

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

JANUARY

## Conference to discuss Codesa

The New Unity Movement will hold its seventh annual conference in Johannesburg at the weekend. STAR 21192

One of the items on the agenda is the "exposure of Codesa as the latest fraud to give the ruling class a new lease of life", the organisation said.

The three-day conference will start tomorrow at 7.70 pm at the Anglican Church hall in Pollock Avenue, Newclare.

—Staff Reporter.



# Freedom - the promise of '92

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2/1/92

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This opening could be the last of its kind, and its historic significance cannot be brushed aside by the whims of any particular political party in South Africa.

Simultaneously, when decisions taken by and agreements reached through Codesa do receive legal authority, Parliament will effectively become a lot less powerful in terms of emerging policy.

Altogether, 1992 promises to be the year when, for the first time since Europeans colonised the Cape in 1652, that the indigenous people of this southernmost region of Africa will begin to formulate laws and design political policies that will affect their daily lives directly.

This achievement, which was largely inspired by tenacious efforts by the liberation movements and international pressure, was immensely aided by the developing new world order - where the West has emerged as the only major power.

This world order does not directly affect the lives of ordinary black South Africans, but the political effect of it - black social and political activity in the emerging democracy - will give a great deal of the black population a large amount of political confidence.

This confidence will, hopefully permeates their professional and personal lives.

## FOCUS



1991 was a hectic year in a political sense. Sowetan political correspondent, IS-MAIL LAGARDIEN, looks at the year ahead.

But what about the PAC, Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, who together (numerically) could amount to as powerful a force as the National Party or a force greater than the Democratic Party or any other parliamentary party?

These organisations have chosen not to be part of the growing tendency towards Codesa and the political climate it has established.

How they will fare, and what lies ahead in the foreseeable future can be measured by looking back just to the political achievements of the year past or so.

The ANC - since the first meeting between the then State President PW Botha and the then

prisoner Nelson Mandela and until Codesa - singularly (and victoriously) engaged the Government in a series of issues ranging from the release of prisoners, the indemnification and subsequent repatriation of thousands of exiles, the repeal of the most draconian measures contained in the Internal Security Act, and last but not the least, the fulcrum of apartheid; the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts of 1913 and 1937.

In each of the above instances, the PAC in particular, benefited without getting their hands dirty, as it were.

Commenting on this development this week, the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said that his organisation had been pressuring the Government towards a peacefully negotiated settlement since 1986.

"They (the PAC, Wosa, Num and Azapo) are not part of this engine for change but they benefit from it," Mandela said.

When the PAC cried foul at Codesa's preparatory talks on November 29 last year, they did not marginalise themselves, nor did they sideline themselves.

The PAC was hurt. It thought that the ANC was going to take it by the hand and walk it through the morass of apartheid's creatures like the parties in the tricameral parliament to victory and a coalition government in the next South Africa.

But the ANC didn't. And, according to the engine room operators within the ANC, it did not renege on agreements reached in the Patriotic Front either. The ANC simply carried on doing what it had been since 1986 - confront the Government.

In other words, PAC expected to walk back into the country and be handed the keys to government, and not to be treated as a party among other parties.

Nevertheless, Codesa will go ahead with its deliberations and Parliament will open as usual - with a few changes.

But when the ANC secures - through negotiations at Codesa - one person one vote elections to a constituent assembly, an interim government, and perhaps a compromise on the role of the international community and on the issue of a neutral venue, the PAC will win too.

It is unforeseeable that the Fabulous Four (PAC, Wosa, Num and Azapo) will not enter into a constituent assembly.

The fundamental difference between the ANC's decision to enter Codesa in pursuit of a constituent assembly and the decision of the Fabulous Four not to enter is based on choice.

The ANC chose "to negotiate peacefully" a new constitution for the country, and finds it "unnecessary to keep slaughtering each other" in order to reach the next South Africa, Mandela said this week.

Today the PAC has no means of getting the Government to talk to it about a constituent assembly, but before its consultative congress of December 15 and 16 in Cape Town, where the PAC were told by its following not to engage the Government, the Africanist leadership had Codesa.

And now, by refusing to enter into Codesa, they will get to a constituent assembly anyway, albeit through a kind of liberation by osmosis.

# Movement to hold

talks

*Sowetan*

*2/1/92*

By JOE MDHLELA

THE New Unity Movement holds its 7th annual conference at the St Francis of Assisi Anglican Church in Newclare, Johannesburg, tomorrow.

The conference will continue until Sunday its secretary, Mr Goba Ndhlovu said.

Topics to be discussed at the conference include the raising of political consciousness and revolutionary optimism among the working classes.

# CRYING OUT FOR PEACE

Sowetan 2/1/92 (114) (114) (114)



**VICTORIA MABONA**

PEACE and goodwill was the overriding theme of most of the New Year messages Sowetan obtained in a snap survey.

Most messages and wishes by political and church leaders were political sloganeering and bantering, with the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Transkeian leader, Major Bantu Holomisa, delivering the most positive messages.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, was defiant, and the Boerestaat Party was glum.

Among ordinary people there was a lot more optimism and hope for the New Year. Everyone agreed that the violence that plagued black communities in 1991 has to end.

Ms Victoria Mabona (18) from Meadowlands, Soweto, said: "I wish for everybody to live in peace and harmony in 1992. People should love one another and be united in what they do."

Mr Andrew Kareedi and his friend, Mr John Maleka, said in unison that they wished for peace.

"There's been a too much fighting in our country in recent years, it is time for peace," said Maleka. "I wish for success for myself and my family."

"Other than wishing for peace this year, I want to work hard so that I can afford to give my children and my family a good life in 1992," was 32-year-old Kareedi's other wish.

"I wish to get a job and I wish my family and friends success this year," said 25-year-old Mr Siphiwe Mabena.

An elderly woman who would not identify herself also expressed a wish for peace and good health.

"I also hope that my health will be better this year and I wish my family, especially my grandchildren, luck in whatever they do," she said.

Twenty-three-year-old



**ANDREW KAREEDI**

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, PEARL MAJOLA, DANIEL MAINE, MOLEFI MIKA and VICTOR METSOAMERE

Ms Phila Zwane from Meadowlands wished for a brighter future. "I will use every opportunity I will get to ensure a bright future for myself," she said.

Mr Denzel Boyles from Ennerdale had a different wish. "I wish for South Africa to take part in all the Olympic Games in July," he enthused.

"I also wish my family and fellow-South Africans peace and harmony."

Mrs Esther Buthelezi from Orlando West Extension, Soweto, also wants peace and good health in 1992.

"Regarding what has been happening in our communities throughout this year, the most important thing I wish for is peace," she said.

"But I also wish for life and health this year so that I can bring up my grandchildren. I also wish for them and the children of this nation to learn this year and secure their future."

## Opportunity

The ANC's Mandela said there was a great possibility that 1992 could become the year that South Africa would become a democracy.

Mandela said Codesa, which came into being after 80 years of "costly struggle" by the majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the National Convention of 1909, represented "a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together."

The Transkei's military leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, hoped 1992 would deliver the lofty ideas expressed by Codesa, and that Codesa itself should be a success.

"Should it fail, there might be a problem for the... entire southern African region.

"We should count ourselves fortunate that the



**JOHN MALEKA**

ANC and PAC are on talking terms and want to negotiate," Holomisa said.

Holomisa added that he hoped that Government would place a blanket ban on all cultural weapons.

Lehova's Chief Minister, Mr Nelson Ramodike, warned that Government was not ready to hand over power, and that it in fact sought to dissolve power bases to regional authorities so as to retain power.

"It is rather interesting that, now that the NP sees itself losing power, it suddenly tries to demonstrate the need for regional governments and a federal type of dispensation," Ramodike said.

The president of the Azanian Student Convention, Mr Siphiwe Maseko, confined himself to his constituency, wishing it a prosperous and happy 1992.

Maseko said: "The past year was that of rehearsed theatrics in the form of acted-out violence, political posturism and adventurism, and various mediocre documents about education by the Government aimed at arresting and blackmailing black student and their legitimate struggle."

"We believe as we enter the new year there must be a renewed commitment to democratise and transform education institutions and the entire country."

The PAC submitted all its policies and ideals for a new democratic South Africa and attacked "the regime".

In a New Year message, the second deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, said peace would return to South Africa only after "genuine democracy" had been established.

The Government and Codesa, he said, did not hold any promise of delivering the PAC's ideal state.



**SIPHWE MABENA**

He called on the youth to continue in pursuit of their education "to ensure that our struggle for liberation is coupled with acquisition of skills to support our goals of liberation".

"Throughout 1991 the oppressed people have been under siege of violence, created principally by agents of the regime."

"We call for political tolerance and peace."

"The liberation movement must also be prepared to defend our people against the scourge of violence whilst increasing its own capacity to fight the regime on all fronts," Moseneke said.

## Elite

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and, if it continues to be the sponsor of violence amongst the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country."

Azapo warned black South Africans about "the West's" plans to brainwash this country's black people.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovodiwe, said Western powers were bent on manipulating world events with programmes such as black economic empowerment.

"Millions and millions of rands are being pumped into our country through various organisations in the name of development and black economic empowerment," he said.

Citing what he called "the destruction of the



**PHILA ZWANE**

economies and weakening of governments" in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, Nefolovodiwe warned that South Africa was next on the list of the West.

He called the present political process, and pointing at Codesa, lamentable.

The Conservative Party's Dr Andries Treurnicht obliquely supported the notion of multiparty democracy with a message which centres on "co-operative self-determination within a framework of a commonwealth of nations".

"Without self-determination there can be no freedom. Without freedom there can be no peace and without peace there can be no security but only clashes, bloodletting and manslaughter."

"Peace, freedom and security are guaranteed by co-operative self-determination, not forcing together of heterogeneous people in the same political, social and educational structures in a unitary state," Treurnicht said.

He said negotiations between leaders should concentrate on a completely different goal and point of departure.

The Boerestaat Party's Mr Robert van Tonder said that never before had a new year held such dismal prospects for the Boer nation. This year, 1992, would see the death of all white political parties, Van Tonder said in his New Year message.

According to Van Tonder's calculations, the total tightwing group in the country would be able to gain no more than three percent of the parliamentary seats in the next South Africa.

The presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, was profoundly encouraging of political achievements during 1991.

He cited in particular the signing of the Peace Accord of September 14, the formation of the



**DENZEL BOYLES**

Patriotic Front on October 26, and Codesa.

"Such political maturity will ensure that a new constitutional dispensation, based on norms and values acceptable to Christians will be acceptable by all South Africans far faster than one could have anticipated, perhaps even by the end of 1992," Mogoba said.

The country's musicians were a lot more adventurous and a lot less lyrical.

Danny Malewa and Izzyboy Masedi hope for a "prosperous and peaceful 1992".

Said Malewa: "Blacks should strive to achieve even their wildest dreams and for once there should be peace in the new year."

## Harmony

Masedi, husband of singer Vinofia Mashigo, popularly known as V Mash, said: "In the new year I hope we will not walk the streets afraid of strangers."

"Life last year was uncertain. Things should be different this time around. We should all open our hearts, dream and work for harmony," he said.

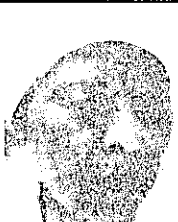
Meanwhile, artist, theatre director, playwright and actor Matsemela Manaka said he hoped that the role of artists in the society would be intensified.

"I hope for the reinforcements of the role of the arts for community development and social reconstruction. We should look at turning theory into practice to make functional theatre a success in 1992," he said.

He will also be taking up a resident directorship in theatre at the University of Durban-Westville.

Executive director of the Kallchong Art Centre on the East Rand Mr Napo Mokoena said he hoped that the process towards a better socio-political scenario in South Africa should be supported by all.

"Unqualified support



**ESTHER BUTHELEZI**

should also be given to budding artists in their endeavours to create works that portray a new climate of beauty and a spirit of understanding in the black community," said Mokoena.

Mr Peter Zwane, chairman of the Soweto Athletics Unity Association, said: "I hope 1992 will be an eventful year for athletics and athletes. I hope we will come as one and having our priorities right as athletes in the townships. We should have as many races as we can to in order unearth and develop talent."

Adam Fortuin, president of the Tennis Association of South Africa, said: "I would only hope that all nonracial sportspersons will find the true homes during the coming year."

"Homes that shall not forsake the principle of nonracialism."

Ntate "Vader" Pila, captain of Mahwelereng Spikes in Potgietersrus, the Great North and SA Softball Federation champions, said:

"I wish the softball unity process a success because we would like to prove a point once more in the expected new South Africa."

Mr Alex "Gold Finger" Shakoane, PR of Mamelodi Sundowns, said: "We at Sundowns will still say the sky is the limit in 1992 because we are planning to play top class soccer once more."

"We would therefore urge NPSL and NSL officials to speed up unity in the professional ranks."

"As for officials and some clubs we ask them to stop their selfishness for the sake of soccer which is the No 1 sport for the underprivileged."

Former Sowetan Woman of the Year Mrs Ruth Machobane's wish for 1992 is for the politics of South Africa to reach a "meaningful conclusion that will provide a solution satisfactory to everyone in the country."



**BANTU HOLOMISA**



**DANNY MALEWA**



**MATSEMELA MANAKA**



**NAPO MOKOENA**



**PETER ZWANE**



**ADAM FORTUIN**



**ALEX SHAKOANE**

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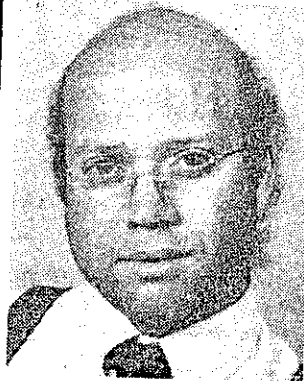
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The PAC was hurt. It thought that the ANC was going to take it by the hand and walk it through the morass of apartheid's creatures like the parties in the tricameral parliament to victory and a coalition government in the next South Africa.

But the ANC didn't. And, according to the engine room operators within the ANC, it did not renege on agreements reached in the Patriotic Front either. The ANC simply carried on doing what it had been since 1986 - confront the Government.

In other words, PAC expected to walk back into the country and be handed the keys to government, and not to be treated as a party among other parties.

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# PAC wants to set up a private army

South Africa 2/1/92

DAR ES SALAAM - The armed wing of the PAC, Azanian People's Liberation Army has threatened to set up a "legal" private army inside South Africa.

In a New Year message issued from its Dar es Salaam headquarters in Tanzania, Apla's secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama said since private armies were not illegal, Apla would recommend the formation of an elite training camp inside the country to the PAC leadership.

"Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and if it continues to be the sponsor of violence among the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country for the defence of the people."

He said the purpose of the unit would

reviewed if the State-sponsored violence continued.

Phama said: "The experience of Apla in its recent combat against the SAP is that the SAP is totally demoralised, fatigued, confused and poorly trained.

"In all our recent skirmishes they never returned fire nor engaged in any pursuit."

Phama suggested that rather than attacking PAC leaders for failing to condemn Apla, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel should explain to his constituency the poor state of the police force.

Apla fully supports the demand for a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly and the leadership of PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, he said.

# 'Impertinent' Nelson slated

WHITE South Africans would not consent to an interim government or ANC "tyranny", the national chairman of the Republican Unity Movement of South Africa, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, said on Tuesday.

He was reacting to a statement on Monday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Derby-Lewis said there would be no ANC-led South Africa, and it was time cognisance was taken of this fact.

"The statement by the ANC's Nelson Mandela that those who did not participate in Codesa would be 'sidelined' is impertinent in the light of Mandela's own irrelevancy to the future of this country," Derby-Lewis said.

He added that the ANC's president "may be able to intimidate weak-kneed politicians like the State President but we, representing thousands of English-speakers in this country, are becoming sick and tired of his pompous edicts about our future". - *Sapa*

*Sowetan 2/1/92*

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# PAC threatens to create private army inside SA

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Star 2/1/92

Staff Reporter and Sapa

The armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has threatened to set up a "legal" private army inside South Africa.

Apla's secretary of defence, Sabelo Phama, said in a new year message from the organisation's headquarters in Dar es Salaam: "Since private armies are not illegal, we will watch the regime closely and if it continues the sponsorship of violence among the oppressed, we will recommend to the PAC leadership the formation of an elite specialised training camp inside the country for the defence of the people."

He added that the purpose of the unit would be defensive only and would be reviewed if State-sponsored violence continued.

"The experience of Apla in its recent combat against the SAP is that the SAP is totally demoralised, fatigued, confused and poorly trained," Mr Phama said.

President de Klerk in his new year's message called for closer co-operation in southern Africa.

"South Africa is part of Afri-

ca. Her people of all colours, cultures and creeds belong to Africa, as much as the citizens of any other country on our continent," he said. "Logically, therefore, close co-operation between South Africa, her neighbouring states and even countries further afield would be in the best interests of everybody."

Discussing events within the country, Mr de Klerk said: "To those who feel threatened by reform, mostly the minority — I give the assurance that the Government will not allow standards to be overthrown."

## Prevent

He added: "It is possible to prevent domination and abuse of power, and it is possible to effectively protect all minority groups and minorities against this. You may rest assured that it will be done."

"Simultaneously, there is doubt and suspicion among especially our black population. They fear that reform will fall short of fulfilling their desire for full political rights and equal opportunities.

"... To them I want to give the assurance that those who are sincere about negotiation — and that includes the Govern-

ment — are absolutely committed to bringing about an equitable dispensation. All South Africans must be and will be first class citizens in the new South Africa," he said.

In his new year's message, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht called for co-operative self-determination within a framework of a commonwealth of nations, instead of a unitary state of different peoples.

"Without self-determination there can be no freedom. Without freedom there can be no peace, and without peace there can be no security, but only clashes, blood-letting and manslaughter," he said.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough, in his new year's message, warned that a new dispensation would not be successful if violence and anarchy were allowed to continue.

There were severe problems facing the province, in particular a shortage of housing for the urbanising population, he said, adding: "It is projected that by the year 2000 in the central, eastern and western Witwatersrand, including the Vaal Triangle, provision has to be made for an additional 3,3 million people."

The Rev Dr Stanley Mogoba,

presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, called for the country to work for peace in his new year message. He said the Church, trade unions and the business community, including the emergent black business fraternity, were in a good position to work toward peace.

"As totalitarian regimes collapse in infamy around the world, so South Africa finds itself in the enviable position of having found an incredible amount of common ground in the quest for a fresh political order and peace — so aptly expressed at Codesa, despite the differences that emerged. This provides hope for political and economic growth in the future, and a secure social structure for all," he said.

King Mswati III of Swaziland appealed to all Swazi nationals in exile to return home so that they could participate in national dialogue aimed at "mapping out the future political direction of the country".

The King's invitation to exiles was made on his behalf on Tuesday by Prime Minister Obed Dlamini when he delivered his new year message in Mbabane.

● Ystergarde revelations raise new tensions — Page 10

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# ANC, Inkatha leaders to discuss peace

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet early this year in an attempt to normalise relations between their organisations.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday confirmed that the third high-profile meeting between the two leaders since Mandela's release from prison would be held.

Although no date has been set and no agenda agreed on, the meeting is largely intended to defuse tensions between the organisations at grassroots level. Both are

PATRICK BULGER

signatories to the peace accord and both are taking part in Codesa, but violence between their supporters continues.

Vos said Inkatha felt it was important that a high-profile meeting take place to demonstrate to supporters that both movements were seriously interested in peace.

The meeting is being arranged by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and the ANC's Jacob Zuma, who has played a leading role in previous attempts to broker peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

SIDNEY 3/1/92

# Gambling on 50-50 odds for peace

*Despite racial, political and ideological differences, South Africa is shifting to democracy.*

**PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**  
*reports on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, the 'first journey in intensity and passion' that will make history*

**I**F 1991 ended in an upbeat note with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, it is the year ahead that will really determine whether a peaceful transfer of power is possible.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic South Africa, lays the odds at no more than 50-50.

There is still a wide gulf between the African National Congress and the government, and many areas in which the two sides have differing views.

Both have agreed upon the need for an interim government, for example, and agreed that one could be in place as early as July 1992. But how the government is formed and by whom will be subject to tough negotiations.

There is President FW de Klerk's proposal, which he has yet to elaborate upon, to open parliament to blacks. De Klerk has not dropped the idea of a white referendum — essentially giving the white minority veto power over political change.

Neither a referendum nor the government's apparent desire to extend the transition process to up to 10 years is likely to be acceptable to the ANC. "We reiterate that the central demand of the ANC remains the full and meaningful participation by all South Africa's people," ANC president Nelson Mandela said.

The ANC continues to fear that the government has a double agenda, and may not be cooperative in surrendering to the democratic will of a majority electorate.

The first real indication of the government's plans will come when De Klerk opens parliament later this month and spells out what he means with his concept of an interim arrangement and how he wants to open parliament to blacks.

Even if De Klerk is willing to compromise, he may be unable to carry the majority of whites with him.

The recent loss of Virginia to the Conservative Party underscored his vulnerability, a trend that is likely to be confirmed in the Potchefstroom by-election.

This will lend impetus to the CP's demand that De Klerk call a white general election because he has no mandate to hand over to majority rule.



**FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela ... Angry words and then a warm handshake**

CP gripes should be given yet further urgency by the deliberations of Codesa through February and March — and major compromises by the government will be seen as negotiating away "white man's freedoms".

Those even farther to the right have begun to increase threats of physical violence, and to carry a few out — bombing a non-racial church school in Klerksdorp, and a hotel in the rural town of Koster that had an integrated bar.

Though De Klerk has so far called its bluffs, the right remains a presence on the sidelines, a potential threat to the process and to the country's political stability.

Renewed reports of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging starting a new private army — this one called the Iron Guard — cannot be dismissed out of hand as yet more looney ravings.

The AWB warned after Codesa that "any attempts by Codesa to enforce its illegitimate discussions or actions will be considered by the AWB as an act of war ... If ever the peace-loving and law-abiding Boers were to be aroused into resistance and total rejection of this renegade government, we have now arrived at the moment in our history".

The threat from the right is one of fragmentation, of fracturing the unity of a "new" South Africa. The anachronistic ideology of a Boer state has been modernised by events in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union which ideologues such as Robert van Tonder, of the Boerestaats Party, now point to as proof of the

legitimacy of ethnic nationalism.

In this respect, the right has much in common with the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The IFP refused to sign the "Declaration of Intent" at Codesa in which political parties pledged their commitment to democracy and equal political rights for all.

The objection was to the use of the term "undivided South Africa", which IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose said ruled out the possibility of separate status for the predominantly-Zulu Natal province.

There has even been the suggestion that Inkatha and the parties on the extreme right may forge an alliance. After all, Buthelezi's mobilising theme of Zulu nationalism dates back further than Afrikaner nationalism.

The IFP's advisor at the talks was Professor Albert Blaustein, of Rutgers University, reportedly an advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and an expert in ethnic conflagration in societies such as Yugoslavia.

With no prospect of electoral victory in a unitary South Africa, Buthelezi — who, by refusing to attend, left one foot in and one foot out of Codesa — could be developing a secessionist movement in the predominantly Zulu Natal province.

Shortly before he pulled out of Codesa, he warned of civil war if the Zulus' demands were ignored. Given the thousands who have died in clashes primarily between Inkatha and the ANC, the threat has an ominous ring.

A possible future ally of Inkatha and the right

is Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, who also did not sign the declaration and who clearly wants to maintain the "independent status" of his pseudo state.

It is the prospect of violence — whether from the extreme right, from the IFP, or from elements in the security forces, or from a mixture of all — that poses the severest challenge to Codesa. The violence has so far been closely connected to the negotiating process and one cannot rule out further orchestration of conflict.

Furthermore, with the economy showing scant signs of recovery — and many millions of aggrieved and unemployed people out there — negotiations could not be taking place at a tougher time.

On the left, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have threatened to destroy Codesa, but they are neither well-organised nor, at this point, well-supported.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, grabs occasional headlines by killing policemen. If Codesa succeeds, the PAC will have doomed itself to political irrelevance by staying out.

If Codesa fails, the PAC could gain massive support from those whose hopes of liberation have been raised and disappointed by the negotiations.

The stability of Codesa itself has, however, survived the first major steps. Mandela's angry attack on De Klerk at Codesa, aired on prime time television in front of millions of viewers, was a psychological turning point for the nation.

In Soweto cars honked their horns. Many whites were stunned. "There goes Potchefstroom," said one National Party official at Codesa.

The circumstances of the confrontation were complex, tied up less with the ostensible issue of the ANC's refusal to surrender the armed struggle, than to Mandela's fury that De Klerk used the occasion to sneak in political advantage against the ANC.

Perhaps the most significant point about the exchange was that it did not derail the talks, nor even the relationship between the two men, who shook hands warmly at the start of the next day's session while both sides took pains to assure everyone that all was well.

Instead, it proved the ability of South Africans to argue robustly — rather than to kill each other — and in this sense began to lay the basis for parliamentary democracy.

It underlined the fact that South Africa, once regarded as a basket case of irreconcilable racial, political and ideological divisions is making progress towards democracy when the prospects for resolving other conflict-ridden areas — such as Israel, Northern Ireland and Yugoslavia — continue to look bleak.

"We have emerged stronger because some experiences have to be lived with intensity," Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed, co-chairman of the conference, said as he closed the conference.

# FW, Mandela share honours

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will jointly receive a UN-sponsored peace prize at a ceremony in Paris next month.

Although the two leaders have made separate travel arrangements to be present to receive the Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize sponsored by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), their joint presence at a world forum will go a long way towards convincing the international community of the reality of fundamental change in SA, observers say. *Monday 3/11/92*

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed that Mandela would travel first to France to receive the prize and then on to Denmark — one of the few countries the ANC leader has not yet visited.

PATRICK BULGER

A source in the Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that De Klerk would be visiting Paris. *(U.A.)*

His office was not available for comment, however.

The prize, which is being awarded for the first time this year, is worth R340 000, which the two will share.

It is not yet known what each will do with his money.

Organisers said the award was being made to the South Africans "to encourage them to persevere in their efforts to establish a new SA".

The jury which decided on the winners was headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger.

# Mandela hails WM exposé

Weekly Mail Reporter (11/11/92) 2423  
NELSON MANDELA this week indicated that the African National Congress was arranging a meeting with the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss *The Weekly Mail's* revelations of South African Defence Force support for the IFP. W/Mail 3/11-9/11/92

Speaking at a press conference this week, Mandela praised *The Weekly Mail* for its exposé.

Asked if the ANC was going to take up the matter, he replied: "These revelations are very useful and one must compliment your publication for the courage which you have shown in

digging out a matter of major national importance.

"We must naturally address the issue, but you will appreciate that I am not keen to go into any detail about the matter here. It is a matter of very serious importance. In fact, we are arranging a meeting with Inkatha and these are all matters which are to be addressed.

"But for the time being I would to emphasise how grateful all South Africans should be for the investigative journalism which is associated with your publication."



**R340 000 AWARD:** President de Klerk and Mr Mandela will fly separately to Paris.

# De Klerk, Mandela will share Unesco prize

STAR 4/1/92 (309A) 11A

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**

THE special chemistry which existed between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela shortly after the latter's release in 1990 may no longer be as strong, but the a United Nations body will bring the two men together again next month.

President de Klerk and Mr Mandela, whose special relationship had deteriorated to such a level that they were publicly attacking each other towards the end of last year, will jointly receive a UN-sponsored peace prize at a ceremony in Paris.

The Felix Houphouet-Boigny

Peace Prize, which has been sponsored by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco), is worth R340 000, which South Africa's two most influential politicians will share.

According to the organisers, the award was being made to the South Africans "to encourage them to persevere in their efforts to establish a new South Africa".

Mr Mandela and President de Klerk have made separate travel arrangements to Paris, with the

ANC leader travelling first to France to receive the prize and then proceeding to Denmark, a country he has not yet visited.

Former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger headed the jury which decided on the winners.

The deterioration of the special relationship which once existed between the two was again evident on the first day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre last month, when the ANC leader launched a scathing personal attack on the State President.

# Police must go

# PA

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STAR 4/11/92

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## 'Slaying of Soweto SAP members defended as 'start of the revolution'

**BRENDAN TEMPLETON and PRETORIA NEWS**

THE Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) will attack not only the police but all "enemy agents", according to PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama.

Phama was commenting on the brutal murder of two policemen lured into an ambush in Soweto on Thursday night, for which Apla has claimed responsibility.

Mr Phama said the police were at the forefront of intimidating people and should therefore "go".

Speaking from Harare, Mr Phama said the PAC was still awaiting a report from Apla's "field commander on the ground" about the killing of two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto.

Outrage over the killing of the two policemen was yesterday brushed aside by the PAC youth wing, which described the killings as "the start of the revolution".

Its statement, which said the police and defence forces had to be "wiped out of existence", followed hot on the heels of Apla's claim of responsibility for the killings.

A man claiming to be an Apla operative, Carlson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to say that Thursday's attack had been carried out by a unit of three Apla

combatants.

The killings came hours after police announced a R25 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

Five policemen have been killed in attacks on the Reef this week and almost 150 have died violently over the past year.

The South African Police condemned the killings as "cowardly", and the Democratic Party warned that assassinations could destabilise the political process.

Conservative Party justice spokesman Chris de Jager said the death sentence should be imposed for the murder of policemen.

The PAC has been noticeably absent from the organisations which have commented on the recent spate of killings. PAC general secretary Benny Alexander last month refused to condemn or condone the killings, drawing sharp criticism from the police.

Attempts to obtain further comment from PAC spokesmen in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cape Town and Johannesburg bore no fruit yesterday.

In a statement issued yesterday, the PAC's department of youth affairs said the Government was "illegitimate, illegal and brutal". It had shown no "signs or preparedness to hand over power to the indigenous African majority".

"De Klerk with his regime continues to murder our people, perpetrating the countrywide violence

and ruling our country with the gun.

"The SAP together with the SADF are fully armed enemy organs. Because the regime relies on them for its perpetual stay in power, for any revolution to succeed (they) should be wiped out of existence."

In a stinging reply, the South African Police said Apla should be "too ashamed to accept responsibility for such a despicable and cowardly deed".

The two Soweto policemen's death were the latest in a spate of attacks on SAP members. On Wednesday night, two were killed in Katlehong on the East Rand and another off-duty policeman was killed in Soweto.

"It is no great feat to lure policemen into an ambush and then murder them. The police are there to protect and serve all the inhabitants of the country," the police statement said.

In an indication that the Government was taking the latest spate of assassinations very seriously, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said police should take "the maximum appropriate response to any threat to their safety".

He had requested Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe to instruct every member of the force that they were under no circumstances to regard themselves as targets.

# Returnee urges PAC to change

C/P/Pres 5/11/92

11A

By SEKOLA SELLO and MARTIN NTSOELNGOE

WHEN Phillip Ata Kgosana fled South Africa 31 years ago, he did not believe that he would see his beloved country of birth again.

And if he did live to see it, he did not believe he would still be in good health.

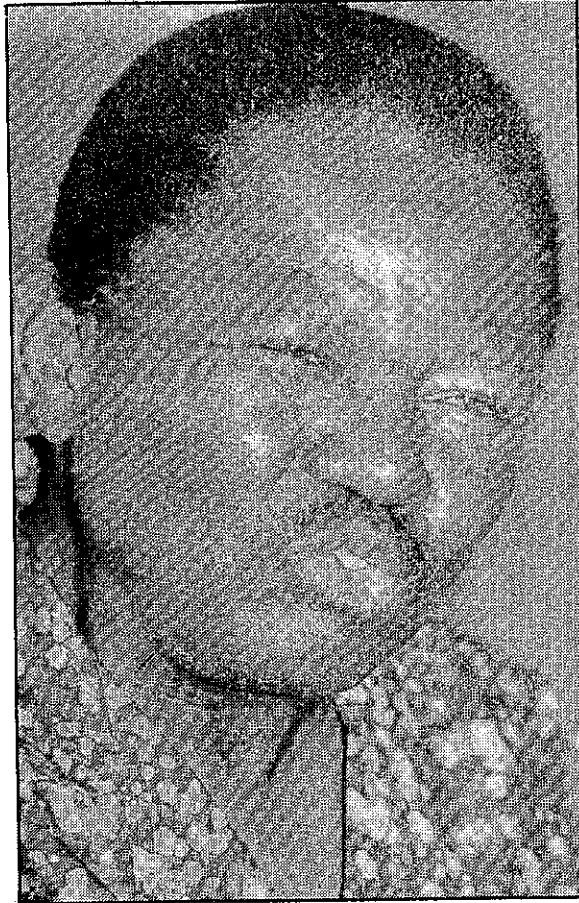
"I thought I would return home an old man in my 80s, sickly and walking on three legs (using a walking stick)," Kgosana said half in jest, half seriously.

He was speaking to a City Press team from his home in Winterveldt near Pretoria this week.

Apart from PAC founding president Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the name of Kgosana is arguably one of the best known among PAC members who participated in the 1960 anti-pass campaign which preceded the Sharpeville and Langa killings.

Kgosana slipped back quietly into the country two weeks ago, no longer a headline-grabbing young student. In spite of the hardships of life in exile, he looked a healthy man of 55.

Kgosana made international headlines on March 30, 1960, when as a 23-



**RIGHT FOR THE TIME . . . Philip Kgosana defends famous decision.** ■ Pic: SIPHIWE MHLAMBI

year-old student at the University of Cape Town, he led a phalanx of 30 000 anti-pass demonstrators into the heart of the city.

The march, organised by the then 11-month-old PAC which had just

broken off from the ANC, was the biggest political demonstration ever held in Cape Town.

Following the Cape Town march and other anti-pass campaigns initiated by the PAC, several

members of the organisation were arrested throughout the country. Kgosana was among those who were later charged with incitement against the pass laws.

After his trial was adjourned several times, Kgosana fled into exile.

Looking back on the 10 days of strife in Cape Town which culminated in the big walk into the city on March 30, Kgosana says this single event marked "the highest possible point of non-violent struggle in South Africa. Nothing like it had ever been seen before".

Some members of the the Western Cape leadership of the PAC, particularly Kgosana, were criticised for asking the marchers to return home without "extracting concrete results from the government".

Critics of the PAC even charged Kgosana of being "duped" by the police who promised the organisation's delegation a meeting with Justice Minister Erasmus. However, instead of meeting with Erasmus, Kgosana and his delegation were arrested under emergency regulations.

Kgosana, who was the organisation's regional secretary, is still con-

vinced they did the right thing.

"Our region was well organised and well disciplined. For 10 days following the outbreak of Sharpeville (on March 21) we held fort and forced the government to declare a state of emergency."

"In Sobukwe we had a leader who was leading our people to liberation. We were not going to do things which would make people say we led our followers to death."

Unknown to Kgosana at the time when he advised the marchers to return home, the police had been issued with orders to use maximum force to bring the anti-pass campaign to an end.

Six years ago, Colonel IPS Terblanche, the senior police officer charged with this duty, revealed that such instructions - including the order to kill Kgosana - had in fact been issued.

Kgosana concedes some major changes have taken place on the South African political landscape. "The fact that we are unbanned, that I can speak on SABC and that I have returned home indicates change by the Afrikaner."

The change by the gov-

ernment, Kgosana argues, means the liberation movement must also shift from previously held positions.

"We must shift ground in response to changes by government.

"In 1960 when all avenues were closed to us, we adopted a policy of total non-collaboration with government. However, we cannot hold onto such positions now that the terrain is different."

The 55-year-old father of three returns to Tanzania tomorrow but plans to come back permanently within a month.

"I came back to bury my father (Simon). After a month I will be returning permanently to work fulltime for the PAC.

"One of the first places I will visit on my return is Cape Town."

He says on his return he also intends working on the family's 10 morgen plot to make it productive.

Kgosana believes the major challenge facing the PAC is to establish a sound organisational machinery.

"The PAC has the best policy but even if you have the best policies, if you don't have organisational machinery, you count for nothing."

# AWB invited to ANC birthday bash

THE ANC has invited the AWB and the HNP to its 80th birthday festivities in Bloemfontein this week.

But by this weekend there had been no response from the parties, or from the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party, which were invited along with all parties involved in the Congress for a Democratic SA, and those involved in August's Patriotic Front conference.

ANC national executive member Steve Tshwete said the extreme right-wing groups had been invited because "the problems facing this country are not exclusively those of the ANC, NP, and other liberation groups. We made the invitation on the basis that all have to be responsible for transforming

S/TIMES 5/11/92 11/4  
By CHARLENE SMITH

SA into a democracy."

The Sunday Times was unable to get comment from the AWB and the HNP, but a spokesman for the IFP said the party was considering sending a representative.

The IFP and the ANC are involved in renewed bids to end township violence.

The Orange Free State stadium, more used to the roar of rugby fans spurring on the "blikore" and rapid sales in naartjies, will be transformed on Wednesday into an arena of toyi-toyiing youth, marching Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas and freedom songs, and political posters and flags will be on sale.

The ANC was founded in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912, when 100 delegates from South Africa and the then British colonies of Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia gathered at a hall in the local township. They decided to unite and make representations to the government about circumventions of African rights and to work towards a time when Africans would be represented in Parliament.

It took 80 years for that dream to be close to realisation. The organiser of the event, NEC member and Free Stater Popo Molefe, said the ANC would be entering its ninth decade "full of confidence that the ideals which inspired its

formation are about to be realised; in the knowledge that it is the people in active struggle who will usher in this new dawn".

The ANC also invited political parties in the Frontline States, but could not say which would be attending.

Swapo secretary-general Moses Gaoseb will be the guest speaker.

ANC president Nelson Mandela will deliver the organisation's annual policy address.

Mr Molefe said the address would give the negotiation process "a quantum leap forward".

A luncheon at the Bloemfontein City Hall for ANC dignitaries was due to be opened by either the mayor or a city councillor.



By CHARLENE SMITH

HOPE is the only thing left us in bad times, said author Vladimir Nabokov. And hope was the central theme in New Year messages from President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

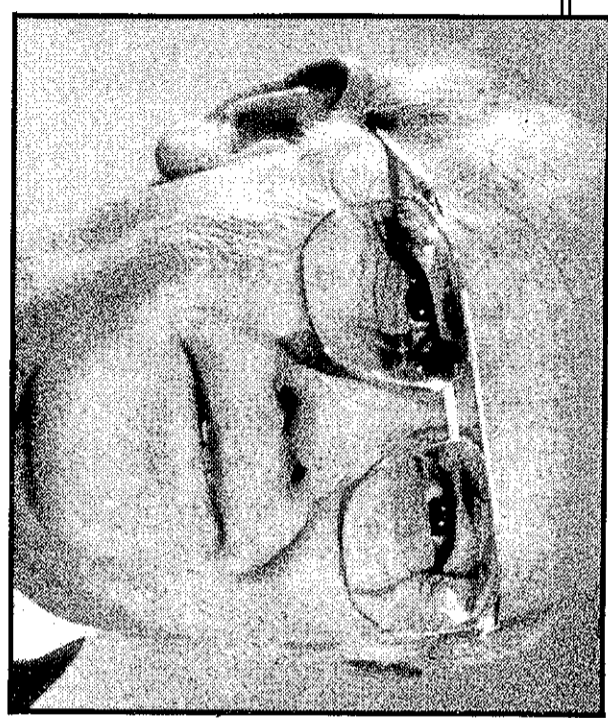
1992, both their messages stressed, was the year of hope. The bomb blasts that immediately followed at post offices and a Lowveld school, and further police assassinations, suggested 1992 may also be the year of living dangerously.

But then again, as Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza wrote in the 17th century, "fear cannot be without hope, nor hope without fear."

And both leaders — in remarkably similar statements — addressed fear. Mr De Klerk said that "regrettably" future prospects were "clouded — mainly by two things:

● "The unacceptable violence among some communities; and  
● "Fear. Fear of change, fear that things may go wrong, fear that standards will decline, fear that the promise of the advantages that reform will bring will not be fulfilled."

Mr Mandela believed these concerns centred primarily on the economy. He said the establishment of a "democratic constitution would allow for all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, to be lifted". While both expressed satis-



faction with many developments in the past year — both singling out the National Peace Accord and the Conference for a Democratic SA — the State President said "unfortunately, there were also disappointments".

Mr Mandela, similarly, suggested that "we should not mark this New Year in a spirit of self-congratulation, but rather as an occasion for calm and sober reflection".

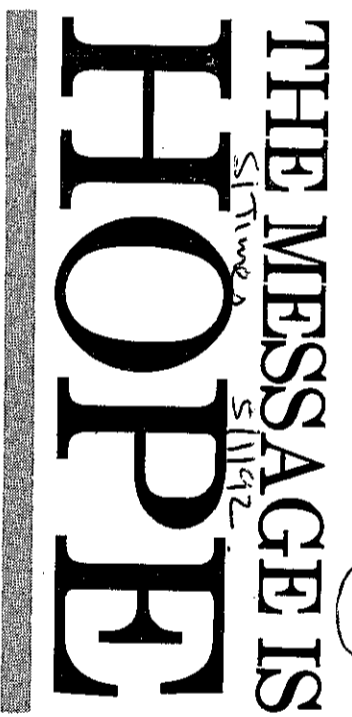
The mediocrity and predictability of the messages of each — seemingly almost from the pen of the same speech writer — is a reflection of the caution both leaders are adopting in the wake of last month's Codesa meeting. Few political initiatives will take place outside the Codesa

conference hall this year.

Similarly, the ANC's January 8 policy statement, the movement's key guiding document each year, is unlikely to contain much new, other than restated positions and, possibly, a broader acceptance of measures to reassure whites. Mr Mandela has already mooted guaranteed seats in a future parliament for whites, a marked shift from previous ANC policy.

Addressing white fears, Mr De Klerk gave "the assurance that the government will not allow standards to be overthrown. It is possible to prevent domination and abuse of power and to effectively protect all minority groups and minorities against this."

# MANDIELA AND FW AGREE: THE MESSAGE IS HOPE



He said many black people feared reform would fall short of "fulfilling their desire for full political rights and equal opportunities ... all South Africans must be and will be first-class citizens in the new South Africa."

"Let us replace doubt and suspicion with mutual trust and co-operation. We all need each other. We share a common destiny."

White Mr Mandela expressed concern about continuing poverty and the incarceration of political prisoners, both were preoccupied with violence.

"There is little merit today in attempting to determine who fired the first shot," Mr Mandela said in a reference to township violence, but "the killing must stop now". He appealed to all

South Africans to ensure the peace accord worked.

Mr De Klerk said confrontation was "the destruction of hope" and that the single greatest threat to peace, prosperity and progress was "radicalism".

"War, violence, lawlessness, disruptive mass action and power struggles will bring to ruin everything which has been built and which we hope to achieve."

Neither, however, touched on the issue of right-wing extremism and the proliferation of private armies.

And crime — probably the greatest common fear confronting all South Africans — was ignored by Mr Mandela and only lightly touched on by Mr De Klerk.



The State President said that if crime and violence did not cease "further steps would be taken". Small consolation to South Africans living behind barbed wire and Rottweilers.

Mr De Klerk said the political stage had been set for 1992 to become the year of a real breakthrough to significant constitutional development.

Mr Mandela took this a step further, saying: "In our view, the foundations laid at Codesa make it possible for an interim government of national unity to be established to oversee the transition process and supervise free and fair elections for a constituent assembly, on the basis of one-person, one-vote."

Unlike the government, which sees constitutional change taking place over 10 years, Mr Mandela said a democratic constitution was a priority for the coming year.

Mr De Klerk's more interesting New Year speech, however, was the one he addressed to Africa — the first time a South African head of state has done this — on Radio RSA.

Working on the established government theme of South Africa as part of a four-point African economic axis including Egypt, Nigeria and Kenya which would work as regional economic growth points and aid conduits, Mr De Klerk said: "Close co-operation between South Africa, her neighbouring states and countries further afield in

Africa would be in the best interests of everybody.

"With her substantial resources and well-established industrial and commercial economic base, South Africa has much to offer the continent. Her well-developed infrastructure in terms of electricity supply, roads, railways, harbours and telecommunications is used extensively already by several African countries. Other African countries also have commodities, resources and services, particularly in the water and energy fields, which would be of use to South Africa.

"If the countries of southern Africa were to co-operate closely and pool their resources, the region would have every potential of becoming a significant world economic bloc."

He said previous barriers to trade with Africa, including South Africa's "racially based constitution" and civil strife, and a lack of democracy in many countries was in the process of being removed.

South Africa already had resident representation in 13 African countries and non-resident representation in three others, and was about to open offices in Luanda, Lusaka and Nairobi, he said.

"We eagerly look forward to the day when people and goods can again move freely and unrestricted to and from South Africa, across all the borders of all African countries."

to make its African debut in March or April.

Harold Ellis of Hi and Steve Kgombel

# New direction after 80 years

CLIPPER 5/1/92

AN important policy statement will be delivered at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Bloemfontein on Wednesday, says its spokesman, Pallo Jordan.

He said at a Johannesburg news conference yesterday that the ANC had organised countrywide celebrations to mark its 80-year struggle against apartheid rule.

He would not divulge details of the policy statement, but said it would contain initiatives aimed at taking forward his organisation's political process.

The main event will be at the Orange Free State rugby stadium, where ANC president Nelson Mandela will deliver the main address.

## Founded

The ANC was founded in Bloemfontein in 1912. It said in a statement: "This year, January 8, marks the 80th anniversary of our foundation. The successful convocation of the first sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is a great achievement for all South Africans."

The ANC spokesmen said the organisation's 80 years of uninterrupted struggle were about to bear fruit.

Invitations have been extended to many organisations, including the ANC's two rightwing arch-foes, the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

ANC anniversary committee secretary Steve Tshwete said his organisation had deemed it necessary to invite representatives from across the political spectrum.

Main guest speaker at the Bloemfontein rally will be Moses Garoeb, secretary general of Namibia's ruling party, the South West Africa People's Organisation - Sapa



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# For how long will there be empty chairs at Codesa?

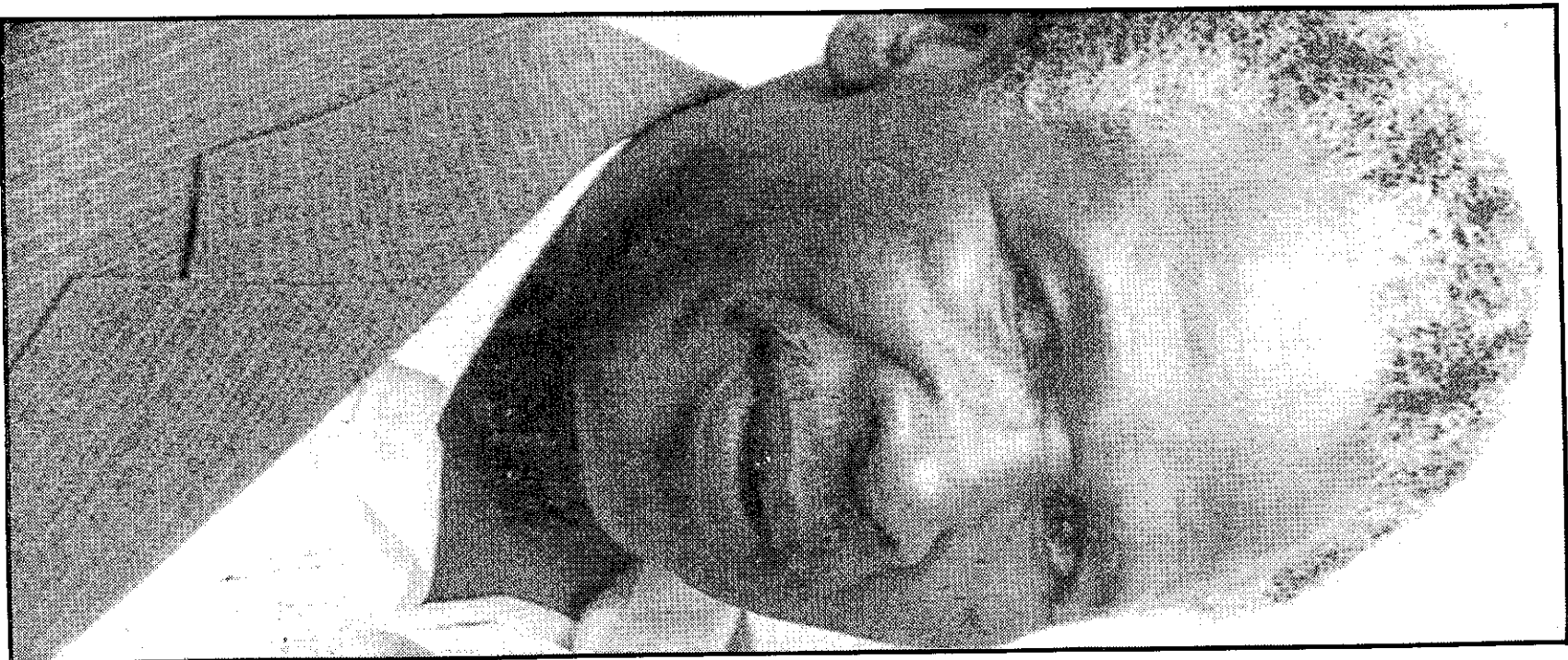
**POLITICAL writer KAIZER NYATSUMBA** looks at the future of the PAC and Azapo in the new year.

**W**HILE for many South Africans the main game on the political front in 1992 will be negotiations, the immediate challenge facing organisations to the left of the African National Congress (ANC) will be survival and relevance.

Two well-known organisations to be thus affected will be the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which last year hesitantly knocked at the door of negotiations, and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which came nowhere near engaging in formal *tete-a-tete*.

Throughout 1991 Azapo has, by and large, remained faithful to its principles and dogmas, and showed neither ideological flexibility nor a willingness to adapt to new challenges and changing times.

Predictably, Azapo and its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, have consistently refused to talk to the Government, insisting instead that a consultative conference of "the oppressed" had to be held first. It was going to be at such a conference, Azapo leaders averred, that "the oppressed" under the leadership of liberation movements would confer and agree on a common strategy to be used in confronting "the regime".



**MR Clarence Makwetu, leader of the PAC.**

Ironically, on the eve of the formation of the Patriotic Front (PF) — which, despite the ANC's denial, appears to be in serious trouble — Azapo issued a letter to 14 invited organisations effectively disinviting

them to the PF conference. This move so incensed the other co-convenors of the conference, the ANC and the PAC, that they demoted Azapo from being conference co-convenor to the status of an ordinary invited

organisation. Azapo decided against accepting the invitation. Since then the Black Conscious organisation has refused to participate in both the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codessa) and the preparatory meeting which preceded it.

Instead, it has sent out feelers to the PAC, the New Unity Movement (NUM) and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) to form "a genuine patriotic front of patriots" and not, as Azapo maintains, the "patriotic front" which was formed in Durban in October.

The PAC, on the other hand, began to take the question of negotiations seriously last year. Although the Africanist organisation had initially criticised the ANC when it first engaged in *detente* with Pretoria in 1990, accusing it of "selling out" in the struggle, there were unmistakable signs aplenty during 1991 that the PAC leadership was looking for a dignified way of entering into negotiations.

Things were made easier for the PAC leadership by the fact that the PAC's second national congress at Sharerworld in December 1990 had resolved to "pre-negotiate the modalities of creating a constituent assembly". Such a meeting, the congress said, had to be held "at a neutral venue".

After a high-profile meeting between the ANC's national executive committee and the PAC's national executive council in Harare early last year, the two organisations decided to form a

other organisations. Azapo was finally brought in as a co-convenor at the insistence of the PAC. The PAC participated in the PF conference in Durban, later endorsed a joint statement calling for a meeting to be held with the Government within a matter of weeks to make arrangements for "an all-party congress/pre-constituent assembly meeting".

Shortly after the PF conference, the PAC experienced unprecedented dissent in its ranks, with some of its structures openly charging that the PAC leadership would be selling out by participating in negotiations.

When the PAC leadership staged a walkout at the preparatory meeting, alleging collusion between the Government and the ANC, some political observers saw that as a response by the PAC leadership to the unhappiness among the organisation's rank and file membership.

At its subsequent consultative conference in Cape Town on December 16, the organisation unanimously decided against further involvement in Codessa, describing the historic convention as "a charade" which would not lead to the transfer of power "from the white minority to the African majority".

But if the success of Codessa is anything to go by, the PAC and Azapo — like the rightwing — will have to present a viable alternative to negotiations if they are to be taken seriously in a country which is war-weary and is yearning for a peaceful settlement.

hope is that Codessa will fail — and they have vowed to make it fail — and that the ANC will emerge either terribly bruised to pose any serious threat to them or that it will be sufficiently weakened to seek a pact with them. In the event of this happening, the two organisations will then emerge as the "real liberation movements" which fought "the regime" to the bitter end.

However, the PAC has not given up on the possibility of influencing the ANC to put the question of a constituent assembly and an interim government or transitional authority back higher up on the agenda. It is on these issues that the PAC believes the ANC has gone soft, and that it has reached a secret deal with Pretoria to be co-opted into a farcical transitional government which will not be time-bound.

It is for this reason, one suspects, that the PAC has asked frontline states to call the ANC to a meeting early this year so that it can explain its position on negotiations.

But if Codessa succeeds — and there is a good chance it will succeed in spite of attempts by both the extreme leftwing and extreme rightwing to sabotage it — the prospects facing Azapo and the PAC this year are not bright.

The organisations will find themselves sidelined and consequently marginalised, or they will have to re-double their efforts to stop the process. Indications are that they do not have the capacity to do the latter.

Though quite influential, Azapo is a small organisation whose members are

Compared to the other major organisations, Azapo's following is minuscule, and not much has been heard of the BCMA's activities in the country. The PAC, on the other hand, is a somewhat bigger organisation, with branches in most parts of the country. Its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), has recently taken responsibility for a number of attacks on the police. These attacks on the police and various bomb attacks by the rightwing will engender a reign of terror, but they are unlikely to sabotage Codessa and its proceedings.

The best scenario for the PAC and Azapo is one that might be good for South Africa but not necessarily for these organisations themselves. They might remain an outspoken pressure group, forever breathing on the ANC's necks and making it difficult for the organisation to accept a deal which will be less than fair for the black majority.

Another possibility which should not be discounted is that the PAC might, once the ANC has put the issue of a constituent assembly at the top of the agenda in the next round of talks, return to Codessa to make its contribution there.

That way the PAC would benefit from agreements reached in the earlier rounds of talks without having been party to them, just as it benefited indirectly from the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles and the granting of indemnity without first engaging in talks-about-talks with the Government.

# 'Important initiative' (118) from ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Important policy initiatives will be delivered at the 80th anniversary celebrations of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein on Wednesday, said organisation spokesman Mr Pallo Jordan. CT 6/2/92

Mr Jordan said at a news conference here on Saturday that the ANC had organised countrywide celebrations to mark its 80 years.

He would not divulge details of the policy statement, but said it would contain initiatives aimed at taking his organisation's political process forward.

In the main event at the Orange Free State Rugby Stadium, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will deliver the main address.

The ANC, which is regarded by many as the main liberation movement fighting apartheid rule, was founded in Bloemfontein in 1912.

# Inkatha and ANC agree on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Staff

STAR 6/1/92

(11A) (11B)

The executive committee of the ANC and the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party have agreed to meet in an effort to normalise strained relations.

The planned meeting has been confirmed by both organisations, but a date has yet to be decided.

The aim of the meeting would be "to normalise relations between us", said IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos. "After many, many months of contact, the ANC has finally agreed to meet the IFP," she added.

The ANC suspended bilateral contact with the IFP during the "Inkathagate" scandal in the middle of last year, with ANC president Nelson Mandela saying IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had allowed himself to be used by the Government and that there was, therefore, no difference between him and the Government.

# ANC birthday bash for OFS

*Sowetan 6/1/92* (11A)

**THE African National Congress will take a giant leap of faith at its 80th birthday celebrations in Bloemfontein on Wednesday when the National Party joins it for the day's festivities.**

Far rightwing organisations like the Herstigste Nasionale Party and the Afrikaners Weerstandsbeweging have also been invited.

The ANC also sent an invitation to the mayor of Bloemfontein to the meeting at the Free State Stadium.

An ANC spokesman said there was "a lot of enthusiasm for the event" in the mayor's office.

The presence of the NP and the mayor of Bloemfontein's envoy, is particularly significant in that it goes a long way towards ratifying the confidences established at Codesa last month.

It also creates an air of respect and faith among the negotiating partners, especially between the Government and the ANC, the most senior of the country's political groupings.

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

For almost 30 years of its 80 years, the ANC waged a guerilla war against the National Party government.

The two started talks on a series of vital issues in May 1990, towards a peacefull

settlement.

Commenting on the invitation to the NP and the far right, the ANC's Mr Steve Tshwete at the weekend said his movement was "following in the pattern established by Codesa"

where it was accepted that no single party held the key to a settlement in South Africa.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, Codesa's participants and the signatories of the Patriotic Front have also been invited.

Leaders from the Frontline States have also been invited.



What viable alternatives to talks do the PAC and Azapo have, asks Kaizer

# Out in the political wilder

STAR 6/1/92.

11A

**W**HILE for many South Africans the main political game in 1992 will be negotiations, the immediate challenge facing organisations to the left of the African National Congress (ANC) will be survival and relevance.

Two organisations thus affected will be the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which last year hesitantly knocked at the door of negotiations, and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which came nowhere near engaging in formal tete-a-tete.

Throughout 1991 Azapo has, by and large, remained faithful to its principles and dogmas, and showed neither ideological flexibility nor a willingness to adapt to changing times.

Predictably, Azapo and its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), have consistently refused to talk to the Government, insisting instead that a consultative conference of "the oppressed" had to be held first.

The PAC, on the other hand, began to take the question of negotiations seriously last year.

Although the Africanist organisation had initially criticised the ANC when it first engaged in detente with Pretoria in 1990, accusing it of "selling out", there were unmistakable signs during 1991 that the PAC leadership was looking for a dignified way of entering into negotiations.

If the success of Codesa is anything to go by, the PAC and Azapo — like the rightwing — will have

to present viable alternatives to negotiations if they are to be taken seriously in a country which is war-weary and yearning for a peaceful settlement.

These organisations' main hope is that Codesa will fail — they have vowed to make it fail — and that the ANC will emerge either too bruised to pose a serious threat or that it will be sufficiently weakened to seek a pact.

However, the PAC has not given up on the possibility of influencing the ANC to put the question of a constituent assembly and an interim government or transitional authority back higher up on the agenda. It is on these issues that the PAC believes the ANC has gone soft, and that it has reached a secret deal with Pretoria to be co-opted into a farcical transition-

al government which will not be time-bound.

It is for this reason, one suspects, that the PAC has asked frontline states to call the ANC to a meeting early this year so that it can explain its position on negotiations.

But if Codesa succeeds — and there is a good chance it will succeed in spite of attempts by both the extreme leftwing and extreme rightwing to sabotage it — the prospects facing Azapo and the PAC this year are not bright.

The organisations will find themselves sidelined and consequently marginalised, or they will have to re-double their efforts to stop the process. Indications are that they do not have the capacity to do the latter.

Though quite influential, Azapo

is a small organisation whose members are mostly black intellectuals. Compared with the other major organisations, Azapo's following is minuscule, and not much has been heard of the BCMA's activities in the country.

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themselves. They might remain an outspoken pressure group, forever breathing down the ANC's neck and making it difficult for the organisation to accept a deal which will be less than fair.

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That way the PAC would benefit from agreements reached in the earlier rounds of talks without having been party to them, just as it benefited indirectly from the release of political prisoners, the return of exiles, and the granting of indemnity without first engaging in talks-about-talks with the Government. □

Nyatsumba

MESS

# ANC, Inkatha to meet

114  
115

Sowetan  
6/1/92

THE executive bodies of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have agreed to meet at a date still to be decided on "to normalise relations" between them, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos confirmed on Friday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will almost

certainly lead the two delegations.

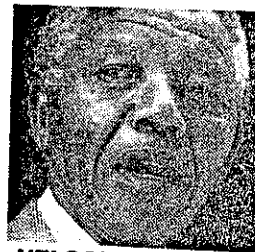
"The aim of the meeting will be to normalise relations between us," Vos said. It would be similar to that between the IFP and ANC on January 29 last year.

"After many, many months of contact the ANC has finally agreed to meet with the IFP," Vos

said.

She emphasised though: "There has only been a general agreement to meet. No date has been agreed on. That will depend on everybody's schedules.

"The meeting will be between the national executive committee of the ANC and the central committee of the IFP."



**NELSON MANDELA**

An ANC spokesman was unavailable for comment. - Sapa



## ANC celebrates (11A) 80th anniversary

JOHN VILJOEN, Staff Reporter

ARG 8/1/92

BLOEMFONTEIN's Free State rugby stadium will be an unusual sight today when the ANC flag is raised and Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika is echoed in the presence of Mr Nelson Mandela, a Mkonto we Sizwe detachment and thousands of supporters.

The occasion is the ANC's 80th anniversary and although the celebrations are focused on Bloemfontein, Cape Town events will include an open air celebration at the Grand Parade today from 6 pm to 9 pm.

The celebration was "the most important historic occasion for the ANC and the entire democratic movement" for 1992, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC was founded as the South African Natives' National Congress on January 8 1912. It was established as an organisation to fight for the rights of the African people of South Africa.

One hundred delegates from around the country and other British colonies on the sub-continent had gathered at Manguang in Bloemfontein for the launch.

Eighty years on, a new spirit prevailed in South Africa, the ANC said. The successful first sitting of Codesa was "a great achievement for all South Africans".

The ANC's "80 years of uninterrupted struggle are about to bear fruit". The organisation entered its ninth decade full of confidence that the ideals which inspired its formation were about to be realised, the ANC said.

ANC president Mr Mandela will deliver the January 8 address shortly after midday which will survey the past year and give the ANC's perspectives for 1992.

Events at the Free State Stadium will close when Mr Mandela cuts a birthday cake and proposes a toast to the organisation's long life and health.

# A scarred ANC survives 80 turbulent years

BIDAY 8/11/92

(11A)

DOES the ANC, on the occasion of its 80th birthday today, have cause to celebrate?

For the first time, the ANC faces the prospect of forming part of an interim government that will give it a say in running the country.

It has been a long and arduous trek, which began with the formation in 1912 of the SA Native National Congress which brought together chiefs, clergymen and African professional men in a loose amalgam to oppose African exclusion from government by the Union of SA.

The opposition offered by these founding fathers was polite, deferential and ineffectual. The founders of what was later renamed the ANC put great store in the petition as a method of appealing to white conscience. This misplaced belief in liberal-leaning whites was always problematic for the ANC, and the militants within its ranks were able to argue that the appeal to white conscience did little to reverse government policies that were steadily reducing Africans to less than second-class citizens.

A sense of hopelessness served gradually to radicalise the ANC

leadership. It tapped into the growing militancy displayed by newly urbanised township dwellers who believed the anti-Nazi propaganda of the Allies would influence government to their benefit. They reckoned without the Afrikaner Nationalists, however. For the next 40-odd years the Nats drew the ANC inexorably down a path that would culminate in the ANC's revolutionary excesses of the mid-'80s.

Today the ANC certainly has reason to celebrate. Three decades of banning failed to destroy it, although the state came quite close at times. The ANC has emerged from banning to become a major force in bringing together negotiating parties. It has proved itself a flexible, if somewhat enigmatic, negotiating partner by agreeing to attempt to sell to its constituency unpopular political decisions — among them the suspension of the armed struggle.

However, there is something disturbingly familiar in the practices and political styles of the Nats and the ANC. Neither emerges from SA's recent history without blemish.

## PATRICK BULGER

In the past four decades, the ANC's methods of conducting its political struggle have helped to undermine not only the actual organs of government that kept the Nats in power, but the very idea behind those organs and what their role in society is meant to be.

The ANC's ruthless campaign against black policemen all but eliminated the legitimacy of the SAP; in the process the very idea of policing and the law have been battered. Similarly, the ill-starred liberation-before-education campaign, tacitly backed by the ANC from Lusaka, brought thousands of children out on the streets and all but destroyed whatever culture of learning they may have had. Pupil-teacher relationships went out the back door as pupils terrorised their fellows.

By the height of the emergency years, the ANC had withdrawn its assent from all which tended to legitimise the Nat government. So-called

black collaborators withdrew behind razorwire fences. Afrikaner teachers, under police guard, helped prepare black matric pupils for their exams. Whites resumed the paternalistic roles of administering black areas which they had tried to abdicate to black authorities through the apartheid system.

Perhaps it could not have been different. It was unrealistic to expect the ANC — disillusioned by the failure of its early petitions — to remain wedded to gradualist methods that offered no great chance of success. To black militants, the armed struggle, even if it did foolishly attack the Afrikaners at their strongest point, seemed the only viable option.

But whether it was necessary to make what amounted to a religion out of militance, violent revolution and boycott is another question. And was it necessary to adopt the full panoply of Marxist-Leninist political tactics? There's the rub. By portraying itself as a hardline revolutionary movement — witness now the symbolic and physical embraces of Arafat and Castro — the ANC strayed

spectacularly from its nationalist roots. It got carried away with its revolutionary theories, and seemed to lose touch with events on the ground.

When the Soweto schoolchildren revolted against compulsory education in Afrikaans, there was little mention of the ANC being involved, and Black Consciousness slogans were those being shouted. A few years earlier, the ANC played, no visible role in the strikes of the early '70s — one of the most important developments in the rise of resistance to apartheid. Meanwhile its armed struggle made only minor dents in apartheid's armour.

Yet through all those turbulent years, it never lost its mystique as the natural leader of black SA.

The ANC's success now is largely due to the impact it made on international opinion as news of civil unrest in SA was flashed daily to millions around the world. It was able to portray itself anew as the key to a stable political and economic democracy in SA. Today, on its 80th anniversary, it has the task of demonstrating the truth of this assumption.

# ANC's 80 years to glory

The ANC today celebrates its 80th birthday.

It does so after almost a century of petition, protest, defiance and eventually armed struggle.

The ANC was born on January 8 1912, in Bloemfontein.

At the time the Union of South Africa had just been declared and blacks were denied access to the country's political powerplay.

This signalled to African leaders that the time had arrived for a new approach to white domination.

The ANC at the time sought:

To establish political unity among the various tribes;

To win equal rights and justice for blacks;

Educating the public about black aspirations; and

To seek political representation for blacks in local and central government.

In 1914 and again in 1919 the ANC sent delegations to Britain, to which the Union Act of 1910 swore allegiance, to bring to the attention of the imperial authorities the plight of black people of South Africa.

Without even a sympathetic hearing, the delegations were told to return to South Africa and present their problems to the Union government.

The following years were dotted with the births of the Communist Party of South Africa and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union in the 20s and the consolidation of leftist forces around the concept of opposition to white minority rule.

By 1927, the ANC elected Mr Josiah Gumede as president, and then announced its intention to embark on mass organisation.

Gumede and a colleague, Mr James la Gumá of the CPSA, introduced a motion at the Conference of Op-

The ANC celebrates its 80th birthday today.

Sowetan Political Correspondent ISMAIL LAGARDIEN gives a brief overview of the movement's road to glory. *Journal 8/1/92. (11A)*

pressed Minorities in Brussels - which was adopted - endorsing: "The right to self-determination through the complete overthrow of capitalism and imperialist domination (as well as) the principle of Africa for the Africans."

During the war years there appeared a lull over the local struggle for black self-determination, but not total inactivity.

In 1944 the ANC's fight for respectability (and the overall struggle for black self-determination) shifted into a higher gear with the creation of a Youth League.

The force behind the creation of the ANC Youth League was a former school teacher, Mr Anton Muziwakhe Lembede.

Among Lembede's colleagues were Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Walter Sisulu.

The birth of the ANCYL brought along a more activist approach to seeking fundamental change in South Africa, and it was compounded by the coming to power of the National Party in 1948.

This was the beginning of an era of passive resistance and the campaigns.

Passive resistance and defiance were given greater momentum by the rise to power of the National Party in 1948 and the subsequent (more) rigid statutory entrenchment or racial discrimination.

This set the scene for greater conflict and confrontation between the ANC and the State.

Legislation was passed by Parliament over the next 10 years that made life unbearable for black South Africans.

The early 50s also saw the SACP, by then an emerging ally of the ANC, being banned.

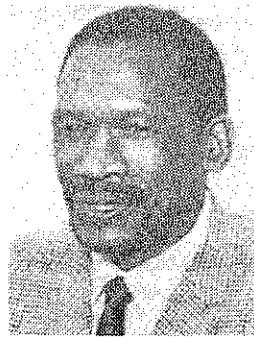
And the ANC dug in its heels.

During the first years after the NP came to power the ANC called for nationwide strikes and "stay-at-home" campaigns which were relatively successful.

In 1952, it launched one of South Africa's watershed events, the Defiance Campaign.

So shaken was the State that it arrested more than 15 000 people around the country, according to David Carter in The Defiance Campaign.

It was perhaps then that the State, the black people



ROBERT SOBUKWE

of South Africa and indeed the ANC itself realised its own potential as a liberation movement.

It was in this period that the popular Chief Albert Luthuli was elected the ANC's president.

Nevertheless, in Kliptown on June 26 in 1955, the ANC tabled what was to become the fulcrum of its existence - the Freedom Charter.

The idea was that it would consolidate the movement and give it some kind of identity.

The charter was canvassed at grassroots level - which was alien to South Africa.

The aspiration in black politics of the time in South Africa since 1945 was recorded thus: "The charter will emerge from countless discussions among the people themselves. It will truly be, in every sense of the word, the charter of ordinary men and women."

By the end of 1955, the State had started its clampdown on ANC leaders - tens, including the likes of



WALTER SISULU

the present deputy president of the movement, Mr Walter Sisulu, were banned and forced underground.

To make things worse, a major setback in 1959 shook the movement when a split in the ANC, led by Mr Robert Sobukwe, gave birth to the Pan Africanist Congress.

The following year, angered by the Sharpeville massacre, the ruling National Party banned the ANC and the PAC.

It was when the movement went underground that a new strategy developed.



ALBERT LUTHULI

Although the armed struggle was more a response to the banning and subsequent treason trials of Mandela, Sisulu and their colleagues, it came at a time when the ANC had given up all hope of reaching an amicable settlement in the country.

The ANC formed its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1960 and embarked on an armed struggle that was to last almost 30 years.

The early 60s went by in a bloody and ruthless blur. . . ANC and PAC leaders were imprisoned for trea-



NELSON MANDELA

son and others went into exile.

For almost 30 years, the ANC was the Government's, and indeed white South Africa's, bête noire (abomination).

But, when the ANC takes the podium at Bloemfontein's Free State Stadium, it can be truly said that the end of white disrespect for black nationalism, and the realisation of black aspirations have officially begun.

For taking part in the celebrations will be the NP itself. . .

*'The charter will emerge from countless discussions among the people themselves. It will truly be, in every sense of the word, the charter of ordinary men and women.'*

JONATHON REES

## ANC warns against killing policemen

PRETORIA — The ANC warned yesterday that attacks which resulted in deaths of policemen could drive the SAP into the hands of the right wing.

Military analysts have speculated that certain groups could be trying to create "liberated zones" in townships by assassinating security force members. ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC wanted a liberated SA, not liberated zones.

He said the ANC supported calls for the SAP to serve the entire SA population. But this would not be achieved by the systematic elimination of police members.

In the last year, about 150 SAP members have been killed on duty. The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation

Army (Apla), has claimed responsibility for a number of the attacks.

Macozoma said the ANC was "not partial" to the murder of policemen and was not convinced that recent killings were the work of Apla as this was not consistent with PAC policy.

He said it was counter-productive to kill policemen while Codesa was discussing the reform of the SAP.

It was reported yesterday that PAC defence secretary Victor Seabelo Phama told a Radio 702 talk show this week he felt satisfaction whenever a policeman was killed.

# The man who has no fear

Mr Thami Meerwa has literally walked the valley of death so many times he hardly worries about threats on his life.

"Perhaps that is the price to pay for holding steadfastly on to your convictions," Meerwa said.

Meerwa has equally received his fair share of state harassment, detained intermittently since 1983.

This became a pattern that continued until 1987.

Between 1988 to the present time he had not been detained, a welcome relief, considering that he had resigned himself to these detentions as "a way of life".

As recently as November, unknown gunmen made an attempt on his life. He was shot and severely wounded outside his Dlamini home in Soweto.

He was left for the dead, but miraculously survived. He was later admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital.

## Political intolerance

"The attack on me came a few weeks before Azayo held its congress. It was rather puzzling that the attack should coincide with our congress.

"Political intolerance has become the order of the day where one can get killed if one refuses to toe a particular political line," he said.

Meerwa cut his political teeth at Ibhongo High School in Dlamini, Soweto, in 1983 when he was elected the first chairman of the Azanian Students Movement.

The previous year he had frustrated attempts by the Department of Education and Training to restrict pupils over the age of 18 from schools. The department lost the fight.

Before coming to Ibhongo he was at Emadletweni Primary School, where he was suspended - he was 13 at the time - for his role in the Soweto Students' Representative Council.

## Branded racists

In keeping with the Black Consciousness philosophy he had embraced, Meerwa was among the students who agitated for the expulsion of white school principals in black schools.

He remembers with pride that the "struggle" to purge the schools of white principals bore fruit. During August 1983 Mr JH Venter, school principal at Ibhongo High School, resigned.

"We were branded racists by individuals who did not share our vision of getting rid of white principals in preference to blacks.

"The wisdom of hindsight tells us that the decision we took was right.

"We reasoned that there were many black aspiring principals with potential, the qualification, training and experience who were sidelined not because they were incapable but because they were black."

Some of the high points in his life:

1983 - Kept in detention for 14 days under section 50 of the Internal Security;

1984 - 16 days in detention under section 50 of Internal Security;

## In detention

1984 - Six months in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security. He was detained after addressing a meeting in the Vaal;

1985 - Attacked and injured while addressing students at the University of the North during the March 21 rallies.

1985 - Visited by people who demanded that Azapo and Azasim should dissolve and join forces with the United Democratic Front (UDF);

1986 - Instrumental in the formation of the BC youth wing, Azayo;

1987 - Detained under the State of Emergency regulations for seven months. During this period was kept in solitary confinement;

1989-90 - Studied in the United States of America;

1990 - Attacked while addressing students on negotiations;

1991 - Shot and left for dead at his Soweto home.

As for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Meerwa said Azapo and its sister movements, including other liberation movements like the Pan Africanist Congress, were going to render it unworkable.

## A coalition

He said they would inform the community about the implications of Codesa. Their view was that the Nationalist Government and the ANC wanted to form a coalition government.

"One cannot even talk about the hantustan leaders participation at Codesa.

"Other homeland leaders pretend to be hostile to the regime. However, those leaders will not bite the hand that feeds them. And that goes for the most vocal hantustan like the Transkei," he said.

## Grow in strength

Meerwa is confident that Azapo will grow in strength "because the ordinary man in the street relates to it."

"Some organisations are obviously uncomfortable with the stature Azapo has assumed over the years. The truth is that whether its detractors like the movement or not, they cannot wish it away," he said.



Thami Meerwa was recently re-elected president of the Azanian Youth Organisation at its congress in Port Elizabeth. Sowetan journalist JOE MDHLELA spoke to him.

## 'Political intolerance has become the order of the day'

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# Giant step forward says ANC

Soweto 8/1/92

(1/1)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the Free State Stadium in Bloemfontein today will take the country a step forward, according to senior ANC sources.

Mandela speaks at the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations.

According to Mr Popo Molefe, who heads the ANC's birthday celebration committee, Mandela's speech "will give the (negotiation) process, a quantum leap forward".

The ANC will also confer its highest honour on its national chairman and former president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Tambo will receive the Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe Medal for his dedication in building the ANC in exile for almost three decades.

Before going to today's meeting, Mandela will visit townships in and around Bloemfontein.

Guest speakers in Bloemfontein include the Rev Manas Buthelezi and a senior member of the Namibian government.

Other celebrations will

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN and  
IKE MOTSAPI

be held across the country.

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He said the occasion will start at 6pm and end two hours later.

