frame as well. In its declaration the PF said: "Six months from now we should



meet; we should account to each other and use the Front for consultation purposes."

Indeed, the next six months will be crucial to total unity.

Significantly, the PF's major concern is that total unity also depends on drawing certain organisations regarded as key players into the Front.

All agreed that Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party, for example, should be invited.

Emphasising the need to include all groups, it was worthwhile to note the input of ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma: "Are we not at a stage where we should refer to history and refer to the distabilisation of the democratic process in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe?"

Zuma's inference was clear: politics of exclusion could lead to civil war and this should be prevented.

Some delegates intimated he was distorting history but nevertheless Zuma's words left a chill in the air.

And, as if to concur, the Organisation of African Unity's executive secretary of the liberation committee, Brigadier Hashim Mbita, said: "Your people are waiting, the people of Africa as a whole are waiting and the world community is waiting, you can't let them down."

Azapo may go back to Front

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will today respond on the outcome of the Patriotic Front conference held in Durban at the weekend.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, yesterday said the organisation was studying documents and the draft declaration adopted at the conference.

There was consensus that Azapo and other organisations, such as Inkatha Freedom Party, be invited to join the PF.

Moodley said Azapo



STRINI MOODLEY

would decide soon whether it should return to the PF. It is believed this would be at Azapo's national council meeting on November 9 and 10.

"We are positive and have not closed our options. However, we will continue

29/10/91. Sowetan 29/10/91. 11A

talking to the PAC and ANC about any future joint programmes on the unity of the oppressed," Moodley said.

Meanwhile, Pan Africanist Congress's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, yesterday said he would send Azapo an invitation to rejoin the PF this week.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said although it was too early to say how the party would react to an invitation, the party was firmly opposed to what she termed "politics of prescription".

She suggested a referendum be held to test views on a constituent assembly.

In another development, the PAC said its decision to negotiate with the National Party meant the Government had capitulated to its demand to negotiate the modalities of a constituent assembly and independent convener.

At the PF conference, PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim revealed that State President FW de Klerk had written to the PAC in April saying the Government was prepared to discuss these demands.

The PAC had indicated to the Government that it would communicate its decision after the PF conference.

'PF needs Azapo'



Sowetan
29. 11/91

Sowetan Reporter

11A

THE organisers of the Patriotic Front should do their utmost to get the Azanian Peoples Organisation back into the fold, callers to the *Sowetan/Radio Metro* Talkback Show said yesterday.

The callers said the Inkatha Freedom Party should be excluded from the PF as it was not interested "in black unity".

They told host Tim Modise that "the organisations that are not yet in the PF should do so without delay".

Tshepo from Berea, Johannesburg, first questioned why Azapo had pulled out of the front when it had been given the status of a liberation movement after being suspended for what he called "unnecessary rhetoric".

Liberation

He said what was needed now was that black organisations should "work hand in hand" in fighting for the liberation of the oppressed masses.

"I find it strange that people should call a radio station and call for the resumption of the armed struggle.

"We have to be realistic and face the truth. We should all be united," he added.

Molefe said the IFP had shown that it was not interested in black unity.

"Why invite them?" he asked.

Mazibuko of Soweto said Azapo and other organisations committed to black unity should be invited to join the PF.

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8 (day 30/10/91)

The day the ANC took tea with Durr

11A

LONDON — The ANC's London representative recently took tea in South Africa House with SA's ambassador in London in a move symbolising a new welcoming approach being adopted by the mission.

"I decided we would have a new openness, lower the drawbridge on fortress SA and make it more user-friendly," said ambassador Kent Durr.

As apartheid has been phased out, the embassy has started to shake off its defensive, cagey character — acquired in the face of ongoing attacks from vitriolic anti-apartheid protesters.

And, as Durr put it in an interview in his office yesterday, now that the doors to the international community have been unlocked, he and his colleagues are more than ready to open them.

This is happening on the political and the economic fronts — with the most symbolic move perhaps coming when the ANC's chief representative in London, NEC member Mendi Msimang, was invited round for tea and shown the building and its facilities.

Durr said that shortly after his arrival in April he called on the then ANC president Oliver Tambo. He had also received the Inkatha representative, Ben Skosana, at the embassy, as well as representatives of other political parties.

He stressed that the embassy's facilities were "available to all political parties in SA at all times".

KIM BENTLEY

But perhaps the key area for the former Trade and Industry Minister has been his promotion of trade contacts and the wide range of diplomatic initiatives he has undertaken in his first six months.

On Monday, for instance, he met Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku, who left for SA on a fact-finding mission yesterday, accompanied by embassy minister Richard Carter.

The embassy has also become a home from home for many SA businessmen who make use of special new facilities made available to them by the trade section.

Durr said a wide range of facilities, including telephones, faxes, secretarial services and information, could be used by visiting businessmen, who had only to cover the cost of calls they made.

And from next month South Africa House formally puts out the welcome mat to the general public with the opening of a new visitors' bureau.

Carter said: "With the changes in SA, we now find it so much easier to open South Africa House and make it more of what it ought to be: SA's house."

Work on the visitors' centre — in a formerly empty room opening at street level on to the corner of Strand Street and Trafalgar Square, with a view through Admiralty Arch and down The Mall to Buckingham Palace — is nearing completion.

ANC (11A)

lashes out at Ciskei leader

Sowetan
30/10/91

THE African National Congress has accused Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of using his position to force the organisation into a relationship with him.

In a statement lashing out at the homeland leader on Monday, ANC representative Marion Sparg called Gqozo a "bantustan leader with no standing at all in the eyes of the people".

She said the ANC was under no obligation to observe any kind of protocol with him.

The latest war of words between the organisation and the Ciskeian leader erupted after statements made by Gqozo over the weekend which the ANC has interpreted as a declaration of his intention to increase the level of repression in Ciskei.

"He stated publicly that he is dissatisfied with magistrates in Ciskei because they are not acting with enough vigour against the ANC. The ANC, he said, needs to be hit on the head and he intends doing so as soon as possible.

"All this was stated during a meeting with Chiefs. It is interesting to note though that the chiefs themselves publicly admitted to Gqozo that they did not have the support of the people.

"The ANC has warned for months of the increasing tension in Ciskei. Tempers are beginning to flare. Gqozo is trying to impose himself on the people of Ciskei through the imposition of the headman system and his so-called African Democratic Movement.

"Gqozo cannot force himself down the throats of the people.

It is quite clear they do not want him; or the headman system," Sparg said. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Boesak: I am not against the SACP

ARC 28/10/91

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC Western Cape regional leader Dr Allan Boesak has denied he is against the Communist Party.

The denial follows an earlier statement that he had concerns about joining the ANC because of its alliance with the SACP.



Dr Boesak

Dr Boesak joined the ANC in July and was elected to his present senior position.

In the latest edition of the SACP mouthpiece, African Communist, Dr Boesak said: "As a Christian I have problems with the underlying philosophy of the SACP."

He admitted another problem for him was "the strange symbiotic relationship in terms of dual membership".

But Dr Boesak said much was shared by radical Christians and communists.

"We may differ on political strategy, but I think we share the same essential goal of justice, fairness, equality and the dream — yes, let people joke about Utopia, but Christianity is essentially Utopian."

ANC may lose money says Oscar Dhlomo

Sowetan
30/10/91 BY JOE MDHLELA

11A

THE African National Congress may lose financial support if it transforms itself into a political party.

This observation was made by the executive chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, at the launch of the book, Policy Options For A new South Africa, in Johannesburg yesterday.

The book is co-edited by Fanie Cloete, Lawrence Schlemmer and Daan van Vuuren.

In his talk, "Liberation Movements versus Political Parties", Dhlomo noted that the possibility of the organisation losing financial support from its overseas donors should it become a political party weighed against the ANC abandoning its role as a liberation movement.

"As a liberation movement, the ANC claims to represent the majority of the oppressed, including its own members as well as the general supporters and sympathisers who are not necessarily its members," Dhlomo said.

He said the donors would in turn claim they are supporting the oppressed people whom the ANC as a liberation movement claim to represent.

However, if the ANC gave up its role as a liberation movement and chose to become a political party, it would lose its status to claim to speak for most of the oppressed people of South Africa.

"Many donors would think twice before supporting one political party in the country to the exclusion of others," he said.

Dhlomo said this would ensure that the ANC will continue to call itself a liberation movement "even when its has begun to walk and talk like a political party."

It was also difficult for a political party to take in supporters of various persuasions.

Another speaker at the launch, Mr Bobby Godsell, said advocacy journalism, which was on the rise, should be deplored as it had a negative impact on the political debate.

He said the survey that portrayed Inkatha Freedom Party as responsible for violence was irresponsible.