Ngwenya, although not naming the people who will speak, stressed that top members of the ANC's National Executive Council as well as veteran members of the organisation will address the audience.

He also added that a big celebration was planned for the Jabulani Amphitheatre on Sunday.

There will also be a lunch-hour meeting (between noon and 1pm) at the Khanya College basement hall.

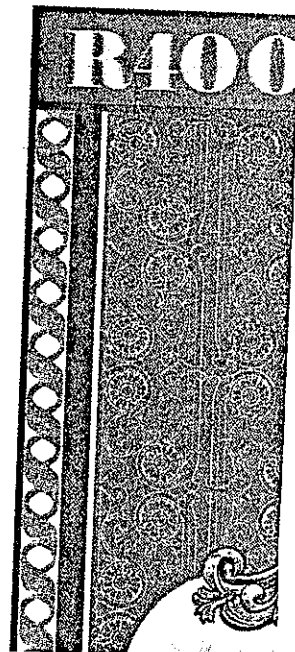
The ANC's Mr Ronnie

Kasrils and Mr Thabo Mbeki are scheduled to speak.

There will be two meetings this coming Saturday; one at the Sebokeng hall in Zone 14 and another in the Toekomsrus Community Hall, Toekomsrus.

According to a statement from the ANC, a music festival is being planned for the beginning of February at a Johannesburg venue.

See page 7



# Giant step forward says ANC

Sowetan 8/1/92

(1A)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the Free State Stadium in Bloemfontein today will take the country a step forward, according to senior ANC sources.

Mandela speaks at the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations.

According to Mr Popo Molefe, who heads the ANC's birthday celebration committee, Mandela's speech "will give the (negotiation) process, a quantum leap forward".

The ANC will also confer its highest honour on its national chairman and former president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Tambo will receive the Isitwalandwe Seaparankoe Medal for his dedication in building the ANC in exile for almost three decades.

Before going to today's meeting, Mandela will visit townships in and around Bloemfontein.

Guest speakers in Bloemfontein include the Rev Manas Buthelezi and a senior member of the Namibian government.

Other celebrations will

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN and  
IKE MOTSAPI

be held across the country.

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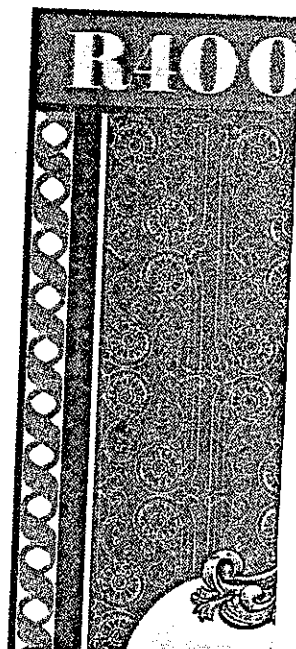
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See page 7



# ANC celebrates 80th birthday

By Peter Davies

STAR  
8/11/92

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The ANC's 80th birthday celebrations got underway in the Bloemfontein township of Mangaung this morning at the modest home of ANC founder member Thomas Mapikela.

The house, 1437 Makgogothi Street in the Batho district, is a double-storey dwelling with plain brown plastered walls and a faded red corrugated iron roof.

The entrance to the house has been cornered off and a

green carpet runs to the front door, lined by uniformed ANC marshals.

More than 500 chanting ANC supporters awaited the arrival of ANC president Nelson Mandela to plant a tree outside the house.

Mr Mapikela was part of an ANC delegation — also including Professor J Jabavu, Selopa Tema and Chief Albert Luthuli — which travelled to England in 1913 to complain to the King about the bitterly resented pass laws.

The ANC will later today

hold a meeting in the community hall opposite the house.

Afterwards, members will return to the dining room of the house to discuss and iron out problems.

Today's birthday celebrations will culminate at a gathering at the Free State Rugby Stadium, which was scheduled to start at 8 am.

At 7.45 am the stadium was still empty, but township taxis decorated with ANC flags were making their way towards it.



# ANC planning on elections this year

11A

Sowetan 9/1/92

## FOCUS

Sowetan Correspondent

**THE African National Congress has firmly set its sights on holding elections for a constituent assembly before the year is out.**

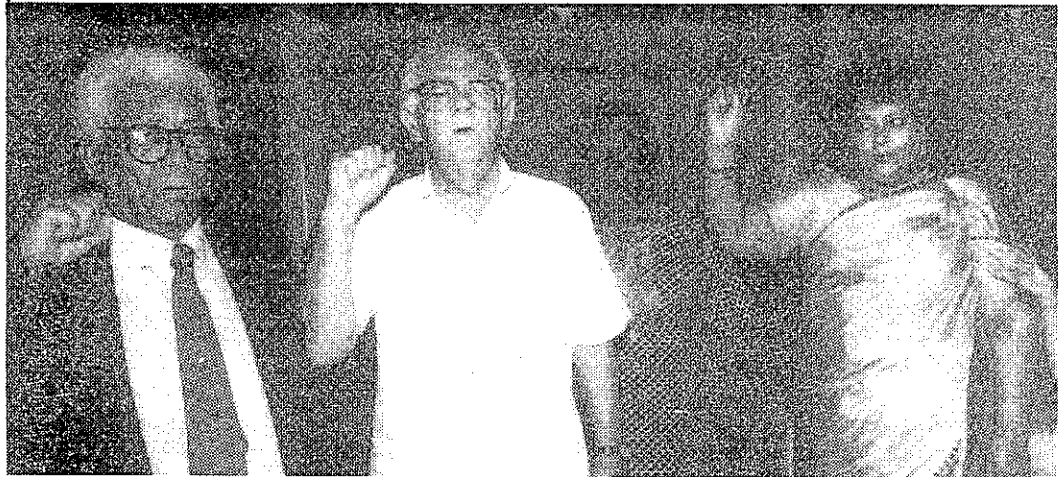
In its annual policy statement, issued yesterday on the organisation's 80th anniversary, the ANC national executive committee pledged: "The ANC will strive for the setting up of an interim government in the first half of this year and elections for a constituent assembly to be held by December 1992.

"Therefore, South Africa could for the first time in its history have democratic government within the immediate future."

In the policy statement, the NEC asserted that "nothing less than a democratically elected constitution-making body will enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of our people and ensure that the overwhelming majority respect the final product".

There would be no point to an interim government if it were not seen as a prelude to constituent assembly elections.

The ANC has effectively served notice that a bitter battle is in store within the structures of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. In its policy statement it described the Government's proposals for political transition as "a convoluted constitutional proposal".



**Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Joe Slovo and Mrs Priscilla Jana raised their clenched fists to honour 80 years of the ANC's existence.**  
Pic: LEN KUMALO

Referring to the Government's proposal that change should be effected through a modified version of the present Parliament and that these modifications to parliament would require, in the first instance, the approval of the white electorate, the ANC declared: "To have a referendum in which the only voice that will count is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid.

"To hold an election for a transitional parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition."

In contrast, the ANC proposed that the shape of interim government should be negotiated directly among the parties within Codesa and this agreement implemented. The term of office of such an appointed interim government of national unity should be strictly limited and it should attend primarily to such questions as effective control of the security forces and state media.

"Behind the regime's proposals lies a more sinister scheme: an attempt to legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by 10 years and more.

"It is a device to keep the essential content of the 1983 constitution in place for as long as possible. In this period, power will remain essentially in white hands."

Despite these signals of stormy times ahead, the ANC acknowledged Codesa and the adoption of a joint statement of intent by 17 of the 19 parties present at its first meeting as a watershed. Said the NEC, the 80th anniversary celebration of the ANC "bears a quality and content different from all previous years. A new spirit is abroad in our land. The successful convocation of the first sitting of Codesa is a great achievement for all South Africans."

Declaring 1992 as "the year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly", the NEC indicated that the following would also be

central areas for action:

Socio-economic issues such as welfare, housing, employment and education and the protection of existing public resources. Referring to the Government's privatisation programme, tax reform and mineral law amendments, the NEC stated: "The anti-VAT general strike served as an important notice that the people will not allow this legalised plunder. In the coming months it will be necessary to strengthen our intervention in socio-economic matters to stop the regime's programmes."

On political violence and the setting up of structures in terms of the National Peace Accord. The NEC insisted, despite pressure from the Government for the disbandment of "private armies", the Umkhonto weSizwe had a continuing role as a people's security force "that respects communities and imparts the necessary skills to ensure that the people can protect themselves."

# 'Nats double-dealing'

Sowetan 9/1/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party was talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing a crowd of almost 30 000 people at the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations in Bloemfontein, Mandela said the Government also remained committed to giving white people the final say.

President FW de Klerk has said that any changes to the present constitution would have to be approved

by the white electorate in a referendum.

To actually go through with this, Mandela said, "is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid".

Mandela said in his hour-long speech that Codesa would seek to complete its work by June and make way for an interim government.

He warned that the violence in the country was damaging to the process of redevelopment in the coun-

try. "During the course of the past year, thousands of our people were killed and maimed in senseless carnage directed at members of the ANC and its allies and black communities in general.

"In the communities bearing the brunt of this violence, evidence of police collusion and disregard for the agreed codes (codes of conduct established by

the Peace Accord of September 14 1991) abounds.

"The media continue to uncover facts about the involvement of the apartheid army and police in perpetrating violence.

"Public funds have been used to support political parties implicated in the violence.

"There is an evident reluctance on the part of the regime to outlaw the carrying of dangerous weapons in public despite the alarming death toll.

"All these develop-

ments point to one reality: The white minority regime is talking peace on the one hand while colluding in the war against its opponents on the other."

He said the Government had already acknowledged that it could not manage the transition period on its own by accepting the notion of an interim government.

However, an interim government based on the present constitution would give legitimacy to a law which black people rejected (because it rejected

them) and to which "coloured" and Indian people showed their violent opposition to in 1983, he said.

"To have a referendum (for approval of a new constitution) in which the only voice that counts is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid.

"To hold an election for a transitional government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition," Mandela said.



ANC president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, raise their fists to the thousands of supporters who turned out in Bloemfontein to celebrate the organisation's 80th anniversary. On either side of the couple are security guards. See pages 6 and 7.

## Four killed in two mining accidents

VERA VON LIERES

FOUR miners were reported killed in two separate underground accidents at Gold Fields of SA's Deelkraal mine near Carltonville and Gengold's Oryx gold mine near Welkom. *B.D. 9/11/92*

Ten miners were injured in the accidents and rescue workers were yesterday still searching for two missing men at Deelkraal.

Gold Fields said in a statement three miners were killed after a pressure burst on Tuesday in the No 1 Sub-Vertical shaft area of the mine.

The seismic event, which measured 1,9 on the Richter Scale, occurred 2 200m below the surface.

Mine rescue teams yesterday continued to search for two employees reported missing.

Four other employees sustained injuries, three of whom had been discharged after receiving treatment at the Leslie Williams Memorial Hospital near Carltonville.

A Gold Fields spokesman said yesterday although production in the immediate area of the incident was affected, this did not have an impact on the overall production at the mine.

At Oryx gold mine, one miner died and six were injured — three seriously — when a steel structure on 20 level at 2 000m collapsed at about 1pm. One other person was trapped and rescue personnel were at the scene yesterday to release him from underneath the collapsed structure.

A NUM health and safety spokesman said yesterday the Carltonville region was known for pressure bursts. Investigations would probably find that the incident could have been prevented if recommendations supplied by the Chamber of Mines to deal with these type of accidents had been obeyed.

NUM officials had not yet been down the mine for inspections.

## FW lagging behind

ANDREW KRUMM

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's popularity rating is 3% behind ANC president Nelson Mandela's, a recent survey shows. *B.D. 9/11/92*

De Klerk's rating, at 56%, was second to Mandela's 59%.

The Research Surveys poll of 2 900 people showed support for Mandela among blacks at more than 70%. Less than 10% of whites supported him.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rating among blacks was 6%. Research Surveys director Binky Kellas said that while Mandela enjoyed more support than Buthelezi among Zulu speakers, 60% of Afrikaans speakers surveyed backed him.

De Klerk obtained 41% support from Afrikaans speakers.

However, Kellas warned that great care should be exercised in interpreting the results, as there were significant ethnic skews in the data.

She said De Klerk got his highest approval rating from Tswana-speaking blacks and English-speaking whites, while Mandela's worst showing was among Natal blacks, where his approval rating dropped to 47%.

## Long list for small claims

ANDREW KRUMM

THE Johannesburg Small Claims Court is proving so popular that the earliest date for new case hearings is May 4.

A court spokesman said practicalities, such as scheduling of appearances, demanded a three-month waiting period, but he agreed the time lag was growing.

Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte said on Monday the number of cases heard in small claims courts last year rose 18,2% to 17 086 cases. Schutte also announced that planning for such a court closer to Soweto had reached an advanced stage.

## Growth

overall economy bottomed out in the middle of 1991. But this did not signal the recessionary conditions in areas of the private sector. *B.D. 9/11/92*

There was broad agreement among economists that domestic growth would be primarily based on an increase in exports. The US, UK and Japan were expected to emerge from recession in the second half of 1992, which would buoy low world oil prices and boost international trade.

SA consumer demand was expected to remain depressed despite expectations of at least two one-percentage-point increases in the prime overdraft rate during the year. Consumers were expected to be so shell-shocked by the recent high interest rates that a small increase in lending rates would have little effect.

## Trade curbs

pineapples and would promote the export of other products like refined oil to SA, Limerick said.

The Philippines would, in turn, supply part of its coal and phosphate requirements from SA, he said. Phosphate is used to manufacture fertiliser.

The resumption of limited trade with Thailand 18 months ago had resulted in a "marked increase in trade between the two countries", with SA exporting engineering machinery, tools and

## PEANUTS

I CAN'T IMAGINE ANYTHING MORE SILENT THAN SITTING IN THE RAIN IN A PUMPKIN PATCH ON HALLOWEEN NIGHT WAITING FOR SOMETHING THAT DOESN'T EXIST. WHAT COULD BE DUMBER?



# Mandela calls for further action

11A

9/1/92

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday poured scorn on the NP's constitutional proposals and claimed moral superiority and the strategic initiative in negotiations for the ANC.

Speaking at a packed Free State rugby stadium at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations, Mr Mandela said the organisation would strive to set up an interim government in the first half of this year and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of this year.

Such a government should have control over the armed forces and police, state media, electoral processes and the budget.

It should also take decisions on the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

He called for continued mass action to put pressure on the government for an interim government and constituent assembly.

## Festive atmosphere

Mr Mandela also called for the release of the remaining political prisoners including Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and Magoo's bomber Robert McBride.

A festive atmosphere prevailed among the 25 000-strong crowd.

Mr Mandela, ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy chairman Mr Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders were granted the ANC's highest honour, the Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe.

● Responding to Mr Mandela's speech, the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in a statement that it is ironic that the ANC should bewail the fact that many people were poor and unemployed, but at the same time continued to call for economic sanctions.



**HAPPY BIRTHDAY . . .** Veteran trade unionist and ANC member Mrs Ray Alexander marches with ANC members in the city yesterday to celebrate the organisation's 30th birthday.

## 11A et 9/1/92 Birthday bashes as ANC turns 80

THE ANC turned 80 yesterday and celebrated with open-air birthday bashes throughout the country.

In Cape Town several thousand dancing, chanting ANC members gathered on the Grand Parade to mark the event with a special January 8 message read by National Executive Committee members Dr Zola Skweyiya and Mr Ismail Ebrahim.

Party-goers also danced to the sounds of top local acts Winston Mankunku, the Genuines, Black Notes and the Regulars.

But a big birthday cake with eight candles — cut by veterans such as Mr Oscar Mpetha and Mr Jack Simons — was not enough for the multitude who clamoured to sample the goods.

The party was attended by the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde, and members of the foreign diplomatic corps.

In speeches, ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the ANC had been around a long time and had won many battles — and in the electoral battle to come the ANC would win; and NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils said it was time President F W de Klerk “made way for the people’s government with Comrade Nelson Mandela as president”.



CODESA is undoubtedly an important milestone for our nation. Many a patriot would deeply regret the absence of the far Right and of the PAC and others on the Left who now comprise the "alternative patriotic front".

The PAC has rapidly become the focal point of the rejectionist front. This is hardly surprising, given the historical significance of the PAC as a stumbling block to the ANC's aspirations to the coveted position of "sole legitimate representatives of the people".

I recently visited America during the Clarence Thomas Senate hearings and was forced to sit up and take greater notice of the PAC: when the hearing began black women who work at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and supported Thomas cheered for Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Thurmond, besides being widely regarded as Capitol Hill's most notorious bottom-pinchler, is an archetypal segregationist who, until recently, would have denounced a black man married to a white woman (as is Thomas). He had emerged, however, as one of Thomas' most ardent defenders. The black women, asked why they cheered Thurmond, replied that there was only a single issue now: discrediting the black woman who had accused Thomas.

Tribal, racial, ethnic, group — however social anthropologists may want to describe it — affinity runs deep and often defies any sense of justice, morality or ideological position. The awareness of the depth of this affinity — and its exploitation — on the one hand and the rather crude but nonetheless, effective resort to simplistic political sloganeering on the other, seem to be two important devices employed by the PAC.

**Anti-racism**

Yet, more than any other political group, it has consistently emphasised that there is "only one race, the human race", that it does "not nurse any crude hatred for the European peoples". It has advocated anti-racism in contrast to the ANC's non-racialism and the government's multi-

# PAC jingoist absolutism is no path to nationhood

CT 9/1/92



**VIEWPOINT**  
by FARID  
ESACK

racialism. "African nationalism is opposed to Herrenvolkism and not to whites." It says. Indeed, it cannot be against whites, it argues, because according to it there are no "whites", "settlers" and "liberals", yes.

Numerous unanswered questions make one wonder if here we do not have the classic example of the PAC "doth protest too much".

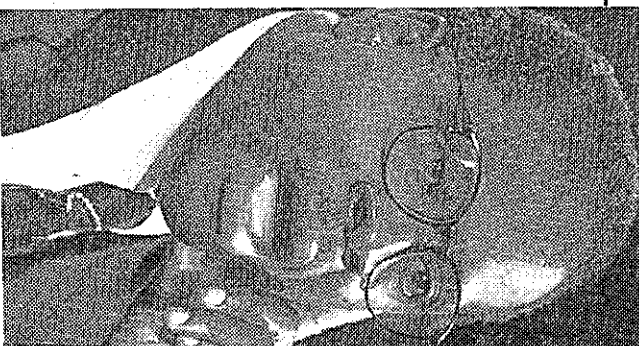
Are all settlers (as in the "one settler, one bullet") white? Can Africans be settlers? Can Africans be liberal or are only Europeans capable of liberalism? Can the Boraines and the Slabberts, who have done more than many a true-blue black to Africanise South Africans, qualify for African status or do they remain settlers? If "loyalty to Africa and to the African nation" qualifies one for "African status", then what about blacks who do not identify with Africa and prefer to live in relatively non-African Sandton or completely non-African Perth?

In the heyday of black consciousness, we denied such enti-

ties their status as black people and referred to them as "not-whites". Unlike black consciousness, the PAC does not seem to have a mechanism to infidelise "disloyal Africans". If it is not a crude black racism which permeates the PAC then why do blacks who bypass all notions of anti-racism and proudly acknowledge that they have all whites find a comfortable home in the PAC?

**Witdoek affinity**

How does it account for its affinity with all sorts of unsavoury species that can by no stretch of the imagination — least of all a Left imagination — be regarded as part of the liberation movement. Entities that immediately come to mind are the Afrika vigilantes, the Witdoek and discredited community councillors. It is common knowledge that in the Eastern Cape and other areas where Inkatha is non-existent and where PAC has some presence, it is in the embrace of the PAC that numerous



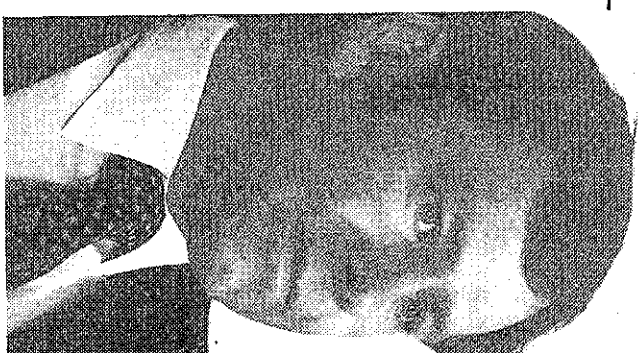
**CLARENCE THOMAS:** PAC exploits ethnic affinities such as was done by supporters during Thomas's Senate hearing.

community councillors seek refuge.

Timothy Janjje, regional organiser of the PAC, was asked about this relationship. He said his organisation "merely sympathised with the councillors as African people". It is, of course, this kind of rationalisation which enables it to embrace Inkatha as a liberation movement and which allows its supporters to chant "One Slovo, One Bullet".

Non-racialism is clearly not a given in South Africa, despite overwhelming support for the ANC. The slogan of "peace among the Africans, war against the enemy", with all its racial ramifications, has the potential to move the oppressed masses of South Africa. On the positive side, the PAC has consistently emphasised "the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the individual", seeking "a democracy in which man shall at long last find his true self and in which the human personality shall blossom to the full".

Why then has the PAC failed so dismally to take off? (Before this gets answered with "imperialist support for our political oppo-



**FREDERICK VAN ZYL SLABBERT:** "Settler" has done more than most blacks to Africanise South Africans.

nents", a "Zionist media conspiracy to play up our enemies" ad nauseum, the point is not why others have, in fact, taken off.) PAC history has for years been dotted with leadership splits and rank-and-file rebellions, inability to deal with compromise and negotiation politics within its own ranks and the rhetoric of absolutism. In short, what the country saw of the PAC in the run-up to Codesa has been a microcosm of its history.

**Crucial role**

The major problem with the rhetoric of one-bullet candidates is that this invariably tears at the organisation itself. Tolerance, ambiguity, plurality are not qualities one can decide to withhold from all save your own; when you deny them to others then inevitably you start denying them to your own. Witness the far-Right splintering into countless pieces, the numerous shreds of squabbling claimants to legitimacy and leadership in various fundamentalist formations. Indeed, your "one bullet" is more likely to get spent on one of your



**STEVE BIKO:** Would he be ANC? Absolutist psyche cannot construct its own organisational base in South Africa.

own before you get to the settler. I do not hesitate to acknowledge the crucial role that the PAC and others in the "alternative patriotic front" have played in developing the kind of political consciousness that exists in our country today. Neither do I want to join the "if-Biko-were-alive-today-he-would-have-joined-the-ANC" brigade. However, I am convinced that the absolutist psyche cannot construct its own organisation — certainly not in a South Africa where activists are, by and large, quite astute and keenly follow political debate. Cliques and factions it breeds like rabbits, yes, but building stable organisations and nations? No, never.

The greatest strength of absolutist formations — absolute certainty that they and their kind, race, class or whatever, are the sole true revolutionaries — may yet be their biggest albatross... and a source of comfort to those committed to democracy, political and religious pluralism and non-racialism.

□ *Mokana Esack, a Muslim theologian from Cape Town, is currently studying abroad.*

Interim government 'by mid-year'

# Mandela sets ambitious 1992 agenda

BIDay 9/1/92

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday poured scorn on the NP's constitutional proposals and claimed moral superiority and the strategic initiative in negotiations for the ANC.

Speaking at a packed Free State rugby stadium at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations, Mandela said the organisation would strive to set up an interim government in the first half of this year and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of this year.

Such a government should have control over the armed forces and police, state media, electoral processes and the budget.

It should also take decisions on the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

He called for continued mass action to put pressure on government for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Delivering the ANC's anniversary statement, Mandela said that by acknowledging the need for an interim government the NP had accepted that it was "illegitimate and incapable of supervising the transition".

Mandela said Codesa represented an important step towards resolving SA's political problems. "However, while the declaration of intent (is an indication) of failure on the part of the regime and the moral superiority of our cause, it remains but a declaration."

He said behind the NP's political proposals lay a "sinister scheme to legitimise an undemocratic constitution and prolong the transition by 10 years and more."

The proposals — which include a 10-year

TIM COHEN

joint government — were designed to "maintain the essential elements of the 1983 tricameral constitution for as long as possible while power remained essentially in white hands".

The anniversary statement did not significantly expand on the ANC's existing proposals for constitutional change.

Sapa reports Mandela extended a hand of friendship to the white community, in particular Afrikaner farmers.

"On this our 80th anniversary, the ANC once again extends a hand of friendship to those of our white compatriots who have been made to doubt their place and role in the democratic process now unfolding.

"It is time for them to realise that their interests can only be served by the attainment of lasting peace and stability.

"We address our call particularly to those sectors of the Afrikaner community, such as farmers and workers, who historically have been misled only to be dumped by self-seeking politicians for a cause that has no future: the time to take a decisive step into the fold of the broader SA society and insure their future in democracy is now."

Mandela also called for the release of the remaining political prisoners including Soviet spy Commodore Dieter Gerhardt and Magoo's bomber Robert McBride.

He issued a powerful call for freedom of the media, saying an informed public was essential to the democratic process.

Saying openness in the negotiation pro-

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

cess was an important prerequisite for the involvement of the public, the ANC leader committed his organisation to ensuring the country was kept abreast of events.

A festive atmosphere prevailed among the 25 000-strong crowd.

Mandela, ANC chairman Oliver Tambo,

deputy chairman Walter Sisulu and other ANC leaders were granted the ANC's highest honour, the Isitwalandwe-Seaparankoe.

The ANC NEC and other VIPs including Helen Joseph and guest speaker, Swapo secretary-general Moses Garoeb, were seated on the stage.

□ From Page 1

# ANC wants poll for constituent assembly in 1992

STAR 9/1/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge  
and Peter Davies



**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The African National Congress has firmly set its sights on holding elections for a constituent assembly before the year is out.

In its annual policy statement, issued yesterday on the organisation's 80th anniversary, the ANC national executive committee pledged: "The ANC will strive for the setting up of an interim government in the first half of this year and elections for a constituent assembly to be held by December 1992.

"Therefore, South Africa could for the first time in its history have democratic government within the immediate future."

The NEC statement was expected to form the basis of the address by ANC president Nelson Mandela at a mass rally in Bloemfontein, the city which saw the birth of the liberation movement 80 years ago.

Mr Mandela, his wife Winnie and the rest of the ANC entourage and VIPs, arrived to cheers at the Free State Rugby Stadium in Bloemfontein at about 11.30 am. Mr and Mrs Mandela were driven around the track in a convertible red Opel Cabriolet to roars of approval from the 25 000-strong crowd at the stadium.

The ANC's NEC and other VIPs including guest speaker Swapo secretary-general Moses Garoeb were seated on the stage.

The stadium was draped in ANC colours with the slogan: "1992 Year of Democracy and Elections". A giant video screen relayed the musical preludes.

Earlier, ANC leaders planted a tree at the house of ANC former member Thomas Maphikela. About 5 000 colourfully clad ANC supporters cheered and chanted as a line of luxury cars arrived in Makgothi Street in the Mangaung township.

A heavy police presence was apparent at the stadium and at least three police helicopters flew overhead.

In the policy statement, the NEC asserted that "nothing less than a democratically elected constitution-making body will enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of our people and ensure that the overwhelming majority respect the final product".

The ANC has effectively served notice that a bitter battle is in store within the structures of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Despite this, the ANC acknowledged Codesa and the adoption of a joint statement of intent by 17 of the 19 parties present at its first meeting as a watershed.



# Mandela still top of the pops, survey shows

ANC president Nelson Mandela is still the most popular political leader, with broad support among all black South Africans, according to a recent survey.

5742 9/19/92

The survey, conducted by Research Surveys, shows 59 percent of respondents believe Mr Mandela is doing a good job as a leader. Mr Mandela's rating is particularly high among blacks

— more than 70 percent. President de Klerk's approval rating among all black and white respondents comes out three percentage points below Mr Mandela. Binky Kellas, a direc-

tor of Research Surveys, said: "It is interesting to note that Mr Mandela's support among Zuluspeakers is far greater than that of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

11A

# Bloem stands still for ANC fest

**THE biggest event in Bloemfontein yesterday was the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations in this city.**

By midday, when the temperature crept relentlessly past the 30 degree mark; South Africa's judicial capital came to a standstill.

Hundreds of people marched - chanting (positive and optimistic) songs and slogans and carrying umbrellas in a riot of colours - along the main arteries into Bloemfontein en route to the Free State Stadium, where the party was getting under way.

It was, however, not all joy and cheer the whole time.

Earlier - at breakfast - Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, and other members of the movement's national executive committee, sat in sombre silence after the news of the death of a colleague.

Ramaphosa's secretary, Miss Faith Mokgotlo, was killed in a car crash while driving to the Bloemfontein event.

Very little information was available on the incident, except that Mokgotlo "left behind children and had just bought a new house".

It is understood that Mokgotlo had arrived from exile "very recently".

The first event on yesterday's agenda was a visit to the Mangaung home of Mr Thomas Mtobi Mapikela - a founder-member of the ANC and its official speaker for 25 years until the mid-forties, when he died.

Mapikela helped draft the ANC's 1919 constitution and also the 1943 African Claims.

His daughter, introduced as "Mrs Jacobs," welcomed the high-powered ANC delegation to "the birthplace of the ANC".

It was in this dusty Bloemfontein township, where the ANC was born 80 years ago.

That same year, in the Eastern Province village of Engcobo, the ANC's deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, was born.

Sisulu yesterday joined the ANC's national chairman, Mr Oliver Tambo, at the head of the delegation which arrived in Bloemfontein on Tuesday night.

It is understood that the ANC's NEC

**The ANC yesterday celebrated its 80th birthday in Bloemfontein. In this article ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, our Political Correspondent, reports on the fervour of the occasion.**

decided at a meeting held on Monday and Tuesday that Mr Nelson Mandela would not stay in Bloemfontein overnight and that Tambo instead would attend a dinner held in the city by the local branch of the ANC.

The ANC sent its top leadership to Bloemfontein. Among them were Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Ramaphosa, Mr Terror Lekota, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Steve Tshwete, Miss Cheryl Carolus, Mr Trevor Manuel, Mr Joe Modise and a host of others.

The proceedings started at 10.30am and with the help of the Bloemfontein Traffic department, the 50-car cavalcade snaked through this city from place to place.

By the time the entire leadership arrived at the Free State Stadium, more than 30 000 people had already filled its seats and thousands more were slowly, in the heat and dust, making their way into the stands.

The night before, local businessmen and farmers were breaking bread and drinking wine with the ANC.

The two major hotels were booked out by the large Press corps and the ANC membership and leadership that descended upon the city.

The duty manager at the hotel where the ANC and half of the Press corps were staying said that when the major American networks cancelled their rooms "they were snatched up immediately".

Tuesday night's dinner was attended by more than 300 people from around the country.

Whether the local newspaper, which did not carry anything about the ANC ceremony, wanted the people of Bloemfontein to know that the ANC was in town or not did not matter by lunch-time yesterday - they found out very quickly anyway.



Mr Oliver Tambo and his wife, Adelaide, were among the senior figures who attended the ANC in Bloemfontein.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

# ANC offers security for Paul Simon tour

A SENIOR ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation was prepared to provide security assistance for the Paul Simon tour against what its youth wing yesterday called "ultra-left political terrorism".

ANC cultural head Wally Serote yesterday told reporters at the ANC's 80th anniversary celebrations in Bloemfontein the organisation remained firmly supportive of the two-week concert tour.

The ANC Youth League described Tuesday night's grenade attacks on a company associated with the superstar's tour as "an act of desperation" and said it was "cause

for anxiety within our camp".

Sapa reports the Azanian National Liberation Army — which is linked to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — yesterday claimed responsibility for the blasts.

Azapo and the PAC have strongly condemned the tour, insisting that the cultural boycott should remain in place.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday he supported any action taken

TIM COHEN and  
GAVIN DU VENAGE

against the tour and that the PAC would hold demonstrations at concert venues.

More than 800 security personnel will be deployed in and around Johannesburg's Ellis Park stadium when Simon appears there on Saturday and Sunday.

Simon, meanwhile, was proceeding with rehearsal plans yesterday despite being concerned about the controversy surrounding his tour, a spokesman said.

The SABC's CCV channel GM Madala Mphahlele said yesterday the corporation was still negotiating for the rights to broadcast one of Simon's concerts live.

5/10/82 9/1/82

11A

# Freedom of media essential - Mandela

STAR 9/11/92

BLOEMFONTEIN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday issued a powerful call for freedom of the media, saying an informed public was essential to the democratic process.

Saying openness in the negotiation process was an important prerequisite for the involvement of the public, the ANC leader committed his organisation to ensuring the country was kept abreast of events.

"An informed public is better able to make an informed choice and itself take part in the debates about society's

future." His organisation had issued a draft media charter for discussion and amendment by the public, and other organisations should also strive for a "democratic media".

"We believe that all the parties engaged in negotiations ought to ensure accurate briefings to their constituencies.

"On its part, the ANC will strive at all times to ensure that our members and the public as a whole are informed about and contribute to this crucial national debate," Mr Mandela said. — Sapa

# Cast slams Apla over cop deaths

Sowetan 9/11/92

VIA [scribble] [scribble]

By ISAAC MOLEDI

THE Civics Association of Southern Transvaal and the ANC have criticised the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the PAC's military wing, for attacking and killing black policemen.

Both organisations and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union have urged Apla to review its plan of killing black policemen because they were "the victims of circumstances".

Apla has claimed responsibility for the attacks and killings of at least five black policemen in recent weeks.

At a Press conference yesterday the PWV reions of Cast, the ANC, the SA Communist Party and

Popcru condemned Apla for its action, saying the attacks on policemen were not a correct strategy.

The organisations said: "Our people have learnt that the majority of African policemen were forced by socio-economic conditions to join apartheid forces.

"There are different categories of policemen - those who share with us the common vision for a future democratic non-racial South Africa and those who wish to retain the status quo.

"The first category consists of potential allies in the democratic struggle and everything must be done to

win them over to our democratic perspective.

"The latter consist of elements of hit squads which can never win the sympathy of our people. The two are different and tactics applied to them cannot be the same."

Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mafokeng said although the attacks on policemen could be seen as expression of anger and frustration against apartheid, it should be noted that there were black policemen who are part of the oppressed.

He warned that if the attacks continued this could cause a "swelling in the ranks of the rightwing elements".

"We are not yet convinced that an attack on black policemen is a correct strategy in view of the fact that the PAC gave its support to the National Peace Accord.

"If the vast majority of our people feel dissatisfied about a particular tactic being used, then that tactic needs to be reviewed," Mofokeng said.

Cast called for a meeting with the PAC and other organisations where policies that are relevant today and in the future would be discussed.

Popcru regional chairman Mr Peter Nkuna also said a meeting with the PAC and Apla was in the pipeline.

**P**OPPING open the champagne corks at their 80th birthday bash in Bloemfontein this week, the African National Congress could reflect with some satisfaction at the amazing course of events in South Africa.

With democracy looking — at last — like it is just around the corner and the government having committed itself to a Declaration of Intent of non-racial democratic constitutional principles and political equality for all, a major part of the struggle has been won already.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, delivering the National Executive Committee's annual anniversary statement at a rally in Bloemfontein, pointed out that for the first time ever, "representatives of the oppressed people and the apartheid regime have together committed themselves to jointly explore the creation of democratic institutions in South Africa".

The success of the opening round of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was not the only cause for celebration by the world's oldest liberation movement.

The latest opinion poll figures published this week by Research Surveys show Mandela's political popularity — with 70 percent among blacks — remains far ahead of those of his nearest rivals, President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Only seven percent supported Inkatha Freedom Party president Buthelezi and Mandela's support among Zulus was greater than Buthelezi's, standing at 47 percent among blacks in Natal.

Small wonder that the ANC's anniversary statement exuded an air of statesmanlike self-confidence.

But if the ANC could put its feet up for a day and enjoy its birthday party, the road ahead is still likely to be bumpy. Mandela clearly demarcated the battle lines in the forthcoming constitutional battle.

For a start, he firmly rejected what he called De Klerk's "convoluted" proposals to hold an election to bring blacks into a transitional parliament and government.

He also rejected the president's promise to the whites that they would be able to block democratic constitutional changes if they voted no in a referendum.

"To have a referendum in which

# Lively octogenarian fires its first salvo

*The oldest liberation movement in the world celebrates its 80th birthday — and draws the battle lines on the transition to majority rule.* PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports

the only voice that will count is that of whites is to perpetuate the criminal system of apartheid," Mandela said. "To hold an election for a transitional parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition."

In his opening speech to Codesa last month, De Klerk proposed that an interim parliament and government be elected for the transition phase while the new constitution is negotiated. When he opens parliament on January 24, he is expected to spell out these proposals in greater detail.

However, Mandela made it plain that the proposals would meet fierce resistance from the ANC.

"The regime's proposal for a referendum and an election before an interim government is in place begs the question. It is to state the obvious that there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is in place."

Mandela believed that while the government had been forced to recognise its own illegitimacy by conceding that an interim government rule the country during the transition, it had merely retreated to new lines of defence.

"Behind the regime's proposals lies a more sinister scheme: an attempt to legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and pro-



The King of five ... ANC president Nelson Mandela joins in the festivities at the ANC's 80th birthday in Bloemfontein on Wednesday. Photo: AP

long the transition by 10 years and more," said Mandela, signalling the ANC's willingness to combat yet another National Party idea. The lengthy transition is believed to be a particular favourite of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

The ANC also spelt out clearly for the first time its proposals for an interim government. Instead of wanting to share the reins of responsibility in all aspects of government, Mandela said

— a notion that agitates many whites.

These are the battle lines. At least in theory, the ANC's position — particularly its strong reiteration of the demand for a constituent assembly — makes nonsense of the Pan Africanist Congress' early withdrawal from Codesa.

The PAC denounced the ANC for allegedly colluding with the government and renegeing on the Patriotic Front, but the ANC's statement this week displayed no deviation from the Patriotic Front line.

"The solemn pledge from the Patriotic Front conference was to pursue the objective of transfer of power with all deliberate speed," said Mandela, who was careful not to attack the PAC by name. "Those who approach the Front with the seriousness it deserves cannot therefore be embarrassed, as some seem to be, by the advances South Africa is making in this direction."

Mandela was silent on the question of where compromise is to be offered. His recently quoted statements that he was prepared to consider a bloc of parliamentary seats for whites seemed not to have won the favour of the rest of the NEC.

As the ANC official position stands, there is certainly nothing to entice whites into accepting Codesa and its outcome. Mandela warned of further disruptions from rightwing whites to delay the negotiations, saying that he expected resistance from the white ruling bloc to intensify.

"We should expect more showmanship, attempts at disruption, counter-revolutionary violence and systematic propaganda against the liberation movement."

Then again, this is the first salvo, the ANC's opening position. De Klerk will announce his on January 24 and from there the struggle moves into the Codesa working groups.

What did come across in the NEC statement was an extraordinary optimism that the transition could be accomplished within a reasonably short period. "The ANC will strive for an interim government in the first half of this year, and elections for the constituent assembly to held by December," said Mandela.

"Therefore, South Africa could, for the first time in its history, have a democratic government within the immediate future."

# ANC, govt tackle crisis in services

10/11/92  
TIM COHEN

IN WHAT was described as the first talks between government and the ANC on local government yesterday, the parties agreed the provision of services was a crisis requiring a national response.

But the parties disagreed on whether a separate negotiating forum should be established to deal with the problem.

The ANC delegation, led by local and regional government department head Thozamile Botha, asked the meeting to discuss the breakdown in local government and particularly the inadequate provision of services, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC delegation stressed the need for a local negotiation framework through the creation of a national negotiation forum. This forum would co-ordinate local negotiations but would not conflict with, or undermine, the national negotiations process, the ANC said.

In a separate statement, Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said government favoured a negotiated form of transitional government implemented as quickly as possible in a constitutional manner.

But government was against the institution of new structures and forums because

this would entail the establishment of an interim government "by stealth".

Both parties agreed that local negotiations should be encouraged in the interim but these should not undermine the national constitution-making process.

The Interim Measures on Local Government Act of 1991, supposed to provide a framework for local level negotiations, was rejected as deeply flawed and obstructive of interim solutions, the ANC said.

Government acknowledged the Act contained inadequacies but said it served as a vehicle to move away from existing racially-based local government structures.

THEO RAWANA reports the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has rejected the idea of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber seeking any relationship with Codesa.

Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the chamber — which was a locally based forum — should stop engaging in an "ambitious exercise" of trying to establish a relationship with Codesa, which was a national structure.

# PAC youth: ANC siding with police

CT 10/1/92 NA

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC's youth wing, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has accused the ANC of siding with the police.

Azanyu executive committee spokesman Mr Bassie Ngcukana said in a statement yesterday that the group "was surprised that after Mr Mandela repeatedly blamed security forces for internecine violence, the ANC now favours the police".

"Azanyu calls on all African people to note the ANC has decided to be on the side of the police," Mr Ngcukana said. He accused the ANC of making statements which "serve to embarrass the oppressed" in the eyes of whites. He said an ANC claim that attacks on police were not PAC policy was "a lie".

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma repeated that he did "not regard the killing of policemen to be consistent with PAC policy".

He said the PAC should clarify whether killing black policemen fitted in with their slogan "one settler, one bullet".

The Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, the SACP (PWV region) and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) on Wednesday condemned police killings.

Popcru chairman Mr Peter Nkuna

said: "Apla will have to explain to us how they classified us as settlers who need to be pumped full of bullets."

● A patrolling policeman came under fire on Wednesday morning on the old Alberton-Meyerton road south of Johannesburg.

Constable Marius Wagner ducked as two shots were fired at him from a car. A bullet smashed through his car's windscreen.

● Two men have been arrested in connection with the death of two on-duty policemen at Katlehong on New Year's Day, a police spokesman said yesterday.

Mr Paulus Thembi, 22, and Mr Solomon Marcua Mabaso, 33, both of Katlehong, appeared in the Springs Magistrate's Court on Tuesday. The case was postponed to January 21 pending further investigation.

The policemen, an unnamed sergeant and constable, were shot while in front of a house in Khumalo Valley in the East Rand township between 10pm and 11pm on January 1.

They were apparently robbed of their weapons, police said. Twenty-four AK-47 assault rifle shells were found at the scene.

"Their patrol vehicle was totally burnt out," police said last week. — Own Correspondent and Sapa



# Mandela welcomed in Afrikaner heartland

B(Day) 10/11/92

11A

TRAFFIC police brought bemused but not visibly upset Bloemfonteinners to a standstill to watch Nelson Mandela's kilometre-long motorcade pass through the centre of the Afrikaner heartland this week.

The ANC president, escorted by motorcycle outriders, was on his way to deliver a speech at the Free State rugby stadium. The stadium forms part of President Swart Park.

If any more evidence was necessary that the new SA is finally upon us, it was provided by an announcer at the stadium who said the ANC would never forget the Free State rugby union's contribution to the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations.

Then the Bloemfontein Town Council held a reception for Mandela at the city hall after the celebrations.

Mandela acted like a head of state, and was received as one. The magnetic force that surrounds people who have the potential to be powerful is beginning to attract the most unusual people and groupings.

Mandela himself was in good spirits, dancing along with other ANC leaders on the stage while a band played. His mood reflected a note of high enthusiasm and confidence which currently pervades the organisation.

For ANC members the battle

against apartheid and for democracy, but more particularly for the supremacy of the organisation itself, is all but won.

ANC strategists place a high priority on a concept termed "the strategic initiative". They believed they had lost it around this time last year, when government was still being showered with international praise and sanctions were being lifted against the ANC's express wishes.

This partly contributed to the ANC's ill-fated ultimatum to government on violence and the dismissal of Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok. But since then the ANC has been rejuvenated by a growing membership, a successful conference, growing international influence, and a negotiations process it believes is progressing according to its own blueprint.

The ANC senses government is now on the defensive following Inkathagate and shrinking public support, and it is now government which has been forced to make concessions to the ANC demand for an interim government.

"As we bring down the curtain on 1991, we can say with confidence that the general crisis of the apartheid system has never been deeper. During the past year, the democratic

## TIM COHEN

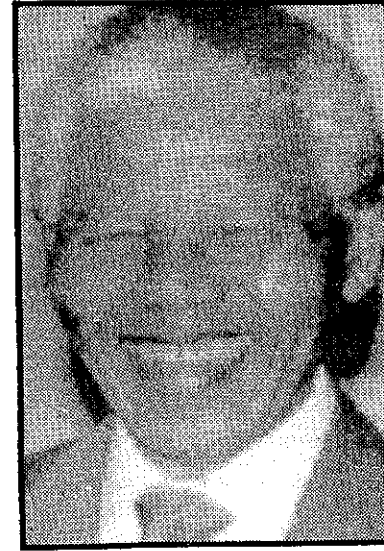
movement consolidated its hold on the strategic initiative," Mandela told the crowd.

He also interpreted government's concession on the need for an interim government as a sign of its illegitimacy, but at the same time warned that "as can be expected from such an illegitimate and illegal regime, where it is forced to retreat, it does so to new lines of defence".

The ANC anniversary statement is traditionally the occasion for the organisation to set out its plans and objectives for the year. Last year, for example, the ANC proposed an all-party conference, which was substantially borne out in Codesa. This year, Mandela's speech went little further than restating existing ANC positions, although he displayed a new sense of urgency about getting them implemented.

This is possibly because, other than setting out broad objectives, the ANC does not want to tie itself to positions before negotiations begin in earnest.

Nevertheless, Mandela declared 1992 the "year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly" and



□ MANDELA

restated the ANC belief that the interim government should have sovereign control over at least all the armed forces and police, state media, electoral process, the Budget and financial affairs. In addition, it should produce forums to supervise the management of socio-economic issues during the transition.

In line with the statesmanlike position the ANC is adopting, Mandela hailed the Middle East peace talks and developments towards a negotiated settlement in El Salvador. He even pledged the ANC's support for the people of East Timor.

Part of the celebrations involved planting a white ash tree outside the home of former ANC speaker Thomas Mapikela. Bloemfontein was a meeting place of the original members of the ANC who regularly held their congresses there because of its centrality.

These members, described by relatives as "moderate men" who believed in the power of delegations and lobbying, were overtaken by Mandela and his supporters during the Defiance Campaign of the '50s when the organisation's centre of power shifted to the Reef.

Is it possible that the wheel has turned full circle? Does the current leadership face the possibility of being swept aside by the proponents of the tactics that Mandela introduced to revitalise the organisation? For the first 80 years the ANC has had to deal with the problems of being out of power. Now, it will have to start dealing with the problems of being in power. In its 81st year, the threat is not from without, but from within.

# Police legitimate target, says PAC

STAR 11/1/92

'System's robots must be destroyed'

THE Pan Africanist Congress has refused to condemn the policy of its military wing to attack policemen.

It said the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had an "historical responsibility to prosecute the struggle".

Apla's target was "the structures of the apartheid regime".

"The SA Police is at the forefront of the repression of our people and is a legitimate target.

"The policemen are robots of the system and should be sought out and destroyed," PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani said.

The PAC would not

apologise to anyone for Apla's policy of attacking policemen and SADF forces.

"The role of the police is a collaborative one with the apartheid machine. In news reports a misconception seems to exist that black policemen should not be attacked as they are also victims of the system.

"We find this romanticising of policemen as guardians and angels of peace surprising. The hard, unpalatable fact is that they have killed our people starting

in 1960 at Sharpeville and in 1976 in Soweto.

"Through their hit squads on trains they are continuing to do so.

"They should leave the force if they don't want to be attacked. Azania is liberating itself and the people are fighting back. Whether policemen are black or white is not the issue, but rather their support of the Right by serving in the force."

The PAC was a disciplined liberation organisation with a certain historical role, he argued. It was committed to all forms of

struggle.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order criticised the PAC for supporting attacks on policemen and warned that the perpetrators of such attacks would be ruthlessly hunted down.

Captain Craig Kotze said it was clear that the PAC was out of step with the broad consensus, including that of the ANC and the SA Communist Party, that the killing of policemen was unacceptable.

"We have nothing against PAC supporters per se but clearly where individual PAC members break the law, such as the Apla does or claims to do, then they will be dealt with in terms of the law." — Sapa.

# Give in to their demands, and watch PAC sidelined and policemen cheer

**HISTORY** is a bloody long time. I mean that literally and figuratively. There has been an awful lot of history and much of it has been very bloody.

Which is why I fail to understand all the fuss about the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) shooting policemen.

Sure, it's heinous and vile. But can you explain the difference between this and setting bombs in Wimpy Bars or in parked cars outside air force headquarters in Pretoria?

And where's the difference between this and police Trojan Horse ambushes or the CCB death squads?

The problem with history is that because it goes on for so long, we tend to forget.

We forget that it's not yet two years since the ANC was unbanned.

Nor is it 10 years since the introduction of the tricameral Parliament and the uprisings that followed. It's not even 50 years since the National Party came to power, bringing with it formal, legalised apartheid.

It's ironical, in a sense, that gasps of shock and horror at Apla's killing of policemen come from both the Government and the ANC, both of which were so very recently engaged in killing each other.

Now, of course, they are engaged in a very delicate, still quite distant, but nonetheless promising, game of footsie-footsie.

Contrary to popular opinion, the PAC, whose political child Apla is,

STAR 11/11/92  
**Notebook**



has not renounced the armed struggle. On the contrary. It has re-emphasised that the struggle will continue against appropriate targets until it has achieved its aims.

Those were sentiments expressed until very recently by the ANC, which, in its day, regularly attacked policemen. Why should the PAC now do differently?

Bear in mind that these tactics also gained much ground for the ANC in the townships, especially among the radical youth.

Now the PAC, seeing the ANC poised to form a large part of the next government, follows the same route. History repeats itself.

The challenge for the politicians now lies in how to engage the threat posed by the PAC's armed wing.

If, for example, the violence is allowed to escalate, more and more policemen will become demoralised.

There will be an increasing reluctance on their part to answer genuine emergency calls or to undertake routine patrols. Society will slide closer to anarchy.

At the same time, other fringe

groups will start to use violence to carve out more political prestige and territory.

We already have Apla claiming responsibility for the attack on the offices housing the promoters of the Paul Simon tour.

The ANC itself may start to lose support to the extreme Left, as a result. Its negotiating position could become much more hardline.

The answer, I believe, lies in taking the battle to the PAC, much as the De Klerk Government took the battle to the ANC. Not on a physical, but on a political level.

Mr de Klerk engaged the ANC by admitting the justice of its demands, unbanning it and releasing Mr Mandela. In the same way, the parties involved in the current negotiations should concede the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly, and press ahead to consolidate their own political positions. The faster this is done, the stronger the moderate centre parties will emerge.

But if radical leftist organisations are allowed to use violence to make their points for any lengthy period of time, they will attract support, especially from the growing mass of unemployed youngsters.

A constituent assembly elected in the next three or four months would not only consolidate the ANC and the National Party, but also sideline the PAC once and for all.

It would also save the lives of quite a few policemen.

# HAPPY



SMART SALUTE ... To the ANC on its 80th birthday.

Cipres 12/1/92

11A

# BIRTHDAY!



CHEERING ... A military-style Winnie Mandela gives a smile and a salute.



SINGING ... Adelaide Tambo celebrates.



CONFIDENT ... ANC leader Nelson Mandela.



HAPPY ... ANC veterans Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo share a joke at the celebrations.

Picture: ANDRIES MCINEKA

the birthday celebrations at the Orange Free State Rugby Stadium. Even more comforting was the absence of rightwingers opposed to the presence of the ANC leadership right in the heart of their domain. Mandela reiterated his organisation's belief in the importance of the Patriotic Front, which some people consider as good as dead. In another conciliatory

gesture to the PAC, the major partner in the Patriotic Front, Mandela also restated the ANC's commitment to the Constituent Assembly. "The issue of the Constituent Assembly is central to our approach to the transition," he said. The PAC has recently accused the ANC of not acting in the best interests of the Patriotic Front and of no longer being committed to the principle of

a Constituent Assembly. The ANC has strongly denied these allegations. The ANC leader also extended the hand of friendship to whites in general and Afrikaners in particular. He urged black pupils to return to school in their thousands, saying a repeat of the disastrous 1991 matriculation results should not occur. "If the aim of the racists is to keep us ignorant

and underqualified, as the disastrous matric results have shown, we should challenge this by improving our performance even within this limited environment. "We join democratic students and teachers' organisations and parents in calling for a massive return to school and for equal education for all." He further called for the abolition of racially-based education struc-

tures. Mandela said the time had come for all to stake their claim to a democratic future. "On this our 80th anniversary, the ANC once again extends the hand of friendship to those of our white compatriots who have been made to doubt their place and role in the democratic process now unfolding. "It is time for them to

realise that their interests can only be served by the attainment of lasting peace and stability. "We address our call particularly to those sectors of the Afrikaner community, such as farmers and workers, who historically have been misled only to be dumped by self-seeking politicians for a cause that has no future. "The time has come to take a decisive step into

the fold of broader South African society and to ensure their future in democracy." The highlight of the occasion was the presentation of the Isitwalndwe-Seaparankoe award on Mandela, Sisulu, Mkwazi, Mhlaba, Mlangeni, Kathrada, Motsoaledi, Joseph, Gwala and Tambo. Seaparankoe is the ANC's highest award.

For years consigned to underground politics, the ANC is now talking with the authority of a government-in-waiting. There are good reasons for the buoyant mood of the leadership. The Orange Free State, no ANC stronghold, gave Mandela and his delegation a hearty welcome. Hundreds of people, wearing the organisation's black, green and gold colours, lined the street leading to Maphikela's home from early in the morning. They broke into song and dance when they saw Sisulu. They became even more excited when Mandela arrived about an hour later. Some sections of Bloemfontein came to a standstill when Mandela's motorcade passed through the centre of town. An estimated 30 000 party members from Mangaung and the neighbouring towns attended

**SELLO** NC was Bloemfontein returned to celebrate a birthday. A nostalgic trip seeing ANC members walked the streets to one of the members of the Thomas Mpanza. Mandela was fragile, 87. Others included Nelson Mandela, deputy vice-chairman, 75; Harry and Wilton their veterans, 60s, were Kathrada, Anand Elias uncertain founding African National Congress - of the was none of the confided leaders in our week they freedom the or moved to the nature gov- four-long was the com- push and left little organisa- self as the Mande- scribed to the beration e conti- eared to s of gov-



## Azanla not one of us - Azayo

THE Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) - who claimed responsibility for this week's explosion at the offices of the promoters of the Paul Simon tour - is an independent guerrilla organisation, the Azanian Youth Organisation has said.

Azayo publicity secretary George Ngwenya, said this week Azayo welcomed any support for its standpoint on the tour, and hoped to arrange a meeting with Simon to inform him of his "wrong impressions" of South Africa.

C/P/rev 12/11/92

# ANC at 80: Back to its roots with a white ash

SITimes 12/11/92

(11A)

ALICE JACOBS, 81, whose father's Bloemfontein home was the founding place of the ANC and one of its main meeting places after its formation, has never been an ANC member. She also has no interest in joining.

She is last surviving child of Thomas Mapikela, the ANC's "Speaker" for its first 25 years. None of Mrs Jacobs's children are ANC members, nor do they have any interest in the organisation.

"I'm not a member; I'm too old to get into politics. Why should I worry about a future vote? I'm too old now," she said.

However, the Jacobs family allowed the ANC to plant a tall white ash tree — which the organisation calls the "tree of freedom" (with no irony intended) — outside their double-storey house on Wednesday during the first ceremony to mark the movement's 80th birthday. Hours later, Bobby Mapikela, a great-grandson of the ANC founder, carried buckets of water to the wilting tree.

## Elite

By then the cheers of hundreds of ANC supporters who thronged the street and others who had hung from a tall eucalyptus outside the Batho township house had died down.

But down the road, stragglers from the all-day ANC rally at the Free State athletic stadium in nearby Bloemfontein scattered before a police contingent which had moved to break up their toy-toying, freedom-singing march.

Later, Alice Jacobs recalled that the ANC was founded in Waaihoek, where Bloemfontein's power station now stands, its old smoke stacks dominating the skyline. Her father's two houses were on the property expropriated for the power station. The Batho house was built in 1923, four years after the ANC adopted its constitution.

Its early leaders were part of the African elite. Many were wealthy, most well educated. Some had attended university abroad, like Pixley ka Izaka Seme (the ANC's first treasurer-general), who was educated at Columbia University in New York and Oxford in England.

"Title deeds were taken away from Africans. People like my father and leading men had no say, no vote," Mrs Jacobs said.

In 1909, and again in 1913,

The ANC was formed 80 years ago in Bloemfontein and this week held its birthday celebrations there.

CHARLENE SMITH looks at some of the people that helped shape its early history — or turned from it

numerous petitions, testimonies to commissions and visits to British parliamentarians in London by prominent Africans were to no avail. Mr Mapikela was among a group granted an audience with King George V to — unsuccessfully — put their case.

"There were always people coming in and out of the house. Our diningroom table could seat 12 and there were always meetings there. I used to help my mother cook for all these people.

"Bloemfontein was the headquarters of the ANC for many years because it was central. It was only when the Youth League was formed in the late 40s that ANC headquarters shifted to Johannesburg."

Mrs Jacobs's husband, a

doctor, was briefly the southern Free State chairman of the ANC, but "he resigned when the police started arresting people".

Both Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu went to her father's house for meetings: "They did not seem special then — just two skinny young men."

The first ANC constitution, approved in 1919, outlined an organisation that would formulate uniform policy on African affairs for presentation to the Union government, while at the same time try to educate white public opinion to African concerns and Africans to their rights and obligations.

However, the ANC became a talk shop for intellectuals and the African elite until the rise of the Youth



JIVING FOR JOY ... Oliver Tambo, Andrew Mlangeni and Nelson Mandela at the ANC's 80th birthday celebrations at Bloemfontein's Free State stadium this week. Picture: ROB HADLEY

League in 1948.

Elias Motsoaledi, 67, a former Rivonia trialist and now a national executive member, disagrees with the common historical view that the Youth League regenerated the ANC.

He said the Youth League was formed to crush the growing influence of communists in the ANC.

It was the banning of the SACP in 1950, he said, which transformed the ANC into a

grassroots organisation that mobilised ordinary African men and women. "After the banning of the SACP, communists became active in the ANC, transforming it into an activist organisation."

Joe Nhlanhla, an ANC national executive committee member and its security head, was also in Bloemfontein to honour the memory of the movement's founders.

As he sat fiddling with his coffee cup in a hotel where managers fawned on ANC delegates, Mr Nhlanhla reflected: "I was one of the first people to return to the country before the Groote Schuur Minute, helping prepare the way.

"We came with some very strong views. Views that were not very accommodating. We had to meet the other side and realise that some of their fears were real.

"As we began to discuss and learn more about the

dynamics in white South Africa we realised some of their fears. People who have this sort of discussion are not the same afterwards."

Mr Nhlanhla looked at his watch and excused himself. Outside, traffic police, including motorcycle outriders, waited to escort a 2km procession of ANC delegates and journalists to Batho township for the tree planting.

A sweltering all-day rally at the Free State stadium would follow, where a speaker would note that the "struggling masses of the people" would not forget the "Rugby Union's gesture" in renting the stadium to them.

Across the road the local SAP dog unit played cricket under shady trees. Marshals gathered piles of knives from people entering the stadium.

Perhaps SA is growing up a lot faster than some might think.

# Niehaus takes up study grant in Holland

SI Times 12/1/92

By CHARIS PERKINS

THE ANC's only fluent Afrikaans-speaking spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, has left to study in the Netherlands.

Mr Niehaus and his wife, Jansie, left for Utrecht on December 27 where Mr Niehaus will finish the doctorate in theology he began while serving a sentence as a political prisoner in Pretoria.

He was offered a study grant from the University of Utrecht.

ANC spokesman Saki Mazoni said Mr Niehaus would be missed. "He was able to reach the Afrikaans media because he was an Afrikaner himself."

## Crucial

Mr Niehaus would, however, work part-time at the ANC office in Amsterdam.

The couple did not intend to settle in the Netherlands and would return to SA next year.

Speaking from Utrecht, Mr Niehaus said it had been difficult to leave home at the present time.

"South Africa is in the middle of fascinating and crucial times and it has been exciting to be involved," he said.

The subject of his thesis — the concept of hope and how it has been expressed in liberation theology in SA during the past 20 years — was a topic close to his heart.

"Hope was very important to me during my grim years in prison," he said.

Released in March last year, Mr Niehaus served more than seven years of a 15-year sentence for treason.

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THE SINGER NOT THE SONG... a protester outside the stadium Picture: JUHAN KUUS

# Tour controversy fuelled by money and political jostling

S1 Times 12/11/92

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

by Charlene Smith

MONEY and political grandstanding are at the crux of the fuss over Paul Simon's tour.

It is these ingredients which help explain the otherwise bizarre dispute that has broken out over the singer's visit.

Both the Commonwealth and the United Nations have recommended the lifting of the cultural boycott. The ANC has significantly eased its "people-to-people" sanctions.

None of the other foreign entertainers currently in the country has roused even a murmur of controversy. US star Whoopi Goldberg is filming Mbongeni Ngema's *Sarafina*; there are two Russian circuses, a large number of classical musicians and a variety of other foreign entertainers.

## Debacle

Azapo said Goldberg's visit had attracted no controversy because it was also sanctioned by the Performing Artists and Writers Equity. The organisation criticised the profits it would make.

Industry sources have noted that Goldberg would make about R250 000 from the SA film and was expected to make about R700 000 from an American production. Simon's 17-piece band comprised US, SA and Latin American musicians. It was also expected

that the tour — because of low ticket prices compared with the First World — would lose between R250 000 and R700 000.

Money has been the key soft-talker in the whole debacle. The ANC-linked SA Musicians' Alliance earlier this week sacked executives Jabu Ngwenya and Charles Mabaso because, it claimed, the two had not informed Sama of the tour. However, Sama happily accepted the visit once Simon's management had handed over a R100 000 donation.

On Friday, Simon and his group were involved in workshops with 50 SA musicians as part of agreements with the ANC cultural affairs department.

The ANC denounced Tuesday night's grenade attack by the Azanian National Liberation Army (which has links to the external lunatic-fringe Black Consciousness Movement of SA, and the Azanian People's Organisation) on the offices of the sound company contracted for the tour.

ANC cultural affairs head Wally Serote said that while demonstrations and protests were acceptable,

bombings and violence "in the present political climate are not".

Azapo and its youth wing, Azayo, claimed the tour was a contravention of the cultural boycott (which the ANC initiated a decade ago and has since all but removed). Simon and his management held two meetings with them, but cut off further talks when money again reared its head.

Azapo and Azayo said they would back the tour if Simon added some unscheduled concerts to his tour under their banner.

## Arrogant

The Pan Africanist Congress, more than a little miffed, entered the fray, saying it did not want "30 pieces of silver" from Simon — but noted it was the PAC which had pleaded in 1987 at the United Nations for Simon not to be blacklisted for visiting SA while compiling his *Graceland* album.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nematshvahanani said Simon was arrogant and an opportunist. "The responsibility of giving artists permission to perform here lies with the oppressed".

But precisely who the oppressed are, and whose permission would be acceptable to all, became less clear

□ To Page 2

# Tour controversy

□ From Page 1

as the week wore on. Some fans switched their tickets from Saturday night's performance to Sunday, heading their bets against possible violent demonstrations.

Azapo, a splinter black political group, is scorned by other liberation groups. It was kicked out of last year's Patriotic Front conference, aimed at uniting liberation groups, after nearly wrecking the conference.

It has a tiny membership and is usually incapable of attracting press attention. After the Patriotic Front near-debacle, the organisation was described by other black groups "as three men and a fax machine".

The ANC Youth League also attacked opposition to

the tour and called on Azapo and Azania to desist from "self-destruction and marginalisation".

The tour received full backing from a variety of groups including Inkatha and the government.

The ANC criticised the media saying — probably correctly — that "the threat to the tour is not as great as the media makes it out to be, when the capability of those who are issuing the threats is taken into account".

Simon's bassist, South African Ray Phiri, said the controversy surrounding the tour had made him feel as if he were on trial.

Simon said he had no political motive in coming to South Africa, and merely wanted people to enjoy the music. In an emotional aside, he said he would visit the grave of slain Ladysmith Black Mambazo bass singer Headman Shabalala — who became a friend of his after collaborating on *Graceland*.

Mr Shabalala was shot dead last month near Durban, allegedly by a white security officer.

Mr Simon has criticised the R1 000 bail granted to the guard, saying the figure seemed inappropriate for someone accused of murder. "It seems to indicate life is cheap for a black man."



park, where he was based. Makokoe's wish was that he be buried from the St Francis parish in Ikageng.

# King, Luthuli honoured

By LULAMA LUTY since 1984 - 16 years after his assassination in Memphis, Tennessee. At the function the King Luthuli Transformation centre will present ANC president Nelson Mandela and singer Miriam Makeba with an award for their contribution to the liberation of the oppressed.

UNITED States civil rights leader Martin Luther King and ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli will be honoured at Wits Great Hall on Tuesday. The event coincides with King's birthday which has been celebrated as a holiday in the US

At the function the King Luthuli Transformation centre will present ANC president Nelson Mandela and singer Miriam Makeba with an award for their contribution to the liberation of the oppressed.

**S**OMEBODY please stop the world. I want to jump off.

So much for this political circus among the so-called liberation movements.

"Azayo, who are they?" asked one of the United States congressional delegates at a party hosted by US ambassador Lacy Swing. "Please forgive my ignorance, but I have never heard of them."

Also, forgive American pop superstar Paul Simon for mistaking Azayo for Azapo during a press conference this week. Azayo, after all, is Azapo's youth wing who, until Simon landed at Jan Smuts Airport last week, were relatively unknown and their size a closely guarded secret.

One may ask: If the cultural boycott that sought to keep Simon, Whoopi Goldberg and others out of South Africa is as significant to our liberation struggle as we are made to believe, why does Azapo put their youth wing in the forefront of the battle?

Why the deafening silence from Azapo leadership?

Again, many of us had forgotten about the existence or non-existence of Azapo's military wing, Azanla, until that bomb blast at the offices of the concert organisers.

And what about the Azanian People's Liberation Army

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# Azaywho?

# You may ask

CIPres

12/1/92.

(11A)



(Apla), the military wing of the PAC? They have chosen to target the police for assassination at the time when trying to win them over seems to be a logical thing to do. Instead, they alienate them.

This strange twist of events in our struggle for emancipation makes a mockery of genuine efforts by people like Nelson Mandela and others who want to negotiate and form alliances in order to speed up the process of change.

Over the past few months the political circus has taken a vicious turn. The National Party, enjoying a healthy relationship with Inkatha over many years, has suddenly found a strange bedfellow in the ANC.

Inkatha, trying to avoid be-

ing left out in the cold, has found a friend in the Conservative Party. Did you see the warm smiles exchanged by Dr Andries Treurnicht and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently?

The affinity between the PAC and Inkatha displayed at former PAC president Zeph Mothopeng's funeral seems to have been shortlived.

The PAC clearly wanted membership numbers from Inkatha.

And what about the long-standing bond between the PAC and Azapo? Was it soured by the expulsion of Azapo from the Patriotic Front when the PAC was supposed to have defended them?

Talking about shifting alliances, the Labour Party

which rode on the back of the NP into the tri-cameral Parliament, has become an embarrassment to the NP. The Rev Allan Hendrickse has found a cosy home in the ANC camp.

An interesting scenario, however, is the battle by the NP, the ANC and Inkatha to win over homeland and traditional leaders.

Bop, Ciskei and Inkatha have something in common - they want a federal state. Venda, Transkei and other so-called self-governing states seem prepared to do whatever the ANC says they must do.

Talking about traditional leaders, many have forgotten an incident 10 years ago when Chief Buthelezi gave the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill

Zwelithini, a dressing down in the chambers of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for his apparent involvement in politics.

The king should be above party politics, Buthelezi said.

Unconfirmed reports said the king was next to tears. Others said he actually bolted out of the chambers during the altercation.

Why then is Buthelezi today making an issue over the king's exclusion from Codesa?

Why is the king being dragged into politics? Does politics allow us to have short memories? Or do we bend the rules to suit the politics of the day? Whatever the case, it seems we will not get the right answers until we go to the ballot box.

As for Paul Simon, he is the scapegoat for an organisation seeking to resuscitate its waning image.

We still do not understand why Azayo president Thami Mcerwa said the concert in Ellis Park could go on but the rest of the tour should be cancelled.

We have to move away from the reactive politics of yesteryear.

One can only hope that no one gets hurt during the concert tour.

# We back attacks on cops

*South Africa*  
*12/1/92*  
- PAC

By **MONWABISI  
NOMADOLO**

THE PAC has reaffirmed its support of attacks on policemen carried out by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

This follows a statement of support made last week by the Pan Africanist Students Organisation of Azania (Paso) which said it rendered its "ultimate support for the mighty Apla".

Paso said the "brutality of the racist regime" had to be taken into account. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivanani told a press conference on Friday that his organisation perceived the SADF and the SAP as President FW de Klerk's "private army" and therefore a "state oppressive machinery".

The SADF and the SAP were the first targets in Apla's programme of action against the "machinery of oppression", Apla's military commander, Seabelo Phama, was quoted as saying in a weekly newspaper.

Speaking from his home in Harare, Phama was quoted as saying the security forces were "harassing our people in their homes, on trains and in the townships".

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said Apla had more men inside the country than in their camps in the Front-line states.

Nmadzivanani reaffirmed the PAC's position that the attacks were not aimed at sabotaging the progress made at Codesa or undermining the National Peace Accord.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman said 151 policemen have died since last year, including five killed this year.

Apla claimed responsibility for the recent killing of five policemen in the PWV area.

Opperman said there was a R25 000 reward from the police for information which could lead to the arrest and conviction of anyone who has murdered a policeman.

However, the attacks have also drawn condemnation from several bodies.

The SACC, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, the SACP, the Cosatu-aligned Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) condemned the attacks and urged the organisation to reconsider its strategy.

## Two policemen gunned down

Business Day Reporter

NATAL police are investigating the possibility that two 19-year-old constables were murdered because they were members of the force.

The bodies of the policemen were found in the veld next to the Bulwer/Howick road on Saturday. Both had been shot twice at point blank range in the back of the head.

A police spokesman yesterday confirmed that one of the constables had his SAP appointment certificate hidden inside his underpants in an apparent bid to conceal the fact that he was a policeman.

The constables were identified as Jacques Wilken and Wybrand Smit. They were hitchhiking from Durban to Newcastle at the time.

Sapa reports a team of top detectives is working around the clock to trace the murderers.

In another incident directed at the SAP, a handgrenade was thrown at a policeman on patrol in Sharpeville, Vereeniging, on Saturday night. *Business Day 13/1/92*

The grenade detonated near a private dwelling. The policeman sustained slight injuries.

Police said yesterday a man was killed when an RDG 5 hand grenade was thrown at a private vehicle in Kagiso near Krugersdorp.

Two men were wounded when a gunman fired a number of rounds at a beerhall in Daveyton on the East Rand, and extensive damage was caused when a shack and a private vehicle were set alight in Gugulethu in the western Cape.

# ANC lashes out at health plan

*Business Day 13/1/92* *11A*

Business Day Reporter

weekend that while it welcomed the planned talks on health care, it was inappropriate to use the title High Cost of Medicines for the forum.

"It would have been far better if the forum concentrated on the high cost of the medical bill rather than to select one item of the medical bill which, indeed, is the most cost-effective one," said PMA executive director John Toerien.

He said it appeared SA was "once again falling into the same trap as in the past by addressing only one facet of the health bill.

Toerien said the forum's recommendations flowed mainly from the De Villiers investigation into health care, which was completed four years ago and the results of which have never been made public.

The investigation was carried out by Wim de Villiers, who was later appointed to the Cabinet.

The PMA believed that the broader approach for the forum was substantiated when the De Villiers investigation began in November 1987.

Its terms of reference also covered privatisation of hospital services, especially in terms of cost-effectiveness; involvement of the state in rendering hospital services and methods to reduce this systematically; and any other matters which could lead to the reduction of state spending on health services.

● Comment: Page 4

THE ANC has criticised Health Minister Rina Venter for acting unilaterally in her initiative to bring down the cost of health care.

It called for Venter to place a moratorium on her department's efforts to restructure the health system and to accept the right of other organisations to participate in the restructuring.

The ANC was responding to the minister's announcement last week that she would convene a meeting of key players in the industry to discuss plans to cut costs of medicines and move towards more primary health care.

The ANC said itself, Cosatu and the SACP had already called for the establishment of a forum of political groups, trade unions, community organisations and government to address health and other social services during the period of transition to a new government.

High medical costs were only a symptom of a system "which has been constructed to protect the interests of the white minority and big business", said the ANC statement. It said many fundamental flaws of apartheid remained in place, including apartheid in hospitals.

While the involvement of all interested parties in discussions to curb the cost of health care was long overdue, Venter had to realise that the NP could not unilaterally decide which isolated aspects of the health system should be addressed.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association (PMA) said at the

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# We'll be in Union Buildings this year says ANC official

Sowetan 13/1/92

(11A)

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE ANC saw itself standing on a hill overlooking the valley of victory and would be in the Union Buildings this year, the organisation's secretary-general said at the week-end.

Addressing about 4 000 people at Mahwelereng stadium on Saturday during a rally to celebrate the ANC's 80th birthday, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC was about to take over power because elections for a constituent assembly would be held this year.

This year would also see the installation of an interim government of national unity which would represent as "many parties as possible". He said the ANC would not allow President FW de Klerk to install an interim government that would last for 10 years.

Eighteen months was the limit, he said.

In a scathing attack on the PAC and Azapo for withdrawing and refusing to participate in Codesa, Ramaphosa said the leadership of these organisations were mentally unstable.

"They have failed to read the political arithmetic well and, because they are not well upstairs, we, in the ANC, have approached people such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu to pray for them as only prayers can help in such situations", Ramaphosa said to loud applause.

He said the PAC would return to Codesa soon and said those "many people who have been worried about the absence of the PAC and Azapo should relax as all will return to the true path that is being led by the ANC".

Turning to the opposition by these organisations to Paul Simon concerts, which the ANC supports, Ramaphosa said entertainment sanctions were outdated. "We are now only interested in taking power and getting into the Union Buildings. The politics of entertainment are outdated and those opposed to Paul Simon are out of touch", he said to loud applause.

Earlier, when delegations from the Venda and Lebowa

governments were introduced, the crowd jeered and booed. Ramaphosa took up the issue during his speech, saying the "victories being scored by the ANC at Codesa were largely due to the support of these parties".

The rally ended with the opening of a bottle of champagne to toast the birthday.

# SA group starts UK public service course

Blow 14/1/92

LONDON - A small group of former political campaigners are spearheading a project to meet what the ANC describes as an "urgent need" for governmental skills as SA liberation movements grapple with the realities of political change.

The 10 aspirant public servants, drawn from the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Institute for Multi-party Democracy, have started a six-week crash course at London's Civil Service College.

The course, described by the ANC's information officer in London, Ned Pillay, as a meeting "an urgent need for training in specific skills" is being sponsored by the UK government's overseas development administration.

Pillay said the course was "fairly unique" and said he was unaware of other similar courses being run for black South Africans in London.

Among the trainees, all of whom are more than 40 years old, are Josiah Jele, a graduate of the military academy in the Soviet Union and former ANC propaganda chief, and Azapo's Zithulele Cindi, a former Robben Island inmate.

The group was unavailable for comment yesterday, but Cindi was quoted in the

CHRIS BATEMAN

Financial Times as saying the group would take "those parts of the course which are relevant to our situation" to "empower the disadvantaged in our country".

The course includes lessons in which participants will shadow senior officials and sit in on policy commissions and departmental committee meetings; financial management; accountability; business planning; team building; and interpersonal skills.

## Outstripped

It is in line with a strong move among members of the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) to gain local government skills. Several top members of the WCCA recently successfully completed a local government course at the Cape Technikon.

One of the Cape graduates, who declined to be named, confided his concern at the fast pace of change which he said had outstripped the skills available among his activist colleagues.

Pillay agreed that given the experience of bantu education that Africans had been subjected to, there was an urgent need for skills training.

## Baptism of smoke for newest US judge

C

# ANC guidelines for media reform

BIDay 14/11/92

THE ANC yesterday released its draft media charter, which calls for no political censorship but insists on affirmative action to ensure an "equitable distribution of media resources".

The document, the result of a seminar held in November, calls for a constitutionally guaranteed free flow of information subject to rights of privacy, and the scrapping of all censorship laws.

The document also slates the SABC and calls for a reconstitution of its board by Codesa. It criticises the print media, government's Communication Service (formerly the Bureau for Information) and the film industry.

The draft charter, released to initiate debate, says it would be wrong to advocate the establishment of bodies which would determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch.

But a simple declaration on media freedom was not enough. "It has to be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender the

TIM COHEN

culture of open debate," the preamble to the charter says.

The charter calls for the prohibition of all institutional and legislative measures which restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship.

While guaranteeing the right freely to publish information and opinion, the charter calls for the "democratisation of the media".

"Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured," the charter says.

The media should take account of the diversity of communities in respect of geography, language and interests, and affirmative action should be implemented to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society.

The charter also proposes that journalists be protected by law from having to disclose their sources of information, and insists that media institutions "shall pro-

□ To Page 2

## Media charter

From Page 1

vide facilities for the training and upgrading of media workers".

In a resolution on the control and regulation of broadcasting in the interim period, the seminar noted that the NP had a "privileged relationship" with the SABC because government appointed the corporation's board members.

"The SABC has acted as the propaganda arm of the NP government to promote apartheid" and had not fulfilled its role as a public broadcaster, the resolution said.

Therefore, the seminar resolved there should be no restructuring of the broadcasting sector of government or the TVBC administrations' broadcasting until the control and regulation of broadcasting was decided by Codesa.

Codesa should appoint an interim broadcasting consultative committee to control and regulate broadcasting in the interim period. This body should appoint a representative board for the SABC and establish guidelines to ensure impartiality. The new board should "revise current staffing and management of the SABC".

The state information services, such as the Communications Service and the Human Sciences Research Council, which

gather and collate information "used by the NP", should be placed under the control of an interim government.

The seminar expressed its concern that government and the dominant elements of the print media would continue to distort the flow of information to influence the negotiating and electoral processes.

The seminar therefore directed the ANC to investigate the viability of establishing a daily newspaper.

Times Media Limited MD Steve Mulholland said in response the ANC should be commended for its commitment to freedom of the media, although he found some of the ANC recommendations Utopian and unrealistic.

For example, did the recommendation that all should have the right to free access to information and opinion mean that newspapers should be given away free.

While it was true that the ownership of the media in SA was "somewhat unbalanced", to address this through a process of compulsion would risk violating the very freedoms the ANC sought to protect.

The "distortions" needed to be dealt with, but to use coercive measures to "democratise" the media would be a contradiction in terms, he said.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Chancellor Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela was named the University of the North's new chancellor yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference in Johannesburg, vice-chancellor Prof Chabani Manganyi said the university council's unanimous decision to choose Mandela represented a significant break with the past. (S) (IA)

Mandela succeeds Nafcoc chief Sam Motsuenyane. No date has been set for his inauguration.

### Ex-MK man DP leader

THE DP youth branch launched its Free State Goldfields subregion on Sunday and elected a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member as its chairman. (IA) (S)

Sam Leseme, 20, jailed for two years in 1989 in Kroonstad for sabotage and possession of explosives, joined the DP after his release in June 1991.

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# PAC plans march on Parliament

STAR 14/1/92  
By Mantsiwa Moroke

The Pan Africanist Congress will march to Parliament on January 24 as part of its programme for mass action, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

The PAC, which withdrew from the preparatory meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa last month, said the planned mass action would mark the start of a campaign against Codesa and of support for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

"This campaign will unfold until Codesa is rendered meaningless for lack of public support and consequent lack of legitimacy," Mr Alexander said at a press conference in Johannesburg.

He said placard demonstrations would take place along all major roads in Cape Town between 6 am and 9 am on January 23 and 24.

Mass rallies would be held on January 26 in Butterworth, Soweto, QwaQwa, Cape Town, Kimberley and Pietersburg.

He said the objective of the campaign was to highlight the demand of those who would not settle for anything less than a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Mr Alexander said the PAC would soon announce plans for the reconvening of the Patriotic Front of those people who felt the Government could not be trusted, and others who believed in mass action.

After the mass rallies on January 26 the PAC would engage in a national door-to-door campaign "in the oppressed communities" to explain the futility of supporting undemocratic forums like Codesa and the PAC's alternative programme leading to a democratic constituent assembly.

# Black civil servants on course

LONDON - The task of transforming South Africa into a multiracial society has been taken up in London, where 10 black South Africans have begun a course at the Civil Service College.

The six-week programme, sponsored by the UK government's Overseas Development Administration, grew out of a request last July from ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for help in training civil servants.

Of the participants, six have been nominated by the ANC, two by the PAC and one each by Azapo and the Institute for Multi-Party De-

mocracy.

The purpose of the programme is to provide first-hand knowledge of a western government's civil service to prospective black senior officials.

All the participants are more than 40 years old, but none has civil service experience. Mr Josiah Jele of the ANC trained in the former Soviet Union, was a freedom fighter in Mozambique, and as a former director of ANC Broadcasting, was in charge of propaganda.

The changes within South Africa are mirrored by the personal transformation of Jele from someone who "hated authority" to being

*Sowetan 14/11/92*  
"very much interested in local government".

He says of the programme that the participants will "take those parts that are relevant to our situation" and hopes that "it will help us to empower the disadvantaged in our country".

Mr Zithulele Cindi of Azapo is a former inmate of Robben Island prison and considers trade unionists the ideal future civil servants.

"We should adapt what is appropriate (from the CSC programme) and design a civil service which is development-oriented," he says.

The course includes formal lec-

tures and training courses, as well as attachments in which participants will shadow senior officials and sit in on policy commissions and departmental committee meetings.

The training courses will include financial management, accountability, business planning, team building and interpersonal skills.

Course supervisors insist that their intention is not to "sell" the Westminster political model, but to explain the framework within which the UK civil service operates. - *Sowetan Foreign News Service*

# PAC reveals plan to cripple Codesa

Soweto 14/1/92

11A  
~~3/1/92~~

By IKE MOTSAPI

**THE Pan Africanist Congress plans a mass action campaign aimed at rendering the Convention for a Democratic South Africa meaningless.**

Rallies, demonstrations and pickets are to be held countrywide in what the PAC described yesterday as the year of action against apartheid laws.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the objective of the campaign was to highlight "the demand of those who will not settle for anything less than a democratically elected constituent assembly".

He said: "This campaign will unfold until Codesa is rendered meaningless for lack of public support and consequent lack of legitimacy.

Alexander said the PAC would, after January 26, do a door-to-door campaign to "explain the futility of supporting undemocratic forums like Codesa and our alternative programme leading to a democratic constituent as-

sembly.

"Between 6am and 9am on January 23 and 24 placard demonstrations will take place along all major roads in Cape Town.

"On Friday next week the masses will gather in District Six, Cape Town, where they will be addressed by PAC president

Mr Clarence Makwetu.

"From there they will march to the Parliament buildings. No petitions will be handed over as no oppressor can ever be an agent for social change.

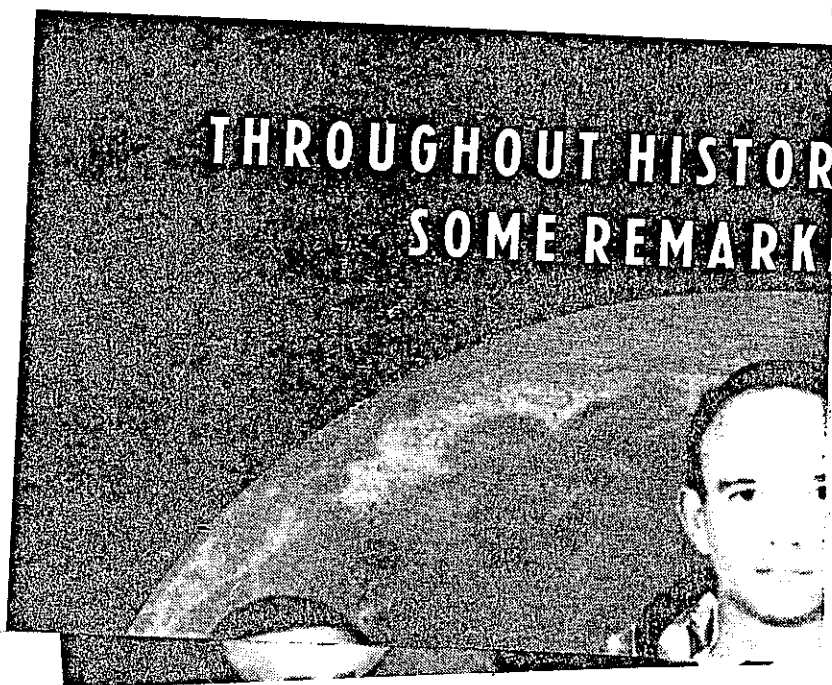
"I and other members of the national executive committee will lead the march.

"On January 26 rallies will be held in Butterworth, Soweto, QwaQwa,

Cape Town, Kimberley and Pietersburg."

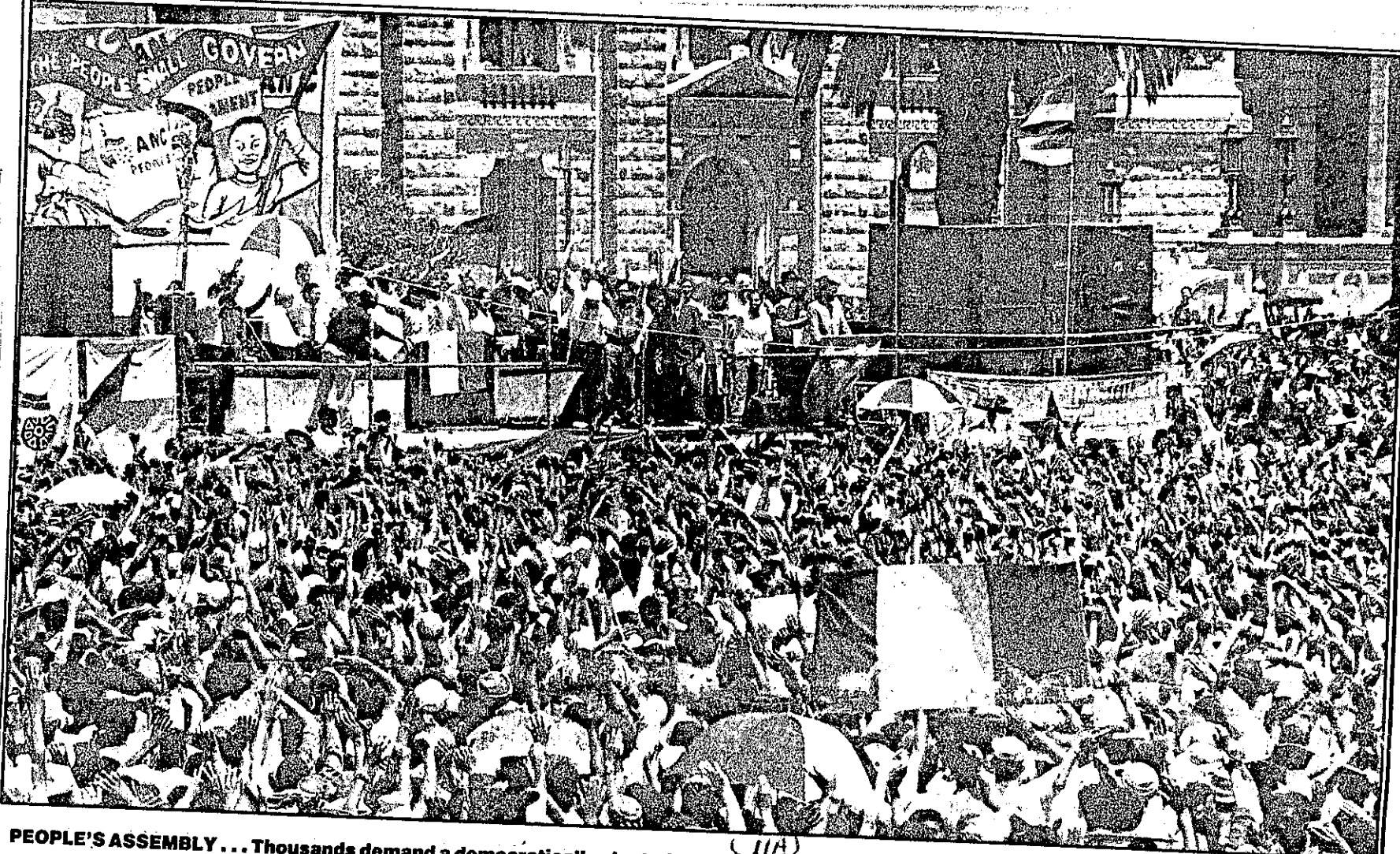
Alexander said the PAC would consult with trade unions, the ANC, Azapo and other organisations "concerning our plans in the coming days".

He said the PAC would also announce plans for the convening of the Patriotic Front in order to maximise unity in the campaign.



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PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY... Thousands demand a democratically elected parliament at the opening of the house in Cape Town.

(11A)

CIPREM 261192

Pics: FANIE JASON

# BCMA slam <sup>Sovereign</sup> 15/1/92 arrest of leader <sup>11A</sup>

By KENOSI  
MODISANE

THE Black Consciousness Movement and Azapo yesterday condemned the arrest of anti-Paul Simon tour campaign leader and Azapo president Mr Thami Mcerwa.

In a statement released in Harare, the BCMA slammed the arrest of Mcerwa and Azapo cultural secretariat member, Mr Peter Jones, saying the Government knew the two were innocent.

Jones has since been released.

BCMA spokesman Mr Gilbert Mokoena said: "They have arrested them in order to scare the rest of the Black community and to weaken the demonstrations."

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman would not say when Mcerwa would appear in court.

He said police were still busy with their investigations.

BIPAY 15/1/92

**LP may block Bill**

THE Referendums Amendment Bill, which enfranchises blacks and makes provision for referendums for individual groups of people, is heading for a rough ride.

The standing committee on Home Affairs is due to meet today to consider the Bill and the Labour Party, which holds a majority in the House of Representatives, has indicated it will not support the measure for making provision for specific groups.

(11)

# ANC and PAC clash over Simon

STAR  
Political Staff

15/1/92

11A 282

The PAC and the ANC clashed yesterday over the Paul Simon tour.

The heated exchange came after PAC general secretary Benny Alexander accused the ANC of having "lost touch with the masses" by unilaterally approving cultural contact with South Africa while continuing to oppose diplomatic exchanges.

Mr Alexander further alleged that ANC president Nelson Mandela

was engaged in "secret deals" with the Government, adding that even whites were tired of the inconsistency of the ANC.

In its reply, the ANC accused the PAC of being engaged in "simplistic rhetoric" that served only to benefit the Government.

The statement, issued by the ANC's department of information and publicity, said it was apparently becoming customary for Mr Alexander to make ill-considered attacks against the organisation.

ered attacks against the organisation.

"The ANC is not confusing anyone by opposing state visits to South Africa while allowing artists to play here," said the statement.

"The two things, and their political effects, are as different as chalk is to cheese. It is this inability to make such basic distinctions that makes the PAC use simplistic rhetoric in the face of the overwhelming demand for peace, freedom and the vote."

**E**VER SINCE the ANC's unbanning, the organisation has been pressed to come out with a clear picture of how it would like to see the media operating in a future South Africa. Behind the question has lain an unspoken fear: that despite assurances to the contrary, the ANC would, like so many other liberation movements before it, renege on its commitment to press freedom if it tasted power.

This week the ANC released its long-awaited media proposals. They are in the nature of offering reassurances to most people. There is something for just about everybody, and the broadness of many clauses means that whether one is delighted or frightened will depend largely on one's own interpretation of the organisation's bottom-line intentions.

Nevertheless, the proposals mark a significant moment; one at which the organisation has begun to commit itself to policy standpoints, rather than undefined statements of principle.

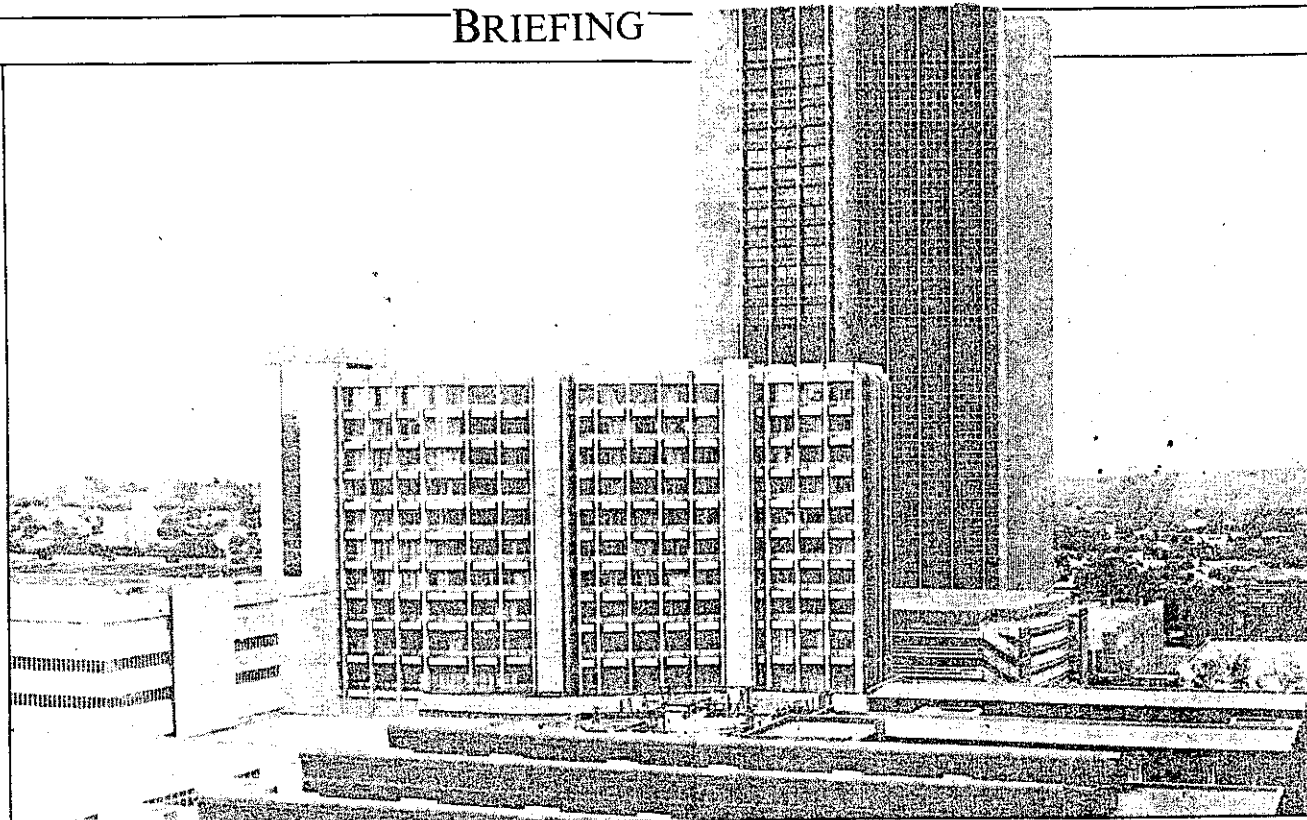
The ANC document, the product of extensive discussions in a department of information and publicity seminar held late last year, deals with both the transition period which lies immediately ahead, and the future. It comprises a draft media charter, an explanatory preface, and several resolutions dealing with specific media-related issues.

Its contents have been approved by the ANC's national working committee, and require only rubber-stamping from the larger national executive committee before acquiring the status of policy.

The preface to the charter clearly signals that the issue of the media is now set to become prominent: "Transition entails movement from a closed society into one based on the free flow of information ... The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights ... way ahead of the advent of democracy."

The ANC has stuck its political neck out on two issues of fundamental importance: it has

The ANC has tabled its vision of how the media should change in the period of transition — and what it should look like in the new South Africa. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON makes a preliminary assessment of the proposals.



Message for bosses in Auckland Park ... the ANC has proposed that all measures that restrict the free flow of information shall be prohibited. Picture: Sean Woods

"homeland" broadcasting systems must be frustrated.

Codesa must appoint a commission of inquiry into the re-regulation of broadcasting during the transition, and this commission must report within three months. Codesa must set up an interim broadcasting consultative committee to appoint a new SABC board for the interim period and to establish guidelines for impartiality. An independent broadcast monitoring group should monitor performance in this regard.

The State-run information services, such as the SA Communications Service (formerly the Bureau for Information), should similarly be placed under the control of appropriate interim structures.

Concerning the print media, the ANC expresses concern about "the democratic movement's lack of access" but it does not propose overt controlling measures for existing newspapers — rather, the ANC should establish a daily newspaper as soon as possible. However, it that "the Government and the dominant elements of the print media will continue to distort the flow of information" and urges an investigation into "transitional monitoring and regulating of the media". This latter proposal is not expanded upon, save that "independent monitoring structures" are advocated.

The proposals also deal at some length with the need for skills training among the disadvantaged, as well as the "encouragement and empowerment of the broadest range of people to participate in the process of developing policy for (these) media".

These proposals are sure to be tabled in the working groups now preparing for Codesa's second plenary meeting. Observers will have to take careful note of how much support the ANC can muster among the 19 delegations — and whether the Government is likely to accede to the majority's view. If it does the face of broadcasting at least will change dramatically within the course of 1992. □

# ANC media blueprint

STAR 15/1/92



enunciated its demands on what should be done to change the balance of media power in the transition period and it has made promises about what will come thereafter, should the organisation find itself in the Union Buildings.

At the outset, the ANC commits itself to the basic principle of "maximum openness", and says it would be "erroneous" to set up censorship bodies. Rather, the ordinary laws of the land should be invoked in the event

of disputes.

This is qualified, however, by the observation that in the "old" South Africa, the free flow of information has been undermined by "legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy and social deprivation". These factors require, in the ANC's view, "a measure" of adjustment and affirmative action to ensure that the free equity starts its life on a more equitable basis.

It is here that concern might

begin to be expressed about the precise intentions involved: existing media owners say it is one thing for the State to broaden the range of media and access to it ("measures shall be taken to ensure that all communities have access to the technical means") and entirely another if this means restricting or even prohibiting media already operating ("diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities shall be ensured").

However, subject to the limitations of the constitution, the ANC makes a clear promise: "All institutional and legislative measures that restrict the free flow of information or impose censorship over the media ... shall be prohibited."

The charter provides for the retention of a State broadcasting service, on condition that it is "independent of the ruling party and governed by structures representative of all sectors of society". It goes further

than many Western countries in promising journalists protection by law from having to reveal their sources.

The ANC's draft charter lives up to its pledge to "create a society in which the free flow of information and open debate are guaranteed" — although this is contingent upon an interpretation whereby the organisation is seen as advocating an expansion of existing media resources, rather than a restructuring of control of what is al-

ready operating. As manifestos go, it provides encouragement for proponents of maximum media freedom. It also obliquely promises redress to those who believe the current media scenario is grossly skewed.

The second section of the ANC document deals with the more immediate issue of what needs to change on the road to the new society: the SABC must fall under multiparty control, under the auspices of Codesa, and any moves to privatise it or

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# Media bosses hail ANC charter with some reservations

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

The ANC's draft media charter for the transition period and beyond was welcomed by some media representatives yesterday — albeit with reservations — but condemned by the SABC.

The charter, released on Monday, calls for the SABC to be placed under multiparty control before constitutional elections are held, the diversification of ownership, equitable distribution of media resources and development programmes.

Times Media Ltd managing director Stephen Mulholland said he was delighted the ANC had committed itself to press freedom. But he was disturbed by its approach, which seemed to rely on coercion.

## Voluntary

"They seem to be talking of freedom of the press while issuing instructions about how the media should behave. This is a contradiction in terms."

He agreed with the ANC that ownership was concentrated and needed attention, but said this should be voluntary.

"You can't redress the evils of the past with new evils of control, instructions and laws."

"Their approach in redressing the perceived problems created by the concentration of ownership of the media is somewhat naive. What is meant by 'free' access to information?"

"Do they mean newspapers must be handed out free of charge to readers, as was the case in the Soviet Union where newspapers were free but there was no freedom of expression?"

SABC board chairman Professor Christo Viljoen said the ANC proposal confirmed old and known points of view without giving new insight.

He warned that the ANC's proposals would amount to interference in the operations of the SABC which could "turn the public broadcaster into a State-controlled broadcaster".

Professor Viljoen said the SABC currently had an auto-

nous, independent and representative council formed on the basis of expertise — not on political persuasions.

He denied that recent SABC restructuring amounted to privatisation and said restructuring was in line with sound business principles and international broadcasting developments.

City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi said: "One must commend the ANC for recognising the importance of the free flow of information because any publication that propagates a particular party line is doomed to failure, especially in a democratic country."

"However, the ANC should go a step further and educate its followers about the importance of freedom of speech."

"The journalist's job has been a nightmare due to intimidation by their (ANC) grassroots."

Argus Group chairman Doug Band said he had not studied the full draft but it was encouraging that the ANC had in principle committed itself to a free flow of information.

He praised the organisation's recognition of the need for more training and development.

## Influence

"We feel, however, that the proposed establishment of monitoring and watchdog structures for the media needs careful deliberation," Mr Band said.

He welcomed the ANC's intentions to establish its own daily newspaper to counter what it calls distortions by the Government and the dominant elements of the print media to influence the negotiation and electoral processes.

Argus had already indicated to the ANC and other parties its willingness to provide cost-effective access to its printing and distribution facilities and expertise.

Numerous attempts to get comment from Perskor and Nasionale Pers, the two main Afrikaans newspapers groups, were unsuccessful yesterday.

● ANC media blueprint

— Page 13

# ANC urges Dutch govt to call off 'inopportune' visit

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers' official visit to South Africa came under intense pressure yesterday when the ANC held urgent talks with the Dutch government to try to persuade it to call the visit off.

This would be the first official visit to SA by a Western head of government since British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's in 1960.

Mr Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek plan to visit South Africa from February 18 to 20 at the invitation of President de Klerk.

ANC head of international af-

fairs Thabo Mbeki met Dutch ambassador Pieter van Buuren in Johannesburg yesterday to urge him to postpone the visit indefinitely.

It is not known what was decided. Dutch embassy sources would not comment but said that the embassy had reported to the Dutch foreign ministry in The Hague which was expected to make a statement.

Frank der Bruijn, spokesman for Mr van den Broek, said last night from The Hague that no statement was expected before today.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said Mr Mbeki had conveyed to Mr van Buuren the ANC view that a visit by a head of government would be "inopportune at this time".

This was the same view that

the ANC had conveyed to the New Zealand, Australian and Canadian governments.

The Dutch Prime Minister would be showing "indecent haste" if he visited now. He would be visiting the Pretoria Government only and not the people of South Africa.

The visit should not take place until at least an interim government was in place.

"We can't stop him coming but if he does, he will have to live with the consequences," Mr Macozoma said.

Diplomatic sources denied a report yesterday that Mr Mbeki and Mr van Buuren had reached a compromise that only Mr van den Broek and not Mr Lubbers would visit.

Yesterday Cosatu published an open letter in the Dutch

press to protest against the visit. It threatened public demonstrations if the trip went ahead.

Cosatu's stand was backed by Dutch trade union federation FNV, which fears Mr de Klerk will use the visit to "prop up his image in South Africa".

The South African Council of Churches also expressed its opposition to the visit.

The proposed trip will be discussed in the Dutch Lower House during a special debate next week.

The Ministers are expected to be pressed on how plans came to be made without informing Cabinet colleagues and why Holland should send official visitors so much in advance of other government leaders.

# Kaunda offered ANC house as 40 families are evicted

Star Africa Service

STAR  
16/1/92

minor repairs. (26)

LUSAKA — The ANC has offered former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda one of its official houses in Lusaka for use as his residence — but the new government has evicted more than 40 ANC families from houses in various parts of Lusaka.

The Zambia Daily Mail yesterday quoted ANC sources as saying the house offered to Dr Kaunda, which was used by former ANC president Oliver Tambo, may require some

But one of Dr Kaunda's sons, Tilyenji Kaunda, denied in an interview with The Star's Africa Service that his father had been offered the house free of charge.

Dr Kaunda, who lives in a government-owned guest house in Lusaka, has been given until the end of this month to vacate the house by the new government.

Dr Kaunda has no property in Lusaka or elsewhere in the country, apart from a farmhouse at Shambalakale, in the

north of the country. (1/A)

This week the new government of President Frederick Chiluba evicted 45 families, all members of the ANC, from houses in various parts of Lusaka.

No reason has been given for the move.

According to Sam Ndlovu, one of the affected ANC members, policemen and soldiers raided ANC homes in a joint operation last week.

Mr Ndlovu said property worth thousands of rands had

been lost through theft, and their families had no alternative accommodation for their household belongings and their children.

He said the new government had evicted them so that it could use the houses to accommodate its members.

Mr Ndlovu also claimed that some Zambian women whose ANC husbands had died in the struggle against apartheid were also being victimised and had been ordered to leave for South Africa.

# US can dial a donation to the ANC

WASHINGTON — Americans wishing to contribute to the ANC now need only pick up their telephones and dial 1 900 230 8880.

The call will cost them \$5.95 (about R16), a portion of which will be sent to the Mandela Freedom Fund and will, they are assured, be used for charitable purposes. In return, they will hear a two-minute taped message from former congressman Walter Fauntroy expressing his "sincere gratitude".

A six-minute update on the state of play on Wall Street or in the top TV soap operas can be had for about the same price.

ANC president Nelson

31 Day 16/11/92

SIMON BARBER

Mandela is understood to have provided his own message, but this has not yet been put on the service.

The number has yet to be publicised.

Callers are warned in advance that they must be over 18 to hear the message. This is to deter children making vast donations to the ANC.

Fauntroy, whom the ANC has retained as its Washington consultant, says that despite the founding of Codesa and the political progress it implies, SA's humanitarian needs "must not be overlooked".

Proceeds, he implies, will be used to reduce mal-

nutrition, train doctors, nurses and teachers and provide new clinics, schools and textbooks. (111)

When the message ends, callers are asked to give their names and addresses, to be placed on a mailing list which the ANC can use to raise further funds.

It is unclear what percentage of the R16 will make it to ANC coffers.

However, a spokesman for the ANC's Washington office, Wantu Zenzile, said "whatever comes in comes directly to us".

Nothing would go to Fauntroy's firm, Walter Fauntroy and Associates, which was already being paid a retainer estimated at \$200 000 a year.

## Two stabbed 'by pickets' in Industria

TWO employees of Eureka DIY in Industria, near Johannesburg, were seriously injured when they were stabbed close to the factory yesterday.

SAP spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said the injured employees claimed that the attack was "carried out by SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (Saccawu) members or supporters who tried to intimidate workers into staying away from work."

Opperman said a third employee had been beaten up.

A Saccawu spokesman said workers had picketed the factory since Tuesday. The union was unable to comment on yesterday's violence as it was unaware of what had happened.

31 Day 16/11/92

DIRK HARTFORD

However, Saccawu said 44 of its members at Eureka DIY had been arrested at Langlaagte station yesterday; 38 had been charged with disturbing the peace and each was fined R100. (52) (200)

Opperman said Saccawu had promised that its pickets, dismissed in December after a strike, would not interfere with customers or employees who wanted to work. "Saccawu even went so far as to threaten the police with legal action if any of its members were unlawfully arrested while picketing." (140)

Police were investigating charges of intimidation and serious assault.

# US may pressure PAC over violence, Codesa

STAR 16/11/92  
By Esther Waugh  
and Shaun Johnson

The US government is considering using its diplomatic muscle to isolate the Pan Africanist Congress as a result of the PAC armed wing's assassination campaign against policemen and the organisation's militant anti-Codesa stance.

The Star understands from reliable sources that diplomatic action is being contemplated if the PAC continues to undermine the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, persist with its armed actions via the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and attempt to enlist the support of other governments in its vendetta against Codesa.

Available options could include "suggestions" from the US to Frontline states to "re-examine their relationship" with the PAC.



Gora Ebrahim . . . toured Africa seeking support.

The PAC still relies heavily on retaining its official presence in, among other countries, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Uganda.

The sources stress that consideration of such action would be a "last resort" if US attempts to encourage recalcitrant political groups in South Africa to join the Codesa negotiations process failed.

Washington hopes, through

persuasion, to convince groups such as the PAC and the right-wing Conservative Party to rethink their boycott of the national talks.

The US does not consider the PAC boycott of Codesa to be grounds in itself for punitive action — but believes that active undermining of the talks would warrant this.

There is some concern in diplomatic circles about a recent tour of Africa undertaken by PAC external foreign affairs official Gora Ebrahim. Mr Ebrahim, it is understood, sought to garner support for the PAC's opposition to Codesa.

Observers noted that former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, who headed a Commonwealth observer delegation to Codesa, had already briefed Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe on the success of the meeting — and they were unhappy about Mr Ebrahim's efforts.

Four days left to win a VIP holiday for two — Page 16

NEWS

**Mandela to travel** (11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela would leave for North Africa tomorrow, the ANC said yesterday. His visit will include Tunisia, Libya and Morocco.

On January 29 he will visit Switzerland to attend the World Economic Forum and on to Paris to receive the Unesco Houphet-Boigny Human Rights Award, a joint award with President F W de Klerk. De Klerk's office said it was likely he would also be there.

De Klerk has been named as the outstanding political figure of 1991 by the French television journal Politique Internationale. The award will be made in Paris on February 4.

13/parry 16/1/92

# 'People's parliament' planned for Parade (11A)

South 16/11 - 22/11/92.

THE ANC is planning a "people's parliament" on the Parade in Cape Town to coincide with the opening of parliament next Friday.

The gathering will table draft laws to be adopted by the "people's parliament".

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said they were demanding the tricameral parliament dissolve, an interim government be established and a date be set for the election of a constituent assembly.

Yengeni said actions planned by the Pan Africanist Congress for the same day in the city would not affect any of the ANC's plans.

"We are concerned about friction that may occur and will meet the PAC to address the matter," he said.

The PAC is planning a march from Wale Street, kicking off their Anti-Codesa campaign.

"We will be hosting marches in all the major cities on that day and rallies have been planned for Sunday, January 26," said PAC publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai.

Both Desai and Yengeni said their joint meeting would examine ways of ensuring their events do not clash.

Yengeni said a maximum of 50 000 people are expected to attend the "people's parliament" which "will give ordinary people the first real taste of democracy".

"This sitting will be last of this apartheid regime and the ANC faces the mammoth task of preparing for elections," he said.

"I hope this event will inspire and revitalise sleeping members to take ANC work seriously."

The national executive committee of the ANC has sent down a workforce, including head of the organising department Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Steve Tshwete and Ms Cheryl Carolus to assist in the preparations for the "peoples parliament."

Billed to speak are Dr Allan Boesak, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Chris Hani.

STAR 16/1/92

## **Mandela to visit African states** (11A)

Nelson Mandela leaves tomorrow for a visit to Tunisia, Libya and Morocco, the ANC has announced. Later this month he will travel to Switzerland, Denmark and France.



## ANC bid to heal rift with Dutch

*SA* PATRICK BULGER *UA*

DUTCH ambassador to SA Piet van Buuren yesterday met ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to try to heal a diplomatic rift between the organisation and its staunchest European backer.

The meeting was being interpreted in diplomatic circles as an ANC attempt to put pressure on Dutch premier Ruud Lubbers not to accompany Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek on a visit to SA next month. As a compromise, the ANC apparently wanted Van den Broek to visit alone.

Although no statements were issued after the meeting, a diplomatic source said the Dutch were insisting that Lubbers make the visit if the Dutch government were to influence SA's transitional period.

The ANC says the visit is premature and will confer legitimacy on the SA government. *81027 16/1/92*

Lubbers was invited to SA by President F W de Klerk during De Klerk's visit in October 1990.

The Dutch government had said the visit should be regarded as giving an impetus to the process of change initiated by the negotiations on a new SA being conducted in the framework of Codesa.

LONDON - If Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba are correct in their new book *Comrades Against Apartheid* the ANC's armed struggle was a failure.

The book also argues that the failure is directly attributable to the South African Communist Party because it mis-terminated the struggle.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of *Africa Confidential*, and Tsepo Sechaba, the pen name of a writer who is still a member of both the ANC and SACP set out in their book to demonstrate that the SACP had a stranglehold over the ANC in the long years of exile.

### The enlightenment

The book stops at February 1990, the dawn of the enlightenment, and that this stranglehold applied particularly to the armed struggle.

The book is in the hands of various reviewers on whose territory I do not propose to trespass. But I would like to offer a thought or two on the armed struggle, because although Ellis and Sechaba have pronounced its failure, it is still an issue of conflict between the Government and the ANC.

### Rather desperate

Also the PAC and Azapo are trying to activate their own armed struggles in what seems to be a rather desperate attempt to prevent being flattened by mainstream Codesa politics.

Surely armed struggle will lead the PAC and Azapo even further away from the mainstream?

When the ANC was banned in 1960, and decided to create Umkhonto weSizwe, two communists, according to Ellis and Sechaba, were sent to Moscow to organise supplies. They were the late JB Marks and Joe Slovo.

### The backing

This was the SACP's immediate advantage - it had the international connections, the backing of a superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide its military hardware.

It could create a dependence relation-

# A case for a farewell to arms

*Sowetan 16/11/91*

The armed struggle was a failure and the blame lies on the doorstep of the SACP, argue the authors of a new book. *Sowetan* Correspondent STANLEY UYS reports from London.

ship with the ANC.

In the opinion of Ellis and Sechaba, the armed struggle profoundly affected the nature of the ANC-SACP alliance: the ANC lost the character of a mass movement and became more elitist.

### Vanguard

The SACP for its part had never been a mass movement, always see-

ing itself as a vanguard party. Slovo, the authors claim, was MK's chief strategist, believing that MK would become the ANC's most important department.

In this belief he was "vindicated".

The ANC-SACP did not expect to bring down the South African Govern-



ment with bombs, but it believed the armed struggle would alter the political context, rendering the ground more fertile for future political action.

It would also be useful to test the mettle of cadres and harden them. It would prepare the way for a People's

War - local defence units with grenade squads and street committees who would be the nerve centre of an uprising.

MK's strategy was to establish bases in the Front Line States and then infiltrate guerrillas and weapons.

### Squads

The key to the planned insurrection was for MK

"to establish organised and armed squads... which could operate autonomously inside the country. Only then could MK consider that the phase of what it termed armed propaganda had passed indisputably into the People's War".

'The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the state...'

However, South Africa's security forces "had both the means and the will to prevent a popular insurrection".

Also, one by one MK's networks and bases within striking distance of South Africa were closed down.

Ellis and Sechaba concede that the SADF took MK seriously.

But their verdict is that the SACP "which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long".

### Blunt fact

"The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the South African state by force, which was its purpose.

"Pretoria's espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK."

Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SACP.

The SACP, without ever being able to dislodge Joe Modise, packed key MK posts with its own men, particularly Chris Hani. It was Hani and Steve Tshwete, the authors say, who decided to attack soft targets - for which they were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo, who sacked Tshwete as political commissar.

### No choice

The ANC-SACP will argue that, denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle.

The question MK and its strategists should answer is whether the concept of a People's War was ever a viable one.

A new book finds serious flaws in the long prosecution of the 'People's War' reports Stanley Uys

# Did SACP sink armed struggle?

STAR 16/1/92

114

**I**f Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba are correct in their new book, "Comrades Against Apartheid", the ANC's armed struggle was not only a failure, but a failure directly attributable to the SA Communist Party, because it masterminded the struggle.

Stephen Ellis, former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tsepo Sechaba, the pen-name of an African who is still a member of both the ANC and SACP (and presumably still divulging confidential information?), set out in their book to demonstrate that the SACP had a stranglehold over the ANC in the long years of exile (the book stops at February 1990, the dawn of this enlightenment), and that this stranglehold applied particularly to the armed struggle.

The book is in the hands of various reviewers on whose territory I do not propose to trespass. But I would like to offer a thought or two on the armed struggle, because although Ellis and Sechaba have pronounced its failure, it is still an issue of conflict between the Government and the ANC. Also, the PAC and Azapo are trying to activate their own

armed struggles in what seems to be a rather desperate attempt to prevent being flattened by mainstream Codesa politics. Surely, armed struggle will lead the PAC and Azapo even further away from the mainstream?

When the ANC was banned in 1960, and decided to create Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), two communists, according to Ellis and Sechaba, were sent to Moscow to organise supplies. They were Joe Slovo and the late J.B. Marks. This was the SACP's immediate advantage — it had the international connections, the backing of a superpower that was prepared to fund the armed struggle and provide its military hardware. It could create a dependence relationship with the ANC.

In the opinion of Ellis-Sechaba, the armed struggle profoundly affected the nature of the ANC-SACP alliance: the ANC lost the character of a mass movement and became more elitist. The SACP for its part had never been a mass movement, always seeing itself as a "vanguard" party. Mr Slovo, the authors claim, was MK's chief strategist. He concentrated on developing the

SACP's strength in MK, believing that MK would become the ANC's most important department.

In this belief he was "vindicated". But at what cost to the ANC's structure as a mass movement? The ANC-SACP did not expect to bring down the South African Government with bombs, but it believed the armed struggle would alter the political context, rendering the ground more fertile for future political action. It would also be useful to test the mettle of cadres.

It would prepare the way for a "People's War" — local defence units with grenade squads and street committees who would be the nerve centre of an uprising. MK's strategy was to establish bases in the Frontline states and then infiltrate guerrillas and weapons. The key to the planned insurrection was for MK "to establish organised and armed squads ... which could operate autonomously inside the country".

Only then could MK consider that the phase of what it termed armed propaganda had passed indisputably into the People's War. However the security forces had both the means and the will

to prevent a popular insurrection by detaching any number of suspected organisers of anti-Government agitation or violence and by setting black communities against one another by encouraging the formation of vigilantes.

"Also, one by one, the policy of destabilisation ... closed down MK's networks and bases within striking distance of South Africa." South Africa's neighbours paid a heavy price, too, for the armed struggle.

Ellis and Sechaba concede that the SADF took MK "very seriously", and that the armed struggle achieved what most armed struggles achieve — recruiting new members and keeping the organisation's name upright.

But their verdict is that the SACP, and the ANC, "which looked to the party for strategic direction, placed too much importance on the armed struggle for too long.

"For all the period of exile, the party put its faith in armed struggle, believing that ... it was at the heart of its strategy."

The armed struggle, the authors claim, was central to the strategy of both the SACP and the ANC,

and it failed.

"The blunt fact is that MK failed to overthrow the South African state by force, which was its purpose ...

"The mobilisation of the entire resources of the state in a counter-revolution strategy in South Africa and the neighbouring countries, the Lesotho coup, and the effectiveness of Pretoria's espionage system added up to a comprehensive defeat for MK and the strategy adopted by the ANC and Communist Party since the 1960s."

Ellis and Sechaba place the blame for this defeat squarely on the SACP, which, they say, turned MK into its personal fief, and also that Oliver Tambo's leadership coincided with the SACP "gradually taking over the central role in ANC policy making".

The SACP, without ever being able to dislodge Joe Modise, packed key MK posts with its own men, particularly Chris Hani.

It was Mr Hani and Steve Tshwete, the authors say, who decided to attack soft targets — for which they were publicly repudiated by Oliver Tambo who sacked Mr Tshwete as political

commissar.

The ANC-SACP will argue that, denied constitutional protest in South Africa and forced into exile, it had no choice other than to embark on an armed struggle. But the point Ellis and Sechaba make is that too much emphasis was placed on this form of struggle.

The authors portray ANC President Nelson Mandela in a more far-seeing role.

"Like de Klerk," they say, "he recognised relatively early that the time for armed struggle was over ... and that South Africans had to resolve their differences by political means.

"It is impossible to imagine any other person who would have had the authority and the vision to have accomplished this ..."

The question MK and its strategists should answer is whether the concept of a People's War (much of it learned from a visit to Vietnam) was ever a viable one.

It will be difficult enough to reconstruct South Africa through negotiations and consensus; through a People's War, the country would have been reduced to rubble. Any comment Mr Slovo? Mr Hani? □

# MK exiles complain to Hani at camp

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

14/1/92

Exiled Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers complained to MK chief of staff Chris Hani, during his recent seven-day visit to a camp in Uganda, about his long absence from training camps.

Mr Hani visited the still-exiled members of the ANC's armed wing for the first time since his return to South Africa after the organisation's unbanning in 1990.

Mr Hani told The Star that MK cadres at a Ugandan training camp had expressed concern about his two-year absence.

"My reply was that I could not justify it. (I said) it was wrong, but I pointed out that I have been building the ANC internally," he said.

Mr Hani, who was recently elected general-secretary of the SA Communist Party — but retains his MK leadership position — is scheduled to visit a guerilla camp in Tanzania soon.

The aim of the series of visits is to evaluate MK's training programme; check on logistics such as food, uniforms and recreation; and brief cadres on developments in South Africa since February 2 1990.

Mr Hani said that contrary to widespread speculation about dissatisfaction in the camps over the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, cadres did not raise the question with him.

"It's not an issue. Cadres have accepted it," Mr Hani said.

He reiterated the ANC position — stated by Nelson Mandela during his clash with President de Klerk at last year's Convention for a Democratic South Africa — that the armed struggle would be abandoned and cadres returned to South Africa only once an interim government was in place.

MK's officer corps was currently undergoing military training in India, Uganda and Tanzania in order to convert from a guerilla army to a conventional one, he said. Rank-and-file troops would follow.

# Parliament for the people

W/Mail 17/11-23/11/92  
By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE African National Congress will stage a "people's parliament" on Cape Town's Grand Parade to coincide with the opening of parliament next Friday — to be followed by a march to the House of Assembly where a notice demanding parliament's dissolution will be delivered.

Planned action by the Pan Africanist Congress, which intends kicking off its campaign against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) with a march through the city on the same day, is not expected to interfere with the ANC's plans, ANC officials said

The ANC is expecting thousands to attend its event and has laid on bus and train transport from the townships and Boland areas. ANC regional chair Alan Boesak appealed to employers to allow workers to attend. He said the event would

demonstrate the ANC's commitment to Codesa, "which must lead to an interim government ... and a constituent assembly".

Smaller demonstrations, including a picket outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria, were planned for other centres on the same day, national campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils said. (1/1)

"The ANC has designated 1992 as the year of democratic elections. We are developing campaigns around the country so that activity will continue after next Friday," he said.

Cape Town's City Council will permit the march but a magistrate's go ahead is still awaited.

Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned the government for proposing a new Bill which will impose a total ban on demonstrations around parliament. At present marches may be permitted by a magistrate.

STAR 17/1/92

## PAC quizzes US over Codesa (11A)

The PAC has asked for confirmation or denial from US Ambassador William Swing of allegations that the US government plans to apply "pressure tactics" to parties that are against participation in Codesa. (11A)

# ANC 'People's Parliament' plans Cape shadow session

By Shaun Johnson  
Political Editor

STAR 17/1/92

11A

The Conservative Party's worst nightmare is about to become reality — a one-party ANC parliament will hold its first session in Cape Town next week.

But Dr Andries Treurnicht and his men can take comfort from the fact that this doesn't mean they are already out of jobs. The ANC's "People's Parliament", timed to coincide with President de Klerk's opening speech next Friday, is a symbolic gesture intended to mark what the ANC believes is the start of the last sitting of the existing Parliament.

ANC officials Steve Tshwete and Allan Boesak announced yesterday that a "People's Parliament" would be convened on Cape Town's Grand Parade at 10.30 am on January 24 — just as Mr de Klerk prepares to deliver his keynote address in the Chamber of Parliament.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu will announce the "closure" of the existing Parliament

and the opening of the "People's" variety.

Despite the outdoor venue, the event will bear many hallmarks of a traditional parliamentary sitting — sessions will be chaired and Bills passed — but there will also be some unorthodox elements.

There will be breaks for "songs" and at the end of the sitting the "MPs" will rise and march on Sir Herbert Baker's parliamentary buildings up the road.

There a notice will be delivered to Mr de Klerk "demanding the disbanding of the racist parliament". The notice will also call for an interim government to be established by June and elections for a constituent assembly to be held by the end of this year.

Among those scheduled to address the "parliament" are Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils.

"Bills" on "land, social welfare, women, education, politi-

cal prisoners, housing and jobs" will be considered.

Dr Boesak said yesterday the event was intended "to demonstrate the rejection by the overwhelming majority of South Africa's people of the opening of the racist white parliament".

"We support Codesa and believe that it must lead to the creation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly."

Mr Tshwete said: "Our country is seized with excitement for the establishment of an interim government leading to elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution."

"The People's Parliament will be a demonstration of the ANC's belief that the people should be able to decide their own future. The racist parliament is composed of a handful of discredited leaders. In contrast the People's Parliament will be made up of thousands of people and their leaders."

He called on employers to allow their workers to attend.

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Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned the government for proposing a new Bill which will impose a total ban on demonstrations around parliament. At present marches may be permitted by a magistrate.

# Evidence of mystery arrest

w/mcw 17/11-23/11/92  
By PHILIPPA GARSON

EVIDENCE pointing to the arrest of a possible hit-man by police after the Thokoza massacre of September 8 has come to light at the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation. (1/1)

According to press reports at the time of the massacre — when unidentified men opened fire on Inkatha supporters going to a rally — one man was detained by police. But several people were removed by police that day for safety purposes and no mention was made of the arrest of a possible assassin — a "mystery" man carrying an AK-47. w/mcw 17/11-23/11/92

According to the statement of Thokoza IFP spokesman Oscar Msomi, coloured policemen wearing camouflage uniforms arrested a man carrying an AK-47 outside one of the houses where the shooting took place.



By PAT SIDLEY

IT was a chance slip of the tongue by the Dutch foreign minister which sparked the row that erupted this week between the African National Congress and the Dutch government over what would have been the first official visit here in decades by the head of a Western government.

Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek inadvertently told a Dutch journalist he would be unavailable between February 18 and 20 because he was going to South Africa with the prime minister. The news was published in Holland.

Although the visit of Van den Broek and Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers is technically still on, it could still be cancelled or postponed. If it does go ahead it will draw protest and

# Double Dutch and trouble

disapproval from the ANC — long seen as allies of the Dutch government, which in turn has been seen as a leading foe of apartheid.

The problem is the ANC had not been told — let alone asked — whether it had any views on the prime minister making an official visit here. Lubbers' visit would herald a new era of defrosted relations and certainly a promising start to economic ties, high on the agenda between the two countries.

It was an extraordinary gaffe, with a note of extraordinary arrogance. The Dutch said they were only going to "inform" the ANC of their impending visit. They never had any intention of

"consulting" as the Canadians and Australians had; and both Canada and Australia acceded to the ANC request not to send their prime ministers here.

Once the dates had been fixed and invitations issued and accepted for the Dutch visit, it remained to defuse the row. The Dutch ambassador tried in vain to reach Nelson Mandela. Eventually he was told the organisation was on holiday.

Finally the ANC announced it was "disappointed" and would not accept a visit from a prime minister. It would accept a visit from a foreign minister, but only with consultation — and the organisation noted a visit from a prime

minister was almost a "state visit".

Meanwhile, in the Netherlands all three anti-apartheid organisations were galvanised into action — aided by the fact that the ANC's Carl Niehaus was there on a scholarship. A part-time ANC spokesman in Amsterdam, he also wrote an article on the topic in the influential Amsterdam newspaper *Volkskrant*, suggesting the only possible compromise would be to send the foreign minister on his own, a possibility now under consideration.

The present Dutch government is a coalition and the less conservative of the partners are unhappy at the prospect of the Netherlands "opening the flood-

gates" and "giving the wrong signals" about the South African government. The Dutch cabinet met at the end of last week and a debate is scheduled for the next few days in the Dutch parliament.

One would think the row is causing some concern in the South African government which was on the verge of a major diplomatic coup when the Dutch foreign minister put his foot in it. But South African Foreign Affairs official Vaughan Dewing told a Dutch news agency there was no row in the Netherlands, only a few "fringe groups ... who are not significant any longer". He was emphatic that the trip was on. But if it goes ahead, it is likely to face the disapproval of the SA Council of Churches, protests from Cosatu and a refusal by high-ranking ANC officials to meet the prime minister.

# The question no one dares ask: Do you be

*Do you believe in God? It's a question public personalities are rarely asked, yet for many, religion is a deeply held motion. We put the question to four prominent South Africans from diverse fields ... and they willingly obliged with me surprising answers*



## CHRIS HANI

**T**HE general secretary of the South African Communist Party once seriously aspired to be a Catholic priest.

Chris Hani's fascination with Latin paved the way for his religious background: the language was used in the church service at a Catholic primary school he went to in 1954.

"I was baptised in a Catholic church and grew up in the traditions of Catholicism. I went for confirmation and I used to go to Mass every Sunday. I was an altar boy."

It was at this time, when religion was flowing in his veins, that he wanted to climb higher on to the pastoral level. It was not to be.

Not only did his father — who had to okay his son's decision — turn it down; he moved him to a non-denominational school in Xaba in Transkei. But his love for the Word of God would not die.

"I continued going to the Catholic church in town every Sunday. I did not stop even when I went to Lovedale Institute in Alice," he said.

Although Lovedale was Presbyterian, he was given special permission to attend Mass in town — which he did regularly until he finished high school and went on to Fort Hare.

"When I went to varsity in 1959 — I was a member of the (African National Congress) Youth League now — I began to study the Communist Party manifesto on my own, influenced by friends around me," he said.

There was no Communist Party cell at this time, "but as students we were reading Hegel — whose writings we didn't understand much — and a couple of other philosophers. So I gradually moved away from religion."

His passion for religion was completely stubbed out when he joined the party in the early 1960s.

"Presently I have no religion," he said.

However, religion — Christianity in particular — has some healthy aspects which he admires.

"My wife is religious, a dedicated Christian. She goes to church, but I never do.

"I respect people who believe. After all, it's their business," he said.

He would not like to see a campaign against the church. "And I think in a socialist society in this country they should be left alone."

In fact, he added, "because so many South Africans worship. I think a socialist government should consider helping them if they want that help in building churches. They may apply for subsidies".

It is, he said, his personal view. But "these things should be considered very seriously."

"I know that some municipalities that are controlled by the Communist Party actually go out of their way to contribute to the building of churches.

"And I believe that one of the terrible things done in Eastern Europe was to turn churches into museums in total disregard of the feelings of believers."

Chris Hani would not like to see that happen here.

John Perlman and Pety Nxumalo

## JAY NAIDOO

**O**NE of the highest forms of life in all religions is service to the poor — a task the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Jay Naidoo, believes is practised by his organisation.

"I believe there is something inherently good in human beings which allows us to strive for an ideal society," he said.

With a Hindu background, Naidoo said his mother was his main religious influence on him. "She said all the prayers but never forced her children to."

He described Hindu philosophy as being broad and all-encompassing. "The issue is not how often you go to temple but how you deal with people, particularly ordinary people. The cutting edge between the moral and the religious in Hinduism is very fine."

Naidoo considered himself to be religious, but not in the sense of an obsession with dogma and ritual. He believed the basic tenet of all religions to be compassion, the desire for truth and the drive for justice.

Naidoo said his approach to politics was scientific and was based on empirical evidence, but he didn't believe everything could be explained in this way.

He once visited an ashram (temple) where a paraplegic priest miraculously started to walk. "You can't

explain these except as part of some reality I haven't yet discovered, but which others have."

Naidoo has worked closely at one stage with Anglican Archbishop Dennis Hurley and other Christian priests and, he says "there is something deeper in them which rubbed off on me."

"One of the reasons I've survived this job (as Cosatu's general secretary) is that I practise yoga and meditation. There's a constant drive in me to discover a reality which is more than my natural existence, a spiritual dimension. I also believe in the concept of karma, that which happens to people and society is more than chance. There is a pattern of existence, and I don't discount reincarnation."

Naidoo has read religious writings — the Koran, Bhagavad Gita, the Bible. Hinduism says that all religions are tributaries of a great river, the search for the truth.

He believed it has been an error of many activists to be dismissive of religious beliefs.

"A lot of our (Cosatu's) members are very religious — we have Christians, Muslims, Hindus. They go to mosque, church or temple because the experience satisfies them. The views of our people must be accommodated; religious rights and freedoms must be guaranteed in the new society."

Drew Forrest and Linda Rulashe



Photo: KEVIN CARTER

## TREASURE TSHABALALA

**T**HAT Radio Metro disc jockey Treasure Tshabalala is deeply religious may come as a bit of a surprise to his listeners. "I actually thrive on it," he said huskily in the voice that has wooed many a female listener since way back when he worked for Capital Radio.

"I grew up like any normal child — going to church without knowing what church was. While growing up in the township I was exposed to different religious trends. Then, in the mid to late 1960s, I became part of a Christian youth movement. I then accepted Christ."

However, he said the only reason he became "born again" was because it was "fashionable to do so". People were talking about being spiritually aware — something he didn't experience.

"I then became what Christians would term a person of the world. It was not that I was rebelling against Christianity as such — it was just that it did not mean anything to me."

Tshabalala later developed "other interests" but he hastened to add that although he wasn't a practising Christian it didn't mean he was rebelling.

"I still considered myself as a law-abiding and naturally good person."

In 1989, the inklings of a spiritual reawakening began to appear and a process of self-introspection began to take place.

It was at this time that his brother began suffering from a "strange illness". At first doctors thought it was a brain tumour after something showed up during frequent scannings but when they operated, nothing was found. His brother started losing mobility, one side of his body became paralysed and his condition deteriorated.

"After doctors tried curing him for three years and we had almost eventually given up, someone suggested that I consult a sangoma. The sangoma told me that my brother's illness was inextricably linked to my spirituality." Tshabalala was told he had a certain gift from God. He was made to realise that until he grasped what this gift was, his brother would never heal fully.

"I then went on to uncovering all the missing links in my past by trying to find more about my ancestors. I was then told through the sangoma's spirit that I had to accept the Lord Jesus Christ, which I eventually did."

Asked how he could marry the Christian faith with that of sangomas and ancestors, he said: "I was forced to find God through my own cultural Christianity rather than through orthodox Christianity which I can't relate to."

"All cultures are in Jesus Christ. He came to earth not to destroy cultures but to enhance them. You shouldn't search for God through another culture but must approach him through your own," Tshabalala said.

He said he would never be able to relate to a white man's belief in Christianity. This may border on racism, but Tshabalala said he believed in a God who existed in one's own image, no matter what race or creed you were.

His brother is getting better and Tshabalala attributes this to his own spiritual growth.

He said he would not rest until he finally realised what gift God had given him — whether it be singing his praises or preaching his word.

"The task is enormous and it scares me. I sometimes feel vulnerable and scared but I will persevere. I am prepared to go all the way and forsake everything else eventually."

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## GODFREY

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ed to God any more than Moloi, the Soweto tycoon of people who headed him after the present annual Godfather Good at Mapeta this week.

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## GODFREY MOLOI

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Somehow one can forgive them for that. Moloi has had an enigmatic life — from his early days as a bootlegger to his graduation as one of the most prominent shebeen kings.

He has published two books about himself. On top of that he is a successful businessman with a fleet of taxis, a business complex housing his Blue Fountain Nite Club, a bottle store and a fast food shop a stone's throw from his house, which has become one of the major sights for foreign visitors. Unlike many socialites who move to more affluent suburbs, Moloi has chosen to stay on in the township.

He is an accomplished jazz musician and has appeared in some low-budget movies and on television.

He is also a humanitarian, deeply committed to the upliftment of his community: he sponsors the Best Matric Student and the Godfather Amateur Golf Tournament.

So where does God fit in his life? "Whether it be business, family or my social life, God plays a major role. He is my guide and, perhaps, a bodyguard too," he said.

Moloi is no stranger to the church "or even praying, for that matter". His father was a priest in the Anglican church, so it is only logical that he was raised in that faith.

"In all my achievements, God has always been on my side. You see," he said, "before I embark on a project I pray to God and ask for His guidance. But I wouldn't ask Him to help me do something morally wrong, like pinching."



"Oh yeah, I am a staunch member of the church," Moloi continued, "but I do not think I have to go to church regularly to show my dedication. "I believe that God has entrusted each one of us with some of His divine powers. What people need to do is discover them and use them."

"What makes it difficult for some of us to realise this is that we don't have total faith in God."

He says some people have dubbed him "The Rainstopper" because it almost never rains before or during his tournaments.

"It has always been said faith can move mountains and I usually pray and ask Him before the beginning of my tournament that He does not bring rain," the tycoon said.

"God is my father. I don't see how He cannot give me what I ask for."

Ray Muzumala

I was baptised in a Catholic church and grew up in the traditions of Catholicism. I used to go to Mass every Sunday. I was an altar boy.  
Chris Hani

The reason I've survived in this job is that I practise yoga and meditation.  
Jay Naidoo

I was forced to find God through my own culture rather than orthodox Christianity which I can't relate to.  
Treasure Tshabalala

God is my father. I don't see how He cannot give me what I ask for.  
Godfrey Moloi

# ANC and PAC to march apart

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and PAC have planned separate marches on a common theme for Parliament's opening in Cape Town next Friday.

While they remain sharply divided on participation in Codesa, both will call for a constituent assembly.

The ANC intends to march to Parliament's gates. The PAC, however, deems the red brick buildings strictly out of political bounds.

ANC national executive member Steve Tshwete said yesterday ANC supporters would march to Parliament and demand the disbanding of the "rac-

ist" insitution. (11A)

Marchers would demand an interim government by June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of 1992.

The ANC would stage a "people's parliament" on the city's Grand Parade while the official Parliament was opened about a kilometre away by President F W de Klerk.

"There is a very healthy tradition in Cape Town that when Parliament opens, people with no voice in Parliament gather somewhere in the city to discuss matters not discussed in Parliament. This year is no exception," said the ANC's Cheryl

Carolus.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said his organisation would also march when Parliament opened, but would make a U-turn before reaching its precincts.

"Our march will be under the slogan: 'Down with an undemocratic Codesa, forward to a democratic constituent assembly,'" he said.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu and secretary-general Bennie Alexander are expected to address the marchers beforehand.

Both organisations said they had applied for magisterial and council permission to march in the city. — Sapa.

**Leaders off to forum**

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela would attend the annual World Economic Forum in Switzerland at the end of this month, organisers said yesterday.

BIDONG 17/11/92

They would join Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthezi and Copsatu chief Jay Naidoo at the week-long gathering of government and business leaders in the mountain resort of Davos, taking part in a plenary session on stimulating economic growth in SA. Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao are also to attend.

(A) (IA)

subject for Std 9 Mathematics, Std 10 Sci-  
International, which welcomes the smaller,

# ANC lauds DP man

WELKOM - The Free State branch of the ANC yesterday congratulated Sam Leseme (20) on his election as first chairman of a local branch of the predominantly white Democratic Party Youth. *STAR 7/1/92*

had been a member of the organisation's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. *(11A) (2007)*  
"We regard this as a propaganda ploy aimed at luring the youth into the ranks of the DP," a statement said. "We, however, congratulate and appreciate his election as a chairman of the DP Goldfields region."

At the same time, however, the ANC denied a DP Youth statement that Mr Leseme, a former political prisoner,

the Pan-Africanist Congress faces a political and diplomatic storm over its apparent withdrawal from the peace process and the continuation of its armed struggle. Its military wing's latest assassination campaign

against policemen has alarmed the peacemakers. And yet the PAC has a peace message which appears to have been lost or to have fallen on deaf ears amid the din of political

controversy. Here a top PAC spokesman speaks on key issues in a face-to-face interview with Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE.**



**'We would prefer the ballot to the bullet, and that is the political thrust of the PAC's message...'**



**'We want fully democratic proceedings, which is an alternative to violence.'**



**'If we can achieve our goals peacefully, it would be madness to pursue those goals through conflict.'**

**B**arney Desai, a lawyer and a member of the PAC's national executive committee, fled to South Africa two years ago after 27 years in exile.

He left South Africa in 1963 as a stowaway in a cargo ship at the height of the stormy period in the early anti-apartheid struggle. The previous year Desai had been elected to the Cape Provincial Council, but as a banned person he was not allowed to take his

At one stage he was physically prevented by police from entering the council chamber.

He was then president of the Coloured People's Congress and was arrested for allegedly defying his banning order by presiding over a meeting of his executive committee. He jumped

bail and went into exile.

He went to London where he became a barrister and senior practitioner at the Criminal Bar. He also became an executive member of the Black Lawyers' Association and in 1983-85 he served on the race relations committee of the Bar Council.

Meanwhile, in South Africa, the Col-

oured People's Congress had dissolved itself and joined the PAC. Mr Desai became an executive member of the PAC-in-exile, and represented the PAC at many conferences in Europe and Africa.

When he returned to South Africa on February 10, 1990, he became PAC co-

ordinator in the Western Cape and subsequently the PAC national congress elected him secretary for publicity and information.

Mr Desai is co-author of a book, *The Killing of the Imam*, which deals with the death in detention 22 years ago of Imam Abdullah Haron. The book was unbanned last year.

## Barney Desai: A stowaway's rise to power

# PAC's path to peace adds grist to the mill

(11A) PAC 18/1/92

**I**f the peace message, as conveyed by PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai, is genuine — and there is no reason to believe it is not — then all the players in the drama of South Africa's transformation should gently take note of it.

What Mr Desai told Weekend Argus last week explains why the PAC withdrew from the peace process and why it is continuing its armed struggle.

Whatever the merits or demerits of his argument, the most significant part of the message conveyed by Mr Desai is: The PAC wants peace; it wants a fully democratic peace process and a democratic government; it is not an aggressive, Marxist organisation; the controversial slogan *One settler, one bullet* with which the PAC has been labelled is not PAC policy but merely a war-time

slogan brought to South Africa from Zimbabwe, he claims.

What, then, is the PAC's problem and why is it no longer among the key players in the peace process? Mr Desai outlines his organisation's case in his replies to questions — and what he says may well be considered by the peacemakers as constructive criticism of their efforts so far, with a view to making the process more acceptable to all.

This, in summarised form, is how the interview went:

**■ What prospect is there for future PAC participation in Codesa? What will make the PAC re-enter the peace process?**

Mr Desai: Our perception at a preparatory meeting held before the first Codesa talks last month was that there was a cut-and-dried agreement principally between the ANC and the regime (the government). That led to our withdrawal. Our view is that Codesa can't deliver a constituent assembly because the regime is not in favour of one, and by a process of "sufficient consensus" such an assembly would be blocked. In any event,

the undemocratic nature of Codesa's representation makes us sceptical of its role — it includes representatives without a proven constituency.

The PAC will be prepared to re-enter the peace process only when it is satisfied that fully democratic proceedings — the alternative to violence — are being adhered to. We would prefer the ballot to the bullet, and that is the political thrust of the PAC's message internally.

**■ How do you justify a policy of shooting policemen? And how does this relate to the controversial slogan "One settler, one bullet". (Here Mr Desai was referred to media reports that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Army (Apla), claimed responsibility for the recent murder of two Soweto policemen and for a rifle and handgrenade attack on police at Lady Grey, in the north-eastern Cape.)**

Mr Desai: Both the PAC and the ANC were committed to armed struggle. Both were unbanned after 31 years. The PAC continued its commit-

ment, saying it would continue the armed struggle until the democratic process was in place. The ANC, on the other hand, has abandoned the armed struggle, even before a constituent assembly has been realised.

In essence, when we have achieved the ballot, the bullet will be abandoned.

On the slogan of "one settler, one bullet", I want to say we have time and again made it quite clear that this slogan is not founded in our basic policy documents.

The slogan originates from Zimbabwe and has filtered down into our country because of our association with Zanu (Zimbabwe African National Union) during their war. Considering the regime (SA government) is an illegal regime, its Defence Force is tainted with the same illegality and must be considered a private army. Indeed, it can be said, according to revelations of its involvement in and its encouragement and instigation of black on black violence, that this is probably the most serious problem we face in this country.

We detect a lack of will on the part of Mr De Klerk to bring these people to book.

Apla operates separately from the PAC in its military operations. We have not abandoned the armed struggle, and such incidents (attacks on policemen) must be seen in this context.

**■ Where is the Patriotic Front? Why are there clashes between the PAC and the ANC, and what is the PAC's role now?**

Mr Desai: We are still committed to the Patriotic Front. We are committed to the principles adopted at the Front's conference. We have been mandated to revitalise the Patriotic Front and to reconvene it as soon as possible to strengthen the demand for national liberation and self-determination. There are sufficient forces, even within the ANC, that will want to achieve maximum unity among our people. We, therefore, cannot ignore that constituency within the ANC which still subscribes to the idea of an elected constituent assembly.

As far as continuing clashes between the PAC and the ANC are concerned, we must state that ANC cadres have been the principal perpetrators of violence against the PAC.

**■ Where does the PAC stand in relation to Inkatha?**

Mr Desai: When we consider these revelations (about alleged security force involvement in violence) and Inkatha's involvement as surrogates of the SADF, grave suspicions are aroused about the true nature of Inkatha's role. As far as the PAC is concerned, we have not embraced Inkatha, but have in good faith offered our facilities as mediators between Inkatha and the ANC.

**■ Does the PAC still want an interim government, and what kind of authority does it envisage?**

Mr Desai: Our proposal is for a transitional authority of limited duration which will oversee the elections for a constituent assembly. We seek control (through a transitional authority) during this limited period over the security forces, the

# ANC-AWB death plot claim stuns movement

CP Correspondent and Sapa  
19/11/92

CP Correspondent and Sapa

SENSATIONAL allegations that two ANC intelligence officers offered a member of the AWB thousands of rands to kill a black policeman came as "a bolt from the blue", says the ANC.

The ANC denied all knowledge of these allegations, published this week in the weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said this week that senior members of the ANC were investigating the issue. Jordan added that it appeared as if there might be agents in the ANC who did not want their identity to be revealed by the policeman.

The policeman allegedly to be killed is ex-ANC guerilla Glory September Sidebe who was "turned" and became a "successful" Askari, said to be involved in the killing of ANC members in Swaziland. He recently wanted to rejoin the ANC.

According to the *Vrye Weekblad*, AWB member Danie Odendaal approached the ANC through reporter Jacques Pauw, because he wanted to provide the ANC with information on rightwing arms purchases.

Pauw asked ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma to become involved. Zuma agreed and two intelligence officers, known only as Rickie and Mao, met Odendaal several times.

The newspaper said it is not clear what Zuma's role was.

Rickie and Mao offered Odendaal R50 000 to kill Sidebe. Odendaal allegedly received R10 000 to commit the murder.

Odendaal also later received R12 000 from Terror Lekota, ANC senior executive committee member, for information about arms smuggling. The ANC confirmed this.

Odendaal was arrested this week after telling a police reservist about the plot. He appeared on Thursday in the Roodepoort Magistrate's Court on a charge of illegal possession of diamonds and was released on bail.

Major-General Andre Pruis, head of the SAP's crime information service, said in a statement police were investigating the case and knew where Rickie, Mao and Sidebe were.

The ANC said in a statement this week: "The African National Congress unequivocally denies any involvement in a conspiracy to commit murder. As the *Vrye Weekblad* itself admits, the journal does not believe the alleged assassination fee came from the ANC's treasury."

The statement said it was ANC practice to pay for information. "This is an accepted practice that does not violate any moral code."



## Mandela goes back to say thanks

ANC leader Nelson Mandela returned to Tunisia on Friday for the first time in 30 years to thank the nation for supporting the fight against apartheid.

"I have come to express our appreciation to the people for the support they gave us during our struggle," Mandela said on arrival. (HA)

Mandela visited Tunis in 1960, shortly before his arrest and imprisonment for 27 years on charges of subversion. clips 191192

clips 191192

# Red-up exile slams

STimes 19/1/92.

(11A)

# ANC

SUNDAY TIMES, January 19 1992

**A PROMINENT and highly accomplished ANC activist who returned to South Africa at the request of the SA Council of Churches last year is back in America and publicly questioning the ANC's ability to govern.**

In a lengthy and remarkably candid interview, Mrs Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo said that while she yearned for the day when ANC president Nelson Mandela was in power, she had serious concerns about the ANC's competence to run South Africa.

"We are going to have to get our act together, otherwise we will only satisfy those who say we can't govern, and then we are really in trouble," she said.

In soft, measured tones, she complained that the ANC had turned into an arrogant, bureaucratic shambles whose officials were more interested in jockeying among themselves than in "discipline, accountability, excellence and ethics".

"In the activist life, you don't plan, you react. But now we need to start looking at things professionally. Let's plan, let's be cost-conscious. We have to

## Party is a bureaucratic shambles and unfit to rule, says top official

By SIMON BARBER: Washington

learn how to do the technical things, because that is what we are going to be judged on."

### Nefarious

At the same time, the ANC had to stop looking at itself as "the only kid on the block", despite the encouragement it received from its outside supporters to think otherwise.

"We must learn to work with others, even though we don't like it. Only by

doing that will we help promote political tolerance."

These views, which she had earlier expressed to the Baltimore Sun, were dismissed out of hand by a spokesman for the ANC's Washington office, who said she was "not a credible individual" and was "associated with very nefarious things".

Her reply: "If you are going to put loyalty over competence, that's a problem. Anyway, if you're really loyal, you have to be

critical to make things better."

Mrs Mahlangu-Ngcobo, 43, joined the ANC in 1980 after fleeing South Africa, where she had been hounded by the authorities as a founder member of Azapo.

She was a member of the Committee of Ten under Dr Nthatho Motlana. In exile, she worked for a time at the ANC's UN mission, was elected chairman of the ANC women's division in the US and has been active in pushing city and state governments to enact sanctions.

Based for most of the past decade in Baltimore, she lives with her nine-year-old daughter, Ntokozo, and has earned a master's degree in public health at prestigious Johns Hopkins University.

She currently divides her time between the Liberty Institute for community psychiatry and behavioural science, where she works with drug-abuse and mental-health patients, and the United Theological Seminary, where she is completing her doctorate.

She hopes to be ordained

as an AME Methodist minister later this year.

Early last year she was persuaded to return to South Africa by the Rev Frank Chikane of the SACC to run the National Coordinating Committee for Repatriation.

Mr Chikane told her she was the only candidate for the post who had the full backing of all the organisation's constituent members, which included the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the SACC and other church groups.

Despite the supposedly non-partisan nature of the organisation, she found that the ANC insisted on calling the shots, which led to discrimination in who got help from the NCCR and who did not.

Day-to-day operations were chaotic. Even though she was technically national co-ordinator, Mrs Mahlangu-Ngcobo found she was not even able to make basic hiring decisions.

These were made for her by a highly politicised staffing committee. "I couldn't even hire a secretary or a support person, let alone fire anyone if they didn't do their work."

### Alert

Colleagues were routinely late and insubordinate, more interested in their own prestige than in the immense task of finding homes and jobs for thousands of returning exiles, many of whom had little more than military skills

and brought with them young families who did not speak local languages.

Record-keeping, planning and the sound budgeting of limited resources were next to non-existent.

Asked if she had tried to alert higher authorities to the problems, Mrs Mahlangu-Ngcobo said she had, adding: "Have you ever tried to get in touch with the people at Shell House?"

Mrs Mahlangu-Ngcobo left after seven months. Most of the committee's work has now been taken over by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

## Voice of the ANC (11A)

THE ANC's draft Media Charter, which wants to force the media in South Africa to be free, concludes with suggestions for various campaigns to coerce newspapers and others to convey their views.

These include a boycott of TV licences, marches, public debates and pressure on advertisers. *Sittmes 19/11/92*

Noticeable by its absence was any proposal for a public subscription by the ANC to raise money for its own party publication — like the National Party of yore.

But then it is much easier to bully rather than build.