I'm not really against SACP, says Boesak

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak has denied he is against the South African Communist Party.

His remarks followed an earlier statement that he had concerns about joining the ANC because of its alliance with the SACP.

Sowetan
Christian 30/10/91

Boesak joined the ANC in July and was subsequently elected to his present position.

In the latest edition of the SACP mouthpiece *African Communist*, Dr Boesak said as a Christian he had problems with "the underlying philosophy of the SACP" and the "strange symbiotic relationship in terms of dual membership".

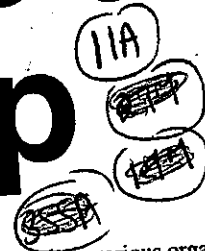
He said, however, that radical Christians and communists had a lot in common.

"We may differ on political strategy, but I think we share the same essential goal of justice, fairness, equality and the dream - yes, let people joke about Utopia - Christianity is essentially utopian," he said.

He added he had a role to play in "delivering" the coloured vote, but stressed his job was broader than that.

Women take a gigantic leap

Sowetan 31/10/77



WOMEN'S rights received a major boost on Tuesday night when a meeting of 30 women's organisations decided to form an alliance.

Organisations including the African National Congress Women's League, the Black Sash, the Democratic Party, Women's Power and church and professional groupings agreed in principle to form an alliance of women's groups in Natal with the intention of holding a national conven-

tion. Delegates agreed to go back to their various organisations to discuss the proposed alliance.

An alliance of women has already been formed in the Western Cape and discussions are taking place in the PWV area and the Free State.

Facilitator of the meeting, Democratic Party MP Mrs Carole Charlewood, said she was delighted by the response and the enthusiasm expressed.

She said South African women had to make sure their interests were represented at the negotiating table and not make the same mistake as Zimbabwean women, who had left the issue until it was too late to take any action.

Delegates stressed that the proposed alliance was not party-political in any way.

Issues raised at the meeting included unfair taxation of women, violence against women, the problems women faced in the maintenance courts and discrimination against women in the economic sphere.

The absence of the Inkatha Women's Brigade, which did not respond to an invitation to attend, was also noted.

The report-back meeting will be held at the Ecumenical Centre on December 7. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Azapo to talk to PAC, ANC

PATRICK BULGER

AZAPO — expelled from the patriotic front by the ANC and PAC organisers — said yesterday it welcomed talks with the two organisations to get it into the front. *B/day 31/10/91*

However, Azapo found it disturbing that the front had undertaken to enter negotiations with government, Azapo said yesterday in a statement on the conference held in Durban at the weekend.

"To Azapo a front has always been a front to oppose and force the regime to relinquish power and not a front necessarily to negotiate," the statement said.

It said, however, it welcomed the support organisations had shown for a constituent assembly. It said it was prepared to discuss with government only the transfer of power through a constituent assembly. Such talks should take place at a neutral venue and be convened by a neutral party.

Meanwhile, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), a participant at the conference, said the front was "nothing but a negotiations bloc under the dominance of the ANC and PAC".

Wosa said it did not accept negotiations constituted a viable path to the democratisation of SA.

It said it rejected all-party talks and an interim government and said negotiations at this stage would mean the co-option of some black middle-class elements into the existing power bloc.

2% of SA cheques bounce each year

B/day 31/10/91
ABOUT 2% — or R100m worth — of cheques issued in SA bounce, compared with 0,5% in the US, statistics released by Veri-Cheque, a division of the Information Trust Corporation show.

Veri-Cheque maintains a register of all cheques that bounce for the benefit of subscribers.

MD David Rosin said in a statement that between 1-million and 1,5-million cheques are written daily by about 3,5-million account holders — about 500-million a year.

He said about 2% of these would bounce. This did not appear unreasonable until compared with the US where only 0,5% of cheques were classified "refer to drawer".

Banks offer 26 types of current accounts. In the "scramble" for a growing share of the market, they were often keen to open accounts on the assumption that account holders were aware of the correct use of cheque books.

Rosin said that while institutions in the US had more sophisticated systems of checks and balances, these systems were also available in SA.

He cited a retailer system that prevented a till from opening if a customer's cheque account number, after being punched and processed, was not verified as acceptable. Another point-of-sale system ran a

ROBERT GENTLE

cheque through a magnetic scanner which checked it against computerised files.