# ANC denies 'hit' payment

*Sunday Times*  
19/11/92  
THE ANC has launched a top-level inquiry into allegations that two of its intelligence operators paid a right-winger to murder a defector from the organisation.

Sunday Times Reporter

Davidson (codename Mao) offered him money to kill a former ANC man now working for the SA Police.

The claims are made in two affidavits which came into the possession of the Sunday Times this week.

In one, Mr Daniel Jacobus Odendaal, who appeared in court this week on charges of illegal possession of diamonds, claims that two ANC men, Mr Richard Nkondo (code-name Ricky) and a Mr

Mr Odendaal claims in his affidavit that he gave the ANC information about weapons shipments to Umhlangeni township near Durban, and the names of six possible police agents in the ANC.

The ANC has admitted that one of its top people, Mr Terror Lekota, paid Mr Odendaal for information about the activities of

right-wing organisations and alleged weapons shipments. This, it says, was a legitimate activity.

But it strongly denies that it offered any money for assassinating Mr Glory Sediba, the defector.

The meetings between Mr Odendaal and the ANC men were engineered by Mr Jacques Pauw, a reporter for the Vrye Weekblad. His newspaper broke the story this week.

The story was based primarily on a tape-recording in the possession of Mr Pauw, in which Mr Nkondo

asked Mr Odendaal: "Why did you tell Jacques Pauw that we paid you R10 000 to shoot September?"

It is not clear from Mr Pauw's affidavit regarding the incident whether he was asking Mr Odendaal why he told a lie or whether he was complaining about his lack of discretion.

# ANC media charter gets good reviews

THE ANC charter on the media, released this week, has been favourably received by most Press commentators.

Most acknowledged that the organisation's commitment to the free flow of information and freedom of the Press was reassuring. However, they pointed out that expressing support for freedom of the Press was one thing, and living up to that commitment was another.

The ANC said the media charter set out broad principles, which could find expression in a constitution and a bill of rights, while others could be realised through legislation. *(1/11)*

"It would be erroneous to advocate the setting up of bodies which determine what society should or should not read, hear or watch. Rather, judicial procedures should be effected if ordinary laws of the land are violated." *(2/11)*

The organisation said media freedoms should be subject to other citizens' rights such as the right to privacy. "The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights. An open negotiations process, in which the public is informed about developments in the debates, is a necessary prerequisite for a democratic transition."

## Closed society

The ANC said South Africa has been a closed society, with a myriad of restrictions on the flow of information.

In addition to legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, language deprivation and social deprivation had undermined access to information for the majority of the population. The charter also said media workers should be protected against intimidation and other forms of pressure which inhibited their work.

Independent structures should be set up within defined sectors of the media to promote and monitor Press freedom, stated the charter. - Sapa

THE ANC's media charter, released this week, calls for a code of conduct for the media during transition and afterwards to be drawn up by Codesa and monitored by an independent organisation.

It says the monitoring group should be "representative of media-owners, workers, political parties, civil society, relevant experts and others" under an "ombudsperson".

A further safeguard suggests that "society shall have the right to challenge decisions of all these structures and persons in a court of law".



The ANC's resolutions, reached at a conference in November last year, are guaranteed to generate fierce debate.

The charter calls for the right of all people to "freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion and . . . the right of free access to information and opinion" — access that no political organisation, including the ANC, yet provides.

However, the ANC says these rights will be subject to "any limitations provided for in the constitution and bill of

# ANC calls for a monitored code of conduct for media

SITimes 19/1/92  
11A

By CHARLENE SMITH

rights".

A prominent media lawyer noted that no country in the world allowed "absolute freedom of expression — it frequently clashes with the rights of other people".

He believed some censorship was always necessary. "How else do you control the dissemination of hate literature?"

The ANC's draft charter endorses the right of media workers to "form or join trade unions, political and other organisations of their choice".

This has been the subject of controversy in media circles, particularly since the unbanning of the ANC, with some newspapers refusing to allow journalists who are known members

of political organisations to work as political reporters, for example.

There is a fear in some quarters that journalists who belong to organisations may become propagandists for the causes they espouse.

The ANC document also criticises bias in the state broadcast media in favour of the National Party — a charge which, ironically, echoes that made by right-wing groups.



It lashes out at the efforts to privatise the SABC embodied in its present restructuring, and calls for an end to it.

The document calls for guidelines to ensure the "impartiality of broadcasts, especially news and current-affairs programmes" as well as —

more controversially — those of "commercial broadcasters and private religious broadcasters".

The charter also suggests an independent group be established to monitor broadcasts, "especially news and current affairs programmes of the SABC, the TBVC broadcasters and commercial broadcasters during the interim period and to report its findings publicly".

The ANC also wants procedures entrenched to remove "racist, sexist and ethnically divisive practices from the broadcasting environment".

The organisation wants support, incorporating the skills of the ANC's Radio Freedom, to set up community radio stations — which the ANC sees as potentially the most powerful broadcast media of the future.

Community radio stations are common elsewhere in Africa. More than 43 operate in Nigeria, for example, and also in Western nations such as the United States, which has a plethora of them.

A pilot study by Rhodes University last year showed that although 83 percent of those interviewed in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape were functionally illiterate, 98 percent regularly listened to the radio and 96 percent tuned to Radio Xhosa. Of those who listened, 53 percent tuned into news broadcasts. Only 9,6 percent watched television.



More specialised state information services such as the SAP and SADF media liaison services, the Human Sciences Research Council, the SA Communications Service and others also come under the ANC spotlight.

The ANC wants Codesa to place control of these state information services "under appropriate mechanisms of interim government with a view to rationalisation and review of their usefulness".

**L**AST week's column set the cat among the pigeons.

Readers responded overwhelmingly, confirming my long-held suspicion that some leaders are out of touch with their followers.

To recap - I painted a scenario of shifting alliances in the political arena. Sworn political rivals have suddenly found common ground and other organisations are simply fading away.

The response from the readers varied. Some said this was a healthy situation given the long history of the National Party's divide-and-rule policy.

By forming alliances blacks were not only breaking the divide-and-rule syndrome of the Nats, but they were also strengthening themselves against a powerful government.

Others, of course, dismissed these alliances as a smokescreen intended to conceal the real issue: that of transferring power from the white minority regime to the majority of the people.

They charged that for as long as people differed ideologically, they could never belong to the same camp.

One letter from Molefe, of Welkom, said there was going to be more shifting of alliances in the next 18

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# Grappling with future

CP Press 19/11/92.

~~11A~~ 11A



months "and we must not be surprised if the NP is back in the driving seat, something we cannot afford".

Today's column tries to look critically at our five main political groups, namely the PAC, Azapo, ANC, NP, Inkatha and the CP - and the roles they are likely to play in the future.

The CP: Since FW de Klerk assumed power, the CP has gained support among whites who are uncertain about their future under a majority government.

We tend to dismiss the CP as a dinosaur that will disappear from the face of the earth because it cannot adapt to a new environment. This is a mistake. They will be an albatross around our

necks for a long time to come.

The solution: Intensive campaigning by other political parties to weaken their strongholds.

The PAC: Their claim of massive mass support still has to be tested. If their exiled leadership does not come back to prepare the groundwork for future elections, they may find themselves lagging behind others.

Also, their exiled armed wing must get to grips with the aspirations of the masses here at home.

The solution: They must come out of the wilderness to negotiate the solution to this country's problem. As it has been pointed out, they are necessary to check that this

country is not sold to the whites again.

The ANC: They seem to be better organised, but their leadership is moving faster than their followers. They are complacent and think they are a government-in-waiting. Their leadership seems to be anxious to be in parliament soon.

The solution: They must guard against signing away all the gains they have made over the years as a liberation movement. Also, they must take the masses along with them.

The NP: As a result of losing support to the CP, they've realised they cannot survive as a whites-only party for long. With their con-

stituency crumbling, they plan to destabilise black unity so they can win conservative blacks.

The solution: They must be noble enough to admit that majority rule is not only inevitable, but must happen now.

Inkatha: Its ethnic base is damaging its credibility. It must take care that its option of a federal system of government is not tinged with ethnicity. Inkatha has built up a good name among European countries and the United States. They must live up to it.

The solution: They must clean up their covert operations if they want to win more supporters.

Azapo: They claim a massive support among the silent majority. Their philosophy of black consciousness has helped build the black nation at a time when this was most needed.

It is time they operate as a political movement and move with the times.

The solution: Claiming support will not help their cause. They must go out and win this support. To react to what others are doing will do them more harm than good.



# If you want free speech, keep the state out of it

SI Times 1911192

**T**HE only sure way to protect freedom of expression — that is, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of intellectual inquiry — is to adopt a constitution that forbids the government, the political parties, and all other thugs to encroach on that freedom.

Like the authors of the ANC's preposterous draft charter on the media, the founding fathers of the United States understood that democracy is impossible without free speech; unlike the ANC, they faced up honestly to the problem.

If the ANC is serious about freedom of expression, or about democracy, it could do no better than adopt as its own the first amendment to the American constitution, which says plainly: "Congress shall make no law ... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble. ..."

However, as the proposed charter makes clear, the ANC is much less concerned about freedom of expression than about its control and manipulation. Its charter pays a bit of lip service to free expression, allowing all the professional guardians of press freedom to applaud obsequiously, but then devotes itself to the serious business of bringing the media under what it calls "democratic" control.

The basis for control is being laid, quite deliberately and systematically, by the repeated assertion of myths. Among these is the repeated, assertion of monopoly control of the press.

That assertion is untrue. The only evidence adduced is that the dominant shareholders of the two main English newspaper groups are the mining houses, and that there are various industry agreements to co-operate in printing and distribution.

In fact, the newspaper market is changing by the day. New publications sprout like daisies, and some of them —

the Weekly Mail, Vrye Weekblad, Leadership — survive or prosper. The Sowetan (which the ANC does not like because its senior staff come from the Black Consciousness tradition) has displaced the Star as the country's biggest daily. The Citizen and Business Day, one conservative and the other liberal, have displaced the failed Rand Daily Mail. Freesheets multiply like rabbits.

The assertion of monopoly ownership carries a pernicious implication that South African editors, like communist editors, are simply the running dogs of their owners, mere propagandists. There is not a shred of evidence for this canard — in fact, South African editors have extraordinary independence — though it is put forward these days even by former editors who, if they have evidence of the corruption they imply, do not produce it.

The charge slanders men like Joel Mervis of the Sunday Times, Aggrey Klaaste of the Sowetan, and Khulu Sibiyi of City Press, Richard Steyn of the Star, and in fact any editor who has never lost his post (a category from which I am fortunately excluded by my own past misfortunes).

**T**HAT access to information has been hampered, and sometimes denied, is true, but the damage was done by the totalitarian laws and propagandistic policies of the Nationalist government. As the government moves to dismantle those laws and policies, and to grant to the broadcasters the independence which they have so long lacked, the ANC perceives not liberation but threat, and the self-appointed guardians of the press fall strangely silent.

The ANC charter, plainly written in the expectation of becoming the government, assigns a variety of rights and duties to the state, to society, and to "media institutions". It condemns what it regards as the "privatisation" of the

~~114~~ 114  
SABC, which would put television broadcasting beyond the reach of government, and in fact says that "control and regulation of broadcasting should be recognised as a priority".

The ANC complains of lack of access to newspapers and magazines which, in typical journalism-school jargon, it calls print media, and waits that there is no newspaper published from what it calls "a democratic perspective".

This is just not true, even if one accepts the ANC's quaint definition of "democratic".

**I**TS own views, and its "democratic perspective", appear presumably in its own newspaper, Mayibuye; in Umsebenzi, the SACP newspaper; in Work in Progress, an excellent independent socialist periodical; in South and New Nation; and in a range of pamphlets, tracts and trade union publications.

The ANC's problem is not that it lacks access to the market, or to printing facilities, or to a distribution network — its own supporters, if they cared, could sell the product — but that, in a free market, it fails. The publications which it tries to foist on the public are stupefyingly boring, amateurish, and pedantic.

Freedom of expression encompasses not only the freedom of the individual to write or say what he pleases, but also the freedom to choose what he will hear or read. In a free market, newspaper readers pass judgment daily or weekly on the news and views offered to them; some publications survive, others perish, all are constantly evolving under the harsh judgment of their readers.

The American founding fathers understood this; the ANC understands it too, but it dreads nothing so much as an uncoerced public verdict on itself.

**KEN OWEN**



# SACP (11A) blamed for ANC armed failure

SI Times 19/1/92

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO  
London

A NEW book due for publication soon blames the South African Communist Party for the failure of the ANC's armed struggle against South Africa.

The book, *Comrades Against Apartheid*, is written by Stephen Ellis, a former editor of Africa Confidential, and Tsepo Sechaba, a pen name for a senior ANC and SACP member.

Among other things, it blames the SACP for:

- Over-emphasising control and organisation to the detriment of political and military strategy;
- Under-utilising trained cadres who were left idle in camps outside South Africa; and
- "Democratic centralism" where a small, secret elite formed the leadership and grew distant from the organisation's supporters.

## Argue

International support, mass action, underground activity and the armed struggle were listed by the SACP and the ANC as the four pillars of their strategy — but the emphasis was on the armed struggle.

The book asks why, if the armed struggle was so central to the strategy of both, it failed.

"Apologists may argue that the war succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of resistance, and in forcing the enemy (the SA Government) to the point of negotiation," says the book.

"That is true, but it was hardly what was intended. The blunt fact is that Umkhonto we Sizwe failed to provoke the overthrow of the South African state by force, which is the purpose for which it was ultimately intended."

## Mutiny

The book says the SACP persisted in promoting the armed struggle above other forms of activity in "inappropriate" conditions.

This is cited as a main reason for the 1984 Angola mutiny when rank and file members rose up against the leadership and were brutally subdued.

The soldiers rebelled, criticising the leadership for its lack of initiative in sending them to a war they had long prepared for.

Critics, it says, pointed out that they were confronting the enemy where it was strongest, in the military sphere, and not its weakest, in the political arena.

The SACP is accused of being obsessed with control, opposing and rooting out dissident opinions in the ANC and transforming the exiled organisation from a broad-based nationalist movement to something resembling a socialist party.

# ANC denies allegations by 'activist'

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

11A  
STAR 20/1/92

An alleged ANC activist who has condemned the ANC for being an "arrogant, bureaucratic shambles" was not employed by the organisation and had nothing officially to do with it, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

It was reported in the Sunday Times that Mankekolo Mahlangu-Ngcobo was a "prominent and highly accomplished ANC activist" — but this has been denied by both the ANC and the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR), where she worked.

"She was not employed by the ANC. The report is a distortion," Miss Marcus said.

Sheena Duncan of the NCCR said Ms Mahlangu-Ngcobo was appointed national co-ordinator for the organisation "precisely because she was not an accomplished ANC activist".

"The NCCR is non-partisan and she was appointed because she wasn't a high-profile office bearer in any liberation movement," Ms Duncan said.

She added that Ms Mahlangu-Ngcobo's allegations that the ANC "called the shots" in the NCCR and that hiring decisions were made by a "highly politicised staffing committee" were "rubbish".

"Decisions are made by a six-party committee on which the ANC is represented. The committee works extremely well and political parties subordinate their political interests.

"Staff appointments are made by a staffing committee made up of religious partners, a lawyer and myself. That is hardly 'highly politicised'," Ms Duncan said.

Ms Mahlangu-Ngcobo left the NCCR after seven months and is currently studying abroad.

# PAC has 'two-sided negotiations' plan

STAR 20/1/92

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Political Reporter

The PAC has come out with an alternative to Codesa — a two-sided negotiating table, with those in favour of a constituent assembly opposing those who are not.

In an exclusive interview with the Star, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday spelt out the PAC's plan, and reiterated his demand that the Conven-

tion for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) should disband.

Mr Moseneke said the Government should be "engaged on a limited agenda", centred around the demand for a constituent assembly.

The PAC campaign plan for such a negotiating forum included consultations with various organisations and the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

# PAC spells out its plan for dialogue

Sowetan 20/1/92

**THE Pan Africanist Congress has come out with an alternative to Codesa - a two-sided negotiating table, with those in favour of a constituent assembly opposing those who are not.**

In an exclusive interview with a *Sowetan* correspondent, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke

yesterday spelled out the PAC's plan and reiterated its demand that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa should disband and make way for a new negotiating forum.

Moseneke said the Government should be "engaged on a limited agenda" centred around the demand for a constituent assembly.

He said the PAC campaign plan for such a negotiating forum includes consultations with various organisations and the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

The new forum should be free from the defects Codesa suffered from, he said.

Detailing the PAC's objections to Codesa, Moseneke described its structure as "obese, bloated

and most unrepresentative".

It also had a structural inability to deliver a constituent assembly, he said.

Codesa was pre-packed with 14 tricameral and "homeland" leaders who would be "virtually wiped out" if they were to stand for elections. "To have them go the constituent assembly way is to have them commit suicide," he said.

The PAC also objected to the status of decisions taken at Codesa, saying they should be legally binding. Codesa was therefore "little more than a talking shop".

Codesa decisions were also subject to a white veto.

"After all is said and done the existing non-representative Parliament will have to give the go-ahead."

# Mandela family go into hiding

Sowetan 20/11/92

Sowetan

## Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie have been forced underground because of a series of threats to their lives since last month.

ANC spokesman Mrs Gill Marcus confirmed that tight security had been thrown around the couple as a result of the threats, which they were taking seriously.

Marcus said the seriousness of the situation had meant that the Mandelas no longer spent nights at their house in Soweto.

## Security

"The Mandelas are forced to sleep at safe houses as part of the security arrangements to ensure that they are not harmed," she said.

The current drama began just before Christmas when the Mandelas were tipped off about a possible attempt on their lives.

Mrs Mandela this week left for Atlanta in the United States. She is due to take part in the birthday celebrations for slain civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

Mandela is in Tunisia.

# ANC warns against troops in suburbs

Staff Reporters

(11A)

The ANC has rejected the Democratic Party's "troops in the suburbs" proposal, saying that using the SADF to supplement the SAP in the quest to curb escalating crime might lead to a backlash.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the military should be used only to protect the country's borders. "The responsibility of curbing crime lies squarely on the shoulders of the SAP and not the army," said a statement.

Residents have been up in arms about the soaring crime rate, and the Johannesburg City Council's DP-controlled management committee has requested a meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus

Kriel to discuss the troops in the suburbs proposal.

Mr Kriel is to meet the management committee later this month to discuss the proposal.

At a weekend press briefing in Saldanha, Mr Kriel would not give any indication of how he would respond, saying he wished to discuss the matter with the city council first.

However, Lieutenant-General Louw Maan, head of the SAP's visible policing division, said the call-up by the SADF of economically active civilians to perform duties related to crime prevention did not appear to be a viable proposition.

The ANC statement blamed escalating crime on the Government.

"Most crime explosions, not only in Hillbrow but in other residential areas as well, are a result of the Government's disastrous economic mismanage-

ment."

The ANC condemned what it called the "scum of our society — the criminal element, both black and white, for continuing to cause untold suffering to our people".

It called on the city council to take note of the campaign being conducted to canvass residents' opinions on various problems, including the growing crime rate and the deployment of the army in their area. A meeting would be held where views could be expressed.

The ANC said the SADF had not been trained in the skills of police science, necessary to combat crime. This could result in the use of excessive force and violence.

"In the past, when the army was deployed into residential areas, such a move resulted in unnecessary deaths of civilians."

STAR 20/1/92

~~26/1/92~~  
~~25/1/92~~

# Real political horse-trading begins

STAR 20/1/92



Now that the razzmatazz of Codesa 1 is over, delegates are getting down to the nitty-gritty. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH examines today's launch of the Codesa working groups to smooth the period of transition in South Africa until the country becomes a fully participatory nonracial democracy.

nary consensus on how the new South Africa should look — and how it should be reached.

Their findings will be discussed by Codesa's management committee behind closed doors before being publicly examined at a second Codesa plenary session, planned for March.

The task of the first working group will be the creation of a climate for free political participation and to decide the role of the international community in the transitional phase.

The 38 delegates in the group are to make recommendations regarding the establishment of a climate in which all South Africans and organisations can

take part freely, without interference or intimidation, in all political activity and, in particular, in the process leading up to the introduction of a new constitution.

They will also specifically consider whether and how issues such as the return of

exiles, the repeal or amendment of remaining laws hampering free political activity, the political neutrality and free access to State-controlled media, and the funding of political parties should be addressed.

Its second assignment is to consider whether and what role

the international community will be asked to play in the formal or informal processes of transition.

The second working group will attempt to reach consensus on constitutional principles and a constitution-making body or process.

The specific issues it will consider include national symbols; official languages; economic principles; a bill of rights; and the composition of the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government.

It will also make recommendations on the appropriate body

or process to draft a new constitution.

Regarding a constitution-making process, the delegates will discuss how far the process can be taken by Codesa itself, the role of referendums, and at what stage a special constitution-making body — if any — should be established.

It will also consider the composition and legal status of such a body.

The third group will report back on transitional arrangements. Its terms of reference are to investigate ways in which the country should be governed in the period leading to

a new constitution.

Working group four will discuss the future of the TBVC states. Participants will look at the way Codesa's outcome can influence these states and the desirability of their reincorporation into South Africa.

If the group decides in favour of reincorporation, delegates will consider transitional arrangements in those states wanting to be reincorporated as well as and time-frames for reincorporation.

The fifth group will recommend appropriate time-frames for completion of assignments, working groups and other bodies created by Codesa. □

## Working group 1

**TASKS:** Creating a climate for free political participation; the role of the international community.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: J Modise, J Zuma  
Bophuthatswana government: K C V S Sehume, S M Seodi  
Ciskei government: L W Maqoma, M B Webb  
Democratic Party: D J Dalling, P G Soai  
Dikwankwella Party: T J Mohapi, J S S Phatang  
Inkatha Freedom Party: D B Madide, E Bernard  
Intando yeSizwe Party: E Masango, S Mthimunyane  
Inyandza National Movement: D S Mkhwanazi, M S Gindza  
Labour Party: C April, E Samuels  
National Party: G Myburgh, B Geldenhuys  
National People's Party: A K Bheesham, R B Garrib  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: M Moolia, R Shaik  
Solidarity Party: M Mohanlal, P Naidoo  
South African Communist Party: E Pahad, R Kasrils  
South African Government: H J Coetsee, H J Kriel  
Transkei government: L V Ntsubane, A M Ntshinga  
United People's Front: M I Moromoche, R Mponya  
Venda government: J Nembambula, Dean Farisani  
Ximoko Progressive Party: D Z J Mtebule, H M Matjokane

## Working group 2

**TASKS:** Constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: C Ramaphosa, M V Moosa  
Bophuthatswana government: S G Mothibe, R Cronje  
Ciskei government: M C Kashe, I J Smuts  
Dikwankwella Party: M M Makhalamele, S O M Moji  
Democratic Party: C W Egin, D J Worrall  
Inkatha Freedom Party: A Blaustein, S H Gumede  
Intando yeSizwe Party: S Ngidi, A Laka  
Inyandza National Movement: C Albertyn, E Mabuza  
Labour Party: M Richards, D Lockey  
National Party: F van Heerden, J Rable  
National People's Party: M Mohanlal, S Ismail  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: F Cachalia, Y Yacoob  
Solidarity: I Omar, D S Rajah  
South African Communist Party: J Slovo, B Nzimande  
South African Government: G Viljoen, T J Delpoit  
Transkei government: P Holomisa, P Z Ndamase  
United People's Front: M J Mahlangu, M C Ramusi  
Venda government: V G M Ligege, N P Nthabalala  
Ximoko Progressive Party: E E Ngobeni, K R Myakayaka

## Working group 3

**TASK:** Transitional arrangements.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: T Mbeki, J Nhlanihla  
Bophuthatswana government: G S Nkau, S C Kgobokoe  
Ciskei government: H J S Kayser, S V Notshe  
Dikwankwella Party: R H Mopeli, B S Rajulli  
Democratic Party: K M Andrew, R V Carlisle  
Inkatha Freedom Party: M Myeni, A McCauley  
Intando yeSizwe Party: N J Mahlangu, M P Mahlangu  
Inyandza National Movement: E J Mabuza, E N Gindza  
Labour Party: P Hendrickse, L Landers  
National Party: D de Villiers, R Meyer  
National People's Party: A Rajbansi, K Panday  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: N J Patel, P Gordhan  
Solidarity: A Arbee, K Rajoo  
South African Communist Party: J Cronin, N Madlala  
South African Government: E J du Plessis, J Scheepers  
Transkei government: L L Mshizana, J T Madiba  
United People's Front: E Mapheto, K A Mariri  
Venda government: K B Magwaba, Rev Khorommbi  
Ximoko Progressive Party: M L Nkuna, A E Nkondo

## Working group 4

**TASK:** The future of the TBVC states.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: A Nzo, M Phosa  
Bophuthatswana government: B E Keikelame, S S Seane  
Ciskei government: N Nogcantsi, B R Tokota  
Dikwankwella Party: S P Matla, S Manyane  
Democratic Party: J Jordaan, E K Moorcroft  
Inkatha Freedom Party: F T Mdlalose, V T Zulu  
Intando yeSizwe Party: J L Mahlangu, J Mabena  
Inyandza National Movement: P M H Maduna, M M Nxumalo  
Labour Party: T Abrahams, J Douw  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: C Saloojee, P David  
National Party: J Mentz, P Farrell  
National People's Party: D Govender, L Dwarkapersad  
Solidarity Party: M F Cassim, G N Naidoo  
South African Communist Party: S Mufamadi, T Mtintso  
South African Government: R F Botha, A T Meyer  
Transkei government: S N Sigcau, Z Titus  
United People's Front: L M Mokoena, N M Malekana  
Venda government: Councillor Makhuvha, S E Moeti  
Ximoko Progressive Party: C D Marivate, C Khosa

## Working group 5

**TASKS:** Time-frames and implementation of decisions.

### Delegates:

African National Congress: P Jordan, Z Skweyiya  
Bophuthatswana government: T M Setloane, I J Reid  
Ciskei government: P Jacobs, B H Muller  
Dikwankwella Party: D T Mokoena, S T Leokaoko  
Democratic Party: R M Burrows, R H Hulley  
Inkatha Freedom Party: L Mshali, F X Gasa  
Intando yeSizwe Party: V S Mahlangu, M Mbonani  
Inyandza National Movement: S S Ripinga, G G Zama  
Labour Party: D Curry, Y Bassier  
Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress: H Ebrahim, Y Vawda  
National Party: G Bartlett, C Fisser  
National People's Party: A Ramulu, O Gany  
Solidarity Party: N M Raju, Y Moolia  
South African Communist Party: D Mvelase, Y Vawwda/E Daniels  
South African Government: L Wessels, A Williams  
Transkei government: G Zilwa, N Bebeza  
United People's Front: M J Duba, R Ramontja  
Venda government: L S Ramavhoya, Professor Lukhaimane  
Ximoko Progressive Party: D Z J Mtebule, H M Matjokane

# PAC meets top Chinese leader

*Sowetan 21/1/92 (11A)*

THE Foreign Affairs Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr Quichen Qian, met a delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress during a stop-over in South Africa yesterday while travelling from Zimbabwe to Namibia.

Qian also met his South African counterpart Mr Pik Botha at Jan Smuts Airport, the Department of Foreign Affairs confirmed.

His meeting with the PAC lasted about 50 minutes at an airport hotel, but he did not speak to the Press.

A Chinese representative, Mr Bode Qu, confirmed China had established an interest office in Pretoria under the auspices of the Centre for African Studies.

Meanwhile, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, at a Press briefing following the meeting, said Qian had confirmed his country's continued friendship and

support to the organisation "in a large number of areas".

He refused to explain the exact nature of that support but said China had in the past provided "all forms of training" to the PAC and had supported "a number of projects".

## Cordial

"The discussions were open, frank and cordial and related to the long-standing relationship which has existed between our liberation

movement and the People's Republic of China," Moseneke said.

The PAC had explained its position on the transitional process in South Africa.

Qian had understood "the various positions taken by the actors in the transition, including the position taken by the PAC", said Moseneke.

Qian had told the PAC of the various discussions he had with African leaders during his six-nation tour through the continent. - Sapa.



# ANC Hague differ

## on visit

STAR 21/1/92  
By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

Confusion still surrounds the planned visit to South Africa by Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers — with the ANC saying the visit is definitely off and Dutch embassy sources saying the Dutch government has not yet made a decision.

Yusuf Saloojee of the ANC's international affairs department said the visit was "definitely off" as it was not appropriate for any head of government to visit South Africa given that Codesa was in the process of working out a new foreign policy.

However, a senior diplomatic source in the Dutch embassy said yesterday that the Dutch government was still reconsidering whether the visit should go ahead.

### Debate

A short debate would be held today in the Dutch parliament about the matter.

The source said Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek had had a lengthy telephone conversation with ANC leader Nelson Mandela — who is strongly opposed to the visit — but added that Mr Mandela had expressed gratitude for the support of the Netherlands in the struggle against apartheid.

Mr Mandela had urged Mr van den Broek to postpone the visit until the establishment of an interim government in South Africa.

Mr Saloojee said visits by foreign heads of state should take place only after consultation with Codesa, and if the Dutch prime minister wished to visit, it should only be in accordance with the wishes of all the Codesa players.

He added that the ANC appreciated the Dutch government's support for the changes in South Africa but that the organisation was acting consistently with its policy of a phased lifting of sanctions.

# Drip technician 'lackadaisical'

A TECHNICIAN could have contaminated drips which allegedly caused the deaths in 1990 of 13 babies, a Johannesburg inquest heard yesterday.

The court was told that during routine quality control tests conducted by drip manufacturer Sabax, technician Allan Davies regularly failed (40% of the time) to exercise the "skills and procedures" required in terms of international norms.

The skills and procedures required of Davies were integral to the company's quality control process, known as process validation, and necessary to maintain sterile conditions during drip production.

Microbiologist Prof Margaretha Isaacson of the SA Institute of Medical Research, who yesterday offered evidence of her investigation into Sabax facilities, labelled Davies "inexperienced" and "lackadaisical". Isaacson said Davies was a potential source of infection.

In her report, Isaacson said "although it was not shown there was a causal connection between Davies' skill and the contami-

<sup>B/D day 22/11/92</sup>  
**ANDREW KRUMM**

nated products", he should be transferred to "less sensitive duties".

Reviewing quality control tests, attorney Peter Soller, representing 10 of the families which lost babies, said sterile conditions had been compromised on production equipment during testing.

He said bacteria tests done in the cabinet in which the drips were produced showed contamination.

During cross-examination (by advocate Clive Cohen SC, representing Sabax, Isaacson said technicians' skills and procedures were "most important" in guaranteeing the sterility of the end product.

Isaacson criticised Sabax testing procedures, saying neither drip components certified sterile by suppliers nor the Sabax end product were tested for contamination. However, a body of opinion regarded these tests as unnecessary.

The inquest continues today.

# Azayo vows to continue its campaigns

THE Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) would continue to provide visiting artists with a "hot reception", president Thami Mcerwa said yesterday after his release from detention on Monday.

Mcerwa was detained for more than a week in connection with the grenade

<sup>B/D day 22/11/92</sup>  
**GAVIN DU VENAGE**

attack on the offices of the Paul Simon tour management before Simon's first concert two weeks ago.

Mcerwa said his detention under the Internal Security Act was an attempt to intimidate Azayo.

"We will definitely continue to use any means possible to stop the tour," he said last night. "And any other artists can expect not

to get kidgloves treatment from us if they come here to make money."

Mcerwa added, however, that Azayo would leave alone artists who contributed to black culture, such as American director Spike Lee, who arrives tomorrow to begin filming Malcolm X.

But US rap group Snap which is planning a visit in a few months, could expect "a hot reception", he said.



# Whites patrol squatter camp

<sup>B/D day 22/11/92</sup>

A COMMITTEE formed by white residents of Chartwell on the North Rand has started 24-hour patrols of entrances to the Zevenfontein squatter camp to prevent more people moving into the area.

Chartwell Action Committee chairman Mike Findlay said the committee had been authorised by the owners of the land to exercise control over numbers.

More than 100 truck and bakkie loads of building material had been prevented from entering the camp over the weekend, he said.

Findlay claimed the committee was in contact with squatter leaders and there had been no incidents between the two groups.

Last night a police spokesman could not confirm that a committee had been formed to patrol the entrance, but said police were patrolling the area and all was quiet. - Sapa.

# Police fired first shots, says A WB

<sup>B/D day 22/11/92</sup>  
73 511 2446

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The "liberation desk" of President Robert Mugabe's office covered up PAC fund-raising through the smuggling of stolen cars from SA, it was alleged in court yesterday.

The claim comes in the wake of alleged PAC involvement in drug smuggling.

Acting Zimbabwe police commissioner Augustine Chihuri and senior assistant commissioner James Ndove pleaded not guilty to charges, under Zimbabwe's Prevention of Corruption Act, of using their positions to have stolen cars released from police custody to favoured individuals.

On the first day of the trial yesterday the magistrate was told: "It was part of the PAC's struggle to steal motorcars."

Outlining his defence, Chihuri said it was

# Harare 'covered up PAC car-theft scam'

not the police but the Central Intelligence Organisation and Mugabe's office that gave the PAC clearance to import the stolen vehicles. Confusion had occurred because the police pound did not keep good records and some vehicles were "released improperly (or) stolen by police"

Chihuri denied he ordered the release of a stolen Toyota Hilux and a Cressida. Ndove also denied authorising the handover, but implicated Chihuri in the order.

Ndove said a PAC member, Tony Biko, had alleged a man named "Mkwanzani" was directing the theft of SA vehicles and their

To Page 2

## 'Car scam'

export to Zimbabwe and Zambia. Biko had been detained for four days with other suspects.

"The next I heard, all would be released. Because of their involvement with the PAC no action would be taken," Ndove said. "This racket in stolen motor vehicles had furthered their struggle."

The head of the PAC office in Harare, Thobile Gola, testified that the liberation desk in Mugabe's office liaised with the foreign affairs and customs departments over the importation of vehicles into Zimbabwe by the PAC.

He denied the PAC had a "programme" to import stolen vehicles but admitted under

From Page 1

cross-examination that this might have been done by individual members of the PAC, acting on their own behalf, and that he knew what was happening.

Gola also admitted that members of the Central Intelligence Organisation warned him when he took up his post that certain people involved in criminal activities claimed they were acting for the PAC.

Gola denied that sums paid for stolen vehicles had come back to the PAC.

The trial of Gola's former deputy, Ramudi Michael Maphai, resumes next month. Maphai and an Indian national have pleaded not guilty to charges of trying to smuggle R40m worth of Mandrax from India to SA via Zimbabwe.

Biko 22/11/92

11A

Move 'undermines' interim govt

# ANC sounds warning on bond issue

~~11A~~ 11A ~~11A~~

B10ay 22/1192

SHERIDAN CONNOLLY and TIM COHEN

THE ANC has criticised government's 250-million ecu (R890m) public bond issue and warned that a "democratic" government would "assess its obligation" to service and repay debts contracted by the present government.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the bond issue was in gross violation of financial and investment sanctions in force against SA, and of UN resolutions.

It implicitly criticised — without naming — lead managers Banque Paribas and Swiss Bank Corporation.

The ANC said it was "bound to declare, once again, that a democratic government will carefully assess its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the SA government and its various agencies".

The ANC statement said it was particularly critical because the issue took place just before the formation of an interim government and such a government's formal request for the lifting of economic sanctions.

One ANC source said, however, that the ANC's anger was more a "shot across the bow" than an outright refusal to honour all new foreign loans, although ANC members insist the threat had to be taken seriously.

The ANC's concern derived from its impression that government was engaged in a cynical attempt to buy votes in a future election and to present itself as the champion of the poor for political purposes, the source said.

Finance director-general Gerhard Croeser said in a statement the money

raised would contribute to the financing of the national Budget, "the thrust of which is increasingly the upliftment of the less advantaged part of the community".

In its statement, the ANC said it was significant that the ecu loan carried onerous interest rate charges. This represented a heavy burden on the economy and the people of SA.

"The ecu bond is for five years, and was launched at 10,375%, and is selling at par. This is some 3% higher than straight market rates of interest," the ANC said.

But a senior analyst rejected this claim, saying the interest rate was not unreasonable considering it was the country's first major entry into the ecu bond market.

In addition, considering the political risk involved, interest rates normally charged to developing countries were at a premium to those charged to developed countries, the analyst said. In any event, the 10,375% rate was only marginally higher than benchmark issues in the ecu market.

The ANC said it had learnt that Transnet planned to issue an equity-linked financial instrument to foreign subscribers which has the potential for providing investors with a rate of return of as high as 25%. A Transnet spokesman declined to comment.

The ANC said: "It is clear that the SA regime remains bent on a course of curbing the economic options of a future democratic government through the imposition

□ To Page 2

## Bond issue <sup>B10ay</sup> 22/1192

~~11A~~ 11A ~~11A~~ □ From Page 1

of a costly burden of indebtedness on the economy."

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said his organisation fully supported the ANC's position that a future government would have the right to review loans raised by the current government.

Coleman also rejected Croeser's statement that the loan was raised to help finance the Budget which was increasingly orientated towards social upliftment, adding that the loan was raised unilaterally.

"In whose judgment are they benefiting the majority?" he asked, criticising what he said was government's "top-down" approach and its reluctance to enter into negotiations on the issue.

In response to the proposition that European banks had indicated the ANC and Cosatu were bluffing when they suggested a new government would not repay the debts, Coleman said: "Their bluff may be called."

● Comment: Page 6

## PAC 'won't commit suicide' (11A)

UMTATA. — The Pan Africanist Congress is not going to commit suicide by abandoning the armed struggle, says its national organiser, Maxwell Nemaszhivhanani.

12/20/1992

He was speaking in the Umtata city hall last night on his first official visit to the Transkei.

Making reference to the attacks on policemen by members of the PAC's military wing, Apla, he said the PAC did not believe that the police were sitting on the fence. "Instead they are the fence that prevents us from destroying the apartheid structures. Unfortunately they stand to suffer," he said. — Sapa.

## PAC 'sold stolen cars to raise funds'

Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — The PAC raised funds by stealing cars in South Africa and selling them in Zimbabwe, it was alleged in court here.

In the dock was Zimbabwe's acting police commissioner, Mr Augustine Chihuru, and a former senior police officer, Mr James Ndove, who have pleaded not guilty to charges of corruption.

The case centres on two vehicles brought to Zimbabwe from South Africa which were allegedly released from the car theft investigation yard on the instructions of the two officers.

PAC chief representative in Zimbabwe, Mr Thobile Gola, denied that the vehicles belonged to the party and said if any members of the organisation were involved in car theft they were doing it on their own account.

He said he had been told by the Central Intelligence Organisation that some PAC members were involved in criminal activities in the name of the organisation.

In his defence outline Mr Chihuru said the case against him had been brought as a result of a power struggle within the police.

The trial is continuing.

PAC 'won't  
stop fighting'

UMTATA. — The PAC is not going to commit suicide by abandoning the armed struggle, says its national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemaqzhivhani. *CT 22/1/92*

He was speaking in the Umtata City Hall last night on his first official visit to the Transkei.

Referring to the attacks on police by the PAC's military wing, Apla, he said the police were "preventing us from destroying apartheid structures". — Sapa

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The "liberation desk" of President Robert Mugabe's office covered up PAC fund-raising through the smuggling of stolen cars from SA, it was alleged in court yesterday.

The claim comes in the wake of alleged PAC involvement in drug smuggling.

Acting Zimbabwe police commissioner Augustine Chihuri and senior assistant commissioner James Ndove pleaded not guilty to charges, under Zimbabwe's Prevention of Corruption Act, of using their positions to have stolen cars released from police custody to favoured individuals.

On the first day of the trial yesterday the magistrate was told: "It was part of the PAC's struggle to steal motorcars."

Outlining his defence, Chihuri said it was

## Harare 'covered up PAC car-theft scam'

not the police but the Central Intelligence Organisation and Mugabe's office that gave the PAC clearance to import the stolen vehicles. Confusion had occurred because the police pound did not keep good records and some vehicles were "released improperly (or) stolen by police" (11A) (25)

Chihuri denied he ordered the release of a stolen Toyota Hilux and a Cressida. Ndove also denied authorising the handover, but implicated Chihuri in the order.

Ndove said a PAC member, Tony Biko, had alleged a man named "Mkwananzi" was directing the theft of SA vehicles and their

□ To Page 2

## 'Car scam' <sup>B10cm</sup> 22/11/92

export to Zimbabwe and Zambia. Biko had been detained for four days with other suspects.

"The next I heard, all would be released. Because of their involvement with the PAC no action would be taken," Ndove said. "This racket in stolen motor vehicles had furthered their struggle."

The head of the PAC office in Harare, Thobile Gola, testified that the liberation desk in Mugabe's office liaised with the foreign affairs and customs departments over the importation of vehicles into Zimbabwe by the PAC.

He denied the PAC had a "programme" to import stolen vehicles but admitted under



□ From Page 1

cross-examination that this might have been done by individual members of the PAC, acting on their own behalf, and that he knew what was happening.

Gola also admitted that members of the Central Intelligence Organisation warned him when he took up his post that certain people involved in criminal activities claimed they were acting for the PAC.

Gola denied that sums paid for stolen vehicles had come back to the PAC.

□ The trial of Gola's former deputy, Ramudi Michael Maphai, resumes next month. Maphai and an Indian national have pleaded not guilty to charges of trying to smuggle R40m worth of Mandrax from India to SA via Zimbabwe.



**PAC in car theft  
STAR 22/11/92  
racket - claim**

Star Africa Service 11A/24

HARARE — Allegations were made in court here yesterday that the PAC raised funds by stealing cars in South Africa and selling them in Zimbabwe.

In court were Zimbabwe's acting Police Commissioner, Augustine Chihuru, and a former top policeman, James Ndove, who have been charged with corruption. Both pleaded not guilty.

The case centres on two cars brought to Zimbabwe from South Africa which were allegedly released from the car compound on the instructions of the two.

The PAC representative in Zimbabwe, Timothy Gola, said if any PAC members were involved they were doing it on their own accord.

Mr Chihuri said he had been told by the Central Intelligence Organisation that some PAC members were involved in criminal activities in the name of PAC.

● In Cape Town today, PAC spokesman Barney Desai said he would study the allegations before commenting.

# Govt is <sup>(U/A)</sup> desperate says Azayo leader <sup>Sometan</sup> 22/1/92

By DANIEL MAINE

AZANIAN Youth Organisation president Mr Thami Mcerwa yesterday said his detention and release without being charged showed how desperate the Government was to suppress opposition to the Paul Simon tour.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mcerwa said the Government had hoped his detention would break the morale of those opposed to the tour.

The Azayo president was released on Monday, after spending seven days in detention.

He said: "This indicates that people understand entertainment cannot be held above liberation.

"Demonstrations will continue in Cape Town and should anything happen we hold Paul Simon responsible."

He thanked "the masses of our people" for heeding the call to boycott the show.

Mcerwa said his lawyer was investigating the possibility of laying civil charges against the Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel for "unlawful detention".

Mcerwa was arrested last week after a bomb blast at the offices of the company supplying sound equipment for Paul Simon's shows.

## Correction

THE African National Congress yesterday dismissed rumours and speculation that the organisation's president Nelson Mandela and his wife have gone into hiding following threats on their lives.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus, however, confirmed that the safety of the Mandelas had been threatened.

She said the organisation had taken the necessary precautions. *Sowetan 22/1/92*

"This is all that the ANC said in this regard. There has been intense speculation, misquotation and disinformation over the past few days concerning where Nelson and Winnie Mandela are living, culminating in a misleading headline in the *Sowetan* stating 'Mandela family go into hiding'," Marcus said.

She said reports that plans for Mandela's trip to Tunisia had been kept under wraps and were "known only to a handful of trusted colleagues" were misleading and "disingenuous".

She said plans for Mandela's trips were always distributed to all the media via the South African Press Association.

## Azapo's anti-Codesa plan to be revealed <sup>(11A)</sup>

A PLAN to oppose Codesa will be released at the end of the Azapo's national council in QwaQwa next weekend.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said plans to form a "new, credible patriotic front" would also be formalised. *Sowetan 22/1/92*

Other issues to be discussed at the council include upholding and intensifying the cultural boycott against this country until there is one-person-one-vote in a unitary state, said Moodley. ● See also pages 8 and 14

# Winnie spares a word of praise for FW

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk had taken “tremendous steps towards the solution of our country’s problems”, Winnie Mandela acknowledged in an interview on ABC Television’s Good Morning America programme.

In Atlanta to celebrate Martin Luther King’s birthday with his widow, Coretta Scott King, Mandela also admitted that the ANC had not always seen eye to eye with the civil rights leader’s non-violent credo.

“But, at the end of the day, we have had to come to terms with his dream of a peaceful solution to our country’s prob-

lems.” While it was now “unlikely” the ANC would have to stray from King’s philosophy again, she did not rule it out. “We are very hopeful that we will not have to resort to violence again.”

Asked about her comments on Sunday, when she described De Klerk as “a man who cannot be trusted”, she said: “Discredited as he is, and having the double agenda he has always had, Mr de Klerk needs us as much as we need him. We see no one else in the NP we can negotiate with.

“Mr de Klerk has taken tremendous steps towards the solution of our country’s problems and there is no other Nationalist, in our view, who could take the role (he) has taken. Yes, it is true he has let us down a number of times.”

She was less polite about the PAC and Azapo, whom she referred to as “splinter organisations ... who do not have any constituency”.

Mandela is on a seven-city ANC fundraising tour through the American South. She winds up her trip on Saturday in Los Angeles.

B/decy 22/11 92

SIMON BARBER

(1/A)

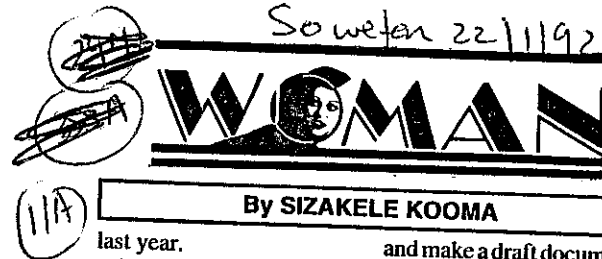
# Don't miss that bus

'Some of the women expressed concern and said the charter could be too late'

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa is moving at high speed and women could miss the bus if they do not move quickly on a woman's charter.

This was the feeling expressed at the PWV region's fifth plenary meeting for the campaign for a charter of women's rights.

This weekend's meeting was the first for 1992 but plans for the campaign have been rolling since August



By SIZAKELE KOOMA

last year.

Women's organisations - professional, church, welfare, education and community-based, among others, and those of the various political groups - were approached to participate in the exercise that hopes to collect demands of women to be included in the charter.

The project was planned to unroll in three stages: Sell the idea of a woman's charter to all women and women's organisations; identify the needs of women through the above;

and make a draft document.

The process, however, seems to be moving at a much slower pace than envisaged. Things have not progressed to the second stage even though five meetings have been held already.

Most of the women at the meeting expressed concern at this and some said they feared the charter might be too late and women's rights might be left out of the constitution. The objective is to have the charter put in the Bill of Rights.

Ms Feroza Adam, a

member of the regional interim steering committee, said progress had been delayed by the lack of feedback from the respective regions.

She said the various organisations had not decided on how they planned to collect the demands from members. The ANC, of which she is member, had brain-stormed the ideas.

"These issues have to be finalised and submitted to the steering committee to be able to guide the document. There has to be a joint agreement on it and the coalition of ideas must come from all organisations," Adam said.

The feeling, and ultimately the decision at the meeting, was to progress to the second stage of identifying, collecting and col-

lating the demands. A film festival and a fete that had been planned for the first stage of conscientising and education were cancelled.

Another meeting will sit again on January 28 to discuss and finalise a questionnaire to be sent out to all women's organisations in the PWV region.

The questionnaire will ask that the respective organisations discuss and submit headings of the issues they want to address; how best they consider collecting demands for the charter, whether door-to-door or through a questionnaire for example, and lastly what should the principles be that bind all the organisations together.

A national workshop on women's demands is planned for April.

## Income 50 years too late

TOKYO - Japanese Prime Minister Mr Kiichi Miyazawa, fresh from a trip to South Korea, said on Monday Japan should pay compensation for forcing tens of thousands of Korean women to serve as prostitutes for Japan's army 50 years ago.

Because Seoul renounced its claim to compensation under a 1965 treaty normalising ties, the South Korean government had not clearly demanded compensation for the women, Miyazawa was quoted as saying.

"But that does not mean the question has been re-

solved," Miyazawa said at a meeting of senior government and ruling party officials in Tokyo.

Citing it as one of the outstanding problems between Tokyo and Seoul, Miyazawa told the meeting: "It is an unbearable problem to the South Koreans."

Earlier on Monday, chief government spokesman Mr Koichi Kato repeated the official position that the government regarded the issue closed by the 1965 treaty.

During his trip, Miyazawa issued a string of apologies for this and other atrocities committed by the Japanese.

# Codesa meetings chart path ahead

*Sowetan* 22/11/92

**THE working committees of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa met for the first time this week to chart the path forward.**

The meeting, four days before the official opening of the all-white Parliament in Cape Town on Friday, is seen as an indication of the importance attached to Codesa by both the Government and participants.

Commentators argue that with Parliament less representative than Codesa, the latter would overshadow and "lead" discussions in Parliament, albeit from the outside.

The engine of this leading vehicle are the five working groups which met at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Monday.

The committees comprise 38 people each, with two representatives for each of the participating 19 organisations, parties and governments.

**FOCUS**

**By MATHATHA  
TSEDU**

The committees or task groups are:

- \* A group on the creation of a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community.

Its role is to recommend ways of creating a climate for political activity free of intimidation, especially during the process leading to the introduction of a new constitution which also looks at the return of exiles, the repeal of discriminatory laws and control of State-controlled media;

*IIA*

- \* A constitution-making body which will formulate and agree on basic constitutional principles and the manner in which the constitution will be drafted;

- \* A group on transitional arrangements which will determine transitional government rules during the negotiation process. It will also look at the time frame for the transitional arrangement - the Government has set a time frame of 10 years while the ANC puts the ceiling at 18 months;

- \* A group on the future of the TBVC states will look into the desirability and manner, where applicable, of the reincorporation of these territories; and

- \* A group on the implementation of Codesa decisions will put time frames for the completion of specific tasks by the groups and the creation of new groups for the working of Codesa.

At the meetings on Monday,

steering committees were elected to serve as chairmen on a rotating basis.

All the committees will make recommendations to the working committee who will then table its own proposals to Codesa 2, scheduled for March.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Monday's meetings and leader of the Democratic Party, said afterwards that progress had been good and the process was "literally building a nation".

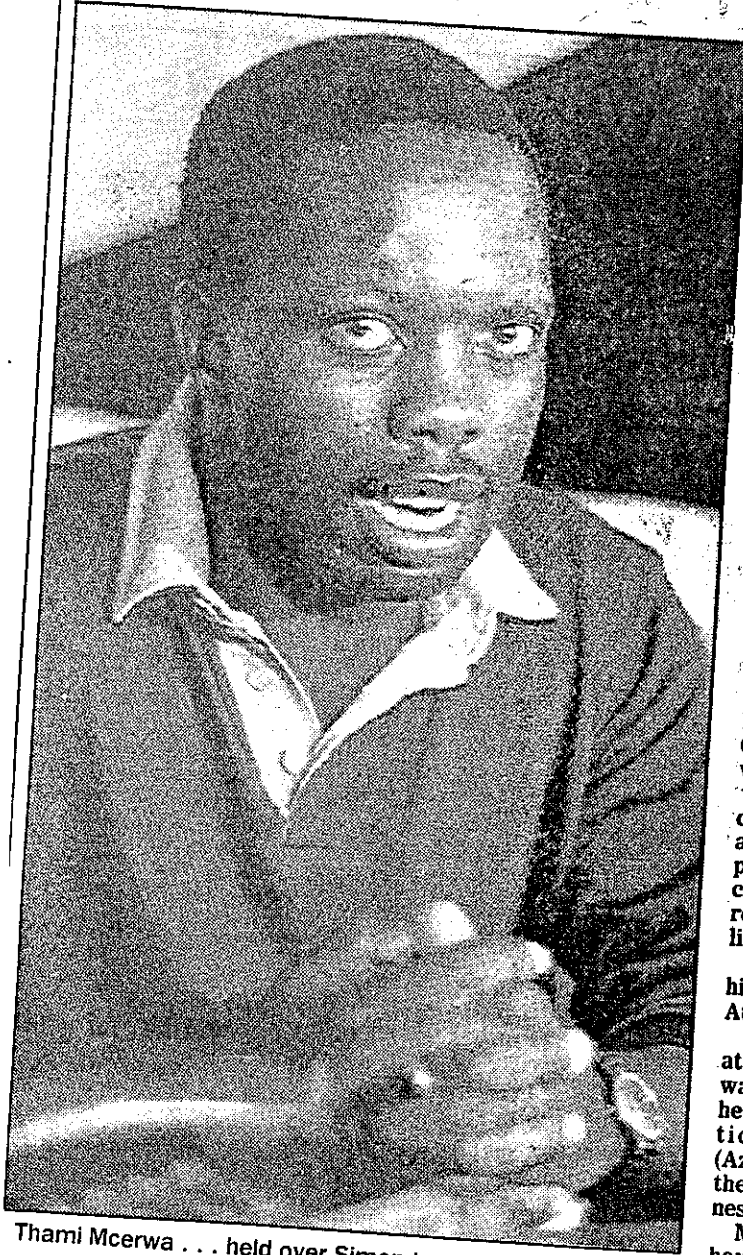
But at stake is what effect the Codesa decisions will have in law.

The postponement of the introduction of the Referendum Bill in Parliament until April is seen as a way of giving the steering committees a chance to make recommendations on the matter instead of the Government taking unilateral decisions.

# Azayo leader slates detention

STAR 22/11/92

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff



Thami Mcerwa . . . held over Simon tour blast. Picture: AP

Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) president and leader of the anti-Paul Simon tour campaign, Thami Mcerwa, intends taking legal action against the State for his "wrongful and unlawful" detention.

Mr Mcerwa was released on Monday after seven days in detention.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Mcerwa said his detention under section 29 of the Internal Security Act had been wrongful and unlawful since the section had been replaced by section 13.

His lawyers were investigating legal action against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

However, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said section 29 was "still in the statute book".

Mr Mcerwa, arrested in connection with a bomb blast at the offices of Simon's tour promoters before his first concert in Johannesburg, was released from the Protea police station on Monday.

He was not charged and his case was referred to the Attorney-General.

Responsibility for the blast at the offices of PA Sounds was claimed by a man saying he was from the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), the armed wing of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Mr Mcerwa and Azayo have since denied any links with Azanla.



# We won't sign while MK exists, says IFP

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the National Peace Committee's subcommittee on an SADF code of conduct is hanging in the balance over the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Its objections were sent in a memorandum to the National Peace Committee on Friday for arbitration, and the IFP has asked that, pending the resolution of the matter, the subcommittee be adjourned.

In terms of the constitution, the SADF is the only lawful national defence force in the country.

"If the Government is willing to sign a code of conduct for the SADF with the ANC under the National Peace Accord without the issue of the ANC's private army, MK, being resolved, the IFP is not.

"To do so would be to confuse principle with expediency and spoil its

reputation for consistency and honest dealing," the IFP said. "The time has come for straight talking."

The IFP noted that the National Peace Accord prohibited private armies. "This principle was fundamental to the IFP's willingness to enter into the National Peace Accord, as it directly addressed the position occupied by MK," the memorandum said. STAR 22/1/92

The ANC's argument that MK was a liberation army and not a private army was "logically and legally untenable."

"This revolutionary posture by the ANC/SACP alliance in relation to its armed wing, MK, while claiming the right to participate in the political process through negotiation, makes a mockery of the National Peace Accord and places a serious question mark on the alliance's commitment to democratic values of a non-Marxist-Leninist variety," the IFP said.

# ANC again warns on foreign loans

STAR 22/1/92

By Sven Lünsche

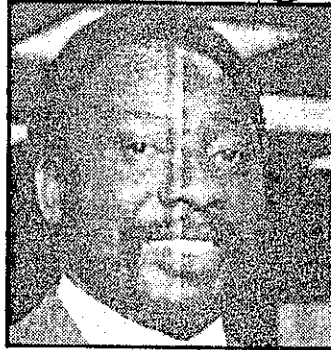
The ANC has once again warned that a future government could renege on the debt repayments of foreign loans entered into by the present Government.

In reaction to South Africa's latest R890 million loan issue on the Eurobond market, the ANC said in a statement yesterday that foreign loans were in gross violation of financial sanctions on Pretoria.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa caused an outcry among local and overseas bankers in October when he warned that a future government would "not be keen" to honour past international loans.

After a flurry of contradictory statements by various officials, the ANC said it reserved the right to evaluate loans to the "apartheid Government".

In its statement yesterday, the ANC said: "We are bound to declare that a democratic government will carefully assess its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the SA Government and its various agencies prior to the formation of an interim government and the formal request for the lifting of economic sanctions by such a government."



Cyril Ramaphosa ... caused an outcry.



Gerhard Croeser ... defending latest loan issue.

The ANC also hit out at the Government for "curbing the economic options of a future democratic government through the imposition of a costly burden of indebtedness on the economy".

The bond issue of 250 million European currency units (ecus) carries an interest rate of 10,375 percent for five years — an extremely attractive rate for international investors as it is 2 percent above the normal interest rate charged on Euro-bond loans.

Since South Africa's foreign loan repayment record is excellent, the higher yield more than compensates for a country that still has the "political risk" classification.

Last year's DM400 million bond by SA was also pitched at a much higher yield than comparable issues, and the bond was snapped up by mainly German retail investors.

In its statement the ANC alleged that Transnet was also planning to issue an equity-linked financial instrument to foreign investors which could provide a rate of return of as high as 25 percent.

"These onerous interest rates represent a heavy burden on the SA economy," the ANC said.

Defending the latest loan issue, Director-General of Finance Gerhard Croeser said the money would be used to finance the national Budget, "which is increasingly directed to the upliftment of the less advantaged segments of the community".

● Ecu bond attractive  
— Page 18

# PAC in car theft racket, court is told

PART of the Pan Africanist Congress' struggle for liberation was to steal cars in South Africa and sell them on the black market in Zimbabwe to raise funds, it was claimed in the Harare Regional Court yesterday.

Acting Commissioner of Police Augustine Chihuri was quoted in documents before the court as saying a car theft racket was part of the PAC's strategy to raise funds.

Chihuri and another top police officer, Assistant Commissioner James Ndove, are appearing on charges of corruption for allegedly using their positions to have stolen cars released from police custody to friends. They have pleaded not guilty.

## Liberation

Chihuri told the court that the "liberation desk" in the office of President Robert Mugabe and the Central Intelligence Organisation, the country's secret service agency, had secretly given the PAC the go-ahead to import stolen vehicles.

Ndove said a PAC member, Tony Biko, had alleged the PAC's car theft racket was run by a PAC official known as "Mkhwanazi".

Biko and several others were arrested but released.

"Because of their involvement with the PAC no action would be taken," Ndove told the court.

The PAC's chief representative in Harare, Mr Thobile Gola, denied there was a "programme" to import stolen cars to boost the movement's funds but said it could have been done by party members acting on their own. - *Sapa*.

# Cosatu in bid to sign up at Codesa

South 23/11-29/11/92

By Thoraya Pandey

COSATU this week announced plans to formally apply for membership to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Their letter of application, already drafted, has received support from the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and their other allies.

Cosatu Western Cape regional chairperson, Mr John Malebo, said: "Broad principles for a new constitution will affect workers and it is crucial for both Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) to be part of the process.

"We won't always agree with the ANC on policy matters and it will be good for us to be seen as separate," said Malebo.

A survey conducted among Cosatu shopstewards recorded a 70 percent support for the labour federation to be independently represented in Codesa.

"Unilateral restructuring affecting workers is taking place and would be unacceptable should we not be part of the process," Malebo said.

"We have shown our negotiating abilities with the signing of the National Peace Accord and business organisations."

Malebo said Cosatu has gained recognition as an independent force in determining the future of South Africa since the success of the Anti-VAT stayaway.

The application will be considered by the Codesa daily management committees if it reaches its offices by January 28.

ROCK musician Paul Simon has tentatively agreed to attend the ANC's "People's Parliament" on the Parade on Friday, ANC officials said. An ANC spokesperson confirmed that Simon had been formally asked to join the demonstration against the "last white parliament".

He had tentatively agreed, although he also expressed some misgivings about making his tour "too political". At the time of going to press Simon was en route to Cape Town on the Blue Train and could not be contacted for comment.

The ANC has challenged the Western Cape to "lead the way for the rest of the country" by bringing the largest crowd ever assembled in the region to Friday's events. National executive committee (NEC) members and thousands of volunteers have been working feverishly for more than two weeks to make the occasion a success.

"All eyes will focus on this region and the ANC to show the world the enormous support for an interim government and constituent assembly," said ANC national organiser Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

"We want no fewer than 100 000 people on the parade on Friday." NEC members Kasrils, Mr Steve Tshwete, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Popo Molefe and Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak addressed 30 gatherings this week.

On Wednesday morning they were on Cape Town station to distribute pamphlets to commuters. Thursday morning saw them in Roeland Street, surprising MP's on their way to parliament with pamphlets urging them to attend the "People's Parliament".

In its largest-ever media blitz, the ANC printed 500 000 pamphlets and 15 000 posters. They hired an aeroplane to buzz the Cape Flats with a message on the demonstration.

Free trains, bus and taxi services from the Cape Flats, Paarl, Worcester and Stellenbosch have been arranged. Four ANC members were injured in the early hours of Wednesday morning when their car, which was loaded with posters, overturned on De Waal drive.

ANC regional campaigns coordinator Mr Sipomo Sokoyi, Mr Frank Pockpass, Mr Dick Pockpass and Mr Peter Barry sustained minor injuries.

● PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai lashed out at the media for "reporting irresponsibly and encouraging black people to fight among themselves". The PAC march will start at 10.30am on Friday from the top of Wale Street and will kick off its Anti-Codesa campaign.

A free train has also been organised which will leave Khayelitsha at 8am and stop at main stations on the Cape Flats.

# Simon may attend parliament march



**CLOSE SHAVE:** Rescue workers use the jaws of life to free ANC activists injured when their car overturned on Wednesday

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

117 South 23/11 - 29/11/92

# At ease, Mr Speaker, it's only comrade Hani

11A  
By Quentin Wilson

STANDING outside the Houses of Parliament for the first time, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani, couldn't believe the size of the buildings.

"Phew, I did not realise this place was so massive," Hani said when SOUTH took him for a stroll through the grounds.

Eyes turned and African policemen grinned as Hani did his turn around an establishment that for so many years

waged open war against him and his forces in the ANC military wing.

"The moment of truth has come for South Africa," Hani said on the steps of the whites-only House of Assembly. "Apartheid is disappearing. Nothing can stop the determination of our people."

Hani said President FW de Klerk will have to take into account the arguments of liberation movements in the weeks ahead.

"It is clear that the democratic forces have dramatically tilted the balance of forces at Codesa in favour of democracy," Hani said.

"The National Party is no longer calling the shots, they can no longer impose unilateral decisions at Codesa.

"They have been forced to participate on equal terms and in fact are struggling to draw support for their minority ideas."

Hani said the fact that the Declaration of Intent sounded "practically the same" as the Freedom Charter was a major victory.

"I am not exaggerating when I say that the majority of participating forces in Codesa are organisations committed to pushing the country into a democratic era as soon as possible,"

South 23/11 - 29/1/92  
he said.

Hani said the government was promoting federalism to protect white privilege that had been accumulated at the expense of the majority.

"Their demand for federalism is a nicely concealed demand for the retention of the status quo in the economy, schools, hospitals and all other sectors of our society.

"They want to reach a situation where a central government does not have sufficient power to make far-reaching changes that address the socio-economic crisis that exists in our country," Hani said.

# PAC condemns Indian visit

3100ay 23/11/92  
THE Foreign Affairs Department yesterday confirmed that a delegation of 10 Indian businessmen, religious leaders and an MP had arrived in SA — a visit quickly condemned by the PAC.

The ANC stopped short of condemning the visit, saying only that it was not aware of the government-sponsored tour.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the ANC was not consulted about the visit and no ANC members were scheduled to meet the visiting delegation.

The delegation consists of Prof Chandra Swami, MP Subramoney Swamy, four businessmen, two religious leaders and two educationists.

The itinerary of the group is not yet known, but it is understood it will

attend the opening of Parliament and will meet Inkatha leaders.

Durban businessman CT Bhoola said yesterday he would be hosting a lunch for the visitors today to meet members of the Indian community.

It is not the first delegation of Indian luminaries to visit the country. A group of 15, including a former Indian foreign minister, visited SA to attend the ANC national conference last year. (11A) (121)

The PAC said it learned of the visit with "dismay" because, although "the struggle for national liberation and self-determination has intensified, apartheid and racism in SA are far from over".

TIM COHEN

# Plan to upstage Parliament

11A CT 23/192

## Political Staff

THE ANC and the PAC plan to upstage the opening of Parliament tomorrow with demonstrations of mass action.

The ANC is hoping to attract 100 000 people to the Grand Parade for its 'people's parliament' followed by a march on Parliament.

The planned protest is arranged to coincide with President F W de Klerk's opening address to what could be the last session of the tricameral Parliament.

Tomorrow's protest is the climax to a week-long series of mass rallies and meetings the ANC has been holding throughout the Peninsula.

Last week the ANC held 23



**ON THE STREETS** ANC executive member Mr Ronnie Kasrils campaigns for the alternative opening of parliament.

preparatory forums for ANC activists in the Peninsula with additional planning meetings in towns like Atlantis, Worces-

ter, Montagu and Beaufort West. The PAC plans a separate anti-Parliament and anti-Co-

desa protest meeting in the Bo-Kaap tomorrow morning. This will be followed by a march on Parliament.

Yesterday senior members of the ANC took to the streets to hand out more than 500 000 pamphlets in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

Cars fitted with loudhailers and playing tape-recorded messages by Dr Allan Boesak have been traversing townships around Cape Town all week in a bid to rally support for tomorrow's protest.

The ANC also plans to use an aircraft advertising the Parade meeting.

● Big march to Parliament —  
Page 5

WVRE 109.96 No. 111  
Sleeve SHIRTS



# ANC joins Libya row

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Mr Nelson Mandela this week stunned the US government with a personal plea to President George Bush on behalf of Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Mr Mandela tried to call Mr Bush personally to criticise Western efforts to pressure Colonel Gaddafi to extradite Libyan agents believed responsible for the bombing of the Pan Am flight over Lockerbie.

This was confirmed by the ANC Washington office, which said Mr Mandela had telephoned from Morocco to see if a conversation with Mr Bush could be arranged.

The president was not available, but Mr Mandela did get through to officials at the State Department to whom he read a prepared statement on the Lockerbie issue.

Administration officials were stunned by what one described as an attempt by Mr Mandela to intercede on Colonel Gaddafi's behalf.

Mr Mandela's attempt to contact Mr Bush follows his suggestion earlier

this week that the agents should either be tried in a neutral country by independent judges or at the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

However, Mr Mandela also suggested that the US and its allies were engaged in a personal vendetta against Colonel Gaddafi, arguing that "it is important that the trial not be intended to humiliate any head of state".

Mr Mandela also said the ANC "condemned all acts of terrorism" and wished to express "deep-felt sympathies to the families of those who die in the bombing".

Yesterday the UN Security Council voted 15-0 on a resolution effectively demanding that Libya turn over for trial two agents accused of sabotaging Pan Am 103 in 1988 and a UTA flight over Niger a year later.

Mr Mandela's support for Colonel Gaddafi, PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat and Cuba's Dr Fidel Castro have been a constant source of friction between the US government and the ANC.

In a telephone conversation before the start of Operation Desert Storm last year, Mr Mandela infuriated Mr Bush by insisting on reading an ANC statement highly critical of US efforts to force Iraq's President Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait.

11A

CT 23/1/92



**GUARDED** . . . Security agents surround Mrs Winnie Mandela as she greets people in Florida this week during a fund-raising trip to the United States.

(117) CT 23 / 11/12 AP

## Winnie makes Nats happy

**THE** National Party has welcomed "what appears to be a change of heart on the part of Mrs Winnie Mandela," the NP Federal Information Office said yesterday.

Reacting to a US television interview in which Mrs Mandela said the ANC had "come to terms with (the) dream of a peaceful solution to our country's problems", the NP said this was progress indeed and "hopefully will help to

finally put the armed struggle to rest."

The NP said it wanted to restate President FW de Klerk's call at Codesa for the ANC to honour their undertakings in terms of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Conference to "terminate what they themselves defined as the armed struggle".

By no stretch of the imagination could an "armed struggle" be rec-

onciled with a "dream of peaceful solution".

The NP said it also welcomed Mrs Mandela's statement that the ANC needed Mr De Klerk. "The National Party welcomes Mrs Mandela's recognition of a reality which has already been accepted by so many of her own countrymen and by most world leaders."  
— Sapa

# Mandela calls Bush over Libya debate

WASHINGTON — ANC president Nelson Mandela tried to call US President George Bush on Tuesday to criticise Western efforts to urge Libyan leader Muammar Gadaffi to extradite Libyan agents believed responsible for the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie. (11A)

The ANC's Washington office said Mandela had telephoned from Morocco to see if he could talk to Bush. Bush was not available, but Mandela did get through to State Department officials, to whom he read a prepared statement.

The officials were stunned by what one

SIMON BARBER

described as an attempt by Mandela to intercede on Gadaffi's behalf.

At the urging of the US, Britain and France, the UN Security Council has demanded that Libya turn over for trial two agents accused of the 1988 bombing and of a UTA flight over Niger a year later.

Mandela said the ANC "condemned all acts of terrorism". He said if there was clear evidence of involvement by identified suspects, they should be arrested. But he suggested the US and its allies were engaged in a vendetta against Gadaffi.

11/17/88  
3:11 PM  
SIP

# Big march to Parliament

**ANC, PAC**

**in rival**

**protests**

11A  
CT 23/1/92  
11A

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
Political Correspondent

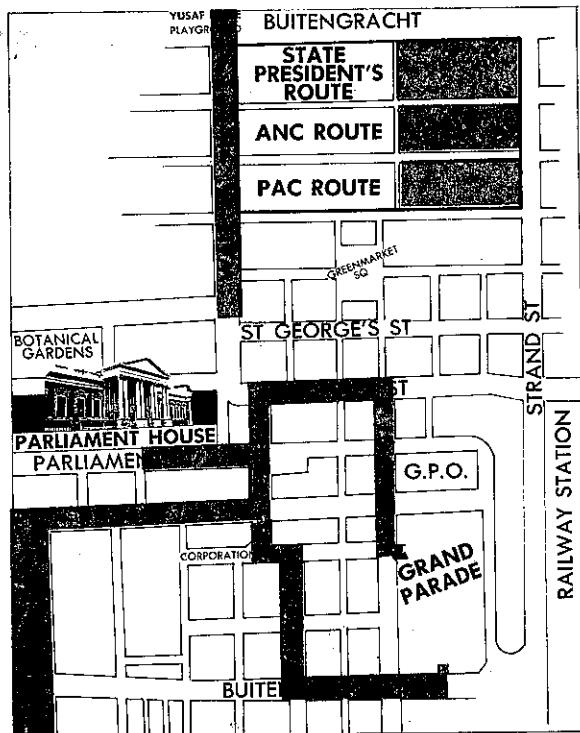
THE ANC plans to turn tomorrow's climax of its week-long "people's parliament" campaign into the biggest protest gathering since its unbanning.

After days of feverish mobilisation and a publicity blitz by a team of local and up-country ANC heavyweights, the organisation hopes to attract up to 100 000 to tomorrow's protest meeting on the Parade and a march on Parliament.

The planned monster protest will coincide with President FW de Klerk's opening address to what could be the last session of the tricameral Parliament as we know it.

The PAC plans a separate anti-Parliament and anti-Codesa protest meeting in the Bo-Kaap tomorrow morning. This will also be followed by a march on Parliament.

The ANC said yesterday that its deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, would attempt to address Parliament in a bid to appeal directly to the 308 white, coloured and Indian MPs to disband the institu-



tion and pave the way for an interim government.

However, the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, said that no such request had been received from the ANC and no provision was made in the rules of Parliament for such a step anyway.

SA Communist Party head Mr Chris Hanu told a press conference in Woodstock yesterday that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would resort to a new wave of mass action

if the government refused to accede to the demand for an interim government in six months.

ANC executive member Mr Popo Molefe said the organisation saw the government's proposal that Parliament sit only three days a week as recognition of the "increasing irrelevance" of the tricameral system.

"Codesa is at present the most appropriate forum for the expression of the view of South Africa's

people," he said.

The ANC disclosed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had considered cutting short his current African tour to be present at the climax of the ANC's anti-tricameral Parliament campaign but that the organisation had finally decided against this.

Mr Molefe said the ANC would be deploying more than 1 000 marshals in the city and on buses and trains tomorrow to ensure that the

"people's parliament" protest takes place "in a disciplined, peaceful and orderly manner".

The ANC has hired special trains to bring its supporters from all over the Western Cape to the Parade before the 10.30am starting time.

The ANC had called on its members and supporters not to interfere with the planned PAC march and it called on the PAC to respond in kind.



**PEOPLE'S PUBLICITY . . .** ANC executive members Ms Cheryl Carolus (left) and Dr Allan Boesak hit the streets yesterday to publicise the organisation's alternative meeting of "parliament" tomorrow.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

*'Next year we rule from inside these Houses. It is the moment of truth for South Africa? — ANC executive member Chris Han*

11/11

South  
23/11-29/1/92



**Full story:  
Page 3**

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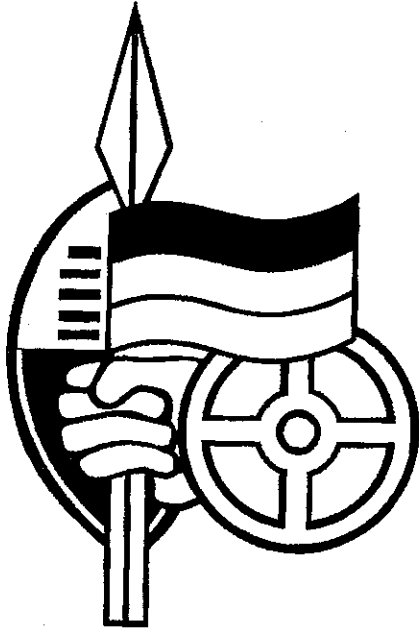
Closing date: 14 February 1992.

**WESTERN CAPE  
REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL**



South 23/11-24/1/92

(117)



“We want to invite you to join the ANC at the People's Parliament on the Parade on Friday 24 January at 10.30am.

Let us come together to **talk of freedom**.  
 Let us call for an **end to the racist parliament** under which South Africans have suffered so long.  
 Let us bring our demands to the Parade and tell the regime that we want **democratic elections in 1992**.  
 Let us pass laws for equal pensions, land for the people, women's rights, workers' rights and equal education for our children.

*Let us come together to talk of freedom*

And let us march to parliament with our leaders at 12.30 to present De Klerk with the decisions of the People's Parliament.

Join our leaders Walter Sisulu, Chris Hani, Winnie Mandela, Chris Dlamini, Peter Mokaba, Albertina

Sisulu, Tony Yengeni, Ebrahim Rasool, Cheryl Carolus, Ronnie Kasrils and many others.

This is our opportunity to demonstrate loudly and clearly that, in 1992, the people shall govern.

We'll see you there! ”



*Allan Boesak*  
 ALLAN BOESAK



*Steve Tshwete*  
 STEVE TSHWETE

*P.S. The ANC has paid for free trains from Khayelitsha, Mitchell's Plain, Phillipi, Nyanga, Heideveld, Cape Flats/Retreat, Simonstown, Bellville, Wellington and Stellenbosch. Please check your local station for details.*

**The ANC People's Parliament. On the Parade. Friday 24 January. At 10.30 am.**

## **NEWS IN BRIEF**

### **PAC denies car thefts**

THE PAC has denied giving orders to members to steal cars in SA and sell them in neighbouring countries. (11A)

This follows claims in a Zimbabwean court that the organisation authorised fund-raising through smuggling stolen cars.