"To date, most people dealing with cheques have simply passed the buck," said Rosin. "When a cheque bounces, the bank is generally free from risk, the merchant simply writes it off as bad debt — an inflationary measure — and the consumers continue to abuse the privilege of a cheque book."

Amalgamated Banks of SA deputy CE Danie Cronje said that while account holders were responsible for their cheques, the first responsibility was with the banks. "We are tightening up our screening procedures in view of the high incidence of bouncing cheques."

Standard Bank deputy MD Denzil Busse disputed the notion that banks did not do enough in their screening procedures. "We are just as concerned about bad debts as anyone else, if not more so, because we have to pick up the tab when an overdraft cannot be repaid."

He said banks should possibly provide clients with more information on the correct way of drawing cheques as they were often returned for technical irregularities. He said clearing banks no longer accepted non-transferable, uncrossed cheques.

'Gangsters' at PF reject state claims

11A

South 31/10 -
Special Correspondent

6/11/91

AN unlikely bunch of gangsters, was how ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu described those gathered for the Patriotic Front conference in Durban last weekend.

Sisulu was responding to statements by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen who accused the PF of "ganging up against whites" and "ganging up against the government".

The conference welded diverse views. Delegates were unanimous in their rejection of the government's ability to oversee the transition from apartheid to a democratic government.

The sense of camaraderie was obvious, especially when Democratic Party representative Mr Colin Eglin addressed the conference, saying "Comrade Chair", prompting applause from the 500 delegates.

However, the attendance of the DP and the Labour Party drew vicious criticism from organisations who said, it was unthinkable that liberation movements could make overtures to people who collaborated with the apartheid regime.

A slow start to the conference, the non-appearance of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, the shadow of Azapo's withdrawal and the absence of the Organisation for African Unity delegation prompted fears the conference was doomed to failure. Then the process of consensus started.

A draft declaration issued at the closure of conference drew a standing ovation and extended applause.

The major shift in the Pan Africanist Congress's position towards talks with the government contributed largely to the success of the conference.

Although it is still too early for speculation, the conference saw the birth of an organisation to contest a future election as a front, Sisulu said.

Despite squabbling over the exact terminology of the processes towards a Constituent Assembly — the bottom line agreement used as the basis

to determine which organisations could participate — the PF confirmed support for what he called an All Party Congress and the PAC a Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference, an interim government (ANC) or transitional authority (PAC) and an elected Constituent Assembly.

The declaration committed the liaison committee, established by the co-convenors in the run-up to the conference, to continue its work.

The committee will facilitate a post-conference follow-up and establish a Consultative Forum to convene another PF conference within six months. Co-operation among the constituents will be based on:

- joint actions around issues agreed upon,
- sovereignty and independence of the organisations,
- co-operation among those forces outside the front on programmes that advance the transition.

In his closing speech Sisulu said the PF conference "marked the defeat of the regime's divide and rule tactics".

"It has given birth to a powerful alliance capable of ensuring speedy transfer of power to the people.

"This conference has brought together black and white; Muslim, Christian and Hindu; workers, women and youth; communists, nationalists and progressive business people.

"It has brought political parties and organisations working within the apartheid system together with those that were formerly banned.

"It has also brought together civic associations, traditional leaders, students, teachers, doctors and lawyers.

"It is a powerful force that will be facing the enemy in the negotiations," Sisulu said.

In an almost identical message of unity, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the PF was successful because the organisations realised the legitimate call for unity to "collectively confront the enemy".

"Despite negative manoeuvrings and negative predictions, we emerged united on key issues and agreed to speak with one powerful voice," he said.

ANC juggles the negotiation obstacles to bag the big one

South 31/10 - 6/11/91. (11A)

WITH THE ANC re-starting talks with the government and agreeing to assist in convening an All Party Conference (APC) within the next few weeks, there is hope the negotiating process will finally get off the ground in South Africa.

But the ANC is going to the APC to install an interim government of national unity, while the National Party firmly rejects "government by decree" without a constitution.

For the ANC, an insistence on an interim government is the only way of ensuring the obstacles identified as preventing negotiations will be removed.

"After the Inkathagate scandal, a meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) came to the conclusion the major obstacle to negotiations was the state itself," said ANC NEC member Mr Aziz Pahad.

"We had to make a strategic shift as we realised that the regime could continue putting more obstacles in the way to prevent the negotiation process from taking place.

"That is why we see the urgency for putting in place an interim government of national unity."