And the police say they have no proof that political organisations are involved in car theft though it

was possible individuals belonging to a specific political organisation might be committing crimes.

*B/Dary 23/1/92*



# Shift in China's attitude towards the PAC expected

*B1 Day 23/1/92 (11A)*

THE People's Republic of China is "likely to reconsider" its policy of selling weapons to the PAC in the light of the new rapprochement between the SA and Chinese governments, an informed SA government source said yesterday.

Asked about Chinese materiel support for the PAC, the source said that it was "a fair assumption that the government of mainland China no longer has the same attitude towards political groups in SA as it once did".

The source added that it was "likely that they (the Chinese government) are bringing some of their influence to bear" on groups like the PAC.

The Chinese government has been the main provider of weapons and financial

support for the PAC and its military wing, Apla.

Apla, based in Dar es Salaam, has claimed responsibility for the murder of several SA policemen in the past few months.

The PAC would not comment on the matter yesterday, saying only that its support from foreign donors remained strong.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha met his Chinese counterpart Qichen Quian on a surprise visit to China at the end of last year, and Quian spent Monday afternoon with Botha in Pretoria while passing through SA.

It is understood that the two officials discussed the evolution of trade relations between the two countries, and the establishment of unofficial interest offices in

Pretoria and Beijing, announced last month.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday it was unlikely the SA government would be pursuing trade links with China if it had not received assurances from the Chinese government about the supply of arms to anti-government "terrorist" groups in SA.

A Chinese commercial office was to be set up in Midrand next month, and a tour by a Chinese trade mission would follow, the government source said.

But the source said it was unlikely SA would establish any sort of official diplomatic ties with China — at least while current SA government structures remained — for fear of offending Taiwan, one of SA's biggest trading partners.

DARIUS SANAI

# Demos at supreme courts planned

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

The Witwatersrand regions of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance have unveiled plans to stage demonstrations at two supreme courts for two months to protest against the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said pickets would be held outside the Pretoria and Rand supreme courts between January 24 and March 21 — the day of the Sharpeville massacre.

STAR 23/1/72  
11A Describing Parliament as illegitimate and undemocratic, Mr Sexwale said efforts would be made to make the campaign a success "that future generations will live to cherish".

The protest would coincide with the holding of a mock "people's parliament" at the Grand Parade in Cape Town by the ANC's western Cape region tomorrow.

Protest organisers have urged employers to give workers time off to attend the "session", to be addressed by top ANC, SACP and Cosatu leaders.

Mr Sexwale said the session of the "racist" Parliament was "irrelevant" and against the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Accusing Parliament of failing to stop or bring violence under control, Mr Sexwale added: "The Nationalist Party Government, sitting in this Parliament, continues to sanction and channel funds for surreptitious anti-democratic operations."

"We demand nothing less than an interim government and a constituent assembly."

## FW, Mandela to share peace prize

STAR 23/1/92  
PARIS — President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will share the \$148 000 (about R414 000) United Nations Scientific, Educational and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) peace prize, it was announced in Paris yesterday.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela

(11A) (2/27)  
will attend the award ceremony on February 3, Unesco said.

An international jury headed by former United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger honoured Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk for their efforts to end the apartheid system of government. — Sapa-AP.

# ANC, SACP issue interim govt deadline

STAR 23/1/92 (11A) 3014

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and SACP would launch a campaign of mass action if an interim government were not in place within six months, SACP and ANC leader Chris Hanu said yesterday.

The "people's parliament", to be held in Cape Town's Grand Parade tomorrow, was one of the first steps towards the implementation of an interim government, he said.

Addressing a press conference, Mr Hanu said the struggle for an interim government in six months would be stepped up in an attempt to pressure the Government into realising the "futility of hanging on to Parliament".

He said it made no

sense for the Government to refuse the implementation of an interim government as it was already involved in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

ANC national executive committee member Popo Molefe said the ANC viewed the National Party's request for Parliament to sit for only three days each week as a recognition of the "increasing irrelevance" of the tricameral Parliament.

Codesa was at present the most appropriate forum for the expression of the views of all South Africans.

The "people's parliament" would demand the disbanding of the tricameral Parliament.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu would lead a march to Parliament to demand that a representative of the "people's parliament" be allowed to deliver its decisions to

the tricameral Parliament.

ANC western Cape leader Willie Hofmeyr said the organisation expected between 40 000 and 50 000 people to attend the "people's parliament".

National executive committee members would hand out pamphlets, demanding the disbanding of Parliament, to MPs as they arrived for the opening of Parliament tomorrow.

It was ironical that at the time the modalities for the transfer of power were being negotiated, an "illegal and unrepresentative" Parliament had decided to convene, Mr Hanu said.

An end should be put to "this circus", he added, referring to the tricameral Parliament.

Mr Molefe said the present Parliament's relevance was only to give effect to Codesa decisions.

# Service for slain Azapo <sup>11A</sup> leader <sup>11A</sup>

By MOKGADI PELA

*Soweto 23/1/92*  
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will commemorate the death of its former health secretary and civil rights campaigner Dr Abu-Baker Asvat in Lenasia on Sunday.

A spokesman for the Lenasia branch of the organisation, Mr Enver Randera, said the service was intended to "honour one of the most dedicated and revolutionary personalities in the medical profession."

Asvat was gunned down in his Rockville, Soweto, surgery on January 27 1989 by two men who pretended to be patients.

The service will be held at the Jiswa Centre at 2.30pm.

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■ ■ ■ ■

# 'We are demonstrating against the monster Codesa'



MR Clarence Makwetu, President of the PAC.

**T**HIS is not only an historic occasion but it is history repeating itself. Thirty two years ago tens of thousands of PAC supporters staged a march on the racist and illegal parliament, said Mr Clarence Makwetu, President of the Pan Africanist Congress in Cape Town today.

Today we march again and repeat our demands that this illegitimate regime make way for a democratic parliament now.

We are demonstrating today against the monster called Codesa. To us it is unthinkable that this racist regime together with its lackeys in the tri-cameral parliament and its stooges in the Bantustans, are the vehicle for ushering in a democratic constitution for our country.

This regime and its collaborators wish to sidetrack our demand for a Constituent Assembly because they fear the voice of the down trodden masses of Azania. We say to them your wishes are pipe dreams. We have not come this far — suffering and sacrificing so much — to be fobbed off with a second-hand constitution controlled by a white racist veto.

Mandated, we are by our Special Consultative Congress, to pursue the constituent assembly through all channels, the

PAC proposes that the farce of Codesa be halted and that two sided negotiations start with the regime on one side and those supporting the constituent assembly on the other side.

This regime has two faces. One to the outside world which show them as enlightened reformers, the other the face of duplicity and murder.

Let me remind you of the facts:

The Broederbond is using the National Intelligence Service, through agents in the PAC, to sow dissension and fratricidal strife in order to destabilise the PAC, according to a recent Sunday Times report.

The 'third force' of killers of our people are rampant throughout the country. Military Intelligence has provided para-military training to political organisations who have played a direct role in fomenting violence.

The CCB are alive and well and are conducting their destabilising and murderous activity through over 40 front organisations and companies.

Koevoet and Battalion 32 who are nothing but mercenary killers, operate against our people under the direct instruction of the SADF.

The killing fields of Natal are drenched in the

blood of Africans. Country-wide there were 1 246 murders and 831 cases of attempted murder in 1991. There has been 8 805 so-called 'unrest related' incidents in the same year. Millions of rands have been spent by this regime to promote this carnage of our people, and the PAC declares that it is hypocrisy of the highest order to pass strictures on the activities of APLA.

We say to this regime and the government of the United States, before you cast a stone at us for using all means at our disposal to free Azania, examine yourself and your own actions.

Commissions of enquiry into violence are a waste of time. The criminal can never investigate his own activities. The PAC gives notice that the African people will never accept a Muzurewa type interim government.

I call on you today to show high moral and absolute discipline. The PAC has become the only moral voice for National liberation.

The PAC's quest for Peace is epitomised by our demand for one person one vote leading to a constituent assembly. It would be suicidal for us to abandon the ballot until we have achieved the ballot. We seek not the peace of the graveyard, but the peace of a free people.

THE MISSING LINK IN A MONTHS-LONG MYSTERY: HOW GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL

KILLERS

# How a small group of hitmen he

w/mcaul 24/11 - 30/1/92

(11A)

~~24/11/92~~ ~~27/1/92~~ ~~30/1/92~~

By EDDIE KOCH and PHILIPPA GARSON

**T**WO "Black Cats", members of a pro-Inkatha gang that holds the eastern Transvaal town of Wesselton in a grip of fear, have come forward to explain how professional hitmen are able to spread civil strife through a volatile township.

The history of the gang and reign of terror it has imposed on the people of Wesselton since the middle of 1990 provides a vital clue to the way in which mystery "third force" gunmen have been able to fan the violence that is now endemic in the Transvaal.

The evidence and the two Black Cat members are being placed before Mr Justice R Goldstone, who is heading a special inquiry into Military Intelligence involvement in violence.

The picture that has been pieced together from interviews with the Black Cat defectors, as well as a range of other sources in the military and Inkatha, looks like this:

Around October 1990, some "kwaZulu

policemen" (known as KZPs) travelled from Ulundi to the township near Ermelo — where tension was running high because of a rent boycott and campaign by the African National Congress-aligned civic organisation to depose local town councillors — and recruited about 32 young boys and girls from the Black Cats.

These mysterious men from Ulundi were, in fact, part of a 200-strong paramilitary group trained for Inkatha in mid-1986 by the South African Defence Force's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) at a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in the art of "offensive warfare" that included use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives.

After their training, the 200 DMI "graduates" were housed and paid by a military front organisation called Creed Consultants. One of their bases, a secret barracks near Mkuze in northern Natal, was run by Creed. In mid-1989 the "boys from the project", as they were called, were formally incorporated into the kwaZulu Police.

The "KZPs" took the Wesselton youngsters in two mini-buses to Ulundi, where they were housed in the old police barracks. The Black Cats stayed in the kwaZulu government offices for two months, where they received political education and generally "just loitered around".

"Some of us would go to the township to commit robberies because we needed money. They gave us everything, but not cash. They even bought us cigarettes," says one of the defectors known as Themba.

Later the gangsters were transferred to the Mkuze camp and a select group of about 22 were put through an intensive course in how to shoot with AK-47s, 9mm handguns and shotguns. They were also taught how to apprehend people, search and detain them.

"One Sunday night while we were in Ulundi, Mashabane (the clan name for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's former private secretary MZ Khumalo) said we were leaving for Mkuze," says Themba.

At a secret base in the Caprivi Strip in 1986, a 200-strong paramilitary group is trained in the use of AK-47s, Browning machine guns and explosives. These men form the core of what later becomes known as the "Third Force" ...

The youths were driven to Mkuze in the same two mini-buses. "We were met by Joyful Mtetwa (one of the 200 Caprivi Strip trainees). We slept in barracks at Mkuze. The blankets on the beds were like those used in prison. There were RSA stamps on the beds," says Themba.

"Peter Msane taught us in English about leadership. We once watched a video of *Shaka Zulu*. Msane also taught us practical skills, like how to hijack people by covering their mouths and dragging them into cars.

"We were told how to rescue our comrades if

they were inj leave them bc Our trainer, M wanted to teach gave them car to a shooting fr about 2km fr with pumpgu 9mm P38s (a

"They spen shooting rang like me stayed We never had ate food from the boxes of fr

Mbongeni defector who Mkuze camp, how the Black Khumalo pair clan name for guerrilla who v



## KILLERS COULD REPEATEDLY TERRORISE TOWNSHIPS ... AND GET AWAY WITH IT

## held a township to ransom

w/ mail 24/11 - 30/11/92

they were injured in fights, so we would not leave them behind for the enemy — the ANC. Our trainer, Mandlanduna, chose 22 people. He wanted to teach them how to shoot properly. He gave them camouflage uniforms and took them to a shooting range in the Lebombo mountains about 2km from the camp. They learned to shoot with pumpguns (pump-action shotguns) and 9mm P38s (a make of handgun).

"They spent at least seven hours a day at the shooting range. The girls and the young boys like me stayed behind, working in the garden. We never had to worry about food because we ate food from the police. There was writing on the boxes of food which said CID."

Mbongeni Khumalo, high-ranking Inkatha defector who was frequently stationed at the Mkuze camp, has confirmed the description of how the Black Cats were recruited and trained. Khumalo points out that Mandlanduna is the clan name for Daluxolo Luthuli, a turned ANC guerrilla who was trained by DMI in Caprivi and

is now, according to Khumalo, "a professional assassin".

Khumalo also confirms that Msane is an ex-Caprivi trainee and currently an official at Inkatha's Ulundi head office.

When the two-month training programme at Mkuze was completed, the gangsters were given seven home-made guns (*qwashas*) and were taken back to Wesselton.

"The ANC was now afraid of coming to our area — Wesselton Extension," says Themba. "The training helped us to overcome the ANC. We were aware of strategies we were to use before we fought. We would plan our attacks."

Back in Wesselton, aided by some of the "boys from the project", the gangsters taught another group of some 40 Black Cats how to shoot.

"We met at the home of Chris Ngwenya (leader of the gang and a graduate from Mkuze) and we practised how to shoot with a .45 and a 9mm parabellum. I like the parabellum because it is

very powerful," says Themba.

Lucas, the other defector, adds: "When they came back from Ulundi, they recruited a number of youngsters who joined the group. They offered them training in the use of guns. This was done at Chris' place, inside his house.

"They also offered me training. They had one AK-47, two 9mms and four *qwashas*. They gave us the weapons without bullets and showed us how to shoot. About 40 youngsters immediately joined them and we became a group of about 80."

The gang then went on the rampage. Backed by a handful of Caprivi graduates who routinely visited Wesselton as members of the KZP, including Mandlanduna, they attacked members of the ANC, bombed the offices of a local human-rights lawyer and participated in a grisly attack on mourners at the funeral of a victim of their violence.

They received intensive backing from white police officers in Ermelo, who failed to arrest

Black Cats involved in violence and went so far as to release kwaZulu policemen apprehended by the SADF (See accompanying story).

The manner in which the Black Cats were recruited and trained followed an "each one teaches 10" principle: small groups of professionals trained by the DMI teach a larger group of gangsters how to use firearms and then this group provides a bigger cohort of the gang with the rudimentary skills of killing. In this way Inkatha obtains command over a three-tiered group of trained fighters to use in its contest with the ANC for control over the township, and the level of violence escalates dramatically.

The latest victims of the Wesselton violence were two residents, including a member of the ANC who was stabbed to death by gang members over the Christmas period.

And the Black Cats, acting in concert with men trained by DMI and imbued with a sense that they are immune from arrest, continue to terrorise the township.



# THE THIRD FORCE



Two members of the "Black Cat" gang lit the lid on the scandal of security force involvement in fanning township violence. Photograph: KEVIN CARTER

## TWO HIT-SQUAD MEN SPEAK

WMAid 24/11 - 30/11/77

**We piece together the chain that links security force agents to the township violence**

**T**HEY call their gang the "Black Cats". But these men are better known by another name... the "hit-squads"

They carry out violent attacks on township targets, often in collaboration with the security forces.

The two men in our photograph were recruited from their township street gang by Inkatha and sent to a secret base for training by Military Intelligence experts.

Returned to their homes, they used force and intimidation to

build up an Inkatha presence in their Eastern Transvaal township. The violence their gang has been involved in continues to this day.

The story these men have told *The Weekly Mail*, corroborated by other sources in the course of a months' long investigation, finally pins down the mystery of township killings:

- There is indeed a "Third Force"
- It is masterminded by the SADF, aided by the kwaZulu police.
- Its aim is to undermine the ANC and establish power bases for Inkatha.

The vicious plan involves recruiting township criminals, giving them weapons and teaching them to kill, then using them to recruit others for acts of random violence.

Our "Black Cats" give explicit details of how this works. They describe, for example, how they were recruited to bomb a lawyer's office by a local policeman... who then "investigated" the crime and found no evidence.

**For the story of how the Third Force operates, see PAGES 2 and 3**

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# Back to back they faced each other

W/MCA 24/11-30/11/92 (S) (11)

*Old enemies shelved their differences at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa this week when Codesa's five working groups met to start hammering out a blueprint for the 'new' South Africa.* **By GAVIN EVANS and PAUL STOBER**

It was hardly a year ago when Operation Vula cadres Pravin Ghordan and Mac Maharaj were being roughed up as involuntary wards of the state, and co-conspirator Janet Love was being hunted by the police.

Today, all three are central to administering the national negotiations taking place through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Ghordan is the chairman of Codesa's seven-member Daily Management Committee, having just taken over from Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer. Maharaj, with Love as his alternate, serves on the Political Secretariat — together with the government's Fanie van der Merwe.

It's the kind of development that confirms the nightmares — or the "told you so" — hopes of the far right and the far left. Yesterday's terrorists running today's government-in-waiting. Yesterday's guerrillas buying in with their former enemies. But it is also one of many signs that suggest just how far things have come in the negotiations that began in earnest this week.

The five working groups started business on Monday by deciding on procedural issues, electing steering committees and, in the case of Working Group 3 on Transitional Arrangements, a chairman (the DP's Ken Andrew).

The groups get down to the nitty gritty from February 9 and will meet at least once a week until they reconvene at the next convention — "Codesa 2" — at the end of March. By this time they are expected to have made their proposals, but given the enormity of the issues they are considering, there is some doubt this would have been achieved by then.

Despite the fact that the government and the African National Congress have come closer together in recent months, reaching "sufficient consensus" will not be easy in any of the working groups, each of which have their bugbear issues.

In Group 1, whose main task is defined as "creating a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community", it is likely to be a question of the disbanding of Umkhonto weSizwe or its integration into the South African Defence Force/a new defence force. Which is why the ANC has chosen MK commander Joe Modise as one of its two representatives, the NP its defence spokesman Boy Geldenhuys and the government its Law and Order Minister Herms Kriel. If that's not enough Group 1 will also look at the future of the SABC, the repeal of remaining discriminatory legislation, the return of exiles and the ending of political violence.

Group 2, which is dealing with "constitutional principles and a constitution-making body/process", has already opted to meet twice a week (compared with once a week for the others) in anticipation of some tough horse-trading. Most of the parties have chosen big guns — ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen, South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, DP MP Denis Worrall and Inkatha acting secretary general SH Gumede to name a few.

Aside from having to decide on touchy questions like the future of Afrikaans and other languages and how the flag and other national symbols should look, it will also have to make proposals on future economic principles, the composition of the three branches of government and, most difficult of all, whether a referendum should be held and whether there should be an elected constituent assembly.

Group 3, whose brief is "transitional arrangements", will pit the likes of Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and Jeremy Cronin (SACP) against cabinet ministers Barend du Plessis, Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers in trying to reach compromises on a range of issues relating to an interim government.

Group 4, which is looking into "the future of the TBVC states", will have tough task of trying to bend the arm of the Bophuthatswana government into re-integrating into South Africa.

Group 5, whose job it is to deal with "timeframes and implementation of decisions", will be deciding how much time to give Codesa to reach its decisions. It will also be trying to find consensus where it exists and will be involved in the formulation of legislation to give these decisions legal effect.

Prior to "Codesa 2" there are several other issues which may require resolution:

● With 19 parties (each having 12 delegates plus advisors), the process is already unwieldy. So far 28 more political parties or organisations have applied to join.

A special sub-committee is meeting to consider the applications. Their recommendation will be made to the Daily Management Committee, which is answerable to the 38-member

Management Committee, which next meets on February 10.

Most important has been the application for a delegation from the Zulu royal family, and the counter-application from the ANC-aligned chiefs organisation, Contralesa. The ploy of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to stay out of the talks and make dire predictions of violence unless King Goodwill Zwelithini's delegation is accepted, seems to have worked — but at a cost.

Their approval will mean the Contralesa delegation, and perhaps one from the Transkei chiefs, will also have to be included.

Contralesa national treasurer Raushivhanda Ndou was confident about his organisation's chances of acceptance. "I don't think any political party will have problems with Contralesa, our

members still represent 50 percent of the people in this country," he said.

Three tiny renegade rightwing parties, Boerevolk, the newly-formed Afrikaner Party and "Boerentia", have applied and at least one will be accepted, if only to give the sense that the white homeland issue has been aired, and the right have had their say.

● Bophuthatswana and Inkatha have still not signed the Declaration of Intent, which means they are not bound by Codesa's decisions.

Bophuthatswana government official Alwyn Viljoen said this week his government had not signed the declaration because it had problems with the declaration's "precise wording".

"The fact that the Bophuthatswana government is participating in Codesa and the working com-

mittee shows they support the spirit of the convention," he added.

Inkatha has adopted a harder line. According to its representative, Suzanne Vos, "We have tabled our amendments to the declaration before the management committee. If the issue is not resolved there, then we expect it to be discussed at the next plenary session of Codesa." Inkatha's objection to the declaration centres on the lack of provision for regional governments in a federal South Africa.

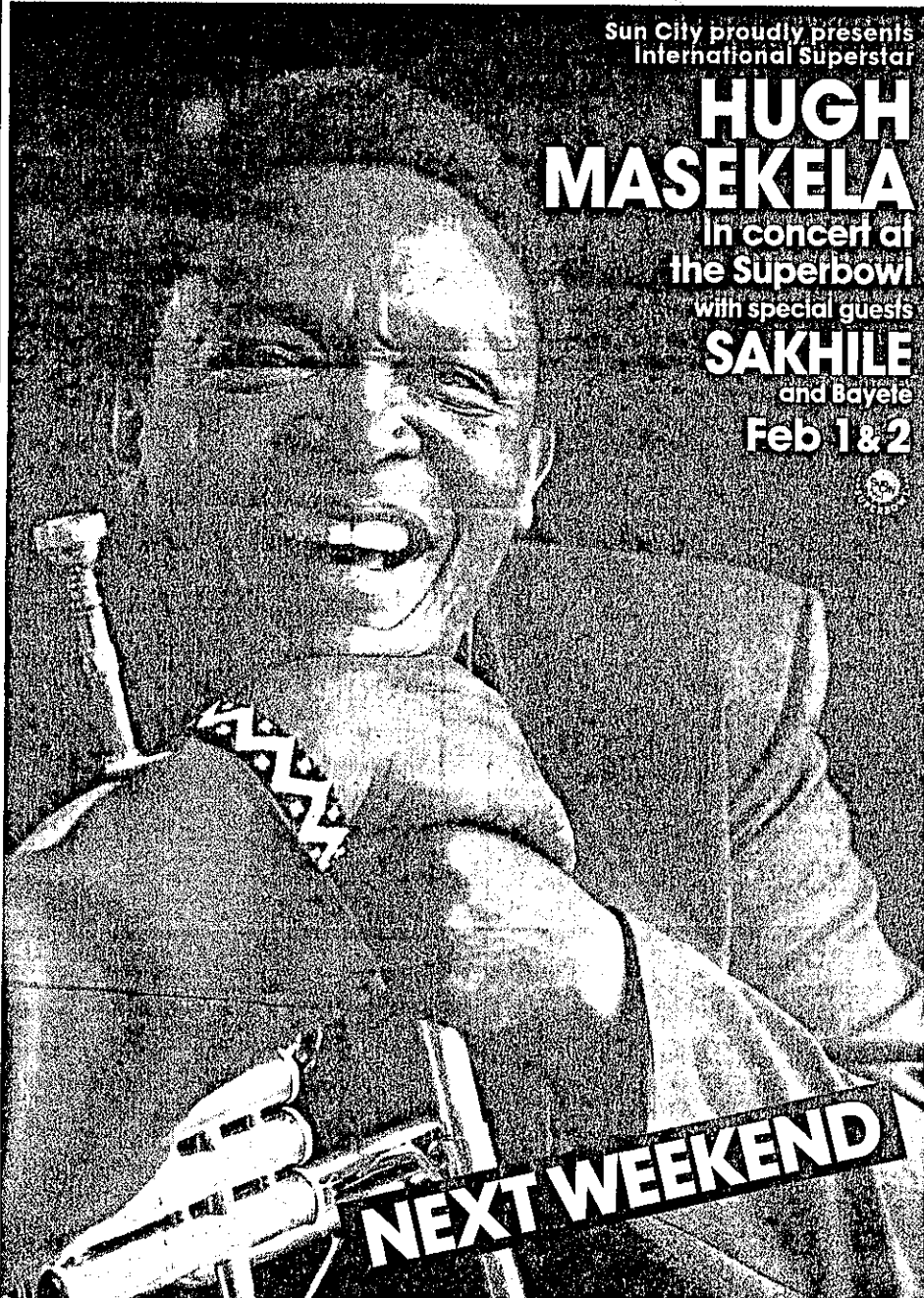
● The National Peace Accord appears to be on shaky legs at the moment. While the Goldstone standing commission investigating violence is underway, only two regional peace committees and no local dispute resolution committees have been set up since the accord was signed on September 14. Other mechanisms, such as the Police Board and reporting officers, special criminal courts and special justices of the peace, have also not been implemented.

There is now a strong feeling among several of the parties that the accord has been overtaken by Codesa and should be absorbed into it to prevent duplication.

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NEXT WEEKEND

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## BUSINESS

# It's time for the ANC to get tough

W/Mail 24/11-30/1/92.

*Why is the African  
National Congress  
giving the government  
such an easy ride  
when it comes  
to economic policy, asks  
REG RUMNEY*

**A**NY government-in-waiting worth its salt should be launching a full-frontal attack on the present government's handling of economic policy. So why isn't the African National Congress tackling the government's economic policy where it is most vulnerable?

We're not talking about the attempts to embarrass the government over Value-Added Tax. For all its sound and fury that battle is more politics than economics. After all, the ANC doesn't seem to want to do away with VAT. It only has qualms about its implementation. And VAT is a replacement for GST, not a radically new tax aimed at restructuring the economy, etc, etc.

More seriously, attacks on the handling of VAT are focusing on one small area of fiscal policy. Where is the outrage at continuing "fiscal drag", the ploy governments use to raise taxes through inflation, and one which arguably contributes itself to inflation?

What the ANC should be addressing is the failure of government to bring the rate of inflation down significantly and its reliance almost solely on the fairly blunt instrument of high interest rates.

One could look further back, but for almost two years years the government has relied on monetary policy and in turn high positive rates of interest to fight inflation.

That these are only nominally high (ie may not be that high in comparison to other countries after taking out inflation) doesn't matter much to those who have to service loans. Nedcor chief economist Edward Osborn argues that

with other factors such as high corporate tax rates those interest rates make the cost of capital in South Africa among the highest in the world.

Despite tight monetary policy we have stagnation and stubbornly high inflation. It could be argued that monetary policy is the preserve of the Reserve Bank, which is supposed to be an independent entity. Its independence, however, relies largely on the will of the government. The government cannot lay the blame off on the governor of the Reserve Bank.

Questioning the reliance on monetary policy has been left to virtually the only economist in the private sector who isn't convinced of its correctness.

Osborn notes scornfully that monetarism is a simplistic and in South Africa naive faith in the effect of monetary demand on prices.

"Theoretically," he said in a speech which caused a stir in the economists' community last year, "it is so straightforward: in the money equation prices are proportional to total demand given a constancy in the velocity of circulation, but this is elevating a truism into a



Chris Stals

causal dynamic with some *deus ex machina* pulling the strings connecting money supply and prices."

The speech should have received more widespread attention, and not only because it was a notable dissent amid an undynamic uniformity of views. Osborn rebuts most of the arguments about why monetary policy hasn't worked. Lack of space prevents all his arguments being detailed here.

What he has pointed to was that inflation in South Africa is a deep-rooted structural problem. Unlike other economists he believes it is immune to the would-be curative short-term monetary efforts of the Reserve Bank. Far from solving the problem, he believes, the Bank's harsh monetary regime has caused considerable damage, particularly to small business.

Big businesses raise money through equity: small businesses often have to

borrow it.

The small business sector is a constituency the ANC would do well to foster. And here is the opportunity.

So should we drop interest rates drastically? Or abandon the fight against inflation?

Not necessarily either.

One would hope the history of macro-economic recklessness that helped ruin Latin American states is still fresh enough not to be copied by any future government.

Firstly, we need to keep the problem of the inflation level in perspective. Those who believe inflation is so great an evil that it should be squeezed out of the system in an almost vengeful way should take note of a recent paper by World Bank economist Michael Walton and Abdel Senhadji of Pennsylvania University. They note, in *South Africa—Macroeconomic Issues for the Transition*, that pushing inflation down to low levels has a high cost in lost jobs.

"It may be best to live with continued moderate inflation during the transition provided there is strong corrective action whenever an inflationary acceleration threatens."

This is not to accept the World Bank or its employees as oracles. But if even conservative economists can live with a bit of inflation, we should take note.

We do need to look for some creative solutions to our economic crisis. For example, is it not time to examine urgently the creation of a national community service corps?

And it seems obvious urgent atten-

tion must be paid to the constraints that keep inflation at 15 percent willy nilly, such as a lack of competition.

Assurances that competition thrives despite intense economic concentration in South Africa ring hollow. And government-created Control Boards still hold sway in agriculture.

As Osborn says: "The only markets in South Africa that I can think of as being free, in the sense of the price being determined by supply and demand, are vegetable and flower markets, but even the latter I am told are rigged."

To crib from Gandhi, any economist on the left asked if he believed in the free market in South Africa could answer: "It would be a good idea."

Another aid, not a panacea would be through a compact between labour and business to restrain wage increases which fuel inflation. This idea was floated by Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals recently in an interview.

Such a move could bring a future government into conflict with the union movement. But the ANC has a better chance of reining in the Congress of South African Trade Unions than the present government.

Apart from those issues, the ANC should soon be able to take on the government's macro-economic policy.

The model the ANC's Macro-Economic Research Group is setting up should give the ANC a clearer picture of the possible consequences of such economic policy decisions as lowering interest rates, and help it formulate policy.

# ANC plan to train its 'lost generation'

*Business Day 24/1/92*

*Business Day*

*11/11*  
**PATRICK BULGER**

THE ANC has launched a scheme to train the "lost generation" of its young lions — the teenage street fighters of the 1980s, the exiles and Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers.

ANC programme co-ordinator of human resources Papie Moloto said yesterday the ANC had recognised that a generation of South Africans had lost out on skills development and that they were "people with problems".

As a start, a seminar on skills development would be held next month to explore the options available in the development of skills that would be vital regardless of who constituted the next government.

"We are looking especially at those who were involved in the struggle as activists. They can toyi-toyi today, but we need the skills to produce," he said. The ANC realised it was not enough to criticise. "The criticism has to stop and it is time to look at what has to be done," Moloto said.

The seminar will focus on education through production programmes in Africa and South America. It will be addressed by Zimbabwe Federation for Education with Production director M Fungati and a skills development specialist from Latin Ameri-

ca, Palmari de Lucena.

Other speakers include ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and a speaker from Cosatu who will be asked to explain the trade union federation's approach to skills development.

Moloto said the ANC had recognised that regardless of the gains it may make at Codesa, it would not be in a position to turn them to advantage unless people possessed skills that would enable them to improve their standards of living.

The ANC envisaged skills development being undertaken in the fields of mass electrification and squatter settlement.

Moloto said the first seminar of this sort took place in Harare early last year. The ANC realised that skills could not be developed in isolation and that it was important to tap into existing structures. The ANC was anxious to learn from the experiences of other developing countries and to avoid making their mistakes, Moloto said.

The seminar is entitled Shaping the Future and will be conducted for three days at the Braamfontein Hotel from February 14.

Azop  
yest

# Pupils to join ANC mass rally

CT 24/1/92

Staff Reporter

THOUSANDS of black pupils are due to join the people's parliament march on the Grand Parade today — despite recent calls by the ANC and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) that classes should not be disrupted.

The ANC is hoping to attract 100 000 people to the Grand Parade from where they will march on Parliament.

Defending the decision to allow pupils to attend the rally, ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said that the ANC had consulted with the NECC, the Congress of South African Students (Co-

## Eli Louw elected Speaker

**PARLIAMENT.** — Mr Eli Louw, the former Minister of Manpower and Acting Speaker since the death last year of Mr Louis le Grange, was unanimously elected the 14th Speaker of Parliament by a special electoral college of MPs yesterday.

The proceedings were presided over by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Corbett. — Sapa

sas), the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) and other education bodies who all agreed the pupils could take part.

Mr Yengeni said: "We are not insensitive to learning, but effective teaching has not started yet and many pupils are still registering for classes. Classes will not begin in earnest until Monday."

He stressed that the ANC needed the support of pupils and teachers and said it did not fly in the face of the NECC's and Cosas's Back to Learning campaign.

"Schools will not close down for the day and the pupils will attend classes in the early morning before they march to the stations nearest their schools where they will catch trains into the city."

Sadtu chairwoman Ms Vivienne Carelse said it would be a "democratic decision" taken independently by schools whether to attend the rally today.

She said members had been called on to support the call, but this would be decided at grass roots level.



# Bomb threat by ANC official alleged

Own Correspondent

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WHITE RIVER — A top eastern Transvaal ANC office-bearer has allegedly threatened to blow up a White River service station and kill the workshop manager, following an argument over an unlicensed firearm.

The Star is in possession of a tape recording of the argument which took place on Tuesday between ANC regional secretary Joe Nkuna and the workshop manager.

ANC eastern Transvaal chairman Matthew Phosa said yesterday the ANC was aware of the threats allegedly made by Mr Nkuna.

"The allegation is hear-

say. Mr Nkuna has not confessed to us. If it is true that he has made the threats, we will not accept it."

A mechanic who serviced Mr Nkuna's car said he found a 9 mm Makarov pistol. He claimed it was hidden behind a dashboard panel and dropped out during a test drive on a bumpy road.

He reported the matter to the police. They took possession of the pistol and established it was unlicensed.

After fetching the car, Mr Nkuna phoned the garage.

This is an extract from a taped conversation between Mr Nkuna and the workshop manager.

Mr Nkuna: "Your report-

ing the discovery of our pistol to the police is a declaration of war on the ANC and we are going to respond effectively."

Manager: "We are not declaring any war. The mechanic got a fright when the pistol fell out and reported the matter."

Mr Nkuna: "You thought we would be arrested, but the police cannot arrest us. I am very angry with your garage and I'm going to call for a massive boycott. Your garage is the enemy of the people."

Manager: "Had that pistol landed in wrong hands, people could have got hurt."

Mr Nkuna: "You have de-

clared war on the ANC and you are going to feel the pinch. We are coming for you. We will shoot you and bomb your garage."

Manager: "Are you threatening me?"

Mr Nkuna: "Yes, white Boer farmer, you are a nonsense. You are full of apartheid and we are going to destroy you."

Manager: "You are now becoming abusive."

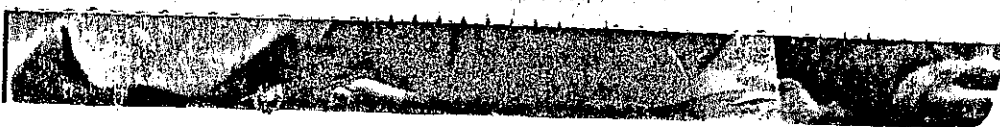
Mr Nkuna: "You have declared war on the people. South Africa will belong to the ANC. We will meet you on the battlefield. Prepare yourself. Be it night or day, we will come to your residence."

TELSTAR

Win a week's holiday at a great resort — Page 7

freely take part in the crucial negotiations.

"In the interests of peace and the prevention of con-



# In Spike Lee's world there are only two colours:

**VISITING** American film producer Spike Lee, who jetted into the country yesterday, is a man of definite political views.

For him the world is simply in black and white. And for those who know him it is no accident that he is the man who will produce a film on militant black American leader Malcolm X. The film will be known as *By Any Means Necessary* in line with Malcolm's belief that blacks should use any means necessary to free themselves from injustice.

As if to confirm this, Lee told a BBC-TV interviewer in October last year that white directors were not qualified to produce films on black heroes like Malcolm X, Steve Biko, Amilcar Cabral and others.

## Own history

He said the time had come for black people to record their own history and culture.

His views reminded one of the story of a young boy who believed his father's tale that the lion was the mightiest animal on earth. However, one day at school the boy read about Tarzan having killed the lion.

He asked his father: "But you have always said the lion was invincible."

The father retorted: "Unless lions begin to write their history, they will always lose the battles."

## Winning battles

Likewise, Lee did not take the negative depiction of blacks in Hollywood movies as criminals, drug addicts and prostitutes lying down. He resolved to make his own movies where black people, like the lion, would start winning battles in their social intercourse.

Lee has undoubtedly destroyed the Hollywood Berlin Wall that black directors cannot match their white counterparts. He once told a journalist: "We are going to produce our own Duke Ellingtons in the film industry."

On the marketing power of black films, the fact is that they make money. Lee paved the way for the new black visibility with a series of modestly grossing films that looked better

# BLACK

Sowden 24/1/92

‘Unless lions begin to write their history, they will always lose the battles’ - Spike Lee's father

# and

‘Lee does it with a specific political purpose’ - *Sight and Sound*

# WHITE

**MOKGADI PELA** focuses on the controversial American director

and better when their microbudgets were taken into account.

*She's Gotta Have It* grossed R72,8 million against a budget of R18,2 million. *Jungle Fever* got a rave review from the *New York Times* and was a *Newsweek* cover story. On the weekend it opened, it averaged a respectable R23 478 per screening.

To Hollywood, these figures speak loud and clear: there is a black audience willing to support black movies.

A survey conducted in 1990 by the accounting firm of Deloitte and Touche and Impact Resources confirmed what many had suspected: blacks go to movies more than whites.

Sixty percent attended a movie during a given month, versus 51,2 percent of whites.

Target Market Research estimated that in 1987 black families spent R3,36 billion, almost 25 percent of a total of R14,28 billion, on entertain-



SPIKE LEE

ment - a category which includes sports, music and movies.

This is an impressive figure when considering that blacks constitute only 12 percent of the US population.

For Lee, political consciousness is not just an imperative - it has a definite agenda.

Lee plays this agenda out through the moral of the romance on which the film *Jungle Fever* centres.

The moral of the story here is that black and white lovers must, in the

end, stick to their own kind.

The film is about an ambitious black architect, Flipper Purify, who dumps his wife for his white secretary, who is played by Annabella Sciorra.

Lee's overt message is that such inter-racial love affairs end in failure. The movie sound track was composed and performed by Stevie Wonder.

Lee's film on Malcolm X is due for release in December. He has already shot scenes in Egypt which was among the countries the uncompromising Malcolm X visited before his assassination on February 21 1965.

However, some black critics insist on seeing the script before it is released accusing Lee of "wanting to assassinate Malcolm for the second time" by distorting his life. Lee is adamant that those critics should wait for December and see the film along with everybody else.

But those critics admit that Lee surpasses his peers - both black and white - in his use of the camera, his multiple storylines and the music tracks that counterpoint the dialogue.

According to *Sight and Sound* magazine, probably no director since Robert Altman has sought to stimulate moviegoers' senses so aggressively, "but Lee does it with a specific political purpose".

"In opposing a national cinema, whose tradition says style must serve story, Lee spearheads a movement catering to the social and spiritual needs of black Americans."

To the predictable accusation of racism by frustrated white film directors who complain that white actors are given insignificant roles, Lee says for decades people were silent about the reverse side of the coin.

## Crossover artists

"For years actors like Clint Eastwood, Charles Bronson never bothered about including black people in their films but when we do our thing everybody cries wolf," he said.

Lee said despite such criticisms, black film producers were unaffected.

He is critical of crossover artists like Michael Jackson, Whoopi Goldberg and Eddie Murphy. He said such characters were being used by white directors to play down the tougher, more abrasive, quintessentially black elements of their films in the interests of attracting white audiences.

## Being black

Michael Jackson was in the spotlight again recently when his brother Jermaine wrote a song attacking him for altering his looks and lyrics in his new album *Dangerous*. Michael's song *Black and White* is about the irrelevance of skin colour. Jermaine accuses Michael of being "ashamed of being black."

And for those who think that race relations between blacks and whites in the US have improved since the death of Malcolm X, let them listen attentively to what Lee has to say. He is clearly the ambassador of liberation who has fearlessly expressed the culture of resistance.

# Bizarre opening of Parliament expected

**THE white-dominated Parliament will today lock horns with the extra-parliamentary liberation movements in an unprecedented show of power.**

Inside Parliament, State President FW de Klerk will formally open what could be South Africa's last white parliament, and on the outside, the ANC and PAC, two years after they were unbanned, will march on the institution to protest against 80 years of white-led governments.

While both movements will march in protest against the tricameral parliament - which specifically excludes blacks from central government - the PAC and ANC are at loggerheads over Codesa.

So a significant sideshow - crucial to black politics - will be played outside Parliament with the ANC and PAC headed for a clash over

*Sowetan 24/1/92*  
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

Codesa.

The PAC will march on Parliament from District Six while the ANC will come from a different direction; but both are expected to meet at the entrance at about mid morning.

Nevertheless the ANC, as part of Codesa, will indirectly come under fire from the PAC for its involvement in the Convention.

Both parties' leaderships have suggested that it would be difficult to control their following in the heat of the moment.

The ANCH has announced that its deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, would attempt to address Parliament, but this is unlikely because, in terms of Westminster parliamentary rules, only

11A  
elected members are allowed to address the House.

Sisulu will try and address the 308 white, coloured and Indian MPs directly in an attempt to persuade them to step down to make way for an interim government.

Before the ANC starts its march, it will hold what it calls a "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade where senior executives of the movement will "declare the minority white Parliament illegal".

The PAC will hold a meeting early today in the Bo-Kaap, which will be addressed by the Africanists' president Mr Clarence Makwetu, before it proceeds to the Parliament buildings on its "anti-Codesa and anti-Parliament march".

Parliament will officially open at 11am.



# Azapo gives US actor Spike Lee the go-ahead

Southern 24/1/92

THE cultural desk of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, which has been at the centre of the row over the Paul Simon tour, yesterday gave American actor Spike Lee the green light to visit the country.

The organisation said Lee's credentials in "furtherance of the black agenda for liberation are beyond doubt".

"We in Azapo hold his fight against racism in high esteem. Azapo hopes that his interaction with local artists would have a lasting impression for the struggle," the organisation said.

It said it would hold a meeting with Lee in Johannesburg today.

Azapo also announced it would commemorate Malcolm X's death on February 21 at a venue still to be announced.

A spokesman for the African National Congress department of arts and cul-

By MOKGADI PELA

ture, Mr Oupa Ramachela, said his organisation welcomed Lee's visit.

He said Lee had "an impeccable track record as an artist committed to our struggle for liberation".

"Coming into the country at the height of the Simon controversy and the divisions that this visit revealed among black political organisations, it is a measure of the esteem in which he is held that no one has opposed his visit.

## Crisis

"Lee has unwittingly become a unifying figure in black politics in this country," he said.

Azapo said if it was acknowledged that there were two sides to the South African political coin, Lee would have no identity crisis.

# People's power on parade

STAE 25/1/92

11A

11A

**PATRICK LAURENCE**

**CAPE TOWN** — The nature and balance of South Africa's competing political forces were graphically displayed on the streets of the Mother City yesterday during and immediately after the opening of Parliament.

The ANC showed, once again, that it is the biggest and best-organised of the forces opposed to the ruling National Party.

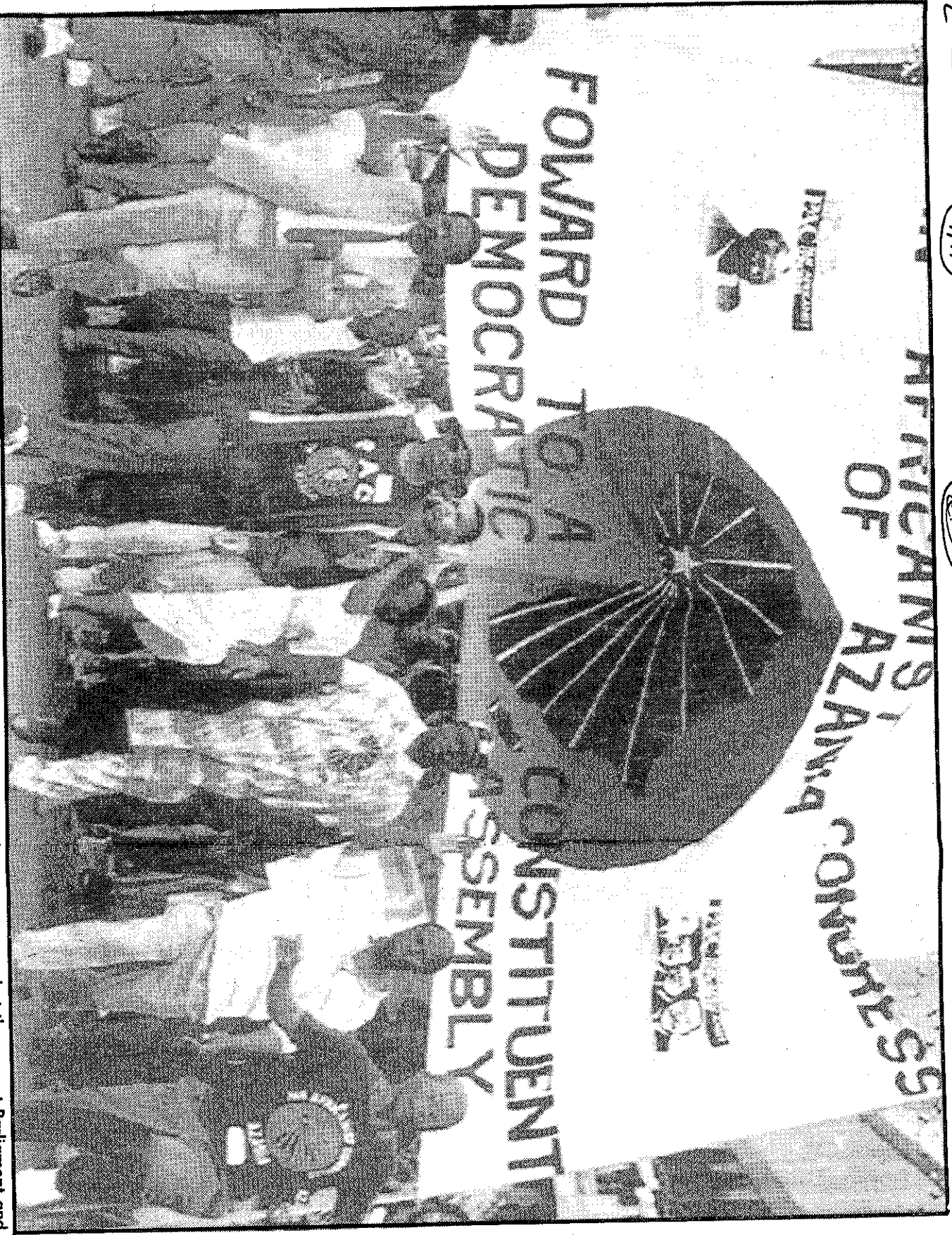
It assembled a huge crowd of 15 000 people on the Grand Parade — an open square opposite the city hall — and then led them in a march up Adlerley Street to within a stone's throw of the state-ly parliamentary buildings.

A thin line of blue-uniformed policemen stood between the marchers and the Parliament from which the black majority has been excluded for more than 80 years.

As the score or so policemen looked down the street, all they could see was a concentrated mass of black people, many of whom carried posters or sang songs deriding the "Boer Parliament". Most of the policemen were white. One or two coloured policemen augmented their numbers.

But behind the young policemen, emphasising the ability of the De Klerk administration to bolster its relatively limited forces with technology, were sophisticated armoured police vehicles known as Nyalas. They were parked right across the street. Punctuating their sides were gun holes, from which automatic rifles could fire in an emergency.

The crowd stopped barely a metre from the



**CHANTING IN THE STREETS:** Pan Africanist Congress protesters march through Cape Town yesterday in protest against the present Parliament and Codesa. PAC marchers tried to compensate for smaller numbers with radical rhetoric.

police. After a few minutes, in which the two sides eyed one another cautiously, the marchers, urged by ANC marshals, cleared a channel through their ranks.

Up it walked the white-haired deputy ANC president, Walter Sisulu. An octogenarian, Mr Sisulu's presence at the head of the march symbolised the endurance of the ANC.

By a strange coinci-

dence Mr Sisulu and the ANC are almost the same age: Mr Sisulu, who was a prisoner for 25 years, was born in 1912, the year in which the ANC was founded.

Mr Sisulu, flanked by senior ANC officials, including Ronnie Kasrils, walked up briskly, showing no sign of fatigue in the boiling noon-day sun. He handed over a copy of resolutions, passed by the

"people's parliament" at the Grand Parade, to a senior parliamentary official, Robin Douglas.

The resolutions called for the abolition of the present Parliament, the installation of an interim government of national unity within six months and the election by all the people of a constituent assembly — to draw up a new, democratic

constitution — by the end of the year.

Not far away, two different scenes reflected contrasting elements of the South African political equation.

The Pan Africanist Congress — which broke away from the ANC more than 30 years ago after charging that the ANC had been misled by white liberals into be-

traying black nationalism — had its own demonstration. Its protest was against the present Parliament and, significantly, the pro-settlement Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Condemning Codesa and, implicitly, the ANC for serving in it, the PAC said: "Codesa is a 1992 version of the Bunga system of the General Smuts era, where the govern-

ment-appointed chiefs got together in an elaborate contrived talk-shop."

The PAC, however, could assemble only a fraction of the crowd which marched under ANC banners. The PAC signers, who were assigned a different route, numbered hardly more than 1 000.

They tried to compen-

sate for smaller numbers with radical rhetoric. They sang praises to fighters in the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army — the armed wing of the PAC which has claimed responsibility for the killing of policemen in recent weeks — and chanted their shibboleth: "one settler, one bullet".

Not far away, members of the present Parliament strolled from their air-conditioned parliamentary chambers to the air-conditioned Town House hotel for a multi-course lunch.

Walking up the stairs to the restaurant was Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, whose zealous regard President de Klerk as either a misguided fool or, worse, a traitor who has turned his back on his own people for international praise.

The day — described in the Argus newspaper's late edition headline as "The day of two parliaments" — ended and began with an unwavering question: did it mark the last session of the white-dominated Parliament?

The question was put to Foreign Minister Pik Botha at a briefing for foreign journalists. He replied: "Only God can tell."

Few observers doubted, however, that they had seen the penultimate, if not last, sitting of the present tricameral Parliament, whose roots go back to the constitution adopted at the Act of Union in 1910 after the crushing of the last armed rebellion of black tribesmen.

"That first undemocratic constitution was based on the defeat and exclusion of our people," Mr Sisulu said in his address to ANC supporters yesterday, adding to thunderous cheers: "Close the Parliament of the Boers. Open the parliament of the people."

# Numbers game at Grand Parade

117 CT 25/1/92

ESTIMATES of the number of people attending the ANC's "people's parliament" on the Parade and the subsequent march on the tricameral Parliament varied widely yesterday — even within the ANC camp.

The protest had developed into a major test of strength for the ANC since boasts by some senior ANC members earlier in the week that up to 100 000 support-

ers were expected at the Parade.

Most local and foreign journalists and news agencies canvassed estimated the crowd at around 20 000.

However, a senior member of the ANC's national executive, Mr Trevor Manuel, told journalists that about 35 000 had attended.

But another ANC executive member, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, told a press conference that at least

100 000 people had gathered to voice their protest in the streets of Cape Town yesterday.

He claimed that the 10 trains and 50 buses the ANC had hired had ferried at least 35 000 ANC supporters to the city centre.

Police and journalists estimated the number of people attending a rival PAC march at about 1 000.

# No alarms as 20 000 march

11A 25/11/92 CT 25/11/92

By GUY OLIVER and  
WILLEM STEENKAMP

ABOUT 20 000 protesters thronged the city's Grand Parade for the ANC's "people's parliament" and march to Parliament yesterday and there were few incidents to detract from the occasion.

ANC leaders deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Western Cape regional president Mr Allan Boesak, NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, SA Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani and ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba headed the procession through the city to hand deputy secretary of Parliament Mr Robin Douglas a letter demanding the dissolution of Parliament.

There was a heavy police presence and the Parliament end of Adderley Street was sealed by three police riot vehicles.

The acting Western Cape police commissioner, Brigadier Gideon van Zyl, said the march had gone "very well" and congratulated the ANC for "sticking to their side of the deal".

The few known incidents which marred the occasion were dealt with by marshals.

An attempt by several young marchers to rob a woman Sapa reporter was thwarted by PAC marshals.

A man said "Hey settler, you're rich, I want your sunglasses" and snatched the sunglasses off her

## Govt 'bar to peace'

Staff Reporter

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, who opened the "people's parliament" on the Grand Parade, accused the government of being the "real obstacle to peace".

Addressing a crowd of about 20 000, Mr Sisulu said the ANC would use mass action if its demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly were not met.

He said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) must be the vehicle for democratic change in South Africa.

Addressing the gathering, Mr Chris Hani, secretary-general of the SACP, said yesterday's show of mass action to protest against the "racist parlia-

ment" was a clear sign that South Africa needed a new parliament and constitution.

ANC Western Cape regional president Mr Allan Boesak said the ANC's "people's parliament" had come "in their thousands to bury the racist parliament".

In another anti-Parliament protest, PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said the formation of Codesa was another attempt at diverting the struggle, which the PAC would fight against.

Speaking to nearly 2 000 PAC supporters in the Bo-Kaap, Mr Makwetu said the white people always fought to divert the struggles of the African people.

face.

Almost immediately five PAC marshals appeared and apprehended the youths. The sunglasses were returned and the marshals and protesters apologised, while the thieves were roughed up and reprimanded.

A pickpocket spotted in the crowd was beaten by protesters and led away by ANC marshals a few minutes before the march set off for Parliament about 1pm.

Earlier in the day ANC leaders, including Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Popo Molefe and Mr Tony Yengeni, and guests who included British National Union of Mineworkers president Mr Arthur Scargill were greeted at the Parade by a sea of clenched fists punched in the air.



By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

POP competed with pomp while sabres rattled in the distance on the day of two Parliaments in Cape Town.

The lively pop tune, "Give me hope Joanna", blasted across the Parade where thousands had gathered for the ANC's "People's Parliament".

The pop song contributed to a carnival-like atmosphere but did not detract from the seriousness of the message that the ANC leaders delivered.

As in Eastern Europe, they said, mass action would secure democracy and ensure not only that this year's opening of the official Parliament was the last, but also that change would take place in the way the ANC wished.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk told Parliament that constitutional change would take place in the way he had promised. Whites would have to approve a new constitution in a referendum.

### Vow

About a kilometre away, at the top of Wale Street in the Bo-Kaap, the Pan Africanist Congress railed against Parliament and Codesa and promised to take on a new enemy, the United States.

Speaking from a makeshift stage on the back of a truck, PAC leaders Mr Benny Alexander and Mr Clarence Makwetu vowed to arm themselves to fight the US which, they said, was pressuring their organisation to take part in Codesa.

The ANC had worked hard to muster its People's Parliament. Ebullient national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils had forecast that 100 000 would gather on the Parade. On Friday, citing as his source British miners' leader Mr Arthur Scargill, who was present, he insisted his prediction had been fulfilled.

Most journalists estimated there were between 20 000 and 30 000 people.

The crowd, with clenched fists raised, sang their unofficial national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika, as the "People's Parliament" opened.

### Dream

Nearby, the traditional ceremonial parade and the playing of Die Stem by the bands of the three arms of the defence force marked the opening of Parliament.

Up the road, about 1 000 PAC supporters chanted "one settler, one bullet".

In Parliament, in a hastily-prepared addendum to his official speech, Mr De Klerk tried to placate the Conservative Party by saying it could put its dream of self-determination on the Codesa agenda.

Back on the Parade, pro-Codesa ANC speakers were

berating the President for "scheming to retain white power behind a complicated charade of democracy".

At the top of Wale Street, Mr Alexander warned that "if the government does not want to give us the ballot, we will liberate ourselves with the bullet".

Reports had claimed that ANC deputy leader Mr Walter Sisulu would demand to address Parliament, but the ANC admitted later that this had not been planned.

As the sun climbed towards the lunch-hour, Mr De Klerk and the 380 MPs and their fashionably-dressed

wives clambered into state limousines and drove off to restaurants.

Parliament was already deserted when the 30 000 people on the Parade began marching towards it to deliver the list of demands drawn up by the People's Parliament.

By 1.30pm Mr Sisulu, Mr Kasrils and regional ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak had handed the People's "Bill" to the parliamentary deputy secretary, Mr Robin Douglas. They stood some distance from the gates, which were guarded by police trucks armed with

teargas cannons. The "Bill" called for the abolition of the tricameral Parliament and constitution and the establishment of an interim government and constituent assembly.

Stallholders on the upper deck of Cape Town station complained of looting as the marchers dispersed.

### Snatch

Police spokesman Captain Attie Laubscher said nine men had been arrested and clothing recovered.

In Greenmarket Square, a large number of people ran through, allegedly snatching goods and clothing from stalls. Stallholders stopped trading soon after.

# Hope goes pop as people parade in a show of power

THE VOTELESS... about 30 000 sweltered in the sun at the ANC's "People's Parliament" on the Grand Parade, in protest against the opening of Parliament on Friday

Picture: TERRY SHEAN



# Riddle of Winnie's missing R13 000

S/Times 26/11/92

BY CHARLENE SMITH

FIVE years ago 12 American congressmen gave Mrs Winnie Mandela R13 000 to rebuild a Brandfort clinic that had been petrol bombed and burned to the ground in 1985. Today, the building still lies in ruins.

What happened to the money? The ANC won't answer questions about the missing funds, and neither will Mrs Mandela.

The impoverished community of the small Free State village, a half-hour drive from the nearest medical facility in Bloemfontein, has tried in vain to raise money to restore the clinic.

Mrs Norah Morhloali, 49, a for-

mer neighbour of Mrs Mandela and chairman of Majoemasoeu (Brandfort's township) Young Women's Christian Association, says pregnant women often give birth en route to Bloemfontein.

Still loyal to Mrs Mandela, Mrs Morhloali says opinion is divided in Brandfort about the ANC's head of social welfare. Mrs Mandela became so controversial in the community over issues including the financing of community projects, community leadership and some of the activities of those who

visited or lived with her — after being banished there for eight years — that her home and the adjoining clinic were firebombed by young people in August 1985.

This resulted in her breaking her banning order and taking refuge in Johannesburg, where she erected the Mandela mansion in Orlando, Soweto.

"If people had money we could rebuild the clinic, but people have no finances. We wanted to build the clinic big enough to take eight or 10 beds for emergency cases."

Mrs Morhloali estimates that about 80 percent of the residents of Majoemasoeu are unemployed.

After the Mandela house and clinic were petrol bombed, 12 US senators under the leadership of Democrat Senator Howard Metzenbaum presented the State Department with R13 000 for the rebuilding of the clinic. The money was handed over to Mrs Mandela.

A spokesman for Senator Metzenbaum said this week she could not recall the donation. She undertook to ask the senator for comment, but as of Friday night had not obtained a response.

The US ambassador at the time, Mr Herman Nickel, did remember. He said he was certain the money had been handed over.

# Give all our people a voice

SI Times

26/1/92

## PALLO JORDAN defends the ANC's Media Charter

A FEW months ago the ANC approached a large wine estate in Drakenstein to allow 130 of its members, most of whom lived and worked on the farm, to hold a meeting in the hall on the estate.

It was refused. The manager and the corporate power he represents were quite within their legal rights in debarring the ANC branch from the privately-owned hall.

The effect, however, was that the ANC members, 90 percent of them working or living on the farm, could not meet and exercise their basic right to freedom of expression.

The manager and the corporation had invoked no spurious public safety law. They had issued no banning order. Not one policeman had been deployed to disperse the meeting. Yet they had silenced some 130 ANC members as effectively as any law.

It is this distinction between the abstract right to freedom of expression, and the actual capacity to exercise that right that appears to elude Ken Owen judging by his review of the ANC's draft Media Charter (Sunday Times, January 19).

Consequently any suggestion that a democratic dispensation should attempt to

enhance the capacity of those portions of the South African community who have been victims of past discrimination to publish and gain access to media raises his hackles.

The ANC's draft charter on the media can be considered preposterous only by those who have become complacent about the state of this country's media.

At the time of Union, there were at least five separate African-owned newspapers in South Africa, published in both the African languages and English. If we are to accept Ken Owen's line of argument, the only reason why there is only one today is the iron law of the free market — they lost their readership. Anyone with a smattering of knowledge of the African and democratic press in this country knows that is untrue.

To state the case plainly, the property-owning classes among the urban Africans were bankrupted and denuded of their property rights through racial laws. As a result they could no longer sustain newspapers and publishing houses. Other publications, like the Guardian, were banned and their assets

were seized. All that the ANC charter suggests is that just as victims of racial oppression in other parts of the world were compensated for past discrimination a democratic state should consider similar, not necessarily identical, measures in the case of South Africa.

Ken Owen's idyllic picture of a media free market in South Africa is very far from the truth.

But in any case, does an unfettered media free market yield the best results?

Anyone familiar with the quality of US electronic media as compared with the output of the state-owned BBC would find laughable Ken Owen's dogmatic assertion that the free market inexorably sifts out the best product.

State control of broadcasting in a range of Western countries, including Britain and Canada, has not resulted in their transformation into government mouthpieces. In many other Western countries there are strict controls limiting concentration of ownership in television and there are especially strong prohibitions on newspapers controlling television and vice versa.

Ken Owen's critique of the ANC's draft Media Charter evades the central issue which is to entrench in a future constitution such provisions as will afford all South African citizens the right and capacity to exercise to the fullest their right to freedom of expression.

For one so keen to appeal to the authority of the drafters of the US Constitution, Ken Owen elides over one of the central planks of the ANC's Draft Media Charter, which specifically calls for an end to all institutional and legislative constraints on the free flow of information. This he dismisses as "paying lip service to free expression".

The ANC has through the years stood up for the rights of those who have faced persecution because their views or artistic tastes angered some government official.

We undertook this often lonely task not to earn the praise of anyone, least of all that of Ken Owen. We undertook it because we recognise freedom of expression as an intrinsic value which is indispensable for democracy. I defy Ken Owen to name one other political body in this country with a comparable record.

□ Dr Z Pallo Jordan is Secretary of Information for the ANC

# HOGARTH

Sorry, Cyril,  
<sup>ST Times 26/11/42</sup>  
you've ruined  
<sup>(11/7) (M)</sup>  
your chances

AMONG American and European bankers, the name of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has been tainted ever since the ANC repudiated his signature on a document that cleared the way for the Independent Development Trust to raise money in Europe for low-cost housing.

According to insiders, the sponsoring bank, Morgan Guarantee, is unlikely to accept his assurances if he ever comes a-borrowing for the new South Africa. He's not improved his chances much by threats to renege on loans undertaken by the "old South Africa".

Bankers are funny that way — they like people who understand that one's word is one's bond. And that goes for countries, too.



# Nelson drops a bomb (11A)

THE really spectacular damage to the ANC's future popularity, however, was done this week by Mr Nelson Mandela in his attempt to plead the cause of his old friend, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya (below), in the international dispute over the Lockerbie air disaster in which 447 people died.

5/7/89 26/11/92

Libyan agents are accused of putting a bomb on board, and the UN Security Council wants President Gaddafi to hand them over for trial.

Mr Mandela's intervention reportedly left American officials "stunned".

Perhaps Libya will repay him in aid to the new South Africa?



7

## Wanna hear a secret?

HOGARTH hears that the ANC's Intelligence Department is swamped with offers of information on government dirty-tricks operations since word got out that the organisation pays for tit-bits.

The ANC has received more than 30 offers of information — at a price — from people alleging to be former CCB agents, special force officers and common-or-garden spooks.

Looks like some of the CCB dissidents might have given up trying to blackmail the government into paying their extortionist severance demands and are now going on to the open market.

S/Times 26/1/92

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114

# The mother of all threats from PAC



<sup>Press</sup> THE PAC on Friday issued a warning to the United States that it would take up arms to fight against it.

"The US was sponsoring violence in Mozambique and Angola," PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told about 1 500 PAC supporters gathered in the Bo-Kaap before leading a march on parliament.

"The US government has said it would step in to stop the PAC.

"We are going to get arms to fight against the US. We will defeat the imperialists and run this country. We say to Bush that no army can withstand the force of an army whose time has come."

To cheers from the crowd he vowed that the PAC would continue its armed struggle.

"If they (the government) don't

<sup>26/1/92</sup> want to give us the ballot we will liberate ourselves through the bullet."

He said the Law and Order Minister had said the PAC leadership was weak because it wouldn't condemn the armed wing of the PAC, Apla.

"Why should we. The police are responsible for killing people all over the show. We must defend our people."

Alexander said when State President FW de Klerk opened parliament on Friday it was likely he would issue a threat to those who supported private armies.

"But the real private army is the SADF and the police force. They are the private armies of De Klerk."

He reiterated the PAC's call for Codesa to be disbanded. - Sapa

# 'Trigger-happy' Delport's hobby

By S'BU MNGADI

ALLEGED Ladysmith mass murderer Callie Delport's favourite hobbies were fishing and hunting down blacks who strayed onto his father's farm, according to local farmworkers.

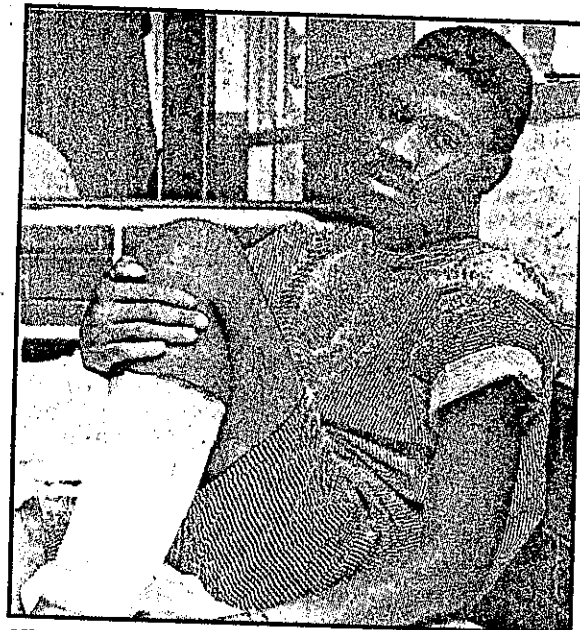
Delport, 34, was not prosecuted for the previous shooting incidents, the farmworkers claimed.

They all described him as "mean" and "trigger-happy".

Speaking on condition of anonymity, senior officers at Ladysmith police station confirmed it was common knowledge that Delport had previously shot blacks and their dogs for allegedly hunting on Aloe Farm.

Delport is alleged to have gunned down his father, Martiens Delport, 68, after an argument over the sale of cattle, before killing nine blacks and injuring 20 others - most of them at a busy, predominantly-black shopping complex.

One of those killed was the family's domestic servant, Maqhikizana Alzinah Mabaso, 31.



**VICTIM ... Mshayeni Njoko was injured in the mass shooting.** Pic: DESENI MOODLIAR

On Friday, Ladysmith magistrate Herman Swarts ordered Delport to be sent to Town Hill Hospital for psychiatric evaluation "for a period not exceeding 30 days". The hearing was adjourned to March 4.

Back at Aloe Farm, labour tenants identified two of the people they allege were earlier shot by

the farmer's son. Tractor driver Mampavu Amos Khumalo, 57, said Delport Jr reported both shooting incidents to Ladysmith police but did not recall him being prosecuted.

Senior officers at Ladysmith Police Station were adamant Delport had previously shot more than three people.

# ANC beckons to rightwing

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC has joined the government in appealing to the Conservative Party to join Codesa in order to debate the CP's proposals on self-determination.

The ANC has also extended its appeal to other rightwing groups such as the AWB and Jaap Marais' Herstigte Nasionale Party. It also called on the PAC and Azapo to reconsider their non-participation stand.

In his opening address to parliament this week, State President FW de Klerk offered an olive branch to the CP when he undertook to place white self-determination on the Codesa agenda.

However, this offer was immediately shot down by CP leader Dr Andries Treunicht who said: "The Codesa Declaration of Intent, including the acceptance of an undivided South Africa and one central government, is directly in conflict with the self-determination of the nations of South Africa."

At a press conference in Soweto on the day of the opening of parliament, ANC leader Nel-



**PROTESTS MOUNT ... Lively protesters reclaim symbols outside parliament.**

son Mandela said the ANC agreed that the principle of self-determination and its application in the South African situation were "legitimate issues to be addressed at

Codesa". However, Mandela lashed out at the De Klerk government for trying to vie for a system of powersharing with a built-in white minority veto.

# Commissar joins bowler brigade

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO: London  
**JOSIAH JELE knows more about formulating military policy and writing political propaganda than he does about human resource management or the efficient running of a sewage works.**

Which is why the 62-year-old SA Communist Party stalwart and ANC political commissar is among 10 black South Africans on a crash course in Britain to discover the day-to-day workings of a civil service.

He is learning the importance of impartiality and is being given his lessons by the British, who put the word civil into service.

Funded by the Overseas Development Administration at a cost of R750 000, the course is being taught by lecturers at the Civil

Service College in London.

For Mr Jele, the insights into the workings of government have been "fascinating, but we will not transplant all we are learning".

"I know very little about the inner workings of the civil service. Remember, we've been outside government all of our lives.

## Different

"But we're not greenhorns. Most of us have been actively involved in the liberation movement in areas such as policy formulation and implementation, and the course takes that experience into account."

The 10 men — six ANC, two PAC, one Azapo and one from the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy — have been impressed by the impartiality of the British civil service.

Mr Jele, on the electoral com-

mission of the ANC, which will be responsible for training people in electoral and voting procedures, said: "The democratic British system impresses me, but I am not sure if it is as good as I would like ours to be.

"South Africa will probably have a different type of democracy, with more emphasis on involving the people in the decision making."

Mr Jele's focus is local government and he has spent his time in the UK visiting organisations and seeing how they work in practice.

He sees restructuring local government as South Africa's most pressing problem.

"Local government needs to be representative, nonracial, have legitimacy and be democratised."

He said although the aim was to make the SA civil service as impartial as its British counter-

part, "for now, in the period of transition, people cannot be insensitive to political vibes around them".

"The present, largely white run and mainly Afrikaans, civil service is political. We will need to depoliticise them and urge them to adapt.

"Unfortunately, our civil service will have to be political. Whatever we do must reflect the thinking, feelings and aspirations of the disadvantaged."

## Changes

As the key to government, he said the service had to make noticeable changes at the top.

"We need retraining and reorientation. There will also be a need for a code of conduct."

Mr Jele left South Africa in 1965. He left behind a wife, a 10-year-old son and an unborn

daughter, with whom he was reunited for the first time in 26 years when the ANC was unbanned in 1990.

After a year at a military academy in Moscow, Mr Jele became political commissar in Tanzania, then broadcasting director responsible for preparing propaganda scripts for distribution in SA.

economy identified as important factors in stimulating investment in SA.

of SA as either non-existent or basic at best.

# Mandela defends policy for whites

TIM COHEN

ANC president Nelson Mandela, interviewed in the official ANC journal Mayibuye, has defended his plans to allow an entrenched bloc of white seats in a future parliament.

liberation movement the ANC had the responsibility to address these fears, he said.

Mandela said the ANC had the support of most of the political parties at Codesa and was "ahead of the regime, strategically".

Interviewed by ANC staff members, Mandela was challenged on the idea and asked whether he was reconsidering his views in the light of the proposal's rejection "in both the conservative and liberal media".

"I am not just concerned with the question of bloc seats - that is one option. We must think of other options as well," he said.

The ANC was, in principle, against the creation of an interim constitution because, he said, it could serve no purpose. But he added: "There will, of course, be amendments to the existing constitution for the transition. But that is a different matter."

Whites feared majority rule despite the ANC's progressive policies and as a

In the wide-ranging interview Mandela shrugged off the threat of right-wing military action, saying he would not spend any sleepless nights over it.

Pressed on how a new government might deal with right-wing military action, Mandela said a democratic government would be in a better position than the current one to deal with such a threat.

The solution was not necessarily a military one, he said, adding that any group opposed to democracy would be easily sidelined.

## Charles Schulz



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## PAC to launch campaign

CT 27/1/92 Staff Reporter

THE PAC is to begin a door-to-door campaign in Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and Khayelitsha to explain the futility of supporting undemocratic forums like Codesa, PAC secretary-general Mr Bennie Alexander said in Guguletu yesterday.

Mr Alexander was addressing about 500 people in the Nobantu Presbyterian Church in NY2.

He said 14 of Codesa's 19 political parties were either from the homelands or from the tricameral structures. Of the remaining five, three were from the ANC alliance. He accused the 14 organisations of being reactionaries and said that Codesa itself was the main reactionary.

# Campaign against Codesa by PAC

*Jowetan 27/1/92*

THE Pan Africanist Congress has embarked on what it calls a national campaign to make Codesa ineffective and meaningless.

The PAC intends holding a series of rallies and marches as part of this campaign.

At a meeting in Soweto yesterday the PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, said the PAC demanded a transitional authority supervised by an international body that would supervise and monitor, rather than simply observe as was the status of international bodies present at Codesa.

Nmadzivhanani also said the PAC would not be stampeded and intimidated by the United States into joining Codesa. - Sapa.

## Paul Simon

C



# Codesa 'no answer'

By MOKGADI PELA



LYBON MABASA

(114) THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa would not bring the "promises of freedom De Klerk and his apologists" were making, Azapo official Mr Lybon Mabasa said at the weekend. *Sowetan 27/1/92*

Mabasa said Codesa was intended to make blacks co-managers in the oppression of their own people. He was addressing about 200 people at the launch of an Azapo branch in Dennilton near KwaNdebele. "Bantustan leaders can never be our friends because they are unpatriotic."

Mabasa urged black people to use "any means necessary" to free themselves. A slave did not die of natural causes. A slave dies trying to free himself," Mabasa said.

National media officer Mr Khangale Makhado earlier urged pupils to attend school and refrain from boycotts.

# Codesa's work could be over by April

~~STAP~~  
STAP (11A)  
27/1/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa could be completed by April, according to draft ANC proposals for a time frame of the negotiations process.

According to ANC estimates, Codesa's five working groups could complete their tasks by April.

The start of the establishment of an interim government could be completed by May while such a transitional authority could be fully operational by September.

The ANC believes that the election of a chairman for a constituent assembly, establishing its rule of procedures and the adoption of a constitution could be done by December.

The formation of a democratic government and Parliament should be completed by May next year.

The last phase involves two options: a constituent assembly converting itself into the first assembly of a new Parliament or the constituent assembly dissolving itself followed by elections for a new government.

Meanwhile Codesa's daily management committee meets in Cape Town tomorrow.

The committee's first meeting outside Johannesburg is taking place in Cape Town as several of its members are parliamentarians and cannot leave the city during the no-confidence debate which starts today.

The agenda will discuss guidelines for assessing applications from groups wanting to participate in Codesa, the handing of press statements and assessment of the working groups' progress.

ANC 28/11/92  
11A

# 'Threat by ANC man regretted

**The Argus Correspondent**

NELSPRUIT — The ANC's Eastern Transvaal region said it regretted the alleged violent threats made by a senior official to blow up a White River service station and kill the workshop manager.

Johannesburg newspaper the Star on Friday revealed that the regional general secretary, Mr Joe Nkuna, made these threats during a heated telephone conversation with the workshop manager after an unlicensed firearm had been found in the ANC man's car and handed over to the police.

A taped recording of the angry conversation — in which Mr Nkuna allegedly threatened to call a boycott of the service station, shoot the manager and bomb his property — is in the Star's possession.

The ANC's Eastern Transvaal deputy secretary, Mr Jacques Modipane, said in a statement yesterday the regional leadership had investigated the threats.