Pahad said after the NEC meeting

Political prisoners remain in jail and refugees are left behind in exile — but, following the Patriotic Front talks, the ANC is about to enter into negotiations regardless. What happened to the Harare Declaration's 'obstacles' to negotiations? **REHANA ROSSOUW** investigates:

in August, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa asked all regions to discuss the organisation's "strategic shift" on negotiations.

The ANC asked regions what approach it should have to the political process in the country — whether they should still insist all obstacles be removed before negotiations or whether they should regard the government as the major obstacle to be replaced by an interim government.

"We were very satisfied with the response — all the regions discussed the issues and the majority agreed with our new approach," Pahad said.

Prior to July this year, the ANC's position on negotiations was that the government must remove all obstacles before any talks about the consti-

tution-making process or interim mechanisms could take place.

The obstacles, defined in the organisation's Harare Declaration, which remained by July this year, were the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return of all exiles.

A further condition, added in the ANC's open letter to the government in April this year, when it suspended talks with the government, was an end to violence in South Africa.

The July national conference of the ANC reaffirmed the organisation's insistence on the meeting of the demands of the Harare Declaration.

The conference said only after the demands were met could an APC be convened, an interim government in-



AZIZ PAHAD: 'We have had to make a strategic shift'.

stalled, a Constituent Assembly elected and a democratic constitution and election of parliament take place.

All the regional reports following the NEC's request indicated ANC members were in favour of using the new situation created by the Inkathagate scandal to place maximum emphasis on the demand for an interim government.

"However, an interim government could only emerge if the ANC re-started discussions with the govern-

ment and we were instructed to set a date for the APC," Pahad said.

"What must be realised here is that we are not reneging on our demands, we are just going about achieving them in a different way."

Pahad said with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in South Africa, the ANC doubted there would be major problems preventing the return of exiles.

On the question of political prisoners, there would still need to be "serious debate" with the government to free those still behind bars.

"We also believe that the government cannot end the violence, because violence and white minority rule are inseparable," Pahad said.

"But we have committed ourselves now to continue discussions to get an interim government in place. We are not going to stop talks until that happens.

"In terms of our thinking, all the obstacles, excluding the violence, can be handled by an interim government of national unity."

This approach has seen the speeding up of the negotiation process, and with the success of the Patriotic Front conference, the campaign for an interim government has been stepped up considerably.



(11A) CT 31/10/91

PAC Viewpoint

by BARNEY
DESAI

NOW that we have digested such headlines as "ANC wins over PAC" and leader comment (Cape Times, October 29) that "ANC president Nelson Mandela must gain a stature for bringing his reluctant PAC counterpart Clarence Makwetu to the negotiating table", it is important to understand just what took place at the Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

The historic agreement between the ANC and PAC announced to the 92 organisations present and representing an estimated 15 million people spelled out a joint approach on the constitutional process with regard to the negotiations for a new constitution.

We agreed that "the transfer of power from the minority regime to the people is the main objective of the struggle".

Both parties agreed that the all-party congress of the ANC and the pre-constituent assembly meeting, as proposed by the PAC, would work out ways of transferring power to the people.

The agreement clearly and unambiguously states "that the modalities must centre on the establishment of an elected constituent assembly based on one person, one vote with all eligible voters voting on a common voters' roll; constitutional principles within a framework outlined in the UN and OAU declaration's interim government/transitional authority; the role of the international community re-incorporation of the Bantustans and a definite time frame".

Proposals

On the question of the convenorship we decided that the APC/PCAM must have an "Independent and neutral convenor" and not the regime. The PAC and ANC must agree on an acceptable convenor. We also agreed that a meeting should be held within the next few weeks to discuss the date, venue and independent convenor.

Patriotic Front — its meaning!

An extremely important part of the agreement concerns the ANC and PAC approach to the process of change. We concluded: "On issues where there is agreement at this or future meetings of the Patriotic Front, actions and positions will be underlined by the principle of unity in action and unity of purpose as a front."

More significantly, we agreed that "on issues where consensus has not been reached, endeavours to find common ground will continue. Should consensus not be reached, organisations can act independently."

Our proposals for a transitional authority are fully accommodated in the declaration adopted by the delegates to the PF which states that they "commit themselves to a sovereign interim government/transitional authority, that shall at the very least control security and related matters, the electoral process, state media and defined areas of budget as well as finance, and secure international participation".

The PAC and ANC are in disagreement on an interim government but we will nevertheless attempt to reach consensus. However, if we cannot in terms of our agreement, our right to act independently is not an issue.

The Patriotic Front is a formidable force with neither of the two major players seeking to dominate each other. Our unity of purpose is the transfer of power to the people and the establishment of democratic rule.

50 000 people trapped in Dubrovnik by an army and navy

... food and medicine, had been stopped by the navy and searched for weapons at Mljet.

... four weeks, and food, water and medicine are running low. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nurses slam CPA economising policy

VIVIEN HORLER
Medical Reporter

ARG 31/10/91

THE South African Nursing Association has hit out at a decision to freeze nursing posts and to curtail training taken by the Cape Provincial Administration in a bid to save money.

"This method of economising cannot be supported," said a spokeswoman for the association.

And there have indications that other provinces intend to follow suit, although this has not yet been confirmed.

The intake of new student nurses in the Cape will be reduced from 3 422 to 2 695 next year, at a time when morale is low, hospital departments are under-staffed and some units have had to close altogether

because of a shortage of suitably trained nurses.

It was disclosed this week that at Valkenberg Hospital domestic workers are sometimes left in charge of wards at night because of a shortage of nurses.

Nurses are leaving in search of better pay, shorter hours, and less stress.



Azapo says 'no' to exploratory talks

Political Staff

ARG 31/10/91

THE Azanian People's Organisation has again rejected exploratory talks with the government.

In a statement yesterday Azapo president Panelani Nefolovhodwe said it was "disturbing" that the Patriotic Front planned to hold

talks with Pretoria within the next few weeks.

He said Azapo rejected talks-about-talks and was only prepared to negotiate the transfer of power to the majority through a constituent assembly. Azapo was axed as co-convenor of the PF conference.

Azapo attacks Front

11A

Sowetan

31/10/91.

IN the wake of Patriotic Front declarations in Durban at the weekend, Azapo has defined its interpretation of a "front".

"To Azapo a front has always been a front to oppose and force the regime to relinquish power - not a front to negotiate."

The organisation said it found it disturbing that a front formed in Durban would negotiate with the "regime" within three weeks.

It warned that it was the overall strategy of the Government to divide liberation movements.

"The regime would find it advantageous to deal with a section of the liberation movement which excludes Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement."

The only kind of negotiations in which Azapo and the BCMA would be interested was the discussion of transfer of power from the minority to the majority through a Constituent Assembly. - Sapa.

Azapo slams PF talks plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) yesterday criticised the decision by last weekend's patriotic front (PF) conference to seek talks with the government.

In its official reaction to the PF conference, Azapo said it had always favoured "a front to force the regime to relinquish power, and not a front to negotiate".
Azapo said it was disturbing that the PF formed in Durban would be entering negotiations with the "regime" within three weeks. — Sapa

Azapo slams PF talks with 'regime'

Star 31/10/91
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation said it was "disturbing" that the newly formed Patriotic Front (PF) plans to hold talks with Pretoria within the next few weeks.

In a statement issued yesterday, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said Azapo rejected talks about talks, and the only thing it was prepared to negotiate was the transfer of power through a constituent assembly.

Azapo was stripped of its position as co-convenor of the PF conference after it wrote a letter to 14 invited organisations, asking them to resign from the Government-created structures in which they served. Azapo later decided against attending the conference.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was in favour of a front "to oppose and force the regime to relinquish power" and was therefore disappointed that the PF formed in Durban would be "entering negotiations with the regime within three weeks".

Azapo, he said, was still committed to a constituent assembly and was prepared to negotiate in a neutral venue and

11A
under "an impartial mediator or chairperson" for the transfer of power.

Mr Nefolovhodwe endorsed demands for a transitional authority which would have a clearly defined mandate and a limited duration, but rejected an all-party conference which, he said, would undermine the PF's efforts.

He said Azapo regarded its expulsion from the convenership of the PF conference "as unfortunate".

However, the organisation would welcome bilateral talks with the ANC and the PAC "aimed at restoring (Azapo to) its rightful place".

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) has said the PF was "nothing but a negotiations bloc under the dominance of the ANC/PAC". The Wosa central committee said Wosa supported the idea of a PF which was a fighting alliance united around mass struggles for a constituent assembly, but refused to be part of a front which included organisations working within the apartheid system.

"We refuse to enter a front which has effectively relinquished mass mobilisation as a form of struggle for liberation."