"Without admitting liability the ANC Eastern Transvaal region regrets the conversation between Mr Nkuna and the garage owner," Mr Modipane said.

Mr Nkuna had taken his car for a service at the garage, where a mechanic allegedly found a 9mm Makarov pistol which had dropped out from behind a dashboard

# ANC and govt can work together — De Beer

B/D Day 28/11/92  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Codesa had shown that the government and the ANC could work together and were prepared to do so in the interests of SA, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. (11A) (SFA)

"We need each other. SA has been torn asunder for too long.

"This is the time to build the centre and to reject all extremism," De Beer said during the debate on President F W de Klerk's speech when he opened Parliament.

He also said De Klerk should explain what he

meant when he referred to the inclusion of black people in Parliament because he did not understand what the President had in mind.

"Is he going to propose a separate election for black parliamentarians? I can hardly believe it, but I ask for reassurance on this," said De Beer.

# Labour Party wants an interim govt by year-end

(130) Political Staff (111A)

CAPE TOWN — It was in the interest of the country as a whole that an "interim government of national unity" should be in place not later than the end of the year, Addo MP Peter Hendrickse said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on President F W de Klerk's opening address, he said the NP had been in power for 40 years with "disastrous results for the country's people".

The poverty, the state of the economy, the insufficient access to health care, lack of housing, high unemployment, unequal pensions and discriminatory expenditure on education were evidence of this.

"The NP has had ample opportunity to govern this country but has abused this power to further its own goals," he said.

"We do not believe the architects of apartheid can be the designers of the new SA."

## Compromises

Hendrickse said he did not agree with De Klerk that no fixed time should be laid down for the period of interim government. Work done at the preparatory meeting on November 29-30, and at Codesa 1 on December 1 and 2, showed what could be achieved.

Because limited time was available, people were willing to make compromises and to try to accommodate various standpoints.

The LP, he said, believed a constituent assembly should be elected as soon as possible and a voter registration drive started.

The sole purpose of a constituent assembly would be to draft the new constitution, and this should be completed within 12 months.

Hendrickse said the Labour Party wished to call on government once again to scrap the "own affairs" administrations — in preparation for the new SA and to facilitate the transition to an interim government. There was no reason to continue racist divisions of the past.

**POLITICS**

# ANC has 'reams' of third force evidence

B/Pay 28/11/92 (3) (11A) (3)

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was collating extensive evidence of alleged third force activities in township violence for submission to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry, the organisation's secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Speaking to foreign and political correspondents at a breakfast, he said "reams of documentation are being prepared from the Weekly Mail and other sources".

President F W de Klerk, he said, must have known of this third force activity because he had such an efficient National Intelligence Service that, at all stages, could investigate every facet of SA society.

The issue of third force involvement in political violence has been the subject of repeated rows between government and the ANC and De Klerk has repeatedly called on the ANC to provide evidence.

At a parliamentary briefing later, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer again denied that there was any evidence of a third force operating within the SADF.

Despite the fact that members of the

**BILLY PADDOCK**

third force had spoken out on their activities, and this being linked to military intelligence, he said he had satisfied himself that there was absolutely no such activity in his department.

However, he had requested Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate the Weekly Mail allegations anyway to satisfy the critics. He did not say he had conducted a formal investigation into the allegations to satisfy himself.

Meyer said De Klerk had no knowledge of any third force operations either because, if he had, he would have informed the Defence Minister.

Ramaphosa said De Klerk bore final responsibility for the third force. "We have every reason to believe Mr De Klerk has been aware of the third force and has not done anything to stop it."

He accused De Klerk and his government of following a "twin track policy" of trying to marginalise the ANC while negotiating with it.

Claim over

'critical

article' on

R250 000

house in

Constantia



**Dr Allan Boesak:**  
Suing for stress.



**BOESAK HOME:** This is the Constantia home of Dr Allan Boesak, who is locked in a row with the Nationalist newspaper the Burger over an article which he claims created the impression he lives an extravagant lifestyle.

# Boesak suing NP newspaper

ARC 28/1/92 (11A)

**Political Staff**

DR Allan Boesak, Western Cape leader of the African National Congress, is claiming R100 000 damages from a Nationalist newspaper following an article about his house in Constantia.

In a letter to the Burger, Dr Boesak maintained he had suffered stress and a lowering of his esteem as a result of remarks in the newspaper's political column.

The Burger reports today that there was a joking reference in the column to a R250 000 house he was building in Constantia on a plot which must have cost R100 000.

The column said supporters of affirmative action should get Dr Boesak's address.

In an attorney's letter to the newspaper Dr Boesak denied he had built a house or bought an erf in the area.

The letter said this was an extremely serious matter. The impression had been created that Dr Boesak had abandoned himself to an extravagant lifestyle which clashed with his position in the ANC.

The letter said it was a fact that the ANC was experiencing financial problems. The irresistible implication was that the financial problems of the ANC were being caused by Dr Boesak's extravagant lifestyle which also clashed with the ANC's policy of affirmative action.

This had led to Dr Boesak being libelled and losing esteem with right-thinking people. He had suffered contumelia as well as unjustified stress and a disruption of his peaceful existence.

The newspaper reports that its own legal representatives wrote

to Dr Boesak pointing out that The Argus and the Cape Times had reported on October 31 that he was building a house in Constantia for R250 000.

A search in the Deeds Office showed that Dr Boesak was the owner of a portion of erf 1329, Constantia, which he bought for R550 000 on February 7 1991.

The Burger says an extract from a schedule of building plans submitted to the Western Cape Regional Services Council showed that building plans for R250 000 for the erf had been submitted.

The newspaper said it had had no answer from Dr Boesak.

● It was reported in another newspaper last month that the Regional Services Council had said the building plan application in Dr Boesak's name was a mistake.

Dr Boesak lived next door to the plot for which plans had been submitted. The application appeared under his name in error because the property concerned did not have its own erf number. It was formerly part of a larger plot, the remainder of which belonged to Dr Boesak, and the original erf number had been used in the application.

● In September, Dr Boesak demanded a public apology from his former congregation, the Bellville NG Sendingkerk, over a dispute about foreign funds for his Foundation for Peace and Justice.

The two organisations split when Dr Boesak resigned as minister in 1990 amid allegations of an extra-marital affair with the woman he subsequently married, television producer Miss Elna Botha.



# ANC narrows gap with govt as it backs regionalism in a united

CAPE TOWN — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has given the clearest formulation yet of the organisation's policy on devolution and regional autonomy, indicating that the ANC has moved much closer to government.

Speaking at a media breakfast yesterday, he showed that in principle the government/NP and the ANC were very close, with the detail and implementation being the main sticking point.

Ramaphosa said the ANC's position on self-determination was not in conflict with the idea of regionalism. The ANC believed

there should be regional government within the context of a united or undivided SA.

Regions like Transkei, Natal and "a few other areas" had existed as "one unit within our country for many years", he said.

Regional government could only enhance democracy because it could bring "government closer to the people".

However, the ANC would oppose any proposal in terms of which a territory like Transkei operated as an autonomous entity on an ethnic Xhosa basis.

Ramaphosa said he was pleased to see government now accepted the UN Decla-

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ration of Human Rights in its references to self-determination, which was not based on ethnicity. The ANC had accordingly agreed to have the issue of self-determination on Codesa's agenda. The ANC believed the quest for self-determination should be exercised in such a way that individual rights were not trampled on.

Ramaphosa was pleased President F W de Klerk had shifted his position on the need for and the lifespan of an interim government. If this meant government had

moved from its insistence that a transitional government be installed for five or 10 years, "then we are prepared to continue talking to De Klerk".

He said: "The shift in his position is consistent with the negotiations that are taking place in Codesa. De Klerk does seem quite serious in negotiations about interim government with us. (He) is tilting more and more towards our idea of having an elected body to draft a constitution." The ANC was sure it would "turn De Klerk completely around and win our constituent assembly demand".

SA

## Regionalism

ment Minister Gerrit Viljoen argued strongly for a white referendum, saying it was necessary for successfully implementing a new constitution.

In reaction to claims that the proposed referendum amounted to a white veto, he raised five points in its favour. These were:

- De Klerk had given his word to voters in the 1989 election to hold such a referendum. Breaking his word would bring his integrity as a statesman into question;

- Constitutional proposals had not been ready at the time of the election. To get a mandate on the principle he had had to give voters the promise of a referendum. Voters would have to vote on a published and publicly debated draft constitution that had been properly negotiated;

- The referendum would temper the negotiations with realism and the consensus basis of decision-making already implied an element of veto. A new constitution had to enjoy proven confidence of all important groups and communities;

- A new constitution would imply far-reaching changes in political power, especially white minority domination, and it was sensible to get proof of support from the holders of political power; and

- If there was a global acceptance it

would materially help to defuse resistance against its implementation.

Ramaphosa said he could not understand why a global referendum to achieve these goals was not sufficient. The only point that was not attainable in a global referendum was the first, which was De Klerk's own problem with his party supporters. But he signalled the ANC's commitment to negotiations, saying it would not pull out of Codesa no matter how frustrated it became with other parties.

Our political staff reports that NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said last night government wanted an elected interim government after this step had been approved in a referendum.

This interim government would choose a new Cabinet, based on the outcome of the elections, and would have legislative powers. The NP would "argue very strongly for a multiple presidency", particularly during the transitional phase.

The NP believed an interim government responsible for day-to-day administration as well as drawing up a new constitution was preferable to a constituent assembly elected for a single purpose.

● See Page 5

From Page 1

On a racially based referendum proposed by De Klerk, he said he found it disappointing De Klerk was prepared to play party politics by offering whites a veto. The ANC could not participate in a referendum in which votes were tallied according to race, but did not rule out such an option if this was the product of thorough discussion at Codesa. De Klerk should refer the problems he foresaw in a non-racial referendum to Codesa.

During the no confidence debate in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Develop-

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# Cosying up to the likes of Gaddafi will harm ANC's cause

B/Day 28/1/92

(11A)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

and good men, that is his prerogative. If he feels he owes them a debt of gratitude for having helped the ANC through hard times, that too is understandable. Some might even find it in themselves to admire his loyalty.

The trouble is that Mandela has responsibilities to more than just these gentlemen. He also has his own benighted countrymen to think about. Unfortunately, loyalty to the former is not compatible with the best interests of the latter.

Last week, Mandela called his Washington office from Morocco to try and arrange a telephone hook-up with President George Bush. Unless his Washington office is mightily mistaken, he wished to read Bush a statement implicitly criticising the administration for seeking the extradition from Libya of two agents indicted in the US and Britain for their role in the December 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie.

The US, Britain and France had just succeeded in obtaining a unanimous UN Security Council resolution effectively demanding surrender of the agents, who are also believed to have been involved in the bombing of a French UTA jumbo jet over Niger

in September 1989. Some members of the council, it is true, did have qualms that the resolution might be construed as violating Libya's sovereignty and thus set a bad precedent. However, such concerns were far outweighed by the horror of the two incidents and by the overwhelming evidence against the suspects. No one could be found to take Libya's side in the matter.

No one, that is, except Mandela.

US sources believe he was prevailed upon to intercede during a brief refuelling stopover in Tripoli. Whether or not this is the case, his prepared and now widely disseminated statement is uncannily close to the official Libyan position. The administration has no doubt that Mandela intended, quite consciously, to lobby Bush on Gaddafi's behalf. In the event, and for this the ANC should be grateful, the president was unavailable and Mandela had to make do with a senior official at the state department.

**B**ecause to isolated eyes in SA it may look relatively harmless, the statement and how it is being inter-

preted over here are worth considering in some detail.

Mandela begins by observing that "the ANC has consistently condemned all acts of terrorism". While men of goodwill may differ over that assertion, what matters for present purposes is that he then carefully avoids describing the destruction of Pan Am 103 as a terrorist act. He refers instead to the "Lockerbie disaster" and portrays it as "a tragic incident which resulted in the unfortunate loss of innocent lives". He adds: "The ANC once again takes this opportunity to express deep-felt sympathies to the families of the deceased."

The slaughter of 270 passengers is, for most Americans, rather more than a "disaster". To call the results of the deliberate placing of an explosive device in an airliner's hold "unfortunate" verges on the cold-blooded, as does terming the victims "the deceased". They did not simply shrug off life's mortal coil; they were murdered, a distinction anyone whose sympathies were truly "deep-felt" would surely appreciate.

Mandela continues: "It is in the interest of peace, stability and security that if there is clear evidence of the involvement of identified sus-

pects they should be arrested and punished as soon as possible. In the present climate of suspicion and fear it is important that the trial should not be intended to humiliate any head of state."

"If there is clear evidence"? The only parties who seriously dispute the existence of such evidence are the Libyans, and now, evidently, the ANC. If all there was were "suspicions and fear", the 15 members of the Security Council would not have voted as they did.

As for the business about not humiliating Gaddafi, Mandela appears to be taking the view that the US and its partners are pursuing some sort of mindless vendetta against the man. That is not, be assured, how they see it.

After a plea that Libya's sovereignty be respected, the statement concludes with a compromise proposal all but identical to that floated by Gaddafi himself in an attempt to forestall mandatory UN sanctions: if those responsible for the Pan Am and UTA bombings are found, let them be tried either in the country where they are arrested, in a "neutral" nation by independent judges or before the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Whatever Mandela's motivations for trying to make these points to Bush — some officials have suggested that aside from wanting to return old favours, the ANC is truly desperate for funds from whatever sources it can get them — the consequences for his fellow countrymen are potentially very damaging.

**R**ightly or wrongly, the ANC is viewed by the majority of outsiders as SA's inevitable next government. Who its friends are matters just as much as what it says about economic and political issues. However fine his intentions, the more Mandela is seen to cosy up to the Gaddafis and the Castros, the more the major powers begin to wonder whether SA will ever get things right.

And the more they wonder, the fewer the resources they will feel willing to commit to the country's reconstruction.

**E**ARLIER this month, the newly elected president of the National Organisation of Women (Now) announced to her cheering supporters that in the course of her marriage she had had a lesbian relationship on the side.

It is politically incorrect to judge the morality of such behaviour these days, so we will let that aspect pass and focus instead on the question: why would this accomplished and successful woman want to say such a thing, and what possible good could it do the cause of women's rights for which Now ostensibly stands?

Shocking the bourgeoisie is fun, but it is not a viable long-term strategy. At the end of the day, the success or failure of groups like Now depend on their winning over the bourgeoisie, most of whose members still believe that marital fidelity is an important virtue, not only for its own sake but for the sake of children whose lives stand to be irrevocably damaged if their parents mess around.

The new president of Now may thrill to the cheers of her comrades-in-arms as she stomps all over middle-class morality. However, by reinforcing sexist stereotypes, she does no service at all to her broader constituency, whose members have all too many entirely legitimate gripes about the way they are treated by society.

**S**uch betrayals are not limited to the women's movement by any means. On the contrary, compromising the cause for which they nominally stand seems to be the defining act of activist elites. With unnerving regularity, they appear to become blinded to all reality except the one they and their immediate circle of strugglers have created around themselves. ANC president Nelson Mandela and others in the upper echelons of his movement are no exception.

If Mandela genuinely believes that Libya's Col Muammar Gaddafi, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and Cuban President Fidel Castro are all great

# PAC leader on violence charge

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander appeared in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of inciting public violence. *Blow 28/1/92*

Earlier police had fired shotguns and teargas to disperse a 1 000-strong demonstration at Ennerdale township, south of Johannesburg. Alexander was not asked to plead and was released on R50 bail. He was one of 12 people arrested during a day of clashes between police and residents protesting against high service fees. *1/A*

Residents claimed police shot them from behind and that at least six people were admitted to hospital with gunshot wounds. The shootings occurred when residents marched on the police station to

GAVIN DU VENAGE

demand the release of community leaders, among them Alexander, who had been detained earlier when residents gathered outside a sports stadium to protest.

Policemen had barred their way, in spite of the local development committee having authorised the meeting. *(SFB)*

Police spokesman Capt Eugene Opperman said Alexander and 11 others were being charged with inciting public violence. He denied police had shot people from behind but said "the possibility exists that they were shot while turning to run".

Opperman denied police responsibility for the clashes.

NUM wants  
Cosatu out  
of Codesa  
STAT 28/1/92  
Staff Reporter

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) yesterday revealed that it would ask Cosatu to reconsider its decision to take part in Codesa.

Discussing the union's decision on Codesa, NUM president James Motlati said the union's view was that it was not a political organisation and could therefore not take part in that body.

Workers should put their case to Codesa through the delegations of Cosatu's alliance partners, the ANC and the SA Communist Party, he said, adding that the NUM would seek an urgent meeting of the Cosatu leadership to discuss the matter.

Also at yesterday's press conference, NUM introduced media to its new general secretary, Kgalema Mothlanthe.

# Anthem in Afrikaans

NKOSI Sikelel' iAfrika has been translated into Afrikaans and can be heard on a children's programme on television.

The translation, done by an Afrikaans culture organisation, die Afrikaans Taal en Kultuurvereniging, will be used for an educational children's literacy programme.

"The idea is to depoliticise and demythologise the controversy surrounding the song for people to understand what it is about," said Mr Fritz Kok, the organisation's executive director. *Scoutman 28/1/92*

He said if the anthem was sung in Afrikaans as well, it would establish the language among all people in the country.

Six professors - one of them black - were responsible for the translation.

The song can be heard on Saampraat on CCV-TV.

# Government changes tack on ANC demands for transitional rule

CAPE TOWN — Government has changed its attitude and effectively succumbed to the ANC's demand for an elected constituent assembly in its plan for a transitional government.

But Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at a briefing yesterday government had come up with a more realistic and workable option than the ANC's.

He said he hoped the referendum called to accept the transitional constitution would be held before the end of the year.

If the interim constitution negotiated at Codesa was of such a nature that all par-

ties agreed it was a "good one" for a new SA, it could become the final constitution with the transitional government leaders agreeing to extend its life and adopt it as a permanent constitution.

It was up to Codesa to decide whether it would include provisions in the transitional constitution to implement a new constitution. These would not necessarily imply the need for another referendum.

Government's plan was an "alternative answer to the need for an elected constituent assembly and the ANC's interim government, and is a more acceptable vehicle", he said.

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He said government's elected interim/transitional government under a new transitional constitution, initially announced by President F W de Klerk at Codesa in December, made provision for a government with dual responsibility.

"Our aim is that the transitional government and the transitional constitution would make it possible for the transitional government to succeed Parliament and continue the work of Codesa and a constituent assembly."

The transitional government was differ-

ent in definition from an interim government in that it did not contain the ANC's loaded connotation — that of suspending the constitution and Parliament, and rule by decree.

"The transitional government would have two essential functions: drafting the new constitution for SA, while governing the country at the same time," Viljoen said. This thus met the ANC's demand for an elected and representative body to draw up the new constitution.

He said the whole process envisaged by government would be constitutional and legal and would have the greatest possible

chance of broad legitimacy

The steps envisaged are that: 304A

Government table its plan at Codesa and negotiate an interim constitution;

Once agreed at Codesa, the constitution be publicly circulated and debated and a yes/no question be formulated for a referendum; B1 Day 29/1/92

A referendum be held globally with built-in checks to gauge the vote under the tricameral constitution;

After a majority "yes" vote the new interim constitution be taken to the present

To Page 2

## Transition

Parliament and passed into law; and  
 Elections be held in terms of the interim constitution and the current Cabinet and Parliament dissolved and the new, fully representative executive and legislature be appointed and elected.

This new government and parliament would then constitutionally run the country while continuing to negotiate for a new, permanent constitution.

Viljoen said government plans would closely follow the NP's constitutional proposals, which made provision for an upper and a lower house with the necessary checks and balances to give minority parties an effective say in government.

The plans were designed to bring meaningful change to both the executive and the legislature, with the existing constitution effective only in implementing the transi-

tional government.

Viljoen said if the transitional government envisaged by government was accepted at Codesa, it would involve fundamental change to the constitution, with Cabinet and Parliament making way for the new order.

He said that having noted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's comments on regional government, he was confident a speedy solution could be found as the major parties were converging in their ideas of the way forward.

He said ANC president Nelson Mandela had stated in December that De Klerk was morally bound to call a white referendum, and government would hold the ANC to this understanding.

● See Page 5

● Comment: Page 12

From Page 1

# Chalker urges ANC to lift sanctions

CAPE TOWN — British Development Aid Minister Lynda Chalker has urged ANC president Nelson Mandela and his organisation to lift sanctions.

After meeting President F W de Klerk she said the ANC "must give up the totem pole of sanctions" so that investor confidence in SA could grow. The call for sanctions was being used merely as a binding force for the organisation because most measures were being lifted anyway.

Chalker said there was a great deal of impatience among international investors for the correct signs to come from SA.

She said sanctions were delaying economic growth and there was little chance of success unless they were lifted and SA could get access to IMF and World Bank loans and investors were confident that it was a good investment.

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She was very pleased with Codesa's progress but urged De Klerk to move quickly because of investor impatience.

Sapa reports that after meeting Chalker, Mandela said rejoining the Commonwealth would be a "logical step" for a future SA. "Why not? It's our history," he added.

11/16/82  
SAPA

CYRIL Ramaphosa and Ger-rit Viljoen agree that there is increasing convergence between the views of the ANC and the governing National Party on the way forward to a new, non-racial constitutional order.

But they disagree sharply on what the narrowing of differences in their thinking means.

Mr Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary general, perceives a "fundamental shift" in the NP's approach; he interprets it as evidence that the NP is moving closer to the ANC's position.

Dr Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, does not dispute that there has been a change in the NP's approach; he describes it as an "important initiative" and an alternative to rather than a duplication of the ANC's approach.

The differences have narrowed further since Dr Viljoen's announcement that a referendum on the Government's proposal to establish a new transitional constitution, as the basis for a transitional government, could be held before year-end.

Dr Viljoen's statement, made at news briefing in Cape Town yesterday, re-emphasises another common point: the ANC and the NP are both in hurry.

The ANC has already set itself two deadlines: the end of July for the installation of an interim government and the end of the year for the holding of free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen's statement putting a date to the referendum — as a vital step to a transitional constitution and a transitional parliament, in which the black majority will be given "equitable" representation — represents a significant development; it gives concrete expression to his emphasis that establishment of a transitional government is a matter which must be urgently negotiated at Codesa.

Stressing that the formation of a transitional government is a vital pre-condition for the establishment of stability and investor confidence, Dr Viljoen says: "The way to success is going to be urgency and speed."

Mr Ramaphosa observes that

# Near and yet so far apart in thinking

PATRICK LAURENCE looks at similarities and differences between ANC and NP approaches to constitutional change.

President de Klerk talked last year about "transitional arrangements" to accommodate the black majority until the drafting of a new constitution.

Now Mr de Klerk is talking about a democratically elected "transitional government".

Noting that Mr de Klerk is speaking of a transitional but popularly elected parliament drafting a new constitution, Mr Ramaphosa reckons he has effectively conceded another key ANC demand: that the task of drafting a new constitution should be assigned to a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Dr Viljoen, however, disagrees that the NP and the ANC proposals are fast becoming indistinguishable, except for semantic differences.

The NP talks of a transitional government rather than an interim government but these terms are not different phrases for the same concept, he says.

"The word interim government is the buzz word that is being used by the ANC for a

system where the present constitution is suspended, the government is an undefined entity, to which there is a total transfer of power, and parliament is no longer functional.

"You have an uncontrolled executive, the governmental system is no longer in terms of a constitution because the constitution is suspended. There is a constitutional and political vacuum and that, of course, is entirely unacceptable.

Dr Viljoen neither denies that there is a new dimension to NP/Government thinking nor does he shy away from defining what the NP means by transitional government.

"Firstly, the Government accepts it will imply a meaningful change bringing about a change in (rather than suspension or abolition of) the constitution.

"Secondly, the shift would involve not only the executive, the government, but also the legislature, namely parliament.

"Thirdly, the existing constitution would apply the method of introducing such a transition-

al government with a transitional constitution: that means it will have to be brought about by a decision made by (the present) parliament.

"The Government is providing an alternative... to the concepts of constituent assembly and an interim government, as defined by the ANC.

"We believe that a transitional government... would be an acceptable (forum) to argue and negotiate a better alternative to a constituent assembly.

"While a constituent assembly as generally defined is supposed to be elected on a one man, one vote majoritarian basis — where the majority, once elected, will simply finalise the constitution — the approach of the Government is to ensure proper representation of minorities in decision-making."

To achieve its end the NP proposes that the principles underlying its draft constitutional plan — with its elaborate system of checks and balances, including a regionally based upper chamber with representation weighted in favour of smaller parties — should be considered at Codesa as basis for the transitional government.

Mr Ramaphosa, however, is unperturbed by NP plan and does not fear that it will entangle and constrain the ANC.

"Of course De Klerk has to say he wants to base (the transitional government) on his constitutional proposals, but those proposals have not found acceptance from a broad spectrum of political parties.

"The key issue is the fundamental shift that the (ruling NP) has effected. The fundamental shift in their thinking now is that the constitution must be drafted by people who have been elected."

Mr Ramaphosa is confident that the ANC's view that the process must be kept as simple as possible will prevail and that Codesa will reject the NP complicated proposals. Underlying his thinking is a calculation that the balance of power at Codesa lies with ANC-aligned forces rather than De Klerk administration and its allies. □



Viljoen... an alternative to the ANC's approach.



Ramaphosa... finds shift in NP's approach.

# Gap on interim govt closes

By Shaun Johnson  
and Esther Waugh

Agreement on the key question of an interim government edged closer yesterday as an ANC spokesman cautiously welcomed the NP's new proposals for a "transitional government".

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa welcomed Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's revelation yesterday that the NP now believed an entirely new transitional government should be elected to replace Parliament and Codesa.

At a briefing in the parliamentary complex, Dr Viljoen said a referendum which could put the current Cabinet and Parliament out of business would "hopefully be held before the end of this year".

If the referendum received majority support, existing structures would be replaced as soon as possible by a "fully representative" transitional government.

STAV  
29/1/92  
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The implementation of such a government would also render Codesa obsolete.

Although refusing to commit himself firmly to a timeframe for this "fundamental change" — Dr Viljoen said politicians who set deadlines "painted themselves into corners" — the Minister said he hoped the basis for the implementation of the new government could be in place by the end of next year.

## Superseded

Dr Viljoen confirmed that according to the NP's new plans for transitional — or interim — government, existing structures would be superseded.

This ended speculation that what the NP had in mind was merely the expansion of the existing tricameral Parliament to include blacks during the transition.

The NP has yet to reveal its detailed plans for how an election to a transitional parliament would work. But it is almost certain that a bicameral parliament would be

proposed, with a second House catering for minority and regional interests.

The NP would also fight hard for a "rotating" or multiple presidency in the transitional government, and beyond.

Mr Moosa said the Government's view was now closer to the ANC's own proposals.

Agreement on a proper form of interim government was one of the chief tasks facing Codesa's working groups.

Mr Moosa said it had always been the ANC's viewpoint that Codesa was to be dissolved as soon as agreement had been reached on an interim government.

The tricameral Parliament could not act as the legislative authority during the transition period, and the present Parliament and the white minority Government could not continue to operate during the period leading up to a new constitution.

Mr Moosa expressed reservations, however, about the possibility of there being a two-chamber parliament in which the NP would effec-

tively retain a veto.

Mr Moosa said the body drafting a new constitution should be democratically elected on a proportional basis — without "weighting", as envisaged by the NP.

"Those that carry the day are those who win the support from elections," Mr Moosa said. There was no place for an entrenched veto for any party, he added.

## Unsuitable

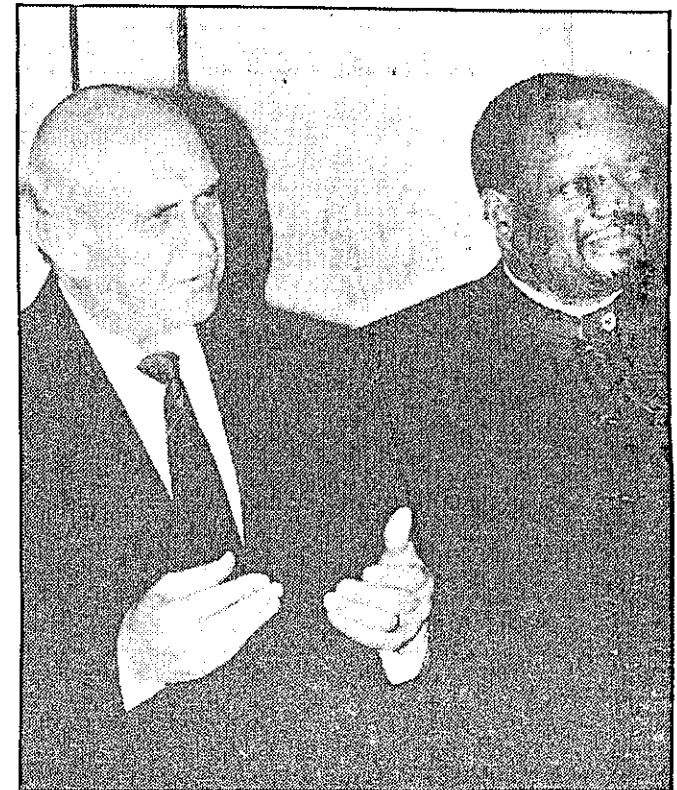
The NP shift was, however, a victory for the ANC.

The problem, Mr Moosa said, was that the Government wanted to establish an interim government only after elections had been held.

The question arose how those elections were to be conducted.

"This Government does not hold the confidence of the majority of South Africans and is not suitable to oversee the elections. An interim government is needed to conduct elections," he said.

● Near and yet so far apart in thinking — Page 21



President de Klerk and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi met yesterday at Tuynhuis in Cape Town. Mr de Klerk gave the assurance that South Africa would not interfere in the peace process in Angola by funding Unita's September election campaign, but he said South Africa was "involved in negotiations on how we can help reconstruction in Angola in an affordable way".



ANC <sup>114</sup>

## official in court

*SDU:efen 29/1/92*

AFRICAN National Congress Eastern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Joe Nkuna appeared in the White River Magistrate's Court yesterday.

He was charged with intimidation and possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition, police have reported.

Nkuna (27) was arrested in connection with an incident in which he allegedly threatened a garage manager that he would be shot and his property bombed. The threats were apparently made after the manager reported a gun he found in Nkuna's car to the police.

The SAP statement said the case has been deferred to the Nelspruit Regional Court for hearing on March 6. - Sapa.

Goyt bid to  
slow talks,  
claims SACP

THE SA Communist Party yesterday accused the government of trying to submerge the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) in a range of issues not related to its tasks.

It was an attempt to slow down the negotiation process, the SACP said after a two-day central committee meeting at the weekend in Johannesburg to re-assess Codesa and the party's role.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to Codesa, and said it would participate fully in Codesa's five working groups.

Central committee member Jeremy Cronin said there were serious concerns that government was trying to submerge Codesa in a range of outside issues relating to the socio-economic crisis.

"We see this as an attempt to remove the question of housing, education, health and the economy away from the terrain of mass involvement," Cronin said. (IA) (SACP)

"Codesa has its own crucial tasks, but it cannot and must not supplement other crucial forums like the housing forum and the macro-economic negotiating forum in which mass democratic organisations are playing a crucial role."

Cronin said government was trying to make Codesa co-responsible for its past mistakes. — Sapa.

# Concepts of interim government take root

Southon 29/1/92.

11A ~~2/1/92~~

A PICTURE was emerging this week in Cape Town on the concept and form of a likely interim government for South Africa during the present redevelopment process.

Both the Government and the ANC, in somewhat vague and still very tentative terms, elucidated the developing vision of an interim government.

There is near total confluence on the idea of an interim government being legally instituted by the present parliament. So it will be more than just a government of national unity - it should be a government whose legitimacy cannot be overruled by the highest court in South Africa.

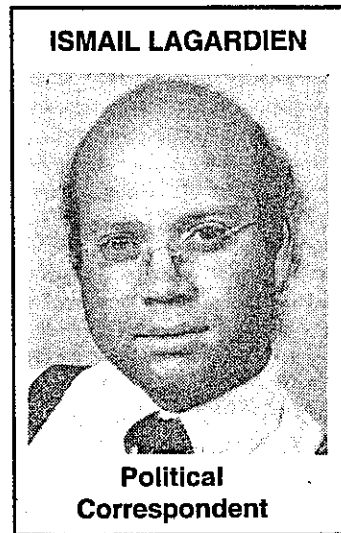
Before the interim government actually sits down, the National Party believes the public should be consulted by means of a referendum on the proposals and the constitutional changes which will come into effect.

Here the basic difference is perhaps the biggest stumbling block to the inception of an interim government. The Government, by its own admission believes it is "honour-bound" to go to the white electorate for its approval of any changes to the constitution.

The ANC, besides finding the idea of a white referendum distinctly unacceptable, feels the Government is duty bound to the people of South Africa as a whole and not just to whites.

The ruling National Party responds to this by saying it received a conditional mandate to embark on the present process of reform.

In terms of this conditional mandate they are morally obliged to return to the electorate that gave them this mandate for approval of



any changes that are to be made to the constitution, the secretary-general of the NP, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, explains.

He says also that a second referendum - it is envisaged that this would be for everybody - should be held at the end of the lifespan of the interim government, to accept the final constitution for the country.

The ANC does not differ in principle on this, but both agree that these details will have to be discussed at Codesa, where the actual deliberations on South Africa's constitutional future will start in earnest on February 6.

It is also here, at Codesa, where the two will lock horns on the issue of an interim government.

The ANC still, albeit in a somewhat watered-down way, seeks a constituent assembly elected on the

basis of one-person-one-vote, and the government believes that an interim government will mutate into an actual constitution-making body simply by means of its composition.

Van der Merwe says that after Codesa's working group that deals with the question of an interim government submits its proposals to Parliament to be expedited, and the whites have given the go-ahead for the changes in the constitution that will facilitate such an authority, elections will be held for an interim government.

He believes that the necessity for a constituent assembly would then fall away - the interim government would then work on a constitution.

The Government believes this "phased" approach is preferable to the demand by the PAC, for example, whose central issue is elections to a constituent assembly - with nothing before and very little after.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development and a key person in the Government's negotiations team, believes that an interim government empowered by an interim constitution could "lead or conduct" negotiations in phases towards a final constitution.

If this phased process is accepted, and Viljoen sees no reason why it shouldn't be, the present "unsatisfactory" tri-cameral constitution can be replaced swiftly, he says.

"Speedy agreement on a first-phase interim government will in the short term create political stability and encourage investment.

"At the same time, valuable experience in coalition governance (saamreger) can also be

built up.

"An interim government also provides an opportunity for preparation and adaptation to the final constitution.

"A speedily established interim government could also elevate the importance of the backlogs in underprivileged societies on the Government's agenda," Viljoen told Parliament this week.

However, while the picture of an interim government was taking shape this week, the idea of a democratically elected constituent assembly got support from an unusual source this week.

During Monday's debate on State President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech last Friday, the Labour Party's Mr Peter Hendrickse lodged his party's support for a constituent assembly.

Hendrickse said that the ruling National Party had over the past 40 years led the country down the dark and dangerous road of economic decline unemployment and depression.

The Government, he said, was unfit to rule the country during the interim period.

"We believe that Codesa should determine certain basic constitutional principles to be written by a constituent assembly.

"We further believe that the powers and functions of such an assembly must also be determined by Codesa.

"The Labour Party believes that it is essential and in the interest of the country as a whole and its people that we have an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

"We do not believe that the architects of apartheid can be designers of the new South Africa," Hendrickse said.

"OUR decision to participate independently in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) stems from our insistence on being recognised and accepted as an important player, and not because we have no faith in the ANC to guard our ideas and positions," said Cosatu vice-president Mr Sam Shilowa.

He said Cosatu had faced the brunt of repression before the change in the political climate and played a crucial role in directing the struggle when political organisations were restricted or banned.

"At the height of protest politics the government considered us a force to be reckoned with, but now they're doing their utmost to trivialise our role," said Shilowa.

"Although we're not a political organisation, issues affecting workers will be tabled at Codesa and our input in this regard is pivotal.

"Besides, there are non-political organisations participating in Codesa. It would be unjustifiable for Cosatu and Nactu to be excluded.

"Apart from Cosatu and Nactu, no other trade union grouping can genuinely claim to have a track record of fighting for democracy."

Shilowa said Cosatu had hoped Nactu would also apply to Codesa for membership but realised they would probably support the anti-Codesa stance of the PAC.

He said affiliates had agreed at Cosatu's last executive committee meeting that the federation apply for Codesa membership.

However, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was absent from the meeting and this week threw a spanner in the works when it came out against the application for Codesa membership.

"Cosatu is a labour movement and participating in a political forum, such as Codesa, can create complications.

"If the application is successful, other organisations will have a stronger case to argue for acceptance to Codesa," said Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, national acting secretary of NUM.

He said the NUM has called on Cosatu to convene an urgent meeting to reverse the decision.

Shilowa said the issues the federa-

# Cosatu wants a voice in shaping the new SA

South 30/11 - 5/2/92.

Cosatu's decision to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is an attempt to assert its role and position in shaping the new South Africa. The vice-president of the federation, Mr Sam Shilowa, spoke to **THORAYA PANDY:**

tion would raise at Codesa had been discussed at its last congress.

"In a recent survey, our members supported the proposal that their views and aspirations be independently represented."

He acknowledged that their late entry into Codesa would mean officials putting in extra hours to familiarise themselves with the working groups but said weekly meetings with the ANC and SACP kept them on par with the events in Codesa.

"We agree with the ANC on major political issues and strategise together.

"But the issues addressed by the five Codesa working groups affect workers in some way or another and our participation in this regard is important," he said.

Shilowa said the task of Codesa should be limited to speedily setting up an interim government which would pave the way for an elected constituent assembly. Cosatu supported the reintegration of the TBVC states into South Africa and would push for the right to organise freely there, specially in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

The federation also planned to feed into discussions around unemployment, housing and education.

Shilowa said Cosatu's bid for Codesa membership should not be seen as a move away from the ANC, but rather a positive step to ensuring worker independence in a future government.

Asked whether Cosatu would hold mass demonstrations if the "new and democratic government" did not sup-



**COSATU VICE-PRESIDENT: Mr Sam Shilowa**

port worker demands, he responded: "Of course we will.

"Workers, or any other group for that matter, have the right to protest, that is if we are genuine about building a democratic society. We won't always agree with the government and will certainly voice our opinions, the best way we know how."

He said the "fundamental right" of workers to strike was not negotiable and should a new government not grant workers that right, it would invoke "anger and disgust".

Expressing his personal view, Shilowa said Cosatu would not contest elections and would call on its members to vote for the ANC.

However, Cosatu would be "in a real predicament" should the SACP decide

to contest elections.

"The only thing we could do then is ask our members to study the programmes of both the ANC and SACP and decide for themselves who they will vote for.

Shilowa, a member of the central committee of the SACP and an ANC member, declined to say which way his vote would go.

He said Cosatu was his priority and he would not even consider running for parliament. "I'm staying in Cosatu until my term of office expires in 1994 and will remain in the unions."

Shilowa, one of the ANC's representatives at Codesa, said he would "probably withdraw" and join the federation's team if Cosatu's application succeeded.

**POLITICS**

# NP can't be player and ref, says ANC

11A (BULLA)

B 10 am 30/11/92

Business Day Reporter

THE ANC yesterday rejected NP proposals for an elected interim government which would also act as a constituent assembly in drafting a new constitution.

In a statement, the organisation said the NP's proposals for elections before interim mechanisms were in place "confirm the suspicion that it (the NP) wants to be both player and referee in elections".

The ANC said it recognised the NP government had come round to acknowledge in principle the need for an interim government to supervise the transition, and for an elected body to draw up a new constitution.

However, the NP also sought to base these elections on its constitutional proposals with checks and balances which would give veto powers to whites. What would emerge from this, the ANC said, was "an undemocratic institution charged with the task of drawing up a democratic constitution".

"The ANC believes that agreements reached at Codesa, including amendments to the present constitution, should be given the force of law by the tricameral parliament. The overwhelming majority of parties in this parliament are in Codesa, and they will therefore be duty-bound to facilitate the implementation of decisions to

which they will have agreed.

"In order to ensure fairness in the transition, it will be necessary to set up an interim government controlling at least the security forces, the electoral process, state media, budget and finance. Elections for a constituent assembly should be carried out on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll," it said.

The organisation repeated its objections to a racially based referendum on the constitutional changes necessary for the establishment of an interim government.

"Government leaders arrogantly assert that if the interim constitutional proposals are not accepted by the whites, then parties would have to go back to the drawing board ... whites could as well consult among themselves about changes to the present order, if any, and foist them on the rest of society," the statement added.

The ANC said it recognised the NP's right to put forward its proposals for the transition.

However, it believed at the very core of these proposals was the principle of a white veto over Codesa decisions and a desire to prolong the transition. This was unacceptable.

# PAC leader's offices damaged

Swelken 30/11/92

1114

THE Pretoria law office of deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, was seriously damaged by unknown devices yesterday morning.

The ceilings were extensively damaged and electrical fittings ripped from the walls.

Moseneke said he discovered the damage when he opened the office about 7am.

"Although the doors were all locked when I left the previous day, I found the back door open. I do not know if any documents are missing," he said.

The incident occurred a few hours after Moseneke explained on the television programme *Agenda* on Tuesday night why the PAC rejected Codesa.

Northern Transvaal Police liaison officer Colonel Frank Alton said police were investigating the matter.

"Although we are still investigating, I doubt if it

By MONK NKOMO

was an explosive because the sound would have been heard from afar."

Moseneke declined to say who he suspected.

"Recently there has been a pattern of violence perpetrated against organisations and people opposed to Codesa.

"If this action is in-

tended to intimidate me or the PAC, those responsible can forget it.

"We are fighting a legitimate struggle for freedom. We will fight until we achieve our goals which include the replacement of the white, racist, minority regime with a democratically elected government acceptable to the majority of the people."



MOSENEKE

# Sale of a paper to ANC

STAR 30/1/92

11A ~~217/115~~

'daft'

**T**HE daft idea is being floated in South Africa that the proprietors of the English language press should gift-wrap one of their newspapers and sell it to the ANC — as a gesture of goodwill or recompense for historic guilt.

Whoever has volunteered this suggestion cannot be a friend of the press, because there is no quicker way to kill a newspaper than to put it in the hands of a political party — any political party.

As City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi put it recently: "Any publication that propagates a particular party line is doomed to failure, especially in a democratic society." By failure, Mr Sibiyi does not necessarily mean financial failure, although that is usually the fate.

The Afrikaans newspapers did very well, thank you, tapping the deep wells of Afrikaner sentiment or their circulations and the deep purses of Government patronage or their coffers.

The situation would be different

only in degree if the ANC or any other political party, black or white, were to acquire a newspaper, and particularly so if that party became the government.

The job of the acquired newspaper would be to publicise the party and smite its newspaper critics, not fulfil the historic role of a free press.

In Britain, after World War 2, the Daily Herald began its downhill slide when the Labour Party (in particular a ruthless Ernest Bevin) forced it to toe the party line. There was the example, too, of Forward, a lively leftish newspaper, published in Scotland. It had a small circulation, but was well regarded, especially by MPs.

Then it was brought to London to become a national Sunday newspaper to serve the party — and it, too, bit the dust.

It's the iron law of journalism. Real newspapers cannot be run by political parties or committees or politburos. Editors cannot work if they have to look constantly over their shoulders at politicians.

Champions of press freedom in South Africa should study Brit-

ain's Press Complaints Commission, which has just replaced the Press Council set up in 1953.

The Code by which it operates is concerned only with ethics, not politics. It deals with accuracy, right of reply, invasion of privacy, harassment, chequebook journalism, financial journalism, and so forth.

Implicit in the Code is recognition that, provided a newspaper obeys the law, the only democratic constraints that can be imposed on it are ethical ones.

The struggle for the freedom of the press is to keep governments (and the party press) at bay.

Judge Pierre Olivier (SA Law Commission) put it well when he said: "Notwithstanding their avowals that they are committed to openness and honesty, party and government officials — and politicians — will usually seek to prevent thorough airing and debate of issues that are uncomfortable or embarrassing or which are critical of their actions."

South Africa, in the present, rapidly democratising transition

period, is highly fortunate.

As Gavin Stewart, head of the Department of Journalism at Rhodes University, noted recently:

"Legal controls have eased so much since February 1990 that our freedom to publish is now comparable with the Western democracies."

But what will happen when the transition period ends, and a new government begins its reign?

Will harassment of the press begin all over again?

Imagine what would happen to the editor of an ANC newspaper if he reported Winnie's goings-on, or, say, a rift between Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma: it would be the knackers' yard for him.

One has only to read the SA Institute of Race Relations publication, "Mau-Mauing the Media", to understand what happens to black journalists who dare to criticise "the struggle".

The ANC's new media charter, for all its many sensible points, is not a reassuring document. There are too many "shalls" and "musts" in it.

How is an "equitable distribution of media resources" to be achieved? Or "diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities"?

In the market place, or by coercion and decree?

Let's be clear about what a political party in South Africa is entitled to demand.

● First, as an urgent step, it can insist on multiparty supervision of radio and television to ensure fair coverage during the transition period.

● Second, in the longer term, it can insist on restructuring of the SABC to make it a truly independent corporation.

● Third, it is wholly within its rights not only to start its own newspaper, but also to request assistance from existing newspaper groups — it's a fair request, and Argus chairman Douglas Band has already offered the ANC cost-effective printing and distribution facilities if it starts a newspaper.

● Fourth, all political parties can press for revision of the press code of conduct.

● Finally, political parties can ask for control of newspaper monopolies. Britain, for example, has a Monopolies Commission, and although Mrs Thatcher extracted some of its teeth, it is able to prevent over-concentration of newspaper ownership. (As far as I can see, the English language newspapers concede anti-monopoly control).

But to try to commandeer an existing newspaper would be political and financial folly.

Robert Maxwell's Daily Mirror is an example. When he died, there was talk that some Tory millionaire or other should buy the newspaper and deprive the Labour Party of its only support among the national press.

It was soon realised, of course, that when you purchase a newspaper and change its policies, you do not necessarily also purchase its readers — they go off to find another newspaper that gives them the opinions they want to hear.

It's a lesson worth noting by all South Africa's political parties. □

# Chalker fails to push PAC into Codesa

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

11A  
STAR 30/1/92

Visiting British Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker yesterday failed to persuade the PAC to take part in the process of Codesa or to condemn the actions of its armed wing Apla.

Speaking to The Star after meeting Mrs Chalker, PAC

NEC member Advocate William Seriti said Mrs Chalker had told him that the PAC could make an important contribution to the negotiation process.

"I told her that the table at Codesa was not right for the PAC to participate," he said.

"Most of the parties taking part in Codesa have no right to be there. They have no support and are Government stooges."

He said the "sufficient consensus" needed to arrive at Co-

desa's decisions was unacceptable to the PAC because it was inconceivable that homeland leaders could vote against the Government.

Mr Seriti said that he had reiterated the PAC's refusal to condemn actions of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and its strategy of killing.

"We (the PAC) won't condemn Apla or support it. We are neutral," said Mr Seriti.



# Ring-a-ring a rosies: But will they all fall down?

*W/Mail 31/1-6/92*  
**There may be public discontent but the African National Congress and National Party are slowly starting to sing the same song. PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK reports**



Nelson Mandela

FW de Klerk

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk's latest leap in lateral thinking amounts to the acceptance — in principle at least — of the two fundamental African National Congress demands of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

If the proposals that have emerged over the past few days were accepted at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the ANC could within 18 months be the dominant partner in an elected transitional government of national unity.

In return, the National Party will keep some hand on the levers of power by remaining in government as a coalition partner.

Much of De Klerk's rhetoric at the opening of parliament last Friday was aimed at a white population that has grown restless at the changes that are sweeping the country and the prospects of an ignominious NP defeat in the by-election in the Potchefstroom constituency next month.

More important is what he has introduced through the backdoor — both at the opening of parliament and at Codesa last month.

Going hand in hand with that is an alternative vision of how to get from here to democracy.

De Klerk is proposing a phased movement towards that goal: agreement at Codesa on an interim constitution; a referendum; and an election for a new parliament upon which the interim government would be based and which would negotiate the final constitution.

In coming up with what many observers are realising is a fundamental, if convoluted, new shift in NP thinking, De Klerk is proposing a plan that at least in some aspects appears more democratic than the ANC's. Where the ANC's interim government is an appointed body, De Klerk's transitional government is elected.

There are, however, two major areas that the NP will have to compromise on before the plan could become in any way acceptable to the ANC's membership — there has to be a time limit placed on the life of the interim constitution, and the upper house of parliament has to be composed in such a way that it cannot be a brake on further changes to the constitution.

The form of De Klerk's interim parliament, based on the NP's proposals, will be a bicameral legislature. The lower house is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation — one man, one vote. On that there is unlikely to be disagreement.

The problem, however, is likely to be with the upper house. The NP proposal is that this be elected on the basis of regions with each region getting an

equal number of seats no matter how many voters it has, in much the same way as the United States senate.

Thus, the Northern Cape with a few hundred thousand votes will have equal representation to the Witwatersrand with some six million votes.

The NP proposals go further. They want every party that wins above a certain percentage of the votes in a region to get an equal number of seats in that region.

Thus, in the NP's conception, the parliament that will draw up the final constitution will not be based on one man, one vote, as the constituent assembly in Namibia was.

The upper house is skewed towards those such as the NP which have a broad sweep of support around the country, even if it is nowhere in the majority.

Thus the NP could end up with as many — or more — seats in the upper house than the ANC, with only a fraction of the votes, and be able to block further constitutional amendments.

This could be what Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen has in mind when he says, somewhat puzzlingly, that using the interim parliament to draw up the new constitution will ensure the representation of minorities in negotiations for a future constitution.

The ANC wants the constituent assembly to be based, like the lower house, on one man, one vote proportional representation — though ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa finds it encouraging that the NP have accepted the idea of an elected body to draft the constitution of the country.

He adds, however: "We are confident that we will turn De Klerk around completely to accept the constituent assembly as demanded by the ANC."

But the NP is keeping in mind the constant assurances of ANC president Nelson Mandela that the fears of whites

would have to be addressed in some way — and is looking to the ANC for some sort of compromise as well.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has raised the further question of how the country can go to elections without the other checks and balances — such as a Bill of Rights — being in place. However, De Klerk addressed this point too on Friday, proposing a first phase of a Bill of Fundamental Rights as part of the transitional constitutional arrangements.

A further question to be addressed is who will govern the country while the first elections for the new parliament are to be held.

Mandela has said the government's proposals for a referendum and an election before an interim government is in place begs the question because "there cannot be any democratic elections in our country while the apartheid regime is in place".

However, the room for compromise is large with ANC demanding only that there be joint authority over the security forces, state-owned media, electoral processes, budget and finance in the run-up to an election.

A major impasse also seems to have emerged over the question of a white referendum and the NP's proposal that this would imply a veto of the new constitution. De Klerk insists on a referendum and through out the week cabinet ministers have been digging themselves further and further into the cor-

be to turn the rightwing into a local equivalent of the Irish Republican Army, sustained down the years by the assertion, mythical or not, that most whites rejected the constitution, even though it was accepted by the leaders of the National Party."

A victory for the NP among whites in the referendum would neutralise the right. With the SABC and virtually the entire press supporting the changes, and with the prospects of more international sports teams coming to South Africa, the NP should be in a position to sway the white vote.

At the same time, the NP is working away assiduously at splitting the moderates and radicals in the Conservative Party, and at politically breaking the rightwing before an election.

A defeat in the referendum would be a serious blow for the NP. "Then we'll be in trouble," concedes Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

But even here the NP appear to have contingency plans that they're not revealing. "It will be a political blow but not a constitutional crisis," said Deputy Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Tertius Delpont.

On the question of timing, De Klerk's speech has helped close the gap between the NP and the ANC. As recently as January 8, Mandela rejected a long drawn-out transitional government, accusing the NP of attempting to "legitimise an undemocratic constitution, parliament and regime and prolong the transition by 10 years and more".

However, De Klerk said last Friday that he was flexible on the issue of the timing of the transition. He believed it would be unwise to commit to a rigorous timetable, but that the parties in the government should themselves judge the length of the transition on the basis of the level of violence and intimidation, as well as the degree of consensus on specific changes to the constitution.

"At the same time, we are not opposed to any reasonable measures taken to obviate unnecessary or willful delays," said De Klerk. "The sooner South Africa gets a comprehensive, all-embracing constitution, the better."

By Monday Ramaphosa too was singing a very different tune. "If he means he has shifted from the notion of an interim government over five to 10 years, then we're prepared to talk to De Klerk about his interim government."

In the ANC's view the interim government should not govern for longer than 18 months or two years.

Despite the public rumbling, the unimaginable is unfolding in South Africa. Both the ANC and the NP are feeling their way towards a coalition government in which the ANC will be the dominant partner.

ner that De Klerk painted himself into. De Klerk's position is that when he was returned to power by the white electorate in September 1989 with a mandate to negotiate a new constitution, he promised to go back to them for endorsement of whatever was negotiated. He thus argues that he is honour bound to win white endorsement for the new constitution.

It would be madness for the ANC, which is in no way similarly bound, to accept something so anathemic to its principles as a racially delineated all-white veto of the negotiations — and the movement has said so repeatedly in strong language.

But Ramaphosa demonstrated flexibility even on this question. He acknowledged that De Klerk has a problem but said that if he acted unilaterally the ANC would be in no position to help. "A lot can be done to assist De Klerk within the negotiating process itself," he said.

While the ANC is unlikely to accept a white veto, it may be able to live with a separate count of the white vote. The ANC is as aware as the NP is of the dangers of not getting majority support in the white electorate for the changes.

This was spelt out eloquently by the *Sunday Times*: "No greater folly is imaginable than for the National Party and the ANC to try to strike a deal between them, and then to foist it on an unwilling or rebellious population."

"The least that would happen would

ANC demand  
of 31/1/92 (11A)  
on death tape

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The ANC has challenged  
the Vrye Weekblad to  
make public a tape-re-  
cording of an alleged  
plot by two of its intelli-  
gence officers to assassi-  
nate a former senior  
member of its intelli-  
gence division, Mr Glory  
"September" Sidebe,  
who had left the ANC to  
join the SA Police.

The report alleged the  
intelligence officers had  
paid AWB member Mr  
Daniel Odendaal "at  
least R20 000" for spe-  
cial projects, including  
the assassination.

The ANC said yester-  
day there was "not a  
shred of truth in the sto-  
ry". — Sapa

# The PAC: Power or a paper tiger?

*W/M Mail 31/11-6/2/92 (11A)*  
 Last Friday's marches on parliament pitted the mobilising abilities of the Pan Africanist Congress against those of the African National Congress. The ANC won by a mile — but is this a true reflection of the PAC's strength? asks **GAYE DAVIS**

Is the Pan Africanist Congress a force to be reckoned with, or is this an illusion created by a larger-than-life media profile? For some, the question was answered by the huge disparity between the tens of thousands who marched on parliament under African National Congress banners and the few thousand who turned out for the PAC in Cape Town last Friday.

Crowd-counting is an inaccurate art: ANC officials were this week scrutinising aerial photographs of the Grand Parade for a figure they could offset against reports ranging from 15 000 to 100 000.

Whatever the tally, ANC numbers completely eclipsed those of the PAC, for whom crowd estimates ranged from about 1 200 to 4 000. "I'm glad they organised something public like this," an ANC activist said after watching the PAC's march. "At least now we know what we're dealing with."

The demonstrations were not intended to become a test of strength between the two organisations, but inevitably, that's what they became. Neither the ANC nor the PAC could be over-confident: the PAC was venturing into an arena it had little experience of, while the ANC couldn't be certain that those who claimed the days of mass action were over weren't right after all.

In the event, the ANC triumphed. In the words of one commentator, it showed it was the biggest and best-organised of the forces ranged against the government. The PAC, on the other hand, was left at the starting gate.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai insisted this week that its showing wasn't a true reflection of PAC levels of support in the Western Cape. The ANC had spent much more money on its campaign, he said, and with the same resources "we could have brought many more people out".

According to Desai, the PAC spent R12 000 mobilising for its anti-Codesa march, distributing 30 000 leaflets and 1 000 posters and hiring a train, two buses and several taxis to bring supporters to the city centre.

He claimed those who marched under the PAC's banner were all "solid party members, not rent-a-crowd" — an aspersion ANC national campaigns organiser Ronnie Kasrils described as "laughable".

"Proof of the pudding was the discipline of our people on the Grand Parade," Kasrils said. "They were packed like sardines in a can in the baking sun for hours. We needed tremendous co-operations to control a crowd like that, and we found it."

He said that in a two-week campaign which cost "under R100 000", the ANC distributed 50 000 leaflets and 5 000 posters. It hired nine trains and 50 buses to ferry people to town.

If people had been going to the polls instead of the gates of parliament last Friday, the ANC would have won the day. But is this any reason to discount the PAC?

One line of analysis views the ANC's current support in terms of there being a lack of alternatives. If people felt the National Party and the ANC were doing a deal, the PAC could scoop up significant numbers of disenchanted ANC supporters, the thinking goes. Others dismiss this, saying the PAC lacks the organisational ability to bring it off.

Nevertheless, as one foreign observer commented: "Strength is not necessarily about popular support but the ability to impede the negotiation process."

Said Desai: "If the Convention for a Democratic South Africa falters, the implications for us are enormous. It's a miscalculation to judge strength on numbers. Our potential strength is far greater. A whole world lies ahead for the PAC."

On the other hand, if Codesa did manage to deliver a constituent assembly, "we'll contest it and people will recognise us for what we are".

At the moment, though, the ANC holds the upper hand.

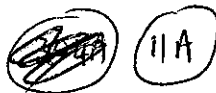
# Azapo (11A) meets Sowetan 31/1/92

31/1/92  
THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its national council meeting at Bonamelo College of Education in QwaQwa tomorrow and on Sunday.

A spokesman for Azapo said plans to form a "new, credible" patriotic front would be formalised.

THE CONSTITUTION

FM 31/1/92



# More rabbits from Viljoen's hat

The National Party is prepared to buy ANC agreement to a white referendum on a new dispensation. The trade-off will be Nat acceptance of a transitional government in a proportionally representative parliament. This parliament will be both an interim legislature and a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen believes the referendum, followed by elections for an interim parliament, could be held before the end of the year.

The NP is totally committed to a referendum, which it promised to white voters during the 1989 election campaign. It is sure it can win majority backing for a transitional plan that will see the scrapping of the current government and parliament.

The NP's latest thinking on transition is regarded as a fundamental shift from the "transitional arrangements" on offer until very recently. The previous plan was widely rejected on the basis that it would simply co-opt black leaders into government and expand the existing tricameral parliament to provide seats for blacks.

In terms of the new plan outlined this week by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, Codesa will formulate a package including: a transitional constitution, a democratically elected transitional parliament, a multiparty transitional Cabinet and a revolving presidency.

The plan would be put to a white referendum to allow President F W de Klerk to meet his moral obligation to voters.

Senior Nats are reluctant to speculate on the implications of a referendum going against the party, but Viljoen's deputy, Tertius Delport, says it would result in a political dilemma rather than a constitutional crisis.

The Cabinet is positive that a deal acceptable to whites can be negotiated at Codesa and that it will then be approved in a referendum. Viljoen says a referendum is necessary "in terms of political realism. The argument that it implies a white veto is not valid."

But even if he loses a referendum, De Klerk could reject rightwing demands that he should quit and call a whites-only election. He could claim that his mandate in 1989 was to negotiate a constitution acceptable to whites, and that he would try again.

Of course, the political ramifications of such a move both domestically and abroad would be disastrous and could plunge the country into chaos. It's this knowledge that reinforces the NP's determination not to leave Codesa until it has achieved a constitutional arrangement that will be accepted by most whites.

The party argues that majority white support for the transition would also undermine

rightwing opposition to change and increase the new constitution's long-term chances of success.

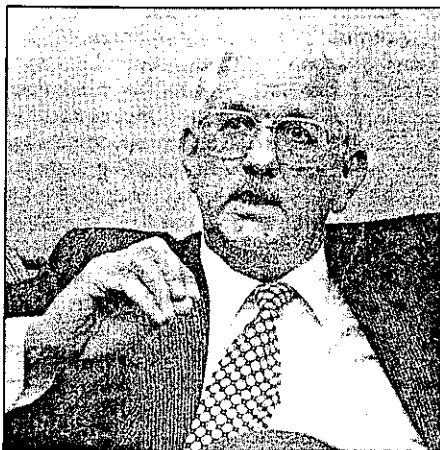
The NP's change of tack this week was not lost on the ANC. The organisation is apparently softening its stand on a whites-only referendum in view of what it regards as De Klerk's "fundamental shift" in position from "transitional arrangements" to an elected transitional parliament. It also welcomes De Klerk's shift from a fixed transitional period of five to 10 years to a flexible period to be negotiated.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says government's new attitude means the ANC can continue talking to De Klerk. "The shifts in his position show a flexibility consistent with the negotiations that are going to take place at Codesa."

He says the ANC is also prepared to debate the white referendum issue at Codesa and to help De Klerk deal with it "within the negotiating process," but warns against unilateral action. Ramaphosa says De Klerk would be foolhardy to push ahead with it unless Codesa agreed.

Significantly, Ramaphosa doesn't see the white referendum as an issue that could wreck Codesa. "We can't pull out of Codesa, we partly own it. The ANC won't abandon Codesa no matter how frustrated we become. We see it as a forum for presenting different views and the issue of the referendum should be discussed at Codesa."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha says the governments of most industrialised countries and many in Africa acknowledge and accept De Klerk's obligation to test white opinion, and that privately a number of senior ANC leaders have done so too. It seems that ANC opposition to the referendum could simply be posturing, and the need to dispel the perception that it will allow a white veto of Codesa



Minister Viljoen ... white referendum politically necessary



ANC's Ramaphosa ... important shifts in De Klerk's stance

decisions.

Last month, *Beeld* newspaper quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela as acknowledging De Klerk's commitment to a referendum. It's clear that Mandela is not opposed in principle to making special provision for whites. He recently offered a reserved block of seats in the new parliament for whites, but this has been rejected by government and the NP (as well as some in the ANC) as racially orientated.

Botha also argues that De Klerk's 1989 mandate triggered the whole reform process, but would not have been won without the promise of a referendum. He says government doesn't see the referendum in terms of a white veto, but rather as white endorsement of further change.

According to Viljoen, political leaders involved in the process may decide to convert the proposed transitional Cabinet and parliament into permanent bodies to serve fixed terms, or they could call a new election based on the new constitution that will be negotiated by the transitional parliament. The decision would probably depend on how successfully they were operating.

Viljoen says the difference between the ANC's demand for an interim government and the NP's proposed transitional administration is more than merely semantic.

An interim government implies the suspension of the constitution and the exercise of power by an unrepresentative Cabinet. A transitional Cabinet, on the other hand, would be responsible to the transitional parliament.

By the same token Viljoen says a constituent assembly as demanded by the ANC would focus only on drawing up a new constitution, whereas a transitional parliament would have the added responsibility of legislation. ■

BLACK POLITICS — 1992

FEBRUARY

# Two groups of ANC held outside court

(117) ARG 1/2/92  
JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's secretary, Mrs Jessie Duarte, was among two groups of African National Congress supporters arrested yesterday while picketing in front of the Rand Supreme Court building in Johannesburg. ~~452~~

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman confirmed the arrests and said police had arrested the first group of 25 people at noon.

They had formed a line in front of the court building and were demonstrating, he said.

Two hours later, a second group of protesters, including Mrs Duarte, was arrested, again outside the Rand Supreme Court, according to ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Captain Opperman said those arrested had been taken to John Vorster Square police station where they would be issued with summonses to appear in court with the option of paying a R50 admission of guilt fine.

The demonstrators allegedly contravened municipal by-laws and also could be charged with demonstrating within 500m of a court building without permission from the chief magistrate, added Captain Opperman.

The picket was part of the ANC's campaign for an interim government of national unity and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a new democratic constitution, said ANC PWV region spokesman Mr Mamoepa.

He added that the ANC had informed the Johannesburg City Council about the protest which would be held every Friday until March 16. Police confirmed the arrest of the first 25 protesters, but could not immediately verify the arrest of the second batch of arrests. — Sapa.

# HOGARTH

## ANC to stay mum on camps probe

(11A) ~~11A~~  
S/Times 2/2/92

THE ANC, after three months' delay, is to begin its internal inquiry into allegations of atrocities committed by members of the organisation against dissidents in camps in neighbouring countries.

Other organisations are also investigating atrocities: the Goldstone commission has five separate inquiries underway into acts of violence in various parts of the country and a number of policemen are at present before the courts on criminal charges ranging from assault to murder.

The only difference, of course, is that while the latter inquiries are public, the ANC one is to be kept secret until an authorised report on the findings is released.

So much for open administration.



By NORMAN WEST

**A NEW ministers' council of "brown" National Party members is to be installed tomorrow in the House of Representatives following the defeat of the ruling Labour Party.**

The victorious NP caucus in the coloured chamber met yesterday to nominate a new council to take over from the defeated Rev Allan Hendrickse.

President De Klerk will tell Mr Hendrickse today that his council has been dismissed, NP sources disclosed yesterday.

The Sunday Times has also learnt that a bloc of Indian MPs in the House of Delegates this week secretly asked the National Party to admit them — but were "discreetly discouraged" from crossing this week.

### Difficulty

It was felt that the majority party in the house under Dr JN Reddy was sympathetic to the government's initiatives.

This means that the NP is positioned to take over the third chamber in the tricameral Parliament with little difficulty. It is the only one not controlled by the Nats.

On Friday, the Labour Party lost its majority in the coloured house to a coalition of Nat MP's, seven independents and the lone representative of the Freedom Party.

The fall of Mr Hendrickse, followed secret negotiations between the National Party and dissident Labour Party members.

It also involved a written pledge signed by the independents who voted against Mr Hendrickse, that if they crossed to the NP they would be loyal.

On Thursday, Mr De Klerk addressed his "brown caucus" after a joint caucus meeting where he told the coloured Nats that the NP must take over the running of the House of Representatives immediately.

Party sources claim he told them the "negative" and "obstreperous" attitude of Mr Hendrickse was hamstringing attempts to put his reform programme into effect.

He made it plain that he wanted Mr Hendrickse ousted, after which he would personally appoint new ministers — without necessarily taking into account the advice of Nat leader Jac Rabie — in order to avoid people jockeying for positions and undermining the authority of the chairman of the new ministers' council.

Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis and Cape

## Coloured Nats to form new cabinet following 'coup'

provincial leader Dawie de Villiers, following consultations with Mr De Klerk, then entered into a secret written pact with the seven independents and Mrs So-heir Hoosen of the Merit Party.

The agreement was effective from Friday afternoon, when Mr Jac Rabie, leader of the NP in the House of Representatives, introduced his motion of no confidence in the Labour ministers' council.

Late on Friday, the national chairman of the Labour Party and ministerial representative in Natal, Mr Albie Stowman, also quit the party.

And last night, Cape provincial executive member Deon Adams, the father of Erica Adams, who is engaged to Mr De Klerk's son Willem, announced he was quitting the LP to join the Nats. With Labour ministers' council chairman

Phillip Sanders sure to join the Nats this week, the tally will be 45 Nats against 40 LP MPs — with further defections expected.

### Tipped

Likely members of Mr Rabie's "cabinet" include Mr Andrew Julies, vice-chairman of the NP in the Cape Province and former Minister of Agriculture and Mr Abe Williams, current General Affairs Deputy Minister of National Education (tipped for the Education and Culture post).

Also favoured are Mr Gerald Morkel, a Cape Town businessman and MP for Retreat, tipped for the job of Minister of the Budget in place of LP deputy leader Miley Richards and Mr PW Saaiman, MP for Mid-Karoo, tipped to replace Mr David Curry as Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Hendrickse's reign ends

STimes

2/12/92

(11A)

## For the record (1/A)

LAST week Hogarth recorded that Mr Nelson Mandela had attempted to plead the cause of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi to President George Bush of the United States. *8 Times 2/2/92*

Mr Mandela said this week that he had, in fact, tried to contact President Bush to advise him, as a matter of courtesy, about a statement he, Mr Mandela, had just released on the Lockerbie disaster. His statement was issued in response to press queries in Tunisia — before he went to Libya. The attempt to speak to Mr Bush was thus inspired by a desire to be courteous — not provocative.

Hogarth is happy to put the record straight.

# SA part of world renewal, says Mandela

SOUTH Africa's political transformation was part of the "truly phenomenal process of renewal" being experienced in the world today, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Friday.

In his address, Mandela said this meant the end of white minority dictatorship.

In its place would be built a new nation of "many colours, languages and cultures, bound together by a common South African patriotism,

a shared spirit of nationalhood and bonds of mutual dependence".

"As in other parts of the world, we too will establish a society based on respect for human rights to ensure the freedom and dignity of every individual, as an inalienable condition of human existence," Mandela said.

"The new world that is being born foresees the dawn of the age of peace, in which wars within nations, between countries and among peoples will be a thing of the past." — Sapa



**DIPLOMACY ... Colombian President Trujillo Gaviria chats to Nelson Mandela.** ■ Pic: AP

# Gaddafi pays for Nelson's African tour

(11A)  
S. TIMES  
2/2/92

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Reporter

LIBYAN President Muammar Gaddafi footed the bill for ANC president Nelson Mandela's seven-day trip to Tunisia, Libya and Morocco last week.

And when Mr Mandela asked to fly directly home to Johannesburg, instead of stopping off in Harare, this was immediately arranged.

Mr Mandela also left Libya with a handsome cheque for the ANC from Colonel Gaddafi.

The ANC trip coincided with an acrimonious United Nations debate in which Western countries attacked Colonel Gaddafi for failing to surrender two Libyans charged with bombing a Pan-Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, which resulted in the deaths of 270 people.

Mr Mandela returned to Johannesburg from his North African travels with the Harare Libyan People's Bureau consul Yusef Murgham on a Libyan government-chartered Italian plane last week.

## Support

The Libyan government also chartered an Italian plane from Harare on January 17 for Mr Mandela's visit to Tunisia and provided Libyan aircraft solely for the ANC president's use on his stop-offs in Tripoli and Morocco.

During his visit to Tripoli, Mr Mandela briefed Colonel Gaddafi on the situation in South Africa and on the progress being made at Codesa.

It was Mr Mandela's fourth visit to Libya — making it the African country most-visited by the ANC president since his release.

Mr Murgham said Libya had given financial and practical support to the ANC and other liberation organisations in SA for more than 30 years and would continue to do so until apartheid had been destroyed.

## Frozen

The Libyan government promised the ANC \$5-million (R14-million) when Mr Mandela visited Libya in May after his release, and contributed \$135 000 (R378 000) towards Mrs Winnie Mandela's court costs.

However, a further contribution of \$1-million (R2.8-million) was frozen by an American bank last year.

Libya also donated \$50 000 (R140 000) to cover the costs of the Patriotic Front Conference at the end of last year.

ANC international affairs official Yusuf Saloojee confirmed yesterday that Tunisia, Libya and Morocco had handed Mr Mandela donations for the ANC, but would not divulge the amounts.

# Violence 'leads to more violence'

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) has refused to meet the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in Tanzania to discuss the recent spate of attacks on police before meeting the hierarchy of the PAC.

Transvaal Popcru leader Peter Nkuna said

CIPROD 212192  
his organisation believed that because Apla was the military wing of the PAC, it would be appropriate to first discuss the matter with the mother body.

Nkuna said: "While we abhor the attacks on police by Apla, we also abhor the acts of violence carried out by police on innocent people. We

therefore call on the South African government, to take the necessary steps and uproot those members of the police force who perpetrate acts of violence. (11A)

"We also call on the government to bring the third force to an end, because violence is not in the interests of anybody,

except those who are supporters of evil deeds."

At a press conference held in Johannesburg this week, Popcru announced a planned march by its members. (201) (204)

A statement by Popcru said: "We call on the government to stop using the security forces for their political ends."

# Whoopi bugged by Azapo

C/Pen 2/2/92 (11A)

By SANDILE MEMELA

WHOOPI Goldberg, who finished shooting *Sarafina* last Thursday, is amazed at the spirit of people in the townships.

"It was an amazing experience to be among the people. They show a remarkable spirit considering the situation they are in and what goes on in their lives," said Goldberg.

Last Thursday the Oscar Award-winning star finished the shooting of her role in *Sarafina* which gave her a first-hand taste of township life.

Goldberg said: "Oppression is all over the world and it is just one of those things.

"As long as somebody is listening I will yell about it."

The multi-million rand movie features John Kani



FASCINATED... Theatre people at a PAWE workshop in Soweto listen intently to Whoopi Goldberg. ■ Pic: ANNA ZIEMINSKI

there who helped me get a great deal of insight in to what was going on at the time," said Goldberg.

"It was an amazing experience to shoot there because for me it was the first time I had been in a place where there were black people only."

Goldberg denounced Azapo for initially expressing opposition to her taking part in *Sarafina*.

"I thought that the organisation was irresponsible because if you want somebody to know you are upset about their coming the best way to let them know is probably to phone.

"But they chose to come after me in the newspaper so that this left me trying to figure out what had happened.

"Their actions bugged me a lot because I could see that they did not know me," said Goldberg.

## Sarafina star asks for some courtesy

and Miriam Makeba and was mainly shot on location in Soweto.

Goldberg said she did not research anything about her role and had to rely on the help of fellow cast members to help her.

She said she came to understand the dynamic situation around the June 1976 explosion by talking to a number of people who were there during the upheavals.

"During the course of the shooting of the film I managed to sit down with some teachers who were



WHOOPI GOLDBERG... "It was an amazing experience to be among the people. They show a remarkable spirit considering the situation they are in and what goes on in their lives."

# Apla struggle continues

YOUR editorial comment "Apla jeopardising the new democracy" in City Press of January 12, 1992, has left me disgusted.

I find it very strange that your paper is defending the police force which has for years committed acts of brutality against our people.

Maybe your scathing attack on Apla is because the PAC - the political wing of Poqo - has rejected Codesa, which is going to retard our struggle for liberation.

Your paper also forgets that the very same police force - controlled by the minority government - massacred our children



**STEVE BIKO ... Killed by the cops.**

protesting peacefully in 1976.

The SAP was also responsible for killing our

great leaders like Steve Biko, Abraham Tiro and others.

Your comment Sir, misses the target by saying: "The image of the police force is presently undergoing change." What kind of change? Using hostel dwellers and death squads to murder our people. Is that change?

Please Sir, do not use Poqo as a stepping stone to appease your bosses and imperialists who are financing Codesa at our (Africans) expense.

Apla will continue fighting until all Africans are free from oppression.

— Herbert Mokoena, Meadowlands

# FW, Mandela in harmony

STAR 3/2/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

## ANC chief nearly upsets the applecart

DAVOS (Switzerland) — An extraordinary public clash between ANC president Nelson Mandela and the chairman of the World Economic Forum came close to wrecking a carefully co-ordinated approach by the Government and the ANC aimed at inspiring investor confidence.

In an important breakthrough for South Africa's hopes of attracting foreign investment, President de Klerk and Mr Mandela — for the first time — presented a united front to the world's most powerful economic and political leaders.

But the moment was marred when Mr Mandela complained — before his illustrious audience — that he had been given less speaking time than Mr de Klerk.

Forum chairman Professor Klaus Schwab smoothed over the potential row, but Mr Mandela remained stony-faced as he left the podium. (See other report on this page.)

Before that the South African leaders had deliberately put aside their local differences to speak as South Africans to the 1300 industrialists and politicians in the World Economic Forum — one of the world's biggest concentrations of economic and political muscle.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi joined in the new spirit of accord with a speech of conciliatory gestures.

All three leaders sounded a common plea to the world's economic giants to divert their development funds and energies to South and southern Africa.



SA trio . . . President de Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi listen to World Economic Forum president Klaus Schwab yesterday. Picture: AP

They were addressing the forum on South Africa's place in the new world order, before taking part in a panel discussion with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Lehowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

In an extraordinary dual performance which suggested they had compared notes beforehand, a conciliatory and moderate Mr Mandela often sounded like Mr de Klerk, and vice versa.

Mr Mandela took his softest approach to nationalisation so far, assuring the industrialists that their investments would not be endangered by nationalisation.

He was responding to Professor Schwab, who said that the one question which most industrialists at the forum were asking was "was the ANC still committed to nationalisation".

Mr Mandela said that to the ANC, nationalisation was an appropriate alternative but it was aware of the great concern about the issue and was therefore trying to reach agreement with employers and unions.

"Give us time," he said. When Professor Schwab pressed him for clarity on whether new foreign investment would be menaced by nationalisation, Mr Mandela said the ANC was well aware that a political organisation unable to co-operate with business would never succeed in generating growth.

He was quite sure ANC discussions with business would achieve a decision that would attract investment.

The ANC would like to create an environment for investors that would assure them that their investments would not be nationalised and that their profits could

be repatriated.

Mr de Klerk complained — as an African — that the continent was suffering because of the West's trade protectionism, while Mr Mandela joined him in arguing the Government's familiar case for southern African economic co-operation and integration, and for economic discipline and a safe investor climate.

"Despite our differences, we stand here today, my compatriots Dr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and I, together with distinguished political business and financial leaders from South Africa, with one message to the world: we are overcoming the antagonisms of the past; we have the desire and the will to face the future together, and together we will build a new South Africa," Mr de Klerk said.

Like Mr Mandela, he warned the industrialised world that it could not simply write off entire continents such as Africa. He raised the spectre of rich nations being swamped by refugees from the poor nations.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa was looking to the international community for "constructive involvement" because it believed it could play a constructive role in its region.

SA would have to fight tooth and nail to win a place at the international trade table. It needed loans and investment, not as hand-outs, "but because we are a sound economic and financial proposition".

Mr Mandela struck several conciliatory notes which chimed with Mr de Klerk's address and offered assurances to the industrialists about the security of their investments in a future South Africa.

In an earlier press brief-

● To Page 3 ●

## Alpine pique over minute detail

DAVOS — Nelson Mandela clashed yesterday with the World Economic Forum chairman, claiming he had been given less speaking time than Mr de Klerk.

After the overall discussion had been shortened because Mr Mandela spent 47 minutes in his opening remarks — instead of the 15 he and Mr de Klerk had been

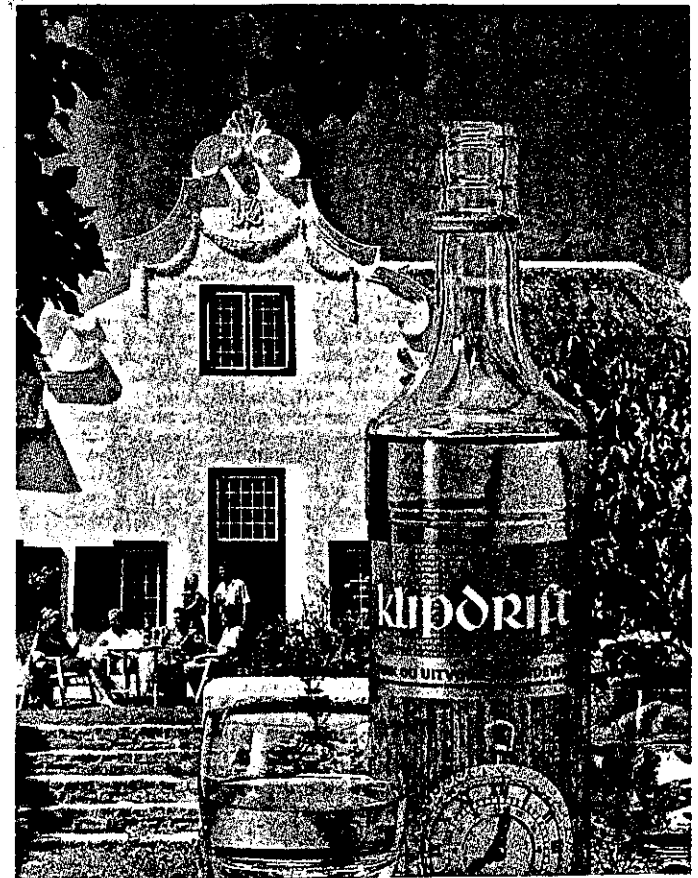
allocated — Mr Mandela complained he had been given only a minute to reply to a panel discussion while Mr de Klerk had got five.

While Professor Klaus Schwab was closing the panel discussion, Mr Mandela complained that by giving Mr de Klerk extra time, he may have given the impression he had not been fair in

appointing time limits. Mr Mandela said Professor Schwab had given the understanding that each panelist would have five minutes.

"I didn't expect you to give anyone one minute."

The professor pointed out: "It was also our understanding that the introductory remarks should be for 15 minutes only. Yours were 47."





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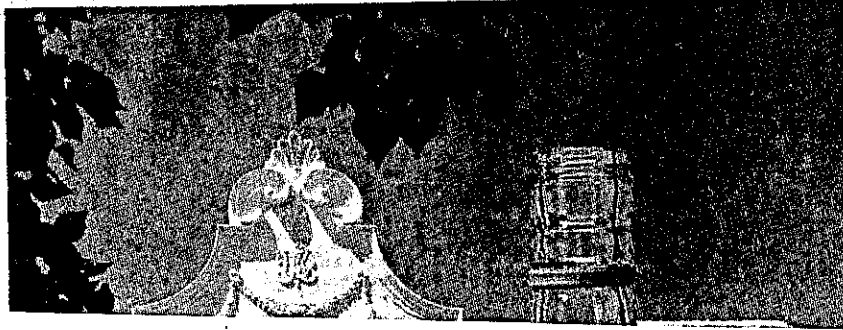
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# A chronicle of Steve Biko's influence

*Biko 3/2/92*  
**BOUNDS OF POSSIBILITY, The Legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness, edited by N Barney Pityana, Mamphela Ramphele, Mafisi Mputlweana and Lindy Wilson (David Philip and Zed Books, R35,50)**

**BOUNDS** of Possibility is a collection of essays on the life and work of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who died while in police custody in September 1977.

The crushing of the Soweto uprising of 1976 and the suppressing of the black consciousness movement the following year led to massive foreign condemnation of the SA government and laid the basis for the emergence of the ANC's underground structures.

Biko's personal contribution to the black consciousness movement was enormous. An essay, *Steve Biko: A Life*, by Lindy Wilson, paints a picture of a charismatic and passionate ideologue whose persistence and force of character put black pride and dignity back on the agenda.

The black consciousness philos-

ophy deviated from the tradition of nonracialism espoused by "congress tradition" organisations such as the ANC and SACP. In a contribution on the emergence of black consciousness, Siphosiso Buthelezi quotes the Black Students' Manifesto which declared: "The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the black man must reject all value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic dignity. The black man must build up his value systems and see himself as self-defined..."

Black consciousness meant the rejection of all structures created or dominated by whites. This "non-participatory" tradition was to find its way into mainstream black politics in the '80s with the rejection of black local authorities and the tricameral Parliament by most black organisations — including "charterists" like the UDF and ANC.

Essays in the book cover topics from medical ethics and SA's security laws to the dynamics of gender

*(11A)*  
within black consciousness organisations. In the latter essay, Mamphela Ramphele, now Cape Town University deputy vice-chancellor, writes about the difficulties encountered by women activists in the black consciousness movement. Ramphele says being granted "honorary male" status among senior black activists exempted her from preparing refreshments for them at meetings.

While *Bounds of Possibility* pays homage to Biko as the founder of modern black resistance in SA, it also gives fascinating insight into Biko, the man.

It fails, however, to situate black consciousness politics in the present climate of negotiation. An essay or two on contemporary black consciousness would have provided valuable insight into the puzzling rejection of the negotiation process by groups such as the PAC and Azapo.

Although the book is a little heavy and academic, it nonetheless remains essential reading for students of SA politics.

**RAY HARTLEY**

# De Klerk warns ANC

11A

~~2022~~

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

*Sowetan 3/2/92*

## over MK

~~2022~~  
~~2022~~

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has warned the African National Congress that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa would fail unless the organisation

disbanded its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Speaking shortly before

his departure for Europe on Friday, De Klerk said the Government was doubtful of a peaceful settlement in South Africa while the ANC still had a policy of armed struggle.

"These problems will have to be bridged, otherwise Codesa will fail," De Klerk said in the House of Assembly.

He said for the ANC to be a trustworthy and reliable signatory to any accord on the country's political future, it had to abandon its armed struggle.

Reacting to this, an ANC source said the South Afri-

can Defence Force reported directly to the Government and indirectly to the National Party.

"They (the NP and the Government) are both part of Codesa," the source said.

# Labour 'will retain identity, autonomy'

By Esther Waugh (118)   
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party would not dissolve and pin its colours to the ANC mast, LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse said yesterday.

The LP would continue to forge alliances based on particular issues but would retain its identity and autonomy.

The Labour Party, which was the governing party in the House of Representatives for seven years, was defeated on

Friday in the no-confidence debate after three of its members crossed the floor to the NP and seven independent members voted with the NP.

The LP, however, still holds the majority of seats in the House.

Mr Hendrickse told The Star that his party's strength and support did not depend on it being the majority party in the House of Representatives.

He noted that the LP was formed 27 years ago — and not specifically to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

STAR 3/2/92

The voting in the no-confidence debate did not reflect the will of voters as the three Labour MPs who joined the NP on Friday — Godfrey Macalagh, Arthur Roper and Tony Reeves — did not necessarily have the support of their constituencies for such a move, he said.

Mr Hendrickse said the NP had no mandate to govern the House of Representatives because coloured voters had never been able to vote for it in an election.

"Do they consider their coloured supporters inferior to

their white supporters and therefore did not need a coloured mandate?

"Is a white mandate more important than a coloured mandate?" he asked.

He said that the LP would continue to advocate its constitutional proposals inside and outside Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse denied that the LP's stature would decline in Codesa after Friday's defeat as the party did not participate in the talks on the basis that it was the majority party in the House of Representatives.

# New Ministers take their oaths

CAPE TOWN — The new Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives was yesterday sworn in by Judge President of the Cape Mr Justice Gerald Friedman.

The five new Ministers and one Deputy Minister are all members of the NP which, with the support of seven Independents and the sole member of the Freedom Party, Soheir Hoosen, won Friday's no confidence debate against the ruling Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

NP MP for Hawston Glen Carelse was sworn in as Deputy Minister in the general affairs portfolio of local government, national housing and public works.

Labour leader Allan Hendrickse and his party colleagues were fired as Ministers by President F W de Klerk on Sunday night.

## Talks unite whites and blacks — Zach

CAPE TOWN — Codesa represented the final admission by white politicians that they could not determine the rules of the game for SA's political future, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer said Codesa also represented the final admission by black leaders that they needed the cooperation of whites in the new SA.

*B/day 4/2/92*  
"Those who stay out of Codesa are those who are blind to the facts: the right-wing racists who still insist that whites have the right and the means to determine the course of the future, and the left-wing racists who are happy to shout 'one settler, one bullet.'"

Political Staff  
3044

## Anti-Codesa front is in the pipeline, says Azapo

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A national united liberation front combining all "anti-Codesa and non-collaborationist" liberation organisations is in the pipeline, deputy president of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) Nchaube Mokoape announced yesterday. *B/day 4/2/92*

He said Azapo completely disassociated itself from the recent attacks on white teachers at schools "and unnecessary school boycotts perpetuated by some dubious elements at certain schools".

Addressing a news conference, Mokoape said Azapo had decided to call a conference of all organisations which had "a principled stance on non-collaboration and who have a proven record in their struggle to free black people, to form a liberation solidarity front".

He said the front would involve trade unions, community and civic organisations, church and sports bodies and other political organisations. Talks had already begun with the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) and the South African Congress of Sport (Sacos). Azapo had meetings planned with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

Mokoape said Azapo's fourth national council in QwaQwa over the weekend had officially resolved that plans on the front must go ahead.

"Our national council also resolved to make a detailed study of this country's tax system to enable the organisation to decide whether to embark on a comprehensive tax boycott or adopt a selective approach," Mokoape said.

He said Codesa was bound to fail because it was a creation of government and 90% of organisations participating in it had already been rejected by "the people". Mokoape said Codesa was "an alliance of reconciliation of the elite" which was "illegitimate because it does not have the mandate of the oppressed."



# De Klerk, Mandela steer clear of differences at peace prize ceremony

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela continued their double act at Unesco headquarters yesterday, sharing the first Unesco Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize.

De Klerk and Mandela steered clear of their differences and spoke positively of developments in SA. They told an audience of dignitaries SA was knocking on the door of democracy.

De Klerk said it was particularly symbolic that the first award to a South African from the UN family should be made through Unesco, which had led the campaign to isolate apartheid SA.

He said he was donating his R400 000

share of the award "to a cause in keeping with the ethos and purpose" of the prize.

"The fact that it is a shared award reflects the international recognition being accorded the new direction most South Africans have embarked upon together."

SA had received a welter of negative criticism for earlier attempts to come to terms with its widely varied ethnic composition, so it was fitting that the first joint award should acknowledge the efforts of all South Africans to bring about peaceful change, De Klerk said.

He paid tribute to the Ivory Coast president after whom the award was named because he advocated dialogue as an instru-

ment of peace.

Acknowledging the international community's duty to encourage regional and national peace, he said it had to be remembered that it was not for the international community but the disputing parties to resolve their conflicts and live with them.

He said he was representing many SA leaders — "real democrats like (Inkatha leader Mangosuthu) Buthelezi" and others who had joined hands for peace and justice.

Despite the progress made in the constitutional field, SA faced many challenges.

While it had the technical resources to meet them, "the immediate need is quite clearly for economic involvement in SA if we are to generate the required jobs, skills, education and services to build a prosperous future".

Mandela said the fact that the prize was shared by two people who traced their political ideals to opposing political poles signalled SA's potential.

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the overwhelming majority of South Africans about the future direction of the country.

"We as South Africans must part company with policies that render human beings the objects of manipulation by political and economic powers for the benefit of the privileged few." SA had to develop a national commitment to create conditions enhancing the dignity of all.

An indispensable condition for this was the achievement of democracy, which the ANC considered a goal worthy of the international community's support.

Mandela stressed that each race group in SA had to be entitled to its own culture, language, schools and religion.

● See Page 2  
● Comment: Page 8

STARK 1/2/92

# Azapo seeks creation of new front to topple Govt

Political Staff (1/1)

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation is planning a liberation front of organisations with a record of "non-collaboration" in an attempt to overthrow the South African Government.

This was revealed at a press conference in Durban yesterday following Azapo's fourth national council held in QwaQwa at the weekend.

Azapo deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape said the purpose of the front would be to continue the "struggle" and overthrow the Government.

The front would be formed by organisations outside the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

However, doors were not closed to organisations inside Codesa, on condition they pulled out of Codesa, he said.

Dr Mokoape said the front was not intended to be a front for political organisations only, but for other bodies as well.

He added that Codesa was going to fail as it had no legitimacy.

It was a gathering called by an illegitimate Government and, except for the ANC, all organisations within Codesa were Government-created.

President de Klerk had himself given the kiss of death to Codesa when, during his opening speech in Parliament, he reduced it to nothing more than an advisory council.

On sanctions and the sports and cultural boycott, Dr Mokoape said Azapo was convinced that nothing had changed which warranted any change in isolation — economic, political, sports or cultural — of this country.



Presidents three . . . Francois Mitterrand plays host to F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela after lunch at . . .

# FW, Mandela show growing co-operation

STAR 4/2/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

PARIS — South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, President de Klerk said last night after receiving Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize jointly with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In a ceremony symbolic of the growing co-operation between them, the two leaders together received the award at Unesco headquarters from the organisation's director-general, Federico Mayor, and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Henry Kissinger.

Both men then addressed Unesco — marking the first time that a South African head of state had addressed a UN body in many years.

The two South Africans stood to receive the award before an array of flags of nearly every nation of the world — except South Africa which has not been a member of Unesco since it walked out in 1955. It was

the second time in two days the two leaders had appeared on an international public platform together.

On Sunday, they made their first joint public international appearance at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

As at Davos, Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk struck similar notes in their replies.

Mr Mandela said it was a hopeful sign of the potential of South Africa that this year's prize was shared by two people who traced their respective political ideals to opposing poles on the political spectrum.

## Convergence

"It is the hope of all South Africans that this joint award signifies the convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the growing majority of South Africans about the future directions of our country."

Mr de Klerk said that he and his "compatriot" Mr Mandela had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes but our pres-

ence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, just, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa".

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mr Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

Mr de Klerk said he was receiving the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders — including "real democrats like Dr Buthelezi".

He sounded one cautionary note to the UN and the international community not to allow its encouragement of change in South Africa to become interference.

But at a joint press conference with Mr Mandela afterwards, he said South Africa was "willing, able and

● To Page 3

# SA leaders get award

STAR 4/2/92

● From Page 1

ready" to resume a constructive role in Unesco.

South Africa's relationship to the UN and its agencies needed to be looked at through the proper channels.

Mr Mandela then said that an interim government of national unity might consider asking the UN to admit South Africa.

In reply to a question, Mr de Klerk said he did not fear a civil war — unless negotiations broke down.

But because of the tremendous enthusiasm at Codesa, the risk of civil war was very far from his mind.

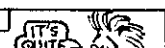
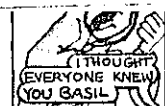
Mr de Klerk stressed

that the Government's proposals for an interim government did not include a fourth chamber of the present Parliament but a new Parliament representative of all.

He said an interim government could be in place "quite soon".

Earlier yesterday, Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela arrived in Paris separately from Davos and were the lunch guests of French President Francois Mitterrand.

Today Mr de Klerk receives an award for political courage from the prestige French journal *Politique Internationale* before leaving tomorrow for State visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.





# Mandela, FW get top peace prize

*IIA*  
*SOWETAN*  
*4/2/92*

**PARIS** - South Africa was "willing, able and ready" to resume its role in Unesco, a United Nations' agency, president FW de Klerk said here yesterday.

This was after he and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had jointly received Unesco's Houphouet-Boigny peace award from the agency's director general, Mr Federico Mayor, and the head of the jury which awarded the prize, Mr Henry Kissinger.

This marked the first time that a South African head of state addressed a UN body in many years.

It was the second time in two days that the two leaders had appeared on an international public platform together.

Mandela said the joint award signified the "convergence of our aims and a growing consensus that has begun to emerge among the growing majority of South Af-

## SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

ricans about the future direction of our country".

De Klerk said he and his "compatriot" (Mandela) had arrived at the Unesco platform "along very different routes".

"But our presence here together does, in a very real sense, demonstrate our real desire and that of most other South Africans, to overcome our differences and embrace the future together in a new, just, reconciled and fully democratic South Africa."

In an apparently conciliatory gesture, Mandela inserted into his prepared speech a passage saying that any population group was entitled to retain its own language, schools, culture and religion.

De Klerk said he was receiving the award on behalf of many other courageous leaders - including like Dr Buthelezi."

# How coloured politics died

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent  
**COLOURED politics is dead - long live the politics of being coloured.**

When the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party of South Africa lost the No Confidence vote by 44 to 40 in the coloured House of Representatives to the National Party in this chamber last Friday, purely coloured politics effectively died.

As a nonracial (albeit artificial) political party, the NP represents a growing political tendency in South Africa by political organisations to harness the support of people who in apartheid terms, were classified coloured.

The president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, has himself said that the liberation movements had failed in organising the so-called coloured communities.

It has also been said that the appointment of Dr Allan Boesak to the ANC leadership in the Western Cape - where the coloured people are concentrated - was to woo support.

Senior PAC leaders have also said that liberation movements had failed by largely ignoring the traditionally coloured rural areas such as the North-western Cape, Namaqualand, Boland and pockets in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

## Phenomenon

These areas became the stronghold of coloured political parties such as the Labour Party.

Commenting on this phenomenon Mr Abie Williams said he did not grow up in a culture of black nationalism and liberation. These areas assimilated the the Afrikaner way of life, he said matter-of-factly.

When he defected to the NP (from Labour) last year, political observers predicted the end of the Hendrickse Dynasty.

But, while the NP and the left have over the past two years been tugging at the sleeves of coloured politicians - as apart from the traditional black politicians - the LP itself has gone through radical change.

After beating a No Confidence vote in June last year following a spate of defections, Labour Party MPs sang liberation songs, danced the toyi toyi and raised clenched fists in the hallowed chambers of Parliament.

By the end of the session later in June, MP Mr Llewellyn Landers rose during a standing committee on the justice debate and lugubriously read the names of all the people who had died in detention.

And by the third quarter of last

## Labour demise was certain



ALLAN HENDRICKSE

year, the LP, for years regarded by the black liberation movements as "sell-outs", stepped into the extra-parliamentary fold and joined the now deflated Patriotic Front.

At the time, a recent defector to the NP, arch-conservative Rev Andrew Julies predicted that the already battered Labour, who lost more than 30 seats in the House of Representatives, would come apart faster than ever.

He said the LP's decision to join the Patriotic Front would be in conflict with the party's constitution - which is inherently anti-communist.

Nevertheless the LP joined the Patriotic Front, and so ended almost a decade of bitter acrimony which at times had led to serious violence among victims of apartheid.

When Hendrickse decided to enter into the tricameral Parliament - which specifically excluded black

people from central Government - after the party's controversial Eshowe congress decision in 1983, his Labour Party became black political activists' scapegoat, which was said to be politically and morally justified at the time.

The decision to enter Parliament (with Indian and white people in two other chambers) was indeed a far cry from the Hendrickse halcyon days of the 60s and early 70s.

During the 1976 national uprising which started in Soweto, Hendrickse was detained for 60 days under the Internal Security Act.

By signing the declaration of the Patriotic Front, Hendrickse signalled his party's return to those heady days of his anti-apartheid activities outside of Parliament.

In fact, an LP member at the time said: "We are moving closer to the liberation movements and aligning ourselves on the side of those who represent the oppressed."

## Defections

If the Labour Members of Parliament's belligerence (and subsequent defections) in Parliament before the launch of the Patriotic Front was a signal of things to come, the party's pact with the extra-parliamentary opposition effectively signed their death warrant.

It also meant that the LP had accepted that purely coloured politics had no role to play in present day politics, and in fact had accepted the route to change was through an elected constituent assembly.

The PAC saw this as a giant leap into the present by the LP. PAC secretary for information Mr Barney Desai welcomed the move, adding that Labour had to make a clean break with Parliament.

But be that as it may, when the Labour Party lost the No Confidence debate last Friday, and President FW de Klerk elected a new Minister's Council from the coloured NP Members of Parliament in the House of Representatives, Hendrickse and coloured politics died.

The Labour Party is now the only party in the country that has as a matter of cause only coloured members and supporters. But by its own (tacit) admission, Labour sees its future in terms of Codesa only.

In a startling speech last week, Mr Peter Hendrickse, the LP MP from the Eastern Cape and son of the party leader, said that the tricameral Parliament was of no consequence apart from Codesa.

Codesa he said was the way ahead to an interim government and a democratically elected constituent assembly.

# Azapo calls for new front

*Sowetan 4/2/92*  
THE Azanian People's Organisation is to call a conference of organisations "with principled stances on non-collaboration" to form a liberation solidarity front.

This was revealed at a Press conference in Durban yesterday following Azapo's fourth national council of its 10th congress in QwaQwa at the weekend.

Azapo's deputy president, Dr Nchaube Mokoape, said the purpose of the front would be to continue the struggle and overthrow the Government.

The front would be formed by organisations outside the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. However, doors were not closed to organisations inside Codesa on condition they pull out of Codesa, he said.

The front was not intended to be a front for political organisations alone.

Mokoape said Codesa was going to fail as was called by an illegitimate Government and, except for the ANC, all organisations within Codesa were Government-created.

State President FW de Klerk had himself given the kiss of death to Codesa when, during his parliamentary speech, he reduced it to nothing more than an advisory council.

# Cheering as leaders share prize

11A  
BILLY PADDOCK

PARIS — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were cheered and applauded when they walked into the Unesco conference hall last night to accept the Felix Houphouet-Boigny peace prize.

The applause lasted for nearly five minutes when they shook hands after getting their prize.

Both leaders made their speeches from a podium directly in front of the UN flag flanked by the 120 member nations' flags.

De Klerk said he was representing many SA leaders who had joined hands for peace and justice.

Mandela said it was not "the individual, Nelson Mandela, who is being honored but the struggle for freedom and democracy".

Former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who was the president of the international jury awarding the prize, said the role of every great leader was to take his people from where they were to where they were not.

"This great virtue is symbolised by both men. They are contributing not only to the salvation of their country but also to the future of democracy."

De Klerk and Mandela were both former prisoners: Mandela's imprisonment was physical and De Klerk's philosophical.

The great thing was that they had transcended their respective histories and were moving down the same path for the good of SA.

Kissinger said he had first visited SA 30 years ago and had attended Mandela's trial. Mandela's address to the court was the noblest he had ever heard.

Among the South Africans present in the 600-strong audience were author Breyten Breytenbach and his wife Yolande.

# NIS sponsored attacks on Katlehong teachers PAC

5/29/92  
THE PAC yesterday accused the National Intelligence Service of sponsoring recent attacks on teachers at Katlehong schools and of burning a Kathorus College of Education lecturer.

An NIS spokesman denied the allegations which, he said, were aimed at damaging the image of the NIS.

At a news conference yesterday, PAC student organisation Paso said those responsible for the attacks were a dissident PAC formation, the Revolutionary Watchdogs. No registered member of the PAC nor Paso was involved in the attacks.

Paso publicity secretary Eugene Motati said its investigations had established that the majority of Revolutionary Watchdogs members were "on the state's payroll".

He said the NIS had embarked on a programme of "dividing the liberation movements by using elements who pose as radicals while they are criminals."

KATHRYN STRACHAN

"These elements are engaged in a fixed programme of discrediting the PAC by making the PAC appear as a group of thugs and criminals."

In response to questions on whether the Paso Katlehong branch had been involved in the attacks in the light of their praise of the attacks, Paso general secretary Lawrence Nqandela said news reports on the Paso Katlehong branch were not accurate.

Nqandela later said they had decided to "dismantle the structure" of the Katlehong branch as it had been the base of the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

□ Sapa reports Soweto pupils went on the rampage yesterday morning causing nearly R21 000 damage to three houses.

Soweto police liaison officer Colonel Tienie Halgryn said pupils from Hlengiwe Secondary School threw stones and petrol bombs at three houses near the school.

## ANC, PAC discuss forming youth forum

THE ANC Youth League (Ancyl) held discussions with the PAC youth wing Azanyu yesterday as part of its effort to form a broad youth forum. 5/29/92

Ancyl information secretary Parks Mankahlana said yesterday the meeting agreed on the need for such a forum. Although there were differences about who should participate in such a forum, discussions would continue, he said. 5/29/92

The Ancyl favoured a youth forum cut-

TIM COHEN

ting across political and ideological divides. But other groups had proposed a youth front or a youth parliament, he said.

Azapo's youth wing Azayo was scheduled to take part in yesterday's discussion but members did not attend the meeting.

The Ancyl had canvassed the idea of a youth forum with, among others, the Jewish Federation of Youth Organisations and the NP youth wing.

# Paso sets the record straight

*Sowetan ST2/92*  
THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation yesterday distanced itself from recent attacks on white teachers in Katlehong.

Paso said the disruptive acts were carried out by a dissident group which broke away from the organisation's mother body, the Pan Africanist Congress, in 1990.

Mr Eugene Motati, Paso's publicity secretary, said at a Press conference that the people involved in the attacks belonged to an organisation calling itself the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ 11A  
Motati said investigations by Paso's special commission and the security department of the PAC had shown that no registered member of Paso or the PAC was involved in the attack on teachers.

"The formation of the Watchdog has its own leadership and a different programme from that of the PAC and attacks on teachers appears to be one of their strategies...." he said.

Paso's general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela named said the dissidents were led by Mr Shylock Mvelase.

# Youth plan to oust apartheid

11A

*South African* 5/2/92  
YOUTH movements plan to form a front aimed at the "speedy and total eradication of white apartheid rule" culminating in a new democratic South Africa.

The ANC Youth League said wide-ranging meetings would be held in an effort to form a broad front of youth organisations.

The league said it had already initiated meetings to form a national youth consultative conference in March.

The conference would finalise details of the birth of the youth front scheduled for August.

"We believe that such a front should involve all youth across the political and ideological divide," the statement added.

Meetings, meanwhile, would take place next Tuesday between the ANC Youth League and youth movements from the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. - *South African Press Association.*

# Azasm<sup>(11A)</sup> meeting *Sowetan* put off 1/2/92

## **Sowetan Reporter**

MEMBERS of the Azanian Students' Movement are informed that the annual national congress which was to have been held at Ipelegeng Community Centre, Soweto at the weekend, has been postponed to March 7-8 at the same venue.

Mr Andile Mngxitama, Azasm's president, said the reason for postponement is the serious financial position in which the organisation finds itself.



# ANC detainee probe details not finalised

Political Staff  
and Own Correspondent

The terms of reference for the ANC's internal commission of inquiry into conditions under which some of its dissidents were held in detention camps in neighbouring countries had not yet been finalised, spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Miss Marcus denied a newspaper report that the commission would investigate allegations of "atrocities" by some of the ex-prisoners.

"We do not acknowledge that we committed any atrocities," she said, describing the report as "appalling".

She said the commission's terms of reference would probably be announced next week.

SMR 5/2/92 (11A)

Meanwhile, a group of more than 250 former ANC detainees has threatened to take up arms against the organisation if legal means to persuade the international community to conduct an inquiry into the ANC's alleged contravention of the Geneva Convention fail.

The ANC signed the convention in 1978.

Aspokesman for the Returned Exile's Committee for Peace and Justice, Pat Hlongwane, said it was organising a march in Durban on Saturday to highlight the plight of the detained exiles.

The decision to stage a march was sparked by the refusal of the Codesa steering committee to consider their situation, he said.

FACT 5/11/92  
Dissidents  
blamed  
for attacks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation has distanced itself from recent attacks on white teachers in Katlehong and blamed a dissident group which broke away from the PAC in 1990.

PASO publicity secretary Mr Eugene Motati said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that those responsible for the attacks belonged to The Revolutionary Watchdogs, formed by disgruntled former PAC members.

PASO general secretary Lawrence Nqandela named the president of the National Council of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndaweni, as a leader of the breakaway group.

Mr Nqandela also said a student group led by Mr Shylock Mvelase, which claimed to represent PASO in Katlehong, belonged to the Watchdogs.

Mr Mvelase's group said last week that although they were not involved in the violent incidents, the attacks on white teachers were good because they were part and parcel of the "enemy".

## ANC helps streamline exile passport process

DARIUS SANAI (11A) (120)

THE ANC is co-operating with government to supply more than 4 000 of its returning exiles with passports. ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the organisation was "facilitating the issue of passports to people who have returned from exile on UN travel documents".

31 Day 4/2/92  
"A lot of these people have no other identity documents and need to be able to prove who they are." But she denied that the ANC had come to a special agreement with government on the issue. "Of course we are not issuing the passports ourselves in any way — I wish we were," she said.

The ANC obtained standard application forms from the Home Affairs Department, which it then distributed to former exiles. The returned exiles returned to the organisation's headquarters to hand in the completed forms, with photographs and the standard application fee. The ANC then sent the forms in bulk to the Home Affairs office in Johannesburg, which processed the applications and issued the passports for distribution to the applicants through the ANC offices, she said.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw confirmed yesterday that the Home Affairs department was receiving passport applications from the ANC. He denied the ANC was receiving any special treatment from Home Affairs.

# New government may not honour loans, says ANC

*Sowetan 6/2/92 Sowetan*

THE African National Congress yesterday again warned world financiers that a future democratic government would not be obliged to honour loans granted to the De Klerk administration.

"This move poured cold water over ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's efforts this week to boost investor confidence in the country.

The organisation's department of information and publicity said a new government would be "compelled to weigh with great care" its obligations to service and take responsibility for the debts contracted by the present "illegitimate" government.

But on Sunday, Mandela told a critical World Economic Forum gathering in Switzerland that threats by some of his colleagues to review the repayments of loans granted to the present Government were merely the opinion of individuals.

"We can get into serious problems if the image we project is one of a country which is not prepared to honour its debts," Mandela said in Davos, where he shared a platform with President FW de Klerk.

A senior ANC source yesterday expressed surprise at the statement, describing it as "highly irresponsible".

The ANC's first warning on the repayment of loans were issued by the organisation's general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, in October last year.

However, the organisation has subsequently reiterated its stance that it might renege on the present Government's foreign debt obligations once in power.

Yesterday's statement was issued in response to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's reported plan to issue 100 million worth of Deutschmark bonds on the European capital market.

"It is clear that the South African authorities are pursuing a systematic programme of foreign borrowing with a view to both breaking the existing range of economic, in particular financial, and investment sanctions," the statement said.

"The ANC further believes that these borrowings are designed to impose a costly and heavy burden of international indebtedness on a future democratic government and the people of South Africa.

"This in turn, in our view, has the purpose of severely restricting the economic policy options available to such a government to overcome the effects of apartheid on our people, and the policies required to advance their living standards." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Brent in  
reverse  
over the  
Mandelas

Star Bureau

LONDON — A year in politics, as Harold Wilson might have said, is a *very* long time in politics. Witness the Brent Conservatives' about-face on the acceptability of the Mandela family.

Winnie, they were saying, was nothing but a "common criminal", attacking the local housing office for naming an estate after her.

Now they are planning an "Africa Day" next Tuesday to celebrate the release from prison of Nelson Mandela.

And that is being done at the encouragement of Nkechi Amalu-Johnson, an Independent African councillor who helps keep the minority Tories in control of the borough.

Ms Amalu-Johnson has effectively crossed the chamber in return for the support of the Conservatives . . . which means biting the bullet and agreeing to keep the spirit of the African independence struggle alive.

She said: "I am proud to lead the way in this historic decision in Brent. We held street parties celebrating the Queen's silver jubilee in 1977. Let us also celebrate my King of Africa, Nelson Mandela's special day. I hope public money will be used to put the message across."

Anxious not to lose their tenuous grip on power, the Tories agreed — forgetting for the moment at least that last May, before taking power, they went to court to stop the then Labour council awarding Mr Mandela the freedom of the borough.

## Youth wings seek alliance

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

STAR  
6/2/92

The youth wings of the ANC, Azapo and the PAC are working towards building a broader national alliance — dubbed a "Youth Patriotic Front".

Delegations from the ANCYL and Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu) held exploratory talks in Johannesburg this week.

According to ANCYL publicity secretary Parks Mankahlane, the meetings were expected to result in a "national youth conference (NYC)" to be held some time next month.

"It is the ANCYL's opinion that such a front should involve all youth across the political and ideological divide," he said.

Azanyu national secretary for legal and welfare affairs Bassie Ngcukana said the two parties had agreed that "unity must be based on principle" and that the front should commit itself to fighting for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

The delegations had also agreed on the need to eradicate all forms of racial discrimination, engaging in joint campaigns, ending the endemic violence in townships, and resolving the black education crisis.

# Radicals 'sidelining Desai'

(11A) CT6/2/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

SPECULATION was rife in political circles last night that the PAC's national publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, was being sidelined by radicals in the organisation as a result of his pro-negotiation stance.

PAC spokesmen in Cape Town and Johannesburg dismissed the speculation but offered widely divergent reasons why the former London barrister would be "out of circulation" for at least the next two months.

Well-placed sources said Mr Desai's removal from the political hurly-burly was part of an attempt by a dissident PAC faction to purge the organisation's top leadership.

One source said PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke were also targets in the attempted purge.

Mr Desai was apparently relieved of

his normal duties, "temporarily", following a weekend meeting of the PAC's national executive council.

However, PAC explanations for the move yesterday varied from "he'll be out of the office for some time — doctor's orders" to "he's been asked to do a special mission".

Mr Desai's official second in command, Mr Waters Toboti, said from the PAC's Johannesburg office that Mr Desai was "well — there's nothing wrong with him — and still a member of the organisation".

Mr Toboti denied that Mr Desai had been sidelined. The publicity secretary was undertaking a special mission for the PAC in the Transvaal region, he said.

However, the PAC's foreign affairs director, Ms Patricia de Lille, said in Cape Town that Mr Desai was overworked and "not well" and had been told by his doctors to take time off.

Mr Desai, who was in Pretoria last night, could not be contacted.

# ANC slams bank's Eurobond issue plan

THE ANC yesterday strongly condemned the planned DM100m Eurobond issue by the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

In a statement, it repeated its view that a future democratic government would be compelled to weigh its obligations to service and take responsibility for debts contracted by the present government.

The ANC's criticism contradicts a statement by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on Sunday in which he gave the assurance that a future ANC government would not renege on government loan repayments.

~~SECRET~~ (11A) SHERIDAN CONNOLLY

"We are obliged to honour these loans or else we will be in a great deal of trouble," he said.

Mandela also said any statement from ANC spokesmen that a future ANC government might not honour loans transacted by the present government represented their own views and not those of the ANC.

Yet in the official statement yesterday, the ANC said bond issues were "designed to impose a costly and heavy burden of international indebtedness on a future democratic government and the people of

SA". *B10am 6/2/92*  
European bankers expect the issue to be launched tomorrow.

The ANC statement said government, which had an 84% capital interest in the Development Bank, was pursuing a systematic programme of foreign borrowing with a view to breaking existing economic sanctions, and in particular financial and investment sanctions.

The ANC appealed to prospective investors to desist from collaborating and participating in "unilateral restructuring of the economy by the outgoing apartheid

□ To Page 2

## Eurobond

*B10am 6/2/92*  
regime".

Plans for the bond issue were made known at the end of last month. The bank said then that the ANC and all other interested parties had, over the past two years, been kept informed of its intention to enter the international capital market.

A Development Bank spokesman said the bank had noted the ANC's criticisms. It would issue further details of the bond issue at an appropriate time.

The ANC recently condemned government's 250-million ecu bond issue and also said it had learnt that Transnet planned to issue an "equity-linked financial instrument to foreign subscribers which has the potential for providing investors with a rate of return of as high as 25%".

Transnet said this 25% referred to

~~SECRET~~ (11A) □ From Page 1  
Transnet's equity linked financial instrument (Elfi) III issued in April last year.

The Elfi instrument consisted of a 4.5% bull tranche and a 25% bear tranche, and as the instrument was issued in combinations, the average cost of funds for Transnet was 14.75%.

This was significantly lower than comparable two-year SA rates, Transnet said.

Transnet said the Elfi issue was primarily aimed at domestic investors but foreigners were, of course, welcome to invest in it through the financial rand.

Because Elfi was an SA-registered loan stock, denominated in rands, the coupon interest rate could not be compared with the ecu placement in the European capital market, Transnet added.

● Comment: Page 16



## ANC helps streamline exile passport process

DARIUS SANAT  
THE ANC is co-operating with government to supply more than 4 000 of its returning exiles with passports.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the organisation was "facilitating the issue of passports to people who have returned from exile on UN travel documents".

BIDAY 6/2/92  
"A lot of these people have no other identity documents and need to be able to prove who they are."

But she denied that the ANC had come to a special agreement with government on the issue. "Of course we are not issuing the passports ourselves in any way — I wish we were," she said.

The ANC obtained standard application forms from the Home Affairs Department, which it then distributed to former exiles. The returned exiles returned to the organisation's headquarters to hand in the completed forms, with photographs and the standard application fee. The ANC then sent the forms in bulk to the Home Affairs office in Johannesburg, which processed the applications and issued the passports for distribution to the applicants through the ANC offices, she said.

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw confirmed yesterday that the Home Affairs department was receiving passport applications from the ANC. He denied the ANC was receiving any special treatment from Home Affairs.

11A

# Interim government by June - Mbeki

Sowetan 6/2/92 Sowetan (364) (11A)

THE present Parliament should be dissolved and replaced by an elected interim government that would rule the country until the adoption of a constitution.

This was said last night by Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC's director of international affairs, on the Radio Metro Talkback Show which was sponsored by Tribute magazine as part of its fifth anniversary celebrations.

Mbeki said the ANC,



which was one of the major players at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, would press for the establishment of an interim government of national unity by June this year.

He said the interim gov-

ernment would then work towards the establishment of an elected constituent assembly, or a transitional parliament that would draw up the constitution.

"This will be constitution-making that has legal authority. It should, however, be accepted that the tricameral Parliament is still the legal body that has to pass those legislations drafted by the elected constituent assembly.

"It has been agreed at

Codesa that some of its decisions should be given legal force in order to draft legislation," he said.

Mbeki, however, conceded that problems such as the killings of innocent blacks by rightwingers could delay a new government.

Azapo's official Mr Mbulelo Rakwena asked Mbeki why the ANC was negotiating with the Government which he said was the enemy and aggressor.

Mbeki said when "people negotiate, they normally do so with their enemies."

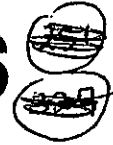
Mr Mike Tisong, also of Azapo, said he was surprised why the ANC, which had regarded the Government as its enemy, was now talking to it.

He said the ANC was "going to negotiate on a position of weakness as it had given a lot of its aces away, such as the suspension of the armed struggle."

# ANC fears mount over hit squads

South 6/2 - 12/2/92

11A



By Sabata Ngcai

ANC officials have blasted the police for "disinterest and lack of co-operation", saying that they failed to respond adequately to complaints that the security police were taking photographs outside the homes of two senior Western Cape officials.

Fears are mounting that the surveillance and intimidation of ANC office bearers could be a prelude to hit squad activity in the Western Cape.

This follows allegations by the ANC that security policemen were recently seen watching the homes of two regional executive committee (REC) members, Mr Tony Yengeni

and Mr Mxolisi Petane.

Last Friday, the ANC claimed, balaclava-clad men knocked at the door of REC member, Mr Vincent Diba, and demanded to be let in.

Diba was not home, and after being alerted by his brother about the incident, attempted to contact the regional commissioner of police, General Nick Acker.

He was told Acker's office "was too busy to return his call", the ANC claimed.

Yengeni and Petane saw the occupants of the car outside their homes on January 15 and took its registration number.

When Yengeni reported the matter to the Guguletu police station, the vehicle

was allegedly identified as belonging to the security police.

The Criminal Investigations Service (formerly the security police) denied any surveillance of the homes of the ANC members.

"The lack of co-operation by the police shows clearly their disinterest in solving issues that are potentially very dangerous and sensitive," said ANC spokesperson Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.

"The situation has become so impossible that the ANC will submit the details to the Joint Forum, a body that monitors police activities, to be dealt with there."

Jacobs said the ANC believed the police were "misleading them" on the activities of the policemen in the car.

"We have eyewitnesses who saw the police taking photographs of the houses. If the SAP are denying that photographs were taken, then they are lying.

"For what purpose was the information collected other than for use by hit squads?"

"The ANC repeats its warning to the SAP and the hit squads linked to it that they would be held responsible should anything happen to our regional executive members," Jacobs said.

Police spokesperson Captain Denise Brand said anyone with such complaints should "follow the channels which were established in accordance with the Groote Schuur Minute".

# 'Codesa is a FW exhibition'

South 6/2-12/2/92

(11A)

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania enjoyed a brief flash of publicity when it staged protests against the Paul Simon tour of South Africa. Zimbabwe-based leader Gilbert Mokoena, tells **SECHABA KANKOSI** about BCMA's programme:



**YANKEE GO HOME:** Azayo supporters protest against Paul Simon's South African tour

PIC: DYNAMIC IMAGES

THE EXILED Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and its military arm, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), did not enjoy much media attention before January 1992.

This year they have become known for their staunch opposition to Paul Simon's South African concerts and Codesa.

The Simon tour was accompanied by bomb blasts at the premises of the promoters, for which a man calling himself Dzimiri claimed responsibility "on behalf of Azanla". The BCMA welcomed the attack.

The police retaliated by detaining the leader of the anti-Simon contingent inside the country, Thami Mcerwa of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo), for seven days.

These events have left black communities questioning the intentions of the BC alliance. Why was the BCMA so aggressive about the tour when bigger movements like the ANC had given

the green light to Simon? Why the opposition to Codesa?

Why is Azanla suddenly rearing its head to show opposition to the current political developments sweeping the country?

BCMA leader, Mr Gilbert Mokoena, concedes Azanla had little popularity within black communities before 1990.

He also insists the BCMA cannot comment on Azanla "combat actions as the army only has bases inside Azania".

And Mokoena dismisses allegations that the hard-line position against Simon was an opportunistic and publicity-seeking display.

Says Mokoena: "We would have

loved to oppose all the tours, including those that get inside (and play Sun City) under the pretext of Bophuthatswana's 'independence'.

"But we do not have enough resources and personnel as we are the poorest and most self-reliant coalition in the country."

Azanla is not against Simon as an individual, says Mokoena, but when it came to identifying campaigns for the organisation to become involved in, the "Born at the Right Time" tour was an obvious choice.

He denies Azanla involvement in the recent killings of police officers and says his organisation acknowledges the existence of predominantly

black "progressive" organisations like the Police and Prisons' Civil Rights Union (Popcru).

"Our principal enemy is the settler-colonial regime and its machinery, the SAP and SADF. We cannot condone or commend the killings of another liberation army."

On Codesa, Mokoena says the BC-alliance won't participate largely because the forum is not an intelligent move towards total democracy. Instead, he says, it's a one-person exhibition by President FW de Klerk to the outside world.

Mokoena argues that for conflict to be resolved there must be a neutral body to ensure resolutions

taken are not violated.

"We won't buy De Klerk's reform package until there is an international monitoring force. De Klerk displayed his true colours immediately after the signing of the peace accord. He signed and defiled it at will, since he is not answerable to anybody.

"That is why the accord is failing. He continues killing our people," adds the BCMA leader.

Is the BCMA-Azanla planning any campaign to render Codesa meaningless?

"It would be stupid for us to campaign against Codesa. We don't recognise it so how can we campaign against it?" asks Mokoena.

"For us the situation remains the same. The BCMA will continue organising, mobilising our people for meaningful negotiations on the modalities of a constituent assembly, and Azanla will continue fighting — even with bombs — until Azania is truly liberated from these settler-colonial menaces," he vows.

Although to most communities the BCMA became a "post-February 1990 affair", Mokoena attributes this to snubs they received from the ANC and the PAC.

"Since our formation in 1984 following the banning of all BC-aligned organisations in 1977, the two movements refused to recognise us as equal partners in the struggle. We tried to put forward our position but in vain. We only came to life in 1984 when a liberation army from the horn of North-East Africa agreed to give our cadres military training," says Mokoena, refusing to give the name of the army.

Mokoena thinks his organisation's popularity can be measured against the low turnout of black people to all Simon's concerts in South Africa.

—AIA

# Labour seeks salvation in closer ties with ANC

South 6/2-12/2/92.

By Quentin Wilson

**OUSTED** as the majority party in the House of Representatives this week, Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) is now looking to the ANC for political salvation.

"We will now work in a far more complementary fashion with the ANC," Hendrickse said.

"At a braai on Friday, we celebrated our freedom from parliamentary responsibilities. It was very liberating."

Hendrickse slammed the National Party, who are now the majority party in the House of Representatives, for trying to capture the coloured vote — and LP MPs — through "questionable means".

He doubted whether more of the 40 remaining LP members would defect to the NP.

"However, carrots have been dangled in terms of position and privilege and possible financial aid has been promised to those Labour MPs who join the NP ranks," Hendrickse claimed.

"Most of them have skeletons in their cupboards and the NP has promised to protect them from humiliation."

The LP will shift its emphasis to Codesa, Hendrickse said, as parliament was becoming more "subservient". The party was represented in all of Codesa's committees.

"We will also be going back to the townships — we have been office bound for so long and now we are free to go."



**OUSTED BUT NOT OUT: LP leader Allan Hendrickse**

The former chairman of the Ministers' Council said the LP had fulfilled an historical role.

During the treason trials of the sixties, with black leadership imprisoned and forced into exile, the LP emerged to "fill their gap", Hendrickse claimed.

The party participated in elections for the Coloured Person's Representative Council in 1969 — an institution established by the government after coloureds had been removed from the common voters' roll.

"Of the 40 elected seats, the LP won 23. The government then rigged a majority," Hendrickse alleged.

"In the 1975 elections, 34 seats were won by the LP. The NP was not able to secure a majority. We managed to take over the executive and opposed any discrimination."

When the tricameral system was introduced in 1983, the LP decided to "compromise and participate".

"We have used the tricameral system successfully as a means of upliftment of a community that had been left behind in terms of education, pensions, welfare, housing, agriculture and economic opportunities. We have had particular success in narrowing these gaps," Hendrickse said.

ANC

FM 7/2/92

## Second thoughts

(11A)

When ANC president Nelson Mandela spoke at the annual meeting of the World Economic Forum in Switzerland at the weekend, he had substantially revised his prepared text. The new, lengthier version contained many reassuring words for international investors.

"We visualise a mixed economy in which the private sector would play a central and critical role to ensure the creation of wealth and jobs," he said. "Side by side with this, there will be a public sector perhaps no different from such countries as Germany, France and Italy, where public enterprises constitute 8%, 11% and 15% of the economy respectively and in which the State plays an important role in such areas as education, health and welfare.

"For it to achieve such basic objectives as creating wealth and jobs, ending poverty and creating a just and equitable society, future economic policy will also have to address such questions as security of investments and



Mandela

FINANCIAL MAIL • FEBRUARY • 7 • 1992 • 29

Continue →

FM 7/2/92

(11A)

the right to repatriate earnings, realistic exchange rates, the rate of inflation and the fiscus.

"We are determined to . . . establish the political and social climate which is necessary to ensure business confidence and create the possibility for all investors to make long-term commitments to help develop the SA economy."

A moderate tone again emerged in a subsequent panel discussion.

"Nationalisation is an alternative which is quite appropriate from the point of view of our condition, but we are quite aware that there is a great deal of concern about it and for that reason we are trying to reach agreement with employers in our country. Give us time and let us discuss the matter with them and make a decision."

Asked to confirm that nationalisation will not "menace" new investments, he replied: "We have made this clear . . . we are well aware that a political organisation that is unable to co-operate with employers, with business, in time to straighten out the economy can never succeed in generating growth. For that reason, we are engaged in ongoing discussion with business and we have no doubt that we will reach a decision which will make it easy for investors to invest in our country.

"In November last year, I went around the US urging businessmen to come and inspect investment opportunities because we sincerely believe that, if an interim government is immediately installed (and as far as we are concerned that can be done within six months), then all sanctions will be lifted and businessmen will be able to invest.

"We would like to create conditions for investors to invest without any fear of their properties being nationalised and (with certainty of) their profits being repatriated and getting a safe return." ■



**Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw . . .**  
*facilitating passport issue*

members and communists who needed travel documentation. A root cause of the problem was the complicated indemnity procedure and perception among the ANC membership that the civil service is staffed with rightwing sympathisers waging a rearguard action against their organisation.

Difficulties also arose where a claim to citizenship was impossible to verify, especially regarding the children of exiles born abroad. By mid-1991 a considerable backlog had developed.

Under the new passport deal, an approach can be made to a legal worker at the ANC national office; a standard yellow application form is handed out. On completion the form is checked at Shell House (the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg) in the same office that deals with financial administration. The ANC also collects the application fee and two photographs.

Batches of these forms are then taken to Home Affairs where the documentation is prepared, followed by transfer back to Shell House where the ANC then issues the pass-

ports. About 4 500 passports have been issued in this way, according to an ANC source.

Apparently certain civil servants are not happy that the ANC and SACP have a privilege not enjoyed by any other political group. Troubling questions about this

arrangement are fielded by maintaining a degree of plausible denial. The preferred response is that the department is merely facilitating the issue of passports with the ultimate discretion remaining with the State. ANC involvement is purely clerical.

However, in practice this prerogative is said to have been ceded to the ANC. Query from the department rarely goes beyond the odd case of indistinct handwriting on a form. The ANC also appears to be doing the vetting: "They told us they know who their bona fide members are," says one civil servant, adding that "the word from Pretoria is give them what they want, when they want it." The Johannesburg office has created a separate section to deal only with the ANC national office.

ANC members tell the *FM* that the organisation and its affiliates, such as the ANC Youth League, have actually increased the level of proof required of a would-be member. The aim is to prevent non-nationals establishing a bogus claim to citizenship with the passport section. ■

## Passing the port

The ANC has been issuing SA passports for months in co-operation with the Department of Home Affairs in Johannesburg.

In effect this means a sharing of a State function under sovereign prerogative with one of the negotiating parties at Codesa. According to NP sources the "special arrangement" has been kept low-key to prevent the impression gaining ground that Minister Gene Louw and the Cabinet regards the ANC as a government-in-waiting.

For its part the ANC is understood to have insisted on a role in granting passports after the lengthy delay experienced by returning

# Interim government by June, says Mbeki

By IKE MOTSAPI

PARLIAMENT should be dissolved and replaced by an elected interim government that would rule the country until the adoption of a constitution.

This was said on Wednesday night by Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC director of international affairs, on the **Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show**.

Mbeki said the ANC would press for the establishment of an interim government of national unity by June this year.

He said the interim government would work to-



wards establishing an elected constituent assembly, or a transitional parliament that would draw up the Constitution.

"This will be constitution-making that has legal authority. It should, however, be accepted that the tricameral Parliament is still the legal body that has to pass legislation drafted by the elected constituent

assembly. (Sowetan) (11A)

"It has been agreed at Codesa that some decisions should be given legal force in order to draft legislation," he said.

Mbeki conceded that killing innocent blacks by rightwingers and security forces could delay the establishment of a new government.

Azapo official Mr Mbulelo Rakwena asked why the ANC was negotiating with the Government which, he said, was the enemy and aggressor.

Mbeki said when "people negotiate, they normally do so with their enemies".



LABOUR PARTY (11A) FM  
All fall down (11A) 7/2/92

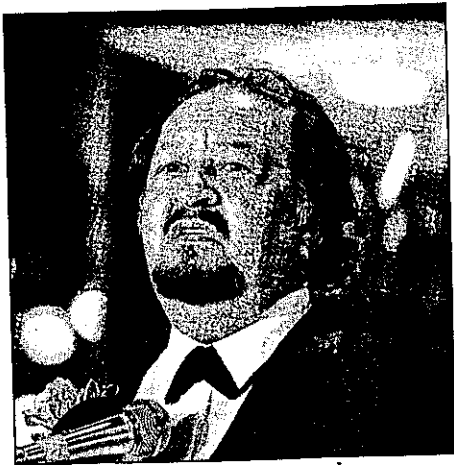
Seen against the bigger picture of political change, the unseating of Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party in the coloured House of Representatives (HoR) by a coalition of NP and independent MPs seems rather irrelevant. But it has important implications for the NP and ANC.

The Labour Party lost a motion of no confidence by 40 votes to 44 in the 85-seat HoR after surviving a similar vote last year by 43 to 40.

At the time of going to press, Labour remained the largest party in the HoR with 40 MPs (plus the support of one independent), against the NP's 36 (and the backing of the lone Freedom Party MP and seven independents). However, a number of the independents as well as some of the remaining Labour MPs were expected to join the Nats this week to push the party into a majority.

Hendrickse and his coloured own-affairs Ministers were replaced on Monday by HoR Nat leader Jac Rabie and senior coloured Nat MPs. It is not yet known if Rabie will serve in the main Cabinet.

In terms of the Constitution, the President can appoint the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils to the Cabinet. Hendrickse quit P W Botha's Cabinet after a public row. He



Hendrickse ... ousted  
as chairman

cont - 11

FM 7/2/92 (11A) (11A) (11A)  
says he was asked to rejoin soon after F W de Klerk became President, but declined. (House of Delegates Ministers' Council chairman J N Reddy does not serve in the Cabinet.)

A clear takeover of the HoR would give the Nats total control of the legislative process. Up to now Labour as the majority party has been able to block draft laws or force compromises in the joint standing committees — to the irritation of the Nats.

(The Indian House hardly threatens the NP. In fact it is reliably understood that a group of its MPs was recently dissuaded from joining the NP so as not to unseat Reddy, whom the Nats regard as totally in agreement with government's views.)

Hendrickse is understandably bitter about what he regards as a stab in the back by the NP. There is little chance that his challenge to De Klerk to dissolve the HoR and call a coloured election will be met. Labour is far better organised than the NP in most HoR constituencies and could probably rely on tacit ANC backing in an election in the wake of a reconciliation between the two groups. De Klerk would be foolish to force a showdown between the NP and a Labour-ANC alliance while delicate negotiations are under way at Codesa.

The NP's strategy is longer term. It split Labour after failing to establish a lasting working relationship with the party following the unbanning of the ANC and the start of the reform process. The NP realises that in future it may rely heavily on the 3m coloured voters in a contest with the ANC.

Hendrickse and his lieutenants apparently perceived the ANC as a better ally than the NP and were consequently forced to go head-on with the NP in parliament — a contest they've now lost.

On the other hand the developments have, for the time being, probably drawn Labour closer to the ANC, which also acknowledges the value of the coloured vote (as evidenced by the rapid rise through party ranks of western Cape leader Allan Boesak).

Hendrickse's dilemma is what to do next. The ANC wanted him to remain in parliament because of the veto power he had in the standing committees. With that gone his value in the tricameral system is diminished. Pressure may mount for him and his remaining MPs to quit. This would force De Klerk to hold potentially damaging and embarrassing by-elections.

The more likely situation is that Labour will remain in parliament where its MPs are well paid and can continue to build up pensionable service. The party has the potential, within the confines of the tricameral system, to be an effective and vociferous opposition to the NP.

But despite Labour's claims that it has a significant role to play in the transition to democracy, it has little chance of stopping the erosion of its support base to both the Left and Right. It surely won't be long before senior members on the Left of the party, including a few MPs, apply to join the ANC.

Labour therefore faces the very real possibility that without power it will spiral down into irrelevance as the NP and the ANC bypass it and compete directly for the coloured vote.

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# FW, Mandela nominated for Nobel

OSLO — President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Russian President Boris Yeltsin are among nominees for the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize.

"So far we've received 105 different nominations — for 83 individuals and 22 organisations," Geir Lundestad, head of the Nobel Institute, said yesterday.

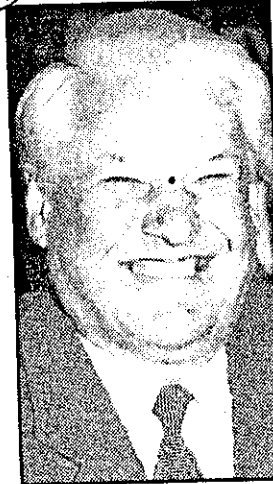
"This is slightly higher than recent years and we see it as a sign that interest in the prize is rising."

The winner of the prestige award will be announced in October. Nominations closed on January 31 but letters postmarked by that date will count and are still flooding in.

Mr Lundestad declined to name any nominees.

However, Nobel Institute sources said Mr Yeltsin, a key figure in the fight against the failed August coup, had been nominated. Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the now-defunct Soviet Union, won the 1990 award.

Mr Mandela has been a perennial nominee for



Proposed ... (from left) F W de Klerk, Boris Yeltsin, Nelson Mandela.

the prize for opposing apartheid.

Individual nominees included former UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar, Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans — for his role in a peace plan for Cambodia, the sources said.

The Salvation Army, widely tipped as a favourite for the 1991 prize which went to detained Burmese opposition

leader Aung San Suu Kyi, was again nominated.

Other nominees include Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli language teacher Shulamith Katznelson, jailed South Korean pastor Moon Ik-hwan, Guatemalan peasant leader Rigoberta Menchu and Romanian bishop and human rights activist Laszlo Tokes.

Among organisations are the UN Environment Programme and international relief organisa-

tions Medecins sans Frontieres and Medecins du Monde.

The 1992 award is a gold medal, a diploma and \$1.12 million (about R3.1 million). It can go to one or more individuals or to an organisation — or not be awarded at all.

Mr Lundestad said the five-member Nobel committee, which can also add names, would meet later this month to consider the list. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

24 (years), we...  
A Cape...  
Noordhof, has been ordered

STAR 7/2/92



Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The ANC may have continued to hold and abuse prisoners in Tanzania even after it stated last May that all such detainees had been freed, the US State Department has said in its latest human rights report.

The report notes that "young South Africans" are still being sent to "training centres" in Tanzania and Zambia after "fleeing violence at home".

"Numerous credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC-defector detainees and alleged South African government spies at

# ANC 'carried on abusing prisoners'

(11A)

CT 7/2/92

ANC refugee camps in Tanzania continued in 1991, even after the ANC's announcement in May that all detainees had been released," the report states.

The International Committee for the

Red Cross has been asked to investigate.

However, the United States is satisfied that the ANC is no longer holding prisoners in Zambia.

The report said 30 former MK operatives who had been detained in Tanzania and Uganda claimed to have been tortured on the orders of top ANC officials. "Detainees claimed they were put in solitary confinement for long periods of time, beaten and interrogated."

Similar abuses also occurred inside South Africa. "Forms of torture were meted out by self-appointed groups of township residents known as 'people's courts'."

## PAC's Desai

'sick — not  
pushed out'

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday moved to counter speculation that its publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, had been sidelined by hardliners in the PAC national executive.

A statement from the PAC's headquarters said Mr Desai was on sick leave and that he had received a unanimous vote of confidence at an NEC meeting in Broedersroom last weekend.

Speculation that Mr Desai — said to be "pro-Codesa" — had been sidelined followed an earlier PAC statement saying he had been granted sick leave for two months.

Yesterday the PAC said: "There is no difference between the views on negotiations held by Mr Desai and that of any other member of the NEC." — Sapa

FM 7/2/92

THE ANC AND DAVOS

(11A)

## What Mandela meant to say

Maybe the ANC does not fully understand the consequences of what it did in Davos this week. The bland face on nationalisation its president Nelson Mandela showed to international businessmen was belied by a statement from the ANC prepared for a panel discussion, which apparently did not take place. Mandela talked for too long.

The statement makes very clear that for all its talk of partnership with business and the importance of market forces in a mixed economy, the ANC has not moved away from nationalisation. If anything, its position has solidified.

The statement says that the ANC will single out what it calls the five giant conglomerates and to the extent that they are not investing in a manner which meets with ANC approval, they will be nationalised and their investment policies altered accordingly, to fit the ANC's idea of social fulfilment. That doesn't include making a profit.

Here is an extract: "Among the range of options we will consider is nationalisation within the framework of ensuring that key industries invest in the economy so as to strengthen it . . . SA enterprises are, at present, owned by a tiny clique controlling five giant conglomerates. Taking some key enterprises into public ownership will itself be a major step towards overcoming . . . inequality."

Well, nationalisation has not yet strengthened any enterprise. The danger of collapse has been too evident in eastern Europe and Russia to be taken lightly. Nor has it brought equality, other than in poverty. But perhaps that is beside the point.

The mystery is why Mandela did not skip his diatribe on poverty in general and in Africa in particular — it's been said by almost every African leader repeatedly before — and concentrate on what prospective investors really want to hear — the unequivocal ANC policy on nationalisation.

Of course, it is possible that President F W de Klerk persuaded him at the last minute that a united front would be more beneficial. If that be so, and Mandela fell for it, he has done the cause of prosperity in Africa much harm.

For the panel discussion notes have already had wide circulation. And the absence of any reference in his main address to the potent nationalisation policy they espouse could be interpreted as a lack of not only moral courage but integrity.

The interpretation among international investors is simply that the ANC is saying that any blandishment will do to get investors in and then, when it (the ANC) is in power, it will sock the suckers with nationalisation.

This interpretation is given further substance by the

fallacious assertion made in the discussion document to justify nationalisation: that large corporations are not investing either sufficiently or appropriately but are spiriting profits out of SA, to the disadvantage of the poor.

To begin with, concentrations of ownership usually occur because of the success of investment policies, which implies that they must also have been reasonably appropriate. Secondly, private-sector investment has continued despite the recession of recent years. It is government's capital spending that has been curtailed.

Thirdly, one reason for lack of more buoyancy in domestic investment has been the trade sanctions campaign of bodies like the ANC and the financial sanctions imposed for other reasons by international banks, led by the Americans. It has been the cause, too, of domestic capital flight.

Fourthly, the disinvestment campaign supported by the ANC had to result in a greater concentration of ownership. Indeed, Harry Oppenheimer warned in a speech in the US in the early Eighties that all that disinvestment would achieve would be to make men like himself even richer.

If SA enterprises had not been ready to pick up the pieces after the many US companies pulled up roots and departed, black workers would have suffered even more.

That argument, of course, carries little sway with the ANC and fellow-travelling clergymen like Archbishop Desmond Tutu. They have repeatedly chosen the path to power rather than the more humble and difficult way to the alleviation of suffering and poverty.

In short, all the supposed economic shortcomings the ANC complains about now are the logical consequences of the destructive, inappropriate and indeed inhuman policies it propagated. Wise men like Alan Paton have repeatedly pointed this out in the past when refusing to support trade sanctions.

What the ANC has done at Davos indicates that an economics or business forum running parallel to Codesa would most likely be futile. Economic issues are today at the cutting edge of political division. They should form an integral part of the deliberations at Codesa itself, not be relegated to some inferior chamber where they can conveniently be marginalised.

The ANC doesn't want them at Codesa so it can indulge in legerdemain. The Nats don't want them because their conversion to free enterprise is too recent to be anything but superficial. The danger is — as Schumpeter feared in a broader context and at another time — that free enterprise will be diminished or abolished by default. ■

# ANC 'may have prisoners' in Tanzania

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC may have continued to hold and abuse prisoners in Tanzania even after it stated last May that all such detainees had been freed, the US State Department asserts in its latest annual human rights report. (11A) (S)

The report also notes that "young South Africans" are still being sent to "training centres" in Tanzania and Zambia after "fleeing violence" at home.

"Numerous credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC defector detainees and alleged SA government spies at ANC refugee camps in Tanzania continued in 1991, even after the ANC's announcement in May that all detainees had been released."

The report says Tanzanian authorities have "refused to intervene when cases are brought to their attention" because liberation movements in Tanzania "enjoy a kind of extraterritorial status". (S)

The International Committee for the Red Cross has been asked to investigate. However, the US is satisfied the ANC is

no longer holding prisoners in Zambia.

"Most of the approximately 2 000 ANC exiles departed Zambia in 1991, although there was an influx of young South Africans fleeing the violence in their country."

Many of these refugees fled first to Swaziland, whose government, in conjunction with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "worked to send them on to their desired destinations, normally ANC training centres in Zambia and Tanzania".

The report records that 30 former MK operatives who had been detained in Tanzania and Uganda over the past decade "claimed to have been tortured on the orders of MK chief of state and ANC national executive committee member Chris Hani and other top ANC officials."

"Upon the return of these detainees to SA, (ANC president) Nelson Mandela said the ANC would attempt to "reconcile" with them, implicitly admitting the truth of some of these claims."

# Mandela 'rethinks' nationalisation stand

COPENHAGEN — The ANC would reconsider its policy on nationalisation because it was so unpopular among potential investors, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"Nationalisation is our policy," Mandela told Danish businessmen, "but there is a shift in our thinking. We have observed the hostility and concern of businessmen towards nationalisation, and we cannot ignore their perceptions."

"If we want to create a climate where investors will not fear losing their investments, their dividends, we have to take a decision on the question of nationalisation," he said.

Mandela was answering questions after a speech to business leaders on the third and final day of his visit to Denmark.

He said he had been struck by the concern over the ANC's nationalisation stand among the 2 000 businessmen present at the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland, last weekend. (11A)

He had also been told that whereas countries emerging from war and other traumatic events in the past had been able to nationalise to provide jobs and stimulate economic growth, this was no longer feasible in a world of interlinked economies.

"We have to choose whether we want investment from foreign companies," he

810 am 7/2/92  
said. "We have to make a choice. This is the spirit in which I am going back to SA."

Mandela said the ANC had to form its economic policies for a future, democratically ruled SA in co-operation with business circles. It would have to seek capital investment to help stimulate growth and provide jobs for the country's unemployed, while removing "rigidities" that had resulted from apartheid in areas such as education and training.

DARIUS SANAI reports that SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) spokesman Wim Holtes yesterday hailed Mandela's comments as "very welcome and very sig-

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

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significant". Holtes said the ANC leader's latest comments were indicative of a "definite shift in position" by the ANC since the beginning of negotiations.

He said he believed the positive comments would influence potential foreign investors, but added he still expected confusing signals from the ANC. "They are still struggling (to form an economic policy),

(11A) (11A) □ From Page 1  
and one must accept that. We had to wait long enough for the government to realise that protection did not spark growth in the SA economy."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mandela's comments were in line with what the organisation had said before. — Reuter

● See Page 3

*Dialogue must continue with all parties*

# LP moves closer to ANC, Codesa

*Sowetan 7/2/92*

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political

Correspondent

**THE Labour Party is gearing itself for closer co-operation with the ANC and Codesa.**

This is the message in a large advertisement campaign launched in the Afrikaans Sunday media.

After its loss of power in the coloured House of Representatives in the tri-cameral parliament, the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party has gathered momentum in its efforts for closer ties with the extra-parliamentary left.

It says very strongly in



**THABO MBEKI**

its advertisement campaign that alliance-building was the way through which the future of South Africa lies.

"The party must continue its dialogue (without



**ALAN HENDRICKSE**

losing its identity) with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and other parties to try and find possible modes of co-operation in areas of joint objectives and

strategy," it says.

Quoting ANC spokesman on foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki, who addressed the LP's 26th annual congress, the party says the two were "moving closer together".

Mbeki had told the LP congress: "The ANC was prepared to work with the Labour Party on a national and regional level in the process to create a new South Africa."

The LP also calls for the scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and for the drafting of a constitution and parliamentary system representative of all the people of South Africa.



# PAC denies 'sidelining' Desai

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

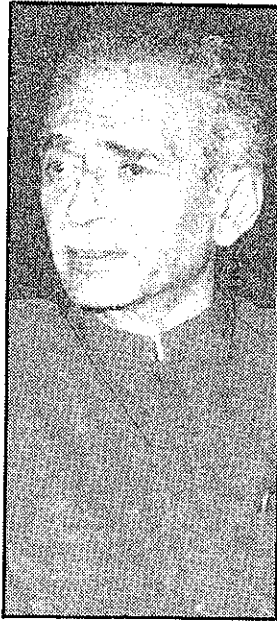


The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has emphatically denied speculation that its Publicity Secretary Barney Desai had been sidelined by radicals intent on purging its leadership of "pro-negotiations" officials.

The radicals, reportedly rallying under the slogan "One intellectual, one bullet", are also said to be gunning for PAC president Clarence Makwetu and his deputy, Advocate Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Desai took two-month's leave from his high-profile job this week "due to illness," secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Mr Alexander said Mr Desai had applied for and was granted the leave at a meeting of the National Executive Council (NEC) held in Broederstroom.



Barney Desai ... has "stomach illness".

He would return to work as soon as he had recovered, said Mr Alexander.

The meeting had unanimously declared its ap-

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preciation for the work of all PAC secretaries, including Mr Desai, he said.

Mr Desai is somewhere in Pretoria where he is apparently being treated for a "stomach-related illness" and could not be reached for comment.

Mr Makwetu and Mr Moseneke could also not be reached at the time of going to press.

"We dismiss the allegations in the media as irresponsible prostitution of literary talent by mischievous anti-PAC elements," said Mr Alexander.

"There is no difference between the views held by Mr Desai on negotiations and that of any other member of the NEC."

Sources in the PAC have indicated that the rift which was caused by the organisation's initial role in Codesa had been healed at its special congress held in December.

# CURRENT ISSUES



## Discussions on Negotiations

New Nation (Learning Nation 7/2 - 13/2/92) (11A)

### The relationship between the ANC and the SACP

Professor Tom Lodge spoke about the relationship between the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the ANC. The main point of his discussion was to see to what extent the SACP had influenced the ANC. He pointed out that the membership of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) increased dramatically in the 1940s after the Second World War from 150 to almost 5000. People trained by the CPSA in the 1940s often went on to join the ANC in the 1950s. This fact, together with the formation of the Congress Alliance did result in the communists having some influence in the ANC at that time. However, there is the argument that much of what happened could have happened without the SACP. The Communist Party of South Africa was banned at the beginning of the 1950s and it was during that period that it changed to being called the South African Communist Party (SACP). The Communist Party tended to emphasise broad unifying themes and believe that these are still reflected in the Freedom Charter which was developed with the ANC at that time.

In the early 1960s, the SACP adopted the Road to South African Freedom and it was then that it collaborated with the ANC in setting up Umkhonto we Sizwe and adopted the course of armed struggle.

During the period from 1961 to the 1990s, two generations of ANC leadership have emerged. The SACP, because of its access to funding, discipline and organisational structure, could recruit members and train them intellectually and militarily. Because of the dual membership, that is, young militants in the SACP and the ANC, the SACP influenced the intellectual life of the ANC to quite a large extent. This also occurred through publications like *Sechaba* and the *African Communist*. In 1969, at the Morogoro Conference, the ANC adopted *Strategy and Tactics*, which reproduced the SACP's *Road to Freedom*. This suggested then that the ANC was moving towards an international socialist order. It was during this period that the theory of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST) and the theory of the two stages of the South African revolution were developed. The second generation of ANC leadership arose out of the exodus of youth from South Africa after the uprisings in Soweto in 1976. These people increased the militancy of the organisation during that period.

The strength of the SACP was reflected in the Kabwe Conference (1985) in terms of attendance. Lodge argues that it is impossible to discount the CP as an organised faction within the ANC but he does not believe that the CP controlled the ANC. During the 1980s, the ANC began to diversify its base and the CP began to emerge as a separate organisation.

If the party has wanted to influence events in the ANC, events in Eastern Europe have not been in its favour. Although the party is avowedly Marxist Leninist, it still has to take a thorough critical examination of Stalinism; what it has done up to now has

Towards the end of last year, Learning Nation was invited to attend a discussion on negotiations at the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE). A representative from the ANC, academics and researchers were present. They agreed that their informal discussion should be shared with other people. They felt that one way of doing this would be to publish a shortened version of their discussion in *Learning Nation*. They will also be publishing a book about negotiations very soon.

This article together with next week's article provides a brief summary of the day's presentations.

not been rigorous.

Currently, the SACP has a membership of about 13 000 people, but they are having to compete with the ANC, sections of which are anti-communist.

Lodge concluded by saying that the Party is in a strange position: as a communist party it should represent the working class. However, it is linked to a government-in-waiting which represents various classes. It also knows that working class needs might be ignored in the negotiations process.

### The ANC and the negotiations process

Doctor Frennie Ginwala from the ANC Research Department also spoke. She raised the point that during the 1980s there had been no blacks involved in negotiations in South Africa. However, at the end of this decade there was acknowledgment that genuine leaders would have to be involved in the negotiations. The 80s had been a period of repression but there had also been developments like the trade union movement and changes in the international situation like the Eastern European Events. She did say however, that the ANC during this period had had "no clear picture of certain victory" - it had debated insurrection but had not developed any clear collective scenario. Armed struggle had just been one pillar of struggle and negotiations had always been an option. The 1985 - 1986 period resulted in the push for negotiations. It was at this time that Tambo spoke to Gorbachev and the ANC leadership decided that it did not want to be a victim of the cold war between the Soviet Union and the USA. This led to the NEC reaffirming negotiations in October 1987. It was in this context that the ANC expanded its contacts, and so we witnessed the public visits to Lusaka where groups found common ground.

In 1988 the ANC spelt out its position on a number of issues including a mixed economy and explained this as an elaboration of the Freedom Charter. It was at this time that Mandela began talking to the state. The international community were also horrified by what was going on in Mozambique with the result that there was international consensus on negotiations.

In 1990; both parties made shifts in relation to negotiations. The ANC shifted on the United Nations position and the Harare Declaration. The leadership felt that it could have sat back and waited for Pretoria to set up a climate for negotiations but that would not

necessarily have got them anywhere. In July 1991 the leadership chose to shift again. The ANC leadership argues that the government is in fact the main obstacle to setting up an Interim Government. The government says that negotiations are about policy but the ANC says negotiations are about power. The ANC leadership is aware that the ANC membership is outside of South African politics because there is no constitutional way for them to participate. The ANC acknowledges this and will support mass action because the constituency has no other way of expressing itself.



Dr Frennie Ginwala

The other major shift the ANC leadership has made was in relation to the Peace Accord. They believe that in signing the Accord they compromised as they had to recognise the Tricameral parliament in order to legislate the Accord. The government, on the other hand, had to accept the inclusion of the church and capital in the development of the accord.

Ginwala was asked what the ANC's vision was for the next five years. She said that they would certainly not give way on economic issues because of the pressure from the ground on issues like land and education. They need to keep this constituency in order to win the next elections.

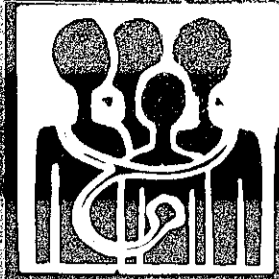
She was also asked whether the ANC was likely to compromise on the Constituent Assembly. She said that the first item on the agenda was the question of principles. If these were agreed upon the mechanisms were not as important and so they could make compromises. If the APC was mandated, it could become the Constituent Assembly. She added that one cannot have a coalition during a negotiation process.

Ginwala raised the issues of ethnicity and minorities and believes that these must still be addressed by the ANC.

Next week we will look at the history of Inkatha and developments within the broader rightwing in this country.

This article was based on discussions held in October 1991. Some of the positions or points of view might have changed since that time.

# HEALTH MATTERS

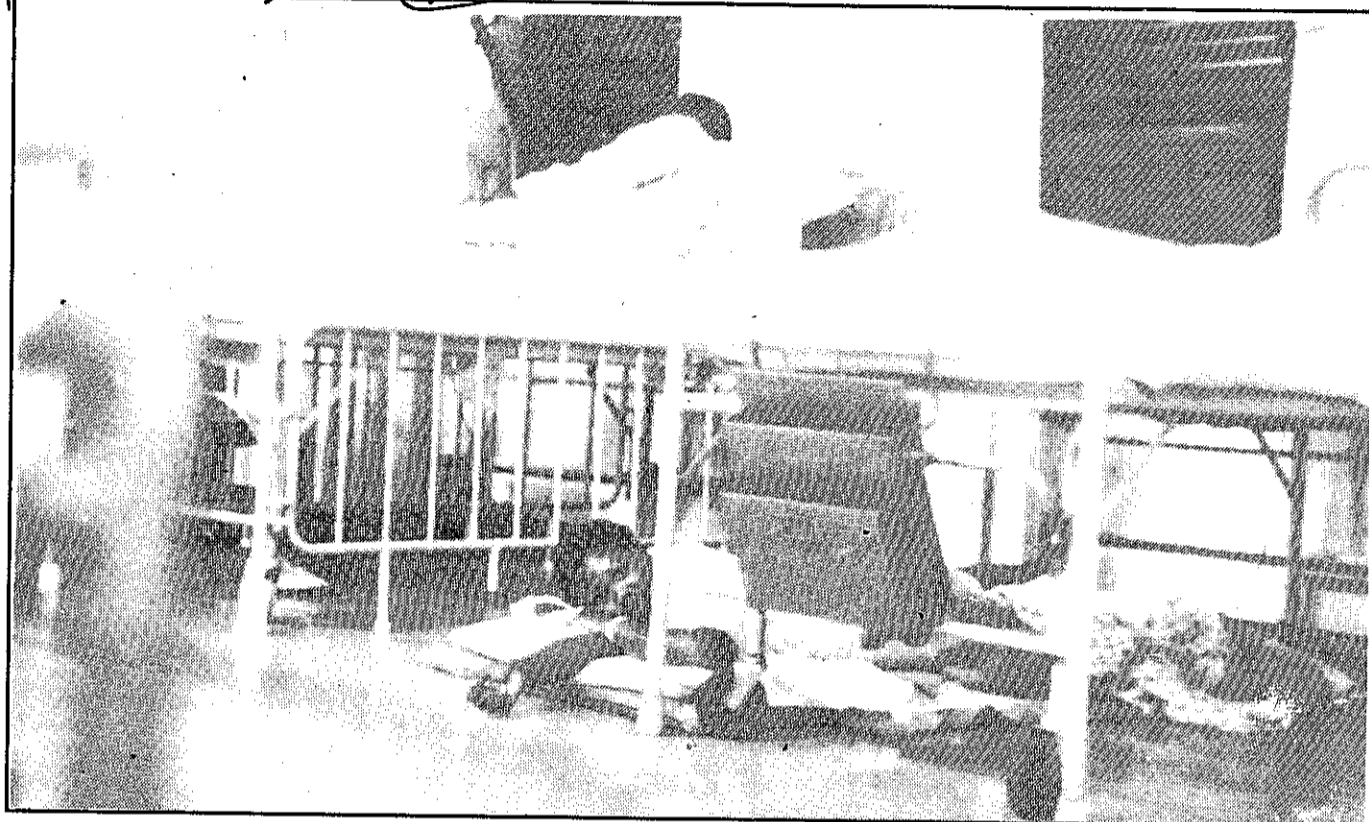


## HEALTH AND HEALTH CARE

New Nation (Learning Nation)  
7/21-13/2/92

Welcome to the Health Matters page for 1992. Many of our readers have told us that they like the health page and find it very interesting. Thank you for your support.

In 1992, we are going to try to make our health page more interesting. We are having a meeting with a large number of health organisations to identify what the important issues are. We also need your help. We want you to write to us and to tell us what you think are the important health issues and what you want to learn or debate about.



### Privatisation

Health and health care have become topics for much debate in many countries. Health and access to health care are major problems for many people in the world. The trend in many capitalist countries is to move away from state health services and towards privatisation. This means that these governments want to relinquish responsibility for health care, and hand this over to the private sector. Privatisation has resulted in many people being without adequate health care in many places. This trend is particularly strong in the USA and many European countries.

### Health and health care in South Africa

South Africa is a very unhealthy place to be. Many people live in poor conditions and do not have access to the resources which make people healthy.

People are unhealthy because they do not have enough food to eat, they often do not have jobs, and they are often paid very low wages. Many people live in overcrowded townships, with poor housing and without clean water and sanitation. All of this means that people get sick.

When people get sick, they do not have access to decent health care. They do not have access because health services are expensive and unequally divided in a number of ways. This means that when people get sick, they often get worse because they either can't afford, or are too far away from health care services.

### Why do people not have access to good and affordable health care?

There are more services available in the urban areas than there are in the rural areas. People who live in rural areas are often very far away from health care services. There are also more hospitals,

clinics and doctors in the cities than anywhere else, because the government does not provide free health care for people. Health services which the government does provide are inadequate and overcrowded and are often very far away from where people live.

People also get sick because much more money is spent on curing rather than preventing disease. The government talks a lot about being committed to primary health care, but we see very little evidence of this.

### Apartheid and Health

There are more and better services available to whites and rich people. This is because the government spends more money per person on health care for whites, which means that whites have always had access to better quality public services than anyone else. Public services for blacks are often overcrowded and do not have the same quality of equipment and services as the white hospitals.

Health care is also inadequate because the government spends a lot of money on maintaining apartheid in health. A few years ago the government announced that all facilities were to be opened to all. This is not what is happening. Public services throughout SA are still largely operating on the basis of race.

Money is also wasted because the government spends a lot of money maintaining 14 different departments of health, one for each homeland, whites and the tricameral system of "own affairs". This wastes an extraordinary amount of money which could be used to provide better care for everyone.

### Capitalism and Health

Rich people are able to get better care,

because they are able to pay for Medical Aid schemes. Medical Aid schemes help them pay for private health care. Private care is often better than the care the government provides. This is because the government has for a long time now, tried to reduce its responsibility to provide health care for the people. The government has allowed public sector services to deteriorate and has kept raising the costs of care in public hospitals. They have been trying to force people out of the public sector and into the private sector. This has all been part of their privatisation initiative.

Private services are very expensive and out of the reach of most people. The only way that adequate, affordable and accessible care can be provided for people, is through a National Health Service, provided by the state. A service which provides free care for all the people in a democratic and accountable way.

### Women and Health

There are not adequate services for women and children. Women, especially black women, do not have access to appropriate health services for themselves or their children. Family planning services have usually provided inadequate and inappropriate care. They offer a limited range of contraceptives and women are often given unsuitable contraception which can affect their health and their ability to have children in the future.

Women do not have free access to simple cancer tests of the breasts and the womb; tests which can save thousands of lives. Many thousands of women also risk their lives and their health every year in SA, by having illegal, backstreet abortions, because the law only allows very few women to have safe abortions.

The government also does not meet its commitment with regard to the needs of

children. Many black children get sick and die because they do not get immunised against certain diseases such as polio. Children get sick and die from simple diseases which can be cured. They die because their parents do not have access to health services for their children. Thousands of children die every year from starvation.

### Workers and Health

Workers often get sick at work. Many workers are exposed to dangerous substances such as lead and asbestos. Very few workplaces have medical services on the premises. Even when these do exist they are often more concerned with productivity than the health of the workers. The law is inadequate as it doesn't provide enough protection for workers.

AIDS is a disease we hear a lot about. This new disease will make many people sick and die. We need to tackle this problem now. There are a number of problems related to this, one of which is literacy. Many people cannot read or write and they do not have access to education or the media. This makes mass education about AIDS very difficult. The government has not done enough to combat the spread of AIDS in ways which people can understand. During the year we hope to debate these issues and also run articles on AIDS education.

These are just some of the problems. There are many others. Learning Nation will try to address many of these issues during the course of 1992. We need your help. Please write to us and tell about the health problems you have experienced. Also tell us about the things you would like us to write about on the health page.

*WOMEN and Resistance in South Africa* is a decade old, but was previously banned and has recently been published here for the first time. It is a sprawling overview of a whole range of organisations and movements involving women in South Africa this century, setting each in its economic, social and political context. The book is an invaluable, unique resource work on the many organisations that have mobilised women.

Cherryl Walker's approach is rather old-fashionedly formalist, in that it gives credence to acts of resistance only when they take place under the umbrella of a formal organisation. But it does take seriously the mechanisms through which organisations are created and sustained. It treats the social category "women" as self-evident and unproblematic, but this does force the reader to rectify her stereotypical thinking about the male point of view from which most histories of resistance have been written. And it works in a framework of political economy, locating acts of resis-

## Valuable look at women's resistance

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*WOMEN AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA* by Cherryl Walker (David Philip, R28,99)

tance in broader patterns of exploitation, dispossession or suffering. The resulting analysis is often illuminating, but has limits.

The coherence of the book is hindered by its ambitious attempt to cover every possible social movement. It really begins to take off only on page 123, when the discussion of the beginnings of apartheid and the rise of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) begins. (It does seem as if the book could well have reduced the first hundred pages or so into a brief introductory section, and called itself a study of the FSAW itself — although that would mean abandoning its "other identity" as a work of reference).

This motley and meteoric organisation, started

by a Latvian communist with strong feminist convictions (Ray Alexander) and an ex-governess with all the passion of a Brit who recognises evil when she sees it (Helen Joseph), is impossible to treat in the boring fashion characterising most organisational histories. While the somewhat puffed African National Congress worried, during the 1950s, about the propriety of changing its form of resistance from elitist lobbying to something more dynamic, Alexander, Joseph, their extraordinary comrades Lilian Ngoyi, Annie Silinga and many others, and an assortment of women from trade union and other backgrounds, brought a bit of chutzpah into the culture of black resistance. Something that Walker does not

explore fully, but which is obvious from more recent studies, is that this chutzpah had roots in black female grassroots culture as well as in the rare leaders of the FSAW.

The FSAW really took off when it found itself "carried along on the huge groundswell of popular feeling against passes among women, a current that frequently swept the women's leaders along faster than they themselves intended to go". Walker acknowledges such forces, but her overwhelming orientation towards the "organisation" rather than the people who constituted it leads her to discount them when they demonstrated a purpose of their own. Thus when, without the presence of the FSAW, 250 women refused passes in Veeplaats (near Port Elizabeth), she downplays this as "a personal stand rather than part of any concerted programme of action by political organisations". But without this culture of cheek, would the FSAW have got thousands of women to march to sombre Pretoria?

The lifeblood of the FSAW was indeed the anti-pass campaign, one which contained within it layer upon layer of meaning. To the National Party, passes embodied social engineering on an unprecedented scale. To Africans, a pass for a woman symbolised a greater evil than one for a man. Passes meant humiliation, a passing of control over women to the state, an attack on the family, the destruction of women's freedom to earn money in the informal sector, and a variety of other things. All of these bred resistance. But in this jumble of meanings, it is not easy to discern those which Walker wishes to call "conservative" and those which represent "true resistance". What Walker needs here is a finer set of analytical concepts to locate these women — within a gender system, within families or local communities and cultural systems, as well as within the brutish systems of apartheid and capitalism. Broad political economy only goes so far, and no further.

*Women and Resistance* is already widely used in university courses. But now that it is available locally, one would hope that women's education groups in the ANC, in trade unions and elsewhere, would also use the book as an educational text. It is no hagiography, and here the book's wide range is an advantage because it contains invaluable research on and careful assessments of each movement concerned. This book would encourage thoughtful consideration and the building up of historical knowledge at a time when the patriarchal face of African nationalism is showing itself to be more powerful and intractable than many romantics may have thought possible.

**Belinda Bozzoli**

●Professor Belinda Bozzoli is a lecturer in the Sociology department at Wits University



# SA's 'lost' history is recovered

w/mail 7/2-13/2/92

Decades of vital history omitted from official records are being restored in an ambitious project that is not only of importance to researchers, but is a poignant evocation of our past.

By GAYE DAVIS

**F**OR years Freda Levson tried to interest publishers in her late husband Leon's vast collection of photographs documenting African life in South Africa during the 1940s. But his thousands of negatives remained unseen in boxes under her bed in London.

South Africans will soon get a chance to see for the first time some of Levson's evocative images: the University of the Western Cape's newly established Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture is working on an exhibition featuring work by Levson and other "lost" photographers.

It's just one project among many planned by the centre in a bid to bring back history officially denied for decades. Only recently named, the centre is better known as the "struggle museum" UWC announced it would establish after acquiring the entire photographic, film, video and publications collection of the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (Idaf).

Levson's photographs form part of that collection, built up over the many years Idaf functioned as the nerve centre of the international solidarity movement. So do those of Eli Weinberg, a listed communist who spent much of his life under house arrest or in prison, but who nevertheless recorded key events in the history of the African National Congress before going into exile in 1976. Most of his negatives, left behind when he fled, were lost or destroyed; those salvaged have been seen only abroad.

The last of the Idaf crates — filled with some 100 000 photographs, 1 000 films and videos, equipment and countless books — have now been unpacked, comprising a resource not



Photographing the photographer ... A slice of life from Sophiatown recorded by Leon Levson

only vast but immensely valuable to researchers. A unique computer cataloguing system means anyone seeking material on forced removals, for instance, will immediately be able to see listed every piece of footage and every photograph in the archive.

But the Idaf collection is not all there is. Daily an assortment of boxes, crates and envelopes arrives at the centre, containing material ranging from an activist's treasured collection of "struggle" T-shirts to minutes of the Robben Island Recreation Committee.

"There's so much to be done. We've been working 20-hour days, raising funds, collecting and collating material. Now for the first time we can say we've got a physical presence, this is what we've got so far," said historian Dr Andre Odendaal, the centre's co-ordinator.

Who, apart from his fellow prisoners, knew that the late Pan Africanist Congress leader Jeff Maserola was a deft woodworker? One of his creations was a trophy Robben Island prisoners' soccer teams would compete for and which now forms part of the archive.

There's a telegram Mao Tse Tung

sent to Bill Andrews, acknowledged as the grand old man of the South African Communist Party who died in 1952, wishing him well on the occasion of his birthday, and a framed front page of *The World's* last edition, which escaped confiscation by the security police the day the newspaper was banned in 1977.

This is the stuff of which not only memories but also history is made — and it has come from all over South Africa and abroad.

Some of it, like Ahmed Kathrada's 8 000 pages recording every letter he wrote and received during 25 years in jail or the archives of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee and other anti-apartheid organisations, is of prime historical importance, a researcher's paradise. Other material is intensely personal, relevant for its poignancy and evocation of a time past and never adequately recorded.

Sometimes that relevance has to be explained, like the white cap donated by a former Robben Islander. "We only understood its significance when we found prisoners made these caps to set themselves apart, expressing an

individuality otherwise denied them," said Odendaal.

Despite the wealth of ANC material and Idaf's historic links with the organisation, the centre is intended to be non-sectarian and the PAC has already expressed its support. It was established to balance a badly skewed past: "We're not going to make the same mistake," said Odendaal. Hence the name Mayibuye (let it return), a slogan common to most liberation bodies.

"We're collecting all artefacts, papers and other material related to the struggle. We're not turning up our noses at anything. We're hoping to share any duplications with other institutions. There's a lot of enthusiasm," said Odendaal.

Just an idea five years ago, the centre's task is enormous. Three former Idaf staffers, all returned exiles, are in charge of the film, audio and photographic archives. Eventually, artefacts will be on permanent display, but a proper museum depends on space and funds. Said Odendaal: "Our immediate priority is collating all the documents and papers. We're taking things step by step."

The centre has copyright to about 20 titles, many banned and never freely available in South Africa. In May, the UWC Mayibuye History Series will be launched, featuring re-prints of these and some new publications, including ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrill's autobiography, written while he was on the run in the wake of the security crackdown on Operation Vula. It's tentatively titled "Armed and Dangerous", which is how he was described on an SABC broadcast.

"The most important thing about this archive, beyond the political importance, is to recover the history of the ordinary person," said Odendaal. "Until a year or so ago, people couldn't see or read any of this. A blank of 30 years needs to be filled."

To this end, the centre will be engaging in a variety of projects involving communities, institutions and organisations. It will also approach the government to arrange the retrieval of material confiscated by security police or used in evidence in trials. "There should be a mountain of it somewhere," said Odendaal.

South African Defence Force helped the Labour Party fight and win three by-elections, as part of its secret countrywide drive to promote "moderate" political organisations.

Hard information that a department of military intelligence (DMI) front provided electioneering training for dozens of party workers over the period of a year is yet another setback for the beleaguered LP, which last week lost its majority in the House of Representatives in a no-confidence vote.

Party leader Allan Hendrickse last week told a media briefing that he strongly condemned SADF "meddling in black politics". He could not be contacted yesterday, but sources insist that DMI front Adult Education Consultants (AEC) offered the training free of charge. This suggests that the party leadership knew who was behind it.

Sources say that AEC boss Dr Louis Pasques decided that the LP needed help in fighting a by-election at Bokkeveld, near Ceres, in 1988. The training, by as many as eight AEC staffers, provided the model for other by-election campaigns that year in Alra Park and Natal Mid-East.

In all three polls, the LP won handsomely. Cliff Nasson was returned in Bokkeveld; AJ Roper, since a defector to the National Party, won in Alra Park; and Willie White was returned in the Natal constituency.

Nasson confirmed this week he had

# The SADF helped LP to fight elections

W/Mail 7/2-13/2/92

attended a weekend seminar in Cape Town in 1987 organised by AEC. Party members who attended the course were taught "how to sell the party", how to register voters and generally run their campaigns "right up to election day", Nasson said.

*The Weekly Mail* possesses a copy of an SADF-printed certificate awarded to party organisers who successfully completed the electioneering course. It also has copies of the training programme, dealing with such topics as the task of the organiser, pamphleteering and fund-raising.

In the 1988 by-election, Nasson trounced his opponent, Eddie Langeveld of the opposition United Democratic Party, by what he recalled was a majority of more than 4 500. He said Langeveld had almost

lost his deposit. Nasson said that almost all the LP's branches and regions had similar courses provided for them, and that "as far as he knew", the party had paid for AEC's services.

Sources say the LP was in no position to do so, and in fact approached AEC to raise funds for it while the training was under way.

Halfway through the interview, Nasson, a former teacher, suddenly insisted that he was incorrect in saying AEC ran the courses — information he had earlier volunteered without any prompting.

"It was some other organisation ... I can't remember the name. It was definitely not Adult Education Consultants." He then asked whether *The Weekly Mail* had published articles about AEC placing the organisation "in a negative light".

Nasson said he said he had never met AEC's Pasques. "All I know is that Dr Pasques once addressed a national executive committee meeting of the Labour Party."

Asked whether he believed the course had affected the outcome of the election, Nasson said: "I don't think so — we couldn't use many of their strategies. They were of an American style..."

He could not remember which aspects of the training had proved unsuitable.



Allan Hendrickse

# US govt warns Mandela over Gaddafi links

STAR 8/2/92

GARNER THOMSON  
and  
RICHARD DOWDEN



LONDON — The United States has warned Nelson Mandela that his stated support for Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi is unacceptable and that the ANC president's "special status" will not in future protect him from the consequences of such statements.

And Mr Mandela, on a visit here, yesterday urged British Prime Minister John Major to oppose President de Klerk's plan to give white South Africans a veto over any constitutional agreement between the government, the ANC and other par-

GADDAFI: Loyal during Mandela's term in jail.

ties.

Washington's warning was conveyed to Mr Mandela by US Ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, according to

● TO PAGE 2.

## Mandela (IA)

● FROM PAGE 1.

the fortnightly news journal Africa Confidential.

It was echoed by Britain's Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker during her recent 36-hour visit to Cape Town.

Shortly before the ANC leader's refuelling stopover in Tripoli — made against the advice of ANC foreign affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki, according to Africa Confidential — the US, UK and France had sponsored a unanimous resolution by the UN Security Council demanding that Libya surrender the two agents allegedly responsible for the Lockerbie plane bombing.

Mr Mandela's statement in Libya was seen abroad as all but endorsing Libya's compromise proposal aimed at forestalling mandatory UN sanctions if the two agents are not handed over.

Africa Confidential also reported that Mr Mandela was "fortunate" that he failed in his attempt to reach US President George Bush by telephone from Morocco shortly after making the statement.

A senior diplomat said that if the call — blocked by Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa — had gone through, "irreparable damage"

would have been done to the ANC cause in Washington.

Africa Confidential attributes Mr Mandela's continuing support for Colonel Gaddafi to the Libyan leader's loyalty and support during Mr Mandela's 27 years in jail — and also to an estimated \$5 million (R14 million) Libyan donation to the ANC.

Yesterday Mr Mandela spent about an hour with British Prime Minister John Major as part of a "courtesy visit" to Britain.

The exchange was said by No 10 Downing Street to have been very friendly.

Mr Mandela is believed to have asked Mr Major to exert diplomatic pressure on Mr de Klerk to abandon the present plan for arriving at a new constitution and to obtain the support of a broader constituency in South Africa.

The announcement of a separate referendum for whites, which would give them a veto over any final agreement, emerged during briefings given to journalists after the opening of Parliament last month.

Last Saturday in London, Mr de Klerk told Mr Major that he had committed himself to the referendum.

He said he was confident that he could persuade a majority of whites to vote for the type of settlement he would negotiate.

2/12/92  
STAR 8/2/92

# Can Solidarity Front

SCUTTLE Codesa?

**C**ODESA's five working groups this week started putting together the first nuts and bolts of a new South Africa, while Azapo braced itself to launch a counter movement.

The five working groups knuckled down to discuss these issues, among others:

- Creating a climate for free political participation;
- Deciding on the role of the international community in the transition;
- Identifying and formulating constitutional principles; and deciding on a constitution-making body and process;
- Transitional arrangements;
- The future of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; and
- A time frame for the imple-

mentation of Codesa's decisions.

While the 20 delegates representing 19 organisations were getting down to fleshing out the main tasks of the new constitution-making body, Azapo announced this week that it would launch another political bloc aimed at aborting Codesa.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was reluctant to disclose the launch date of this new movement - dubbed the Solidarity Front - and would not list its constituent organisations.

While Codesa is steamrolling ahead and most of its participants are a picture of confidence, threats by Azapo, the PAC and their allies to scuttle Codesa are dismissed as nothing

more than rhetoric.

Codesa, endorsed by numerous international bodies including the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth, is regarded in some circles as the only game in town.

In the light of this international support one must ask whether those opposed to Codesa are indeed serious when they claim they can launch an effective opposition.

Put another way, what are the chances of Azapo, the PAC and company of wrecking Codesa?

Commentators who are talking about Azapo, the PAC and others outside Codesa going the way of the dodo if they don't take part in this forum, are a

little bit premature.

Talk that non-participation in Codesa is going against the tide of mainstream South African politics is also flawed.

Codesa is indeed representative of a large constituency of South Africans.

But, apart from the ANC, Inkatha and the National Party, can the other 16 participants be regarded as representing the mainstream of our politics?

The Democratic Party, which could rightly claim to represent a certain constituency (liberal policies), has dwindling support among whites, most of whom have embraced the new-look NP.

Most of the homeland political parties and those from the houses of Delegates (Indian

and Representatives (coloured)) participating in Codesa, are discredited institutions.

The legitimacy of Lucas Mangope's rule in Bophuthatswana is questionable, while the leaders of the other three independent homelands, of Ciskei, Transkei and Venda came to power through military coups.

Reducing Codesa to its essentials, it is nothing more than a two-man show between the government and the ANC - and to some extent Inkatha.

Kenneth Mopeli of the QwaQwa homeland whose party, Dikwankwetla, is in Codesa, acknowledged this a few weeks ago.

Despite Codesa being dominated by the NP, ANC and Inkatha, can Azapo's envisaged

Solidarity Front muster enough support in the black community to pose a challenge to Codesa?

Azapo's numeric strength is not known at the moment. Nefolovhodwe says that at the time of the organisation's banning five years ago, their card-carrying membership stood between 150 000 to 200 000.

He admits that the exact size is not known at the moment.

The PAC is also expected to be part of the Front. Though probably slightly bigger than Azapo, its strength is not known.

There are also several smaller groups like the Trotskyite Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the Unity Movement, trade union federation Nactu and several inde-

pendent trade unions.

Collectively the strength of these bodies is not known but it would take a stretch of the imagination to believe the Front could pose a serious threat to Codesa in terms of numbers.

Nefolovhodwe admitted as much when he said if Azapo and the PAC contested elections in the present format of Codesa, there was no doubt the ANC would win such elections.

When the ANC and PAC held protest rallies at the same time during the recent opening of parliament in Cape Town, the ANC rally attracted far more supporters. The PAC certainly lost that show of strength.

How the PAC and Azapo hope to render Codesa unworkable is difficult to fathom. It

would also be interesting to see whether the Front - composed of "all anti Codesa and non-collaborationist forces" as Nefolovhodwe describes it - will get off the ground.

Will it not suffer the same fate as the Patriotic Front launched last year between the PAC and ANC?

For the Front to make real headway, Codesa will have to be a monumental failure.

If Codesa delivers the goods and people see it to be doing so, the Front's plans may be short-circuited.

But if Codesa is a disguised way of maintaining the present order with credible blacks co-opted into it as Nefolovhodwe sees it, then a new ball game will begin.

CIPREN 9/2/92

2044 11A



# Now Labour will look to ANC

By CHIARA CARTER

11A

THE Labour Party is likely to pursue a closer relationship with extra-parliamentary groups, notably the ANC following its ousting from dominance in the House of Representatives this week.

Labour Party leader Rev Alan Hendrickse dismissed speculation that Labour was now a marginal grouping. He said the party had never seen its future in the tricameral system which had merely been an "alternative approach".

After hanging on with a tiny majority since a mass defection by Labour MPs to the Nationalist Party last year, the Labour Party was toppled last Friday in a no-confidence motion which was the subject of the incidents who now hold the balance of power in the house.

President De Klerk refused a request from the Labour Party for a general election and instead appointed a new Minister's Council consisting of NP supporters.

Hendrickse says while the Labour Party will remain in parliament, it sees its future as lying beyond parliament.

He said the Labour Party was in "close communication" with the ANC and could play a crucial role in winning the support of an estimated three mil-



**AFTER THE PUTSCH ... Allan Hendrickse is down, but not out.**

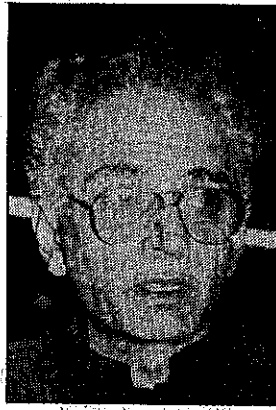
lion coloured voters.

The party will focus closely on Codesa, where it is represented on all five working groups as well as on Codesa's management committee.

He angrily hit out at De Klerk's "duplicité".

"The NP is losing support among whites; now it emphasises our common religion, culture and language. The Nationalists are looking at coloured voters to prop up its position."

## Desai on 'sick leave' <sup>(11A)</sup>



**BARNEY DESAI**

THE PAC has moved to counter speculation that publicity secretary Barney Desai had been sidelined by hardliners in the national executive.

A PAC statement said Desai had received a unanimous vote of confidence at an NEC meeting in Broederstroom last weekend.

During that meeting, he was granted two months' leave due to sickness. *CIPRO 9/2/92*

The statement apparently led to speculation that Desai - said by some observers to be "pro-Codesa" along with PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke - had been sidelined.

There was no difference between the views on negotiations held by Desai or Moseneke and that of any other member of the NEC, said the statement. - Sapa

## Free prisoners, ANC told

*9/2/92*  
ABOUT 150 demonstrators marched through Durban's city centre yesterday to demand the release of remaining prisoners in ANC "concentration camps".

The march was led by Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee for Peace and Justice in South Africa, who delivered a speech at the Durban City Hall before handing a list of demands, addressed to the State President, to a policeman. *JIA*

Hlongwane said he was demanding a public apology from the ANC for its "unfounded and untrue allegations against me and others". - Sapa *(S)*

## **ANC slams pullout of white teachers**

THE ANC welcomes progress made by the Goldstone Commission and believes it important that the commission not be hampered. (11A)

In a statement this week, the ANC urged members of the security forces and other "implicated structures" to give evidence.

The ANC also slammed attacks on white teachers in Katlehong and the DET's decision to withdraw white teachers from that area. (S)

It also criticised a government statement that white teachers in Model C schools would be financially compensated if they did not want to teach in all-race schools. (S)

clp-res 9/2/92

# Get involved, Mandela tells Britain's Major

ANC president Nelson Mandela told British Prime Minister John Major on Friday he wanted Britain and other Western nations to get involved in his country's peace process.

Mandela said they had discussed foreign investment in South Africa and its return to international sporting competition.



**NELSON MANDELA**

"We consider it important that the Western powers, and in particular Britain, should be involved in the peace process that is going on in our country," the ANC president told reporters. He gave no further details of their discussions.

Major said only that the talks were "very successful" and that they had discussed the peace process.

A British official said the Major-Mandela talks were part of a continuing

dialogue and close relationship between the two men, who held talks last year in London and at a Commonwealth summit in Harare.

He said they talked about prospects for constitutional changes and a timetable for reform.

Mandela, who returns home on Friday, deflected reporters' questions about apparent differences within the ANC over economic policy, saying it was a complicated issue. — Sapa-Reuter

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

## Loans:ANC speaks

THE ANC said yesterday it accepted that any future government had an obligation to repay foreign loans made to the present administration. (S) (IA)

However, and as general policy, the next government could re-negotiate the repayment of foreign loans. Sweta 16/2/92 (S)

In a statement, the ANC denied suggestions that discrepancies existed between the organisation and its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The statement followed Mandela's assurances to investors in Europe last week which were said to be in conflict with remarks made on debt repayment by the movement's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

"The articles create an impression that the ANC secretary-general issued a statement on the loans issue in relation to the Development Bank of Southern Africa to raise funds in international capital markets.

# Will of nation the key to democracy

Sowetan 10/2/92

~~(S)~~ (IA) ~~(S)~~

**A FUTURE democratic system in South Africa would face serious challenges were there no reconciliation, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.**

Speaking in Florida in the United States, Buthelezi said there was no national will in South Africa yet for democracy to work.

"Reconciliation between the centre and the right must be balanced with reconciliation between the centre and the left," he said.

Reconciliation was crucial to drawing up a good constitution, developing a national will to make it work and to keep democracy functioning, he said.

Referring to the uneasy relationship between the IFP and the African National Congress, Buthelezi said reconciliation was needed at grassroots level to end the feuding.

He again demanded the disbanding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"There can be no normalisation of relationships between the IFP and the ANC unless the ANC does the politically honourable thing now of disbanding its private army and putting itself at the mercy of constituency politics and the opinions that will prevail in a future election.

"There is a desperate need for reconciliation at black grassroots levels before we can even begin seriously tackling the curbing of violence and the reconciliation between black and white," he said.

Buthelezi made it clear that white rightwing extremists posed a greater danger to a future democracy.

While "we cannot be held to ransom by fear which has no basis in fact" he urged the provision of "every possible protection of individual and group rights that is commensurate with democratic principles".

"It is the size and vehemence of the white backlash that is the consideration," he said. - Sapa.

# Mandela told of embassy's concern

11A  
STAR 10/2/92

The US embassy in Pretoria indicated yesterday that it had expressed concern to Nelson Mandela over his support for Libya's refusal to hand over suspects in the 1988 Lockerbie airliner bombing.

An embassy spokesman said Ambassador William Swing brought up the matter of the Pan-Am airliner bombing during one of a regular series of meetings with the ANC president.

Mr Mandela criticised the UN last month for ordering Libya to hand over two men indicted for the bombing.

Mr Mandela said in a statement telephoned to US officials in Washington from Tripoli, where he was on a visit, that any trial should be held at the International Court of Justice in The Hague or in a neutral country to avoid embarrassing Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

The spokesman said he could not fully confirm a Johannesburg newspaper report that Mr Swing had warned Mr Mandela his support for Colonel Gaddafi was unacceptable and his status as an anti-apartheid figurehead would not protect him from the unspecified consequences of any such future statements. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Codesa's test has begun

Codesa is now getting into full swing. IKE MOTSAPI covered last week's sessions and found that strong differences were already emerging on some issues.

*Handwritten notes:* (CIA) (#) Sowplan 10/2/92

LAST Thursday afternoon Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Provincial Affairs and Housing said: "There is a lot of mistrust among delegates at Codesa and this creates a lot of tension."

Wessels added: "What we have to do here is remove this and work towards the establishment of a new country."

His words could hardly have been more apt, for serious differences between the participants are beginning to emerge as this assembly now gets down to the real work.

Today and tomorrow some working groups of Codesa meet at the World Trade Centre to continue the negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party rejects an interim government, which the ANC and Government hoped would be in place before the end of the year. There are other disagreements on various issues.

Some of the delegates spoke to us on condition they are not quoted as a ban had been placed on individuals not to make known to the Press what was being discussed.

## Opposition

Firstly, delegates could not agree on the holding of elections for a transitional government.

While the ANC and the Government are in agreement on the issue, serious opposition came from other delegates.

The IFP also says such a move will be revolutionary.

The Democratic Party's Dr Dennis Worrall says: "We are surprised that the Government has now announced that it was going to hold elections for such a temporary authority.

"We at the DP have not as yet discussed the formation of a new Government."

*Other parties, in addition to the DP and*

agree to the ANC's demand of elections for a transitional government without consulting other participants?

Inkatha has now attacked the Government by saying: "The foundations for the future multiparty democratic order need to be carefully laid down and sufficient time should be allowed for reconciliation.

"The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there.

"The current Parliament is the only legal authority capable of changing the current constitutional dispensation. Any other approach would in effect be revolutionary.

"The IFP's position and proposal in short is that it is willing in principle to the establishment of a government of transition for two reasons.

"First, it is important that the transitional authority be established without delay to create an all-inclusive constitutional forum or negotiating body with a much wider representation than is present at Codesa.

"Secondly because the IFP strongly believes that no major changes should be made to the present constitution without at the same time dealing comprehensively with the question of a future regional structure."

The IFP also insists that King of the Zulus Goodwill Zwelethini be allowed to take his place at Codesa.

There is strong opposition from Transkei and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa regarding the move.

They maintain that if he is allowed to take part they will be forced to bring chiefs as well.

This move was backed by the ANC which said traditional chiefs have a role to play in the future of the country.



LEON WESSELS... to build a new country.

*Quoted text:* "The new South Africa must be responsibly and well governed into existence and the IFP will strenuously resist any suggestion that there be constitutional leaps in the dark trying to get there."

IPF, also do not want this to happen. For some it will mean the end of the road for they are not likely to gain a single seat in the proposed structure if elections are held.

Worrall said he was also shocked because members of the public have not been given a chance to submit their recommendations on the type of Government they want in the new South Africa.

"I think this would be the right step in the right direction," he said.

Many of the smaller groups fear they are being used by the ANC and Government, a claim made by the PAC, and denied by the ANC and Government, when it pulled out of Codesa.

These organisations say they are always asked to "rubber-stamp" agreements reached between the ANC and the Government.

Why, they ask, should the Government

## Ethnicity

Further support came from Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, who said ethnicity was going to play an important role in the shaping of a new constitution.

Input by members of the public are vital when drafting a new constitution.

On the question of the homelands, Bophuthatswana said it wanted to remain independent while Ciskei said it would join the new government once it was in power. The rest committed themselves to being reincorporated into South Africa.

Bophuthatswana, like the NPP, Inkatha and DP favour a federal government. The Government also supports this idea while the ANC, the PAC, Azapo and other black organisations demand a one-man one-vote majority rule government.

# Ex-ANC members march

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A call for the dismantling of the African National Congress armed wing, uMkhonto weSizwe and the release of remaining prisoners in ANC "concentration camps" were some of the demands made by about 150 demonstrators who marched through Durban's city centre at the weekend. (11A) CT 10/2/92

The demonstration was organised by the Returned Exiles' Committee for Peace and Justice in SA and led by its chairman, Mr Pat Hlongwane. The committee also called for an indepen-

dent inquiry into alleged atrocities carried out in these camps.

Mr Hlongwane said that the main aim of Saturday's protest was to call on President F W de Klerk to push for a commission of inquiry by the international community into the plight of former ANC members who were killed or tortured in exile.

The committee comprised over 250 former ANC members, most of whom had been held in jails in Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique and Uganda's Quatro camp for allegedly being "agents of the regime".

# ANC women held at launch

Sowetan 10/2/92

MORE than 100 ANC Women's League members were arrested on Saturday by Bophuthatswana police when the league tried to launch a branch at Stinkwater near Pretoria.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the police, in 10 Casspirs and private cars, arrived at Mokone Hall in Stinkwater and confiscated books, flags and ANC membership cards.

The women were taken to the Temba Police Station.

The head of the ANC PWV's legal department has been instructed to take the matter to court.

"It is our view that no climate of free political activity exists in Bophuthatswana and in fact ANC activities in particular are completely banned," Mamoepa said.

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana police confirmed yesterday that "a large number of people had been arrested". He said they had all been released. He had no knowledge of confiscated items. - Sapa.

# More proposals on transition to be thrashed out

STAR 10/2/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The Codesa working group on transitional arrangements will tomorrow continue thrashing out the 19 groups' proposals for the road from apartheid to an interim government.

The five working groups meet tomorrow at the World Trade Centre for the third time.

It is understood that time allowed for only some of the groups to make their submissions at Thursday's meeting. The other groups will put their proposals tomorrow.

The Inkatha Freedom Party transitional proposals appear to fly in the face of both ANC and Government options.

And, with the acceleration during the last few weeks of ANC and Government timetables for the transitional period, they appear to have been pulled back by the IFP proposal that the interim period last until the expiry of the existing Parliament's life in 1994.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela last week expressed optimism that a transitional government could be in place within between six and 18 months.

The main difference between

the three sets of proposals is that the IFP wants the existing Parliament to govern during the transitional period with a multiparty Cabinet.

In terms of the IFP proposals, the IFP wants a transitional government of reconciliation, constituted under the State President and responsible to the existing Parliament under the existing constitution, which should be amended to repeal own and general affairs legislation. It proposes an all-inclusive multiparty Cabinet in which extra-parliamentary groups and self-governing states are represented.

Political observers have expressed surprise at this aspect of the IFP proposals as the extra-parliamentary groups, which include the IFP and ANC, would be excluded from Parliament but would be included in the Cabinet, and most IFP supporters are disfranchised.

In terms of the IFP plan, Codesa's last meeting should compile a document comprising general constitutional principles. This would be put to a referendum, and a constitution-drafting commission would be established to draw up a new constitution.

An interesting spin-off of the IFP proposals is that it retains the structural role of the Con-

servative Party in Parliament.

The ANC's foresees Codesa agreeing on constitutional principles, Parliament dissolving itself, a nominated interim government being appointed to oversee elections for a constituent assembly, and an elected constituent assembly compiling the new constitution.

The IFP has rejected an elected constituent assembly because South Africa did not have a democratic culture which would render elections free from intimidation.

Other objections were that it would effectively exclude minority parties from a meaningful say in the constitution-making process and it would place such a process in a constitutional vacuum.

The Government, on the other hand, proposes Codesa agreeing on a transitional government package which would be put to a referendum in which the white vote would be counted separately. Should the measures be approved, Parliament would pass legislation to dissolve itself, and elections would be held for a transitional government to compile a constitution.

The IFP has rejected these proposals because it envisaged the holding of elections or referendums under an interim constitution on the way to the final constitution.

# ANC 'won't buy' Chiavelli mansions

Star 10/2/92  
By Michael Sparks (11A)

The ANC has said there is "no way" the organisation would consider buying two estates belonging to Dr Marino Chiavelli.

Spokesman Gill Marcus was reacting to reports in a Sunday newspaper that Adelaide Tambo, wife of the organisation's life president Oliver Tambo, had been sent a prospectus for Summer Place in Sandton and his Cape Town residence Villa Chia-Mar.

The newspaper report said the prospectus was sent with the suggestion that the Mandelas might be interested in buying the two properties. The asking price for the Sandton residence is R67 million and the Cape Town mansion R27 million.

Ms Marcus said: "there is no way the organisation would consider buying properties like that. It is just his own advertising ..."

She described the properties as "a millionaire's extravaganza", emphasising that, "the ANC is a political organisation which reacts responsibly with the money it has in order to build up the organisation".

She added she was not aware that any proposals had been sent to the organisation. They might have been sent directly to Mrs Tambo, she said.

Mrs Tambo also reportedly said the Mandelas were not likely to be interested in the properties, nor would the organisation have the kind of money necessary to purchase the properties.

STAR 11/2/92

# PAC to hold rally

PIETERSBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress will hold a rally on Saturday at which key figures are expected to outline its programme to attack Codesa and its ability to usher in a democratic future.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu would lead the string of activists to deliver addresses to the rally in the northern Transvaal village of Tafelkop in Sekhukhune-land, spokesman Charles Kgopa said.

"This programme is part of the PAC campaign of rendering Codesa unworkable," he said in a statement.

The campaign has already strained relations between the PAC and the US, which has threatened to marginalise the movement in an attempt to push it into the ne-

gotiations process. (11A)

The PAC briefly attended the first important talks in December on charting a new democratic path for South Africa, but walked out after accusing its partner in the Patriotic Front — the ANC — of colluding with the Government.

In recent days, reports have said the PAC has almost been split into two camps — one supporting participation in Codesa and another radical wing pushing for militancy.

The movement has denied rumours that spokesman Barney Desai was sidelined for encouraging the PAC's participation in Codesa. Mr Desai had apparently asked for leave on account of his health, reports said. — Sapa.

# PAC aims to save money <sup>(117) CT 11/2/92</sup>

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC military wing yesterday implied that its slogan "one settler, one bullet" was part of an economy drive.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) said the slogan was adopted to guard against wasting bullets.

Apla's latest newsletter, Azania Combat, published in Dar es Salaam, carries a stern warning against misusing the slogan. In

an article headlined "Apla warns slogan abusers", news editor Mr Miendlos Kheswa quotes Apla spokesman "Comrade" Jonny Majozi as saying that "one settler, one bullet" was being used out of context.

"Comrade Majozi said (the) slogan was meant to encourage the Apla combatants on the ground not to be wasteful with resources because the resources are costly and difficult to come by." Slogans like "one settler, one bullet" and "high mo-

rale, high discipline" had to be used to mobilise and galvanise the oppressed masses to the struggle and not to satisfy egos of misdirected individuals.

Mr Majozi is reported to be "infuriated" by Apla's slogans being used out of context.

"The slogans are being used to maintain both the theoretical and practical aspects of our struggle. No individuals or group of people are allowed to vulgarise them," Mr Majozi is quoted as saying.

# Slogan aims to save bullets, says PAC wing

8/10/92 11/2/92  
THE PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), says the slogan "one settler, one bullet" was adopted to guard against wasting bullets.

Apla's latest newsletter, Azania Combat, published in Dar es Salaam, carries a stern warning against misusing the slogan. In an article headlined "Apla warns slogan abusers", news editor Miendlos Kheswa quotes Apla spokesman "Comrade" Jonny Majozi as saying that "one settler, one bullet" is being used out of context.

"Comrade Majozi said (the) slogan was meant to encourage the Apla combatants

PATRICK BULGER

on the ground not to be wasteful with resources because the resources are costly and difficult to come by. Slogans like "one settler, one bullet" and "high morale, high discipline" had to be used to mobilise and galvanise the oppressed masses to the struggle and not to wage or satisfy egos of misdirected individuals."

Majozi is reported to be "infuriated" by Apla's slogans being used out of context.

"Comrade Majozi said people had to understand the circumstances behind the

adoption of a slogan. He said before any slogan was adopted by the army, the army leadership sat down and viewed (its) relevance," Azania Combat says.

"The slogans are being used to maintain both the theoretical and practical aspects of our struggle. No individuals or group of people are allowed to vulgarise them," Majozi is quoted as saying.

Azania Combat also hits out at the SA government for allowing whites legally to possess, as it claims, 27 weapons each. It warns that Apla is engaged in a "massive" programme to train fighters in SA.



# Azapo's call to ANC

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on the African National Congress and its allies to pull out of Codesa in protest against the assassinations of ANC and IFP leaders in Natal.

IFP leader Mr Winnington Sabelo, and ANC Natal Midlands executive, Mr Skhumbuzo Ngwenya, were killed at the

weekend.

*Sowetan 11/2/92*  
Azapo said the spate of violence was part of a well-orchestrated plan hatched by Pretoria to escalate the destabilisation of black communities. (IPA) ~~11/2/92~~

"Azapo has warned time and time again that political organisations will reap what they sow," Azapo said.

## Codesa consensus on most issues

# New ANC flexibility on interim rule

11A  
B/day 12/2/92

THE ANC has submitted flexible proposals on an interim government to Codesa which yesterday achieved an unprecedented degree of consensus on a range of issues.

One leading delegate speculated that so much progress had been made by the Codesa working groups that it was conceivable that Codesa negotiations could be completed within six weeks.

The ANC's document, presented at working group 3, states that an interim government is not an end in itself and the organisation will give serious consideration to any structure which will achieve the aims of an interim government.

ANC delegates said they saw a way to consensus on interim arrangements.

The document says the main task of an interim government will be to ensure free and fair elections and that government is conducted in the interim in a way that does not favour any party.

Meanwhile, working group 2, which is concerned with constitutional principles, has drawn up a checklist of items on which agreement has been achieved and on which there is now no need for discussion. About half the principles had been agreed on already, although several sticking points, such as the future of regional government, economic issues and minority rights, still needed to be resolved, delegates said.

Government also made a presentation to the interim government working group, which outlines the principles which should be applied, but does not specify the exact mechanism which should be implemented.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said

TIM COHEN

prerequisites for the creation of a successful transitional mechanism were that it should be fully representative, legitimate and that constitutional and legal instruments should be respected.

He also argued for a devolution and sharing of power and a mechanism which would involve minorities and be subject to an initial bill of rights.

The ANC proposes what amounts to a two-stage interim government, with the first structure being appointed by Codesa and the possibility of a second being elected simultaneously with the elections for a constituent assembly.

The possibility of an elected second stage interim government is a significant convergence with government's position, which calls for an elected interim government. This version is also very close to the DP's and Inkatha's proposals.

The ANC document says an interim government council should be appointed by Codesa to supervise existing administration. This council would be vested with legislative and executive powers to be exercised subject to Codesa.

"No contentious legislation should be enacted, and no contentious executive actions should be taken during this period. We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the document says.

Once elections had taken place for a constituent assembly, two possibilities could be considered: either the interim

□ To Page 2

## Interim rule

11A  
B/day 12/2/92

government council would continue, or the constituent assembly could be vested with sovereign powers.

The document emphasises that the main function of the assembly — to adopt a new constitution — should be kept separate.

"There is possibly a way in which our proposals and those of some of the parties ... can be brought together ..."

Sapa reports the ANC's constitutional principles propose a united, multiparty state acknowledging the diversity of languages, cultures and religions.

The document says there should be multiparty democracy with the right to form political parties, and regular elections on

the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters' roll. Each vote should have equal value and there should be proportional representation.

"There shall be a separation of power with appropriate checks and balances," the document says. The constitution should also allow affirmative action.

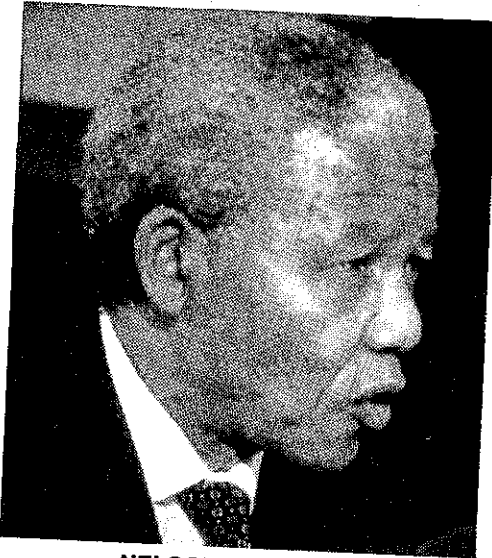
"Within the context of an undivided SA, government will function at national, regional and local levels; the appropriate division and decentralisation shall encourage nonracial, democratic participation and administration at all levels."

● See Page 3

□ From Page 1

# ANC would win election - survey

Sowetan 12/2/92



NELSON MANDELA

THE ANC would win a general election in South Africa if it were held now, according to the results of a nationwide survey completed late last year.

The ruling National Party, under present leader President FW de Klerk, would come in a close second, and the Inkatha Freedom Party could count on three percent of the total vote in South Africa.

The results of the survey were released in Cape Town by the Human Sciences Research Council yesterday, but the figures are tentative and incomplete by any standards.

Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and Ciskei were excluded, as was rural South Africa where there are at least 10 million people.

Commenting on the findings Dr Laurie Schlemmer, an adviser at the HSRC yesterday said that were the survey extended to the rural areas - and the council intends to do so later this year - the results could be adjusted.

The ANC would, however, hold on to the overall lead, with De Klerk still in second place.

But, he contends, the support in rural areas for

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

the IFP would settle at no more than 15 percent.

The general manager of the HSRC, Mr Johann Mouton, said the survey "did not find significant support for the PAC, Azapo and Inkatha".

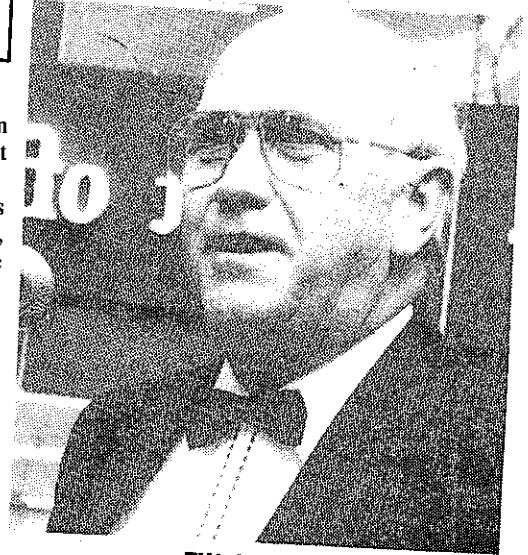
Most of the PAC and Azapo's following was concentrated in the Northern Transvaal, Schlemmer said. After a survey here, the picture would become "more complex" he said.

The findings are based on 2 000 personal interviews held during October and November last year - a two percent margin of error is expected.

Forty-two percent of all South Africans supported ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, and 27 percent De Klerk.

Black people's support for Mandela is 65 percent, with De Klerk totalling nine and Buthelezi three percent.

Among whites, De Klerk is still a favourite.



FW de KLERK

# ANC olive branch to Govt

STAR 12/1/92

11A

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

What delegates called "nitty-gritty" negotiations got under way at Codesa yesterday with the ANC offering an olive branch to the Government on the fraught question of interim rule.

This marked convergence between the major players came as four of the five Codesa working groups assembled at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The ANC released detailed proposals for an interim government which showed important signs of flexibility and convergence with the Government's approach.

A transitional government "package" is the most urgent task facing Codesa, as the negotiations process cannot move forward substantially without agreement on this.

In its proposals the ANC said it was prepared to consider the idea that an elected constituent assembly could perform as a legislature during the interim period. Previously the ANC favoured an

## Convergence between major Codesa players on interim rule

appointed interim structure, ruling by decree.

Insistence on an elected rather than appointed transitional legislature is a key element in the Government's proposals.

There is room for compromise between the two sides as the Government now accepts the need for an elected

body to draw up the new constitution.

However, the ANC's favoured scenario would involve an "interim government council", appointed by Codesa, which would administer key aspects of government in the interim period. Crucially, the council would also supervise elec-

tions for the constituent assembly.

The ANC said its proposed interim government council should co-ordinate and supervise the existing Government administrations and should be vested with legislative and executive functions to be exercised in accordance with procedures

and structures to be determined by Codesa.

"The interim government should have legal form, which means that the structures and powers of the interim government must be defined in legislation, and that where necessary, amendments should be made to the existing constitution," the ANC proposals.

It proposed that no contentious legislation should be enacted and no contentious executive action taken during the period of transition.

In his submission, Mr Slovo yesterday said "defined powers" should be devolved to regional entities. However, these regions would not have the right to separate from a united South Africa. The SACP envisaged such "entities" being defined in terms of geographic and economic considerations.

Government sources said that although Mr Slovo had proposed only limited devolved powers for regions, they felt it was important that he had accepted the principle of devolution.

● From Page 1

Parliament and other apartheid legislatures.

Some delegates told The Star they also detected convergence on the controversial question of federalism in yesterday's meeting of Working Group 2 on constitutional principles.

They said SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had appeared to soften opposition to the idea of considerable powers being devolved from the central government to regional governments. Substantive devolution of power is a key demand of groups like the IFP and the Democratic Party.

Previously, the position of the ANC/SACP alliance had been that powers devolved to regions should be severely curtailed.

● To Page 3

"We see it as a period during which there should be government by consensus or substantial consensus," the ANC said. The interim government would fall away as soon as a new government was installed in terms of the new constitution.

During the transition phase, all apartheid structures should be removed. This was why the proposals were linked to the incorporation of the homelands, and an end to the tricerat

In spite of the progress made yesterday, it was clear that much hard bargaining lies ahead on many contentious issues. Among the more obvious areas of difference which emerged were the merits and demerits of affirmative action, the question of whether power-sharing should be entrenched in the constitution, and who should supervise elections for a constituent assembly or interim legislature.

The steps to a final new government envisaged in the ANC's interim government proposals are:

### Supervision

- Codesa agrees on an interim government council to be the supreme executive during the transition and agrees on legislative and executive functions.
- Parliament changes the present constitution accordingly.
- The interim government council takes over the co-ordination and supervision of existing Government departments — at least the security forces, the public media and the Budget.
- Its main function is to supervise elections for a constituent assembly.

After such elections, the ANC proposes two possibilities. Either the interim government council continues to run the country until the con-

stituent assembly has completed its work and a new parliament is in place, or the constituent assembly is vested with sovereign powers so that it functions both as a constituent assembly or as an interim legislature until the new constituent

The ANC said it was still considering the implications of the suggestion that the constituent assembly be vested with sovereign powers, and did not yet have a firm position on the issue. This was the most important area of convergence between the ANC and the Government's interim proposals. "There is possibly a way in which our proposals and those of some of the parties who have already stated their positions can be brought together so as to meet the purposes that we have identified as the essential purposes of an interim government," the ANC said.

"We are willing to explore such possibilities."

In a subcommittee of the working group on the creation of a climate for free political activity, the ANC said bilateral

discussions between itself and the Government on political prisoners had been unsuccessful. The political prisoner issue should therefore be referred to Codesa, the ANC proposed.

GOVT

# Botswana adapts to harder times

STAR 10/2/92

12

GABORONE — After more than two decades of substantial growth, Botswana's economy is having to adapt to harder times.

The diamond boom that boosted growth is levelling out, efforts to encourage development of the non-mineral sectors of the economy face formidable hurdles, and unemployment is rising.

Judged by yardsticks applied to the rest of the continent, Botswana continues to thrive.

After 25 years of independence, the country remains a stable multi-party democracy, with a hard currency and GDP growth over the past two years of about 7 percent.

But this figure is less striking when compared with the 13,5 percent rate in 1988-89, and the nearly 16 percent annual average achieved between 1968 and 1978.

Diamond revenue, making up nearly 50 percent of GDP and about 80 percent of export earnings, may have reached a plateau. Low prices are expected

to offset the recent expansion of Jwaneng diamond mine.

Any growth in revenue from diamonds in the medium term will have to come from increased values rather than increased volumes as in the past, says Minister of Finance Festus Mogae.

The dominance of diamonds will be reduced when the \$490 million Sua Pan soda ash plant, opened last year, reaches its capacity of 300 000 tons of soda ash and 650 000 tons of salt annually.

But this will not be until the mid-90s, and most of the export receipts in the intervening years will be used to repay loans.

Meanwhile, the country's 1,3 million population is growing at 3,5 percent a year, producing 25 000 new job-seekers a year.

Thriving Botswana will not be able to sustain past rates of economic growth as the diamond boom levels out, says a recent national development plan which also calls for a belt-tightening strategy.

Agricultural potential is limited in a country that is largely arid, while there are increasing environmental problems caused in part by the country's 2,6 million cattle.

Hence the warning in the National Development Plan for 1991-97 that the past rate of economic development cannot be sustained.

Accumulated reserves, which reached \$3,3 billion in mid-1991, the equivalent of about two years' imports, will cushion the belt-tightening strategy outlined in the plan, the seventh since independence in 1966.

Nevertheless tougher times lie ahead.

What Mr Mogae calls a transition to more moderate and sustainable growth includes more than 40 percent in development spending in the second half of the plan period.

By reducing government spending on administration, nationalised industry and state authorities, which together employ well over a third of the workforce, Mr Mogae hopes to free enough funds to restore development spending to previous levels — but not until 1997, when the next development plan will be in place.

The impetus for growth in the coming years, say government officials, must come from the non-mineral private sector.

In an attempt to stimulate the sector, the government has provided incentives for would-be domestic and international investors in Botswana.

The Financial Assistance Policy (FAP) has been providing grants for new or expanding businesses since 1982, establishing more than 20 000 jobs.

The incentive package of-

ferred to foreign companies in the export-processing zone mining town of Selebi-Phikwe includes a grant covering half the costs of training citizens over the first five years.

It has so far attracted three textile companies, which have invested 10 million pula (\$5,43 million) and provided jobs for more than 1 600 people.

The scheme is expensive, with the Bank of Botswana estimating an eventual P18 million cost. But if it can survive competition from South Africa and boost non-mineral exports, it will be worth the price, say officials.

Past efforts in job creation, however, have a mixed record. Many of the smaller-scale projects using FAP resources have failed.

Officials running the programme blame general lack of business acumen, especially in the areas of finance and marketing. Financial Times.

# ANC to woo coloured voters

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

(11A) ANC 12/2/82

THE ANC admitted today it had not made significant inroads into the coloured community.

But spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the movement was giving "special attention" to the issue.

He was responding to a Human Sciences Research Council survey which indicated that 54 percent of coloured people would vote for the National Party and seven percent for the ANC.

He said the ANC believed it had substantially more support among coloureds than indicated by the poll.

"We have to concede that the ANC has not made as much progress in the coloured community as we would have liked. We conceded this at our regional conference last year. The or-

ganisation is giving special attention to this issue."

In a move which many saw as an attempt to woo coloured voters, Dr Allan Boesak was elected ANC chairman in the Western Cape.

But Mr Hofmeyr said: "It would be wrong to say Dr Boesak was elected to get the coloured vote. The majority of delegates voted for him because they thought he was the best person."

He said the ANC would like to study the sample methods used by the HSRC in its survey because "we have seen a number of HSRC polls which are not necessarily reliable."

"We believe there may be a substantial lie factor involved in HSRC polls, particularly in the coloured community where large numbers are not likely to express an opinion to a government-connected agency."

# PAC must know the First Shotters

(11A) REG 12/2/92

**S**O IT seems we have wronged the PAC by our interpretation of their "one settler, one bullet" slogan. Their intention, all this while, has not been to provoke the masses to massacre.

It has simply been to save money.

A newsletter from the organisation's military wing in Dar-es-Salaam yesterday made it all clear. A spokesman for the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) complained that the slogan had been "vulgarised" by the media, used out of context, and said military leaders were "infuriated".

Comrade Jonny Majozi explained that the call for "one settler, one bullet" was merely meant to encourage combatants on the ground not to be wasteful with their ammunition supplies.

There we have it then. The ANC has ditched its campaign to nationalise private industries. And the PAC is now going for cut-rate, economical slaughter.

South African politics get more pragmatic by the day.

It came to me, when I read the dateline Dar-es-Salaam, that the PAC's drive on munitions may not be entirely original; indeed, that it might have been inspired by an outfit I once ran into called the African First Shotters Club.

Club members, almost exclusively American, certainly used to have connections in Tanzania, as around other parts of Africa. They probably still do.

I first encountered the First Shotters in Gorongosa, Mozambique, before that once-glorious game reserve became the stronghold of bandits.

There were about 60 of them, including James Lovell — the astronaut who might have been the first man on the moon had his Apollo 13 not developed a fuel leak — a one-star general and the world's top taxidermist.

They arrived in a blaze of colour. Some, hard veterans of a thousand clay-pigeon shoots, chose the classic uniform of the White Bwana — khaki and combat boots.

Others, less sure of the terrain, had gone for those starkly-hued windcheaters which stand still as the biggest thing between American field sportsmen and genocide. But all wore their spirits high and their guns at the ready.

Yet bely the idea that this was just another bunch of trigger-happy hunters. Nothing could have been further from the truth. These First Shotters, as their title suggests, turned out to be dedicated to *conserving* ammunition.

It was soon made plain to me, however, by a sharpshoot-



er from Wisconsin, that cartridge costs *per se* were not the real issue.

"We believe," he said, with terrestrial feeling, "that game animals are subjected to an inordinate amount of suffering. Too often, the hunter fires just to bring the animal down. Then he kills it at his leisure.

"We go immediately for a vital spot. A guy doesn't have the skill to hit one of those vital spots, he should be back in the bowling alley."

By such humane behaviour, such errands of mercy, the club was able to leave Gorongosa with over a hundred trophies.

Not, though, before the members had shown their divers talents in what may loosely be described as a field tourney.

A succession of targets was set up on the Gorongosa airstrip. These the First Shotters proceeded to attack with bows and arrows, slingshots, throwing knives, plastic boomerangs and the kitchen sink.

Locals watched in awe as the missiles continued to rain on the bull's eyes for the best part of two hours, with varied accuracy.

James Lovell, for one, showed that without Werner von Braun's help his sense of direction could be strangely erratic.

Though he had bagged an impala and a zebra earlier that week (presumably with two single bullets) it took him five arrows to find the short target on the archery range.

He fared a little better with the slingshot, but never really came to terms with the aerodynamics of the boomerang and, overall, finished well down the field.

Still, the slack-jawed spaceman was prepared to be philosophical. "I guess the camera is my best weapon," he said goodnaturally.

As the tournament progressed, other skills were called

into question. One required the First Shotters to boil a billycan of water over an open fire — a chore which even the most experienced members seemed to regard with some trepidation.

Conveniently, at every site, a ranger was on hand with a cigarette lighter and a rip-saw to reduce the task to more manageable proportions.

On the last two days the club members undertook a general tour of the park, in buses with an open roof and elevated seats.

Then repartee sprayed like 20 gauge pellets as the First Shotters kidded one another back and forth.

The world's best taxidermist became an obvious butt for this banter, as more and more of his colleagues discovered what the clever thing is to say to a taxidermist.

But he bore it all with fortitude, remembering perhaps the hundred carcasses he would be called on to embalm in the cause of conserving the balance of Africa's nature.

In any event, it was all clean, college fun. And, when the First Shotters fell to exchanging anecdotes, these often proved to be as instructive as they were entertaining:

"Hear that ole hyena out there?" asked a senior member from Arkansas. "Y'all say it's laughing. I believe it's crying. Because them sorry critturs only mate once a year!"

There was much knee-slapping and dog-gonning when a First Shotter discovered that the Portuguese ranger on board the bus also happened to be an itinerant guitarist who could play "My Bonny" in all its many verses.

But the man struggled with the more alien chords of "Don't Fence Me In", and eventually became relegated to a seat in the back row. Until somebody asked him how to tell the difference between a male and a female zebra.

"Ah, it is easy, senhor," the ranger said. "Male zebras have an even number of stripes."

For the remainder of the bus ride the Gorongosa zebra became the most sought-after animal in the park and you could see the Americans concentrating so much that their lips moved.

If it is the genuine intention of the PAC (and the First Shotters, where they may yet exist) to expend less lead, both might well apply their minds to that old English proverb involving birds and stones.

Imagine: "Two settlers (impala, duikers, whatever), one bullet."

## ANC 'still has prisoners'

JOHANNESBURG. — A former prisoner of the ANC accused the group yesterday of holding scores of detainees in Tanzania.

"We know of 69 people in ANC detention in a camp called Dakwana," said Mr Patrick Dlongwana, chairman of the Returned Exiles Committee for Peace and Justice.

Mr Dlongwana arrived back in South Africa last August with 31 other former prisoners, who the ANC said at the time were the last of its detainees from camps in Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

Some of the prisoners said they had been tortured to extract confessions that they were South African government spies. — Sapa-Reuter

(11A) LT 13/2/92



# ANC 'may have shot own man'

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

STAR 13/2/92

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said there was a "good chance" that the ANC was responsible for the murder of ANC Midlands executive member and peace negotiator Skhumbuzo Ngwenya.

The shock allegation was made to The Star by Kim Hodgson, of the Inkatha Institute's violence monitoring unit.

Mr Ngwenya was shot dead in the parking lot of a Maritzburg hotel on Saturday, after meeting a group of visiting Americans in the restaurant.

The killing was linked, Mr Hodgson said, to a confrontation IFP sources say Mr Ngwenya had had with Natal SACP and

ANC leader Harry Gwala.

The "bitter exchange", Mr Hodgson said, was sparked by Mr Ngwenya's commitment to peaceful co-existence with Inkatha in Natal.

He said Mr Ngwenya had "engaged in an open display of criticism" of Mr Gwala at a meeting of the ANC in Imbali from December 14 to 16.

The criticism was said to revolve around funding and the "giving of positions to friends and relatives" by Mr Gwala.

"We feel there is a very good chance Mr Ngwenya was killed by a faction within the ANC. His death has nothing to do with the IFP," said Mr Hodgson.

Reacting to the allegation, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC "rejected with

contempt" the idea that it would shoot its own member in order to settle a difference — "if that is the way Inkatha settles differences".

He emphatically denied Inkatha's claim that Mr Gwala and Mr Ngwenya had clashed at the meeting and said it was an attempt to divide the ANC.

In a further accusation, Mr Hodgson said ANC supporters and "professional hitmen" from Umkhonto we Sizwe were responsible for the recent spate of killings and attempts on the lives of its leaders in Natal, including KwaZulu MP and peace negotiator Winnington Sabelo.

Mr Macozoma described as "ludicrous" the allegation that the ANC had a hit squad.

# Codesa progress, but tough battles ahead

STAR 13/2/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The Government is "harrowed" by the rate of progress on key issues at Codesa, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday — but he warned that tough bargaining still lay ahead.

Dr Delport, the Government's official spokesman on Codesa, was responding to reports that Tuesday's Codesa working group meetings had shown marked convergence between the ANC and the Government, particularly on the crucial issue of interim government.

He warned it was premature to assume that "all-embracing agreements on all issues" had been achieved.

Sources close to Codesa told The Star that the ANC's flexible stance on a constituent assembly — the organisation's proposals for interim government for the first time countenance the possibility that such an assembly might also act as a legislature — brought it closer to President de Klerk's own wish that deliberations on a constitution take place within a transitional government.

Sources also played down the fact that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on a United States lecture tour, made speeches critical of Codesa which seemed out of tune with the atmosphere of optimism within the Government and ANC.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks were "part of political powerplays and positioning between groups", the sources said, and were not directly related to de-

velopments at Codesa.

Chief Buthelezi had alleged "connivance" between the Government and the ANC, and had come out firmly against an elected interim government.

Dr Delport yesterday said the Government considered both the IFP and the ANC as important role-players in the negotiations process.

"The whole spirit of Codesa is to move away from confrontational politics, and it is therefore imperative that bilateral talks with various parties, including the IFP and the ANC, should continue as part of the process," he said.

"It is the duty of the Government to take initiatives to avoid confrontational politics and so facilitate the Codesa talks, where all parties will have to reach agreement on the important issues on the agenda," Dr Delport said.

NP may  
11A 20/11/82  
join ANC  
STAR 13/2/92  
march

The National Party, for years on the receiving end of protest marches from across the political spectrum, may see one of its branches marching alongside the African National Congress.

And, awkwardly enough, the march will involve the much-celebrated "new" Nationalists in Pretoria's "coloured" township of Eesterust on Sunday.

A statement issued by the ANC in Eesterust said the march would be a prelude to the organisation's ongoing 80th anniversary celebrations.

The statement said: "It is the first (march) of its kind to happen in the history of the so-called coloured residential area where the first Nationalist Party branch was launched last year.

"Invitations have been sent out to 32 ANC branches around the PWV, Contralesa, the Labour Party, National Party, churches and organisations in and around Eesterust."

Mr Molefe Makinta of the ANC's Pretoria sub-region said plans for the Eesterust celebrations were at an advanced stage. He acknowledged that invitations had been sent to the National Party. — Sapa.

# ANC slams 'distortion'<sup>11A</sup> in survey of support

South 13/2-19/2/92

THE ANC has slammed the latest HSRC (Human Sciences Research Council) survey as being "more concerned with producing results that seek to overplay government support while underplaying support for the ANC".

The Western Cape survey, conducted among 2,000 residents, claims that 61 percent of coloureds would support President FW de Klerk while 54 percent would vote for the National Party.

According to the HSRC, 37 percent of the Western Cape population would vote for the ANC in the first democratic election while the NP would get 28 percent of the votes.

"As the survey itself states that the ANC would receive 67 percent of the black vote, and considering that this percentage on its own represents some 47 percent of the total, a figure of 37 percent looks like a complete distortion of the HSRC's own findings," said ANC regional publicity secretary, Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.

He admitted that "ANC support from the coloured community has not grown as fast as was expected".

In the survey 4,67 percent of coloured respondents said they would choose ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela as South Africa's president, while 61,4 percent would choose De Klerk to lead the country.

Mziwonke said the fact that over a quarter of the coloured people surveyed chose not to answer questions was a strong indication of a "lack of trust".

# SA should not have any official language **ANC**

B/day 14/2/92

11A

THE 11 languages spoken in SA, including English and Afrikaans, should enjoy full recognition, the ANC's art and culture department's language commission says.

Sapa reports the co-ordinator of the commission, Qudusizi Buthelezi, said in Johannesburg yesterday that no language should be declared the official language. The state should have the power to declare one or more languages for specific use at national level or in any region where a language was widely used, he said.

An ANC government would prevent any one language being used for the purposes of domination or division and would promote the development of all 11 languages in schools, literature and the media.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the majority of people did not speak English and it therefore did not make sense to have a

government that spoke only English. Blacks were tired of having their names spelt incorrectly. People speaking other languages did not make an effort, he said.

Wits University English professor Geoff Hughes last night said the ANC proposals were a "big mistake" as they meant that in effect there was no official, central language. The advantage of English was its international status.

The purpose of defining laws and agreements in an official language served to make them uniform.

Wits Afrikaans professor Edith Raidt said most people would not have expected Afrikaans to remain an official language if the ANC came into power. She believed Afrikaans could benefit by the move as it would lose its stigma as an official language.

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# ANC unveils its policy <sup>11A</sup> on language

By Thabo Leshilo <sup>STAR</sup> 14/2/92  
Political Staff

The ANC's language policy plan, unveiled yesterday, has been cautiously welcomed by the Public Servants Association (PSA).

The proposed policy would, among other things, strip English and Afrikaans of their status as South Africa's only official languages.

It would also require civil servants of the future to be competent in the indigenous language spoken in their specific region — Sindebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Afrikaans, English, Tsonga, Xhosa, Zulu or Venda.

The plan was unveiled at a media briefing by Qedusizi Buthelezi, of the ANC Language Commission and an applied linguistics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Ms Buthelezi said none of the 11 languages the ANC regarded as South African would be regarded as "official".

The State would be empowered to designate any of these languages to be used for defined purposes at the national, regional or local level.

"The State shall act positively to further the development of these 11 languages, especially in education, literature and the media," Ms Buthelezi said.

In his reaction, PSA managing director Hans Olivier said the association had recognised the need to adapt.

There were, he said, people who could not speak either English or Afrikaans within the present public service.

"However, my problem is with the practical application of the plan in the public service — nothing political," he said.

The ANC also proposed that:

- Official and legal business, contracts, instructions, negotiations, notices and rules relating to the workplace and places of residence should be in languages understood.

- Court cases should be conducted in the language understood by the accused wherever possible; otherwise, translators must be used.

- Social, health and other community workers should understand and, where possible, speak the languages of the people they treat and work with.

# What is Policy?

New Nation Learning (Nation) 14/2-20/2/97



Today, the word "policy" is on everybody's lips. The ANC, COSATU, NECC and other democratic organisations of the workers and oppressed people are constantly being asked to spell out their policies with regard to the economy, education and other aspects of social life. At the same time, democratic organisations have established policy research units to inform their attempts at formulating revolutionary and viable policies.

## So what is policy?

A useful starting point is to make a distinction between goals and policies. Goals are particular objectives that governments, parties or organisations seek to achieve. Goals, such as a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education system, are informed by the principles and values (non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy, working class leadership etc) that an organisation holds dear. Goals are the product of a history of struggle and the lessons learnt by the masses from these struggles - for example that the poverty, unemployment, inequality in education and massive differences in wealth and income in South Africa can only be ended under socialism.

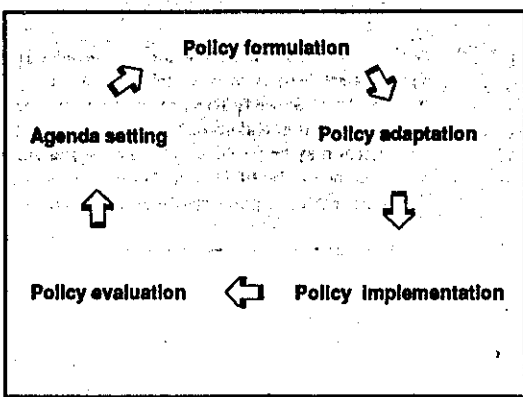
Policy, on the other hand, is about the means by which the goals are to be achieved. In other words, policies can be thought of as strategies designed to bring about certain desired goals. However, policies are more than just strategies. Policies are based on values, and values are linked to the interests held by particular social groups or classes (capitalists, workers, middle classes). Policies may affirm certain values and disregard other values and in this way advance the interests of some social groups while ignoring or blocking the interests of other social groups. That is to say, policies are never neutral. They always benefit certain classes and strata while simultaneously disadvantaging others. The importance of seeing the connection between policies and values is that it draws our attention to the centrality of the struggle for political power in policy formulation.

A concrete example will help highlight the link and difference between goals and policies. A central goal of the National Party has been racially segregated schooling. The policy (strategy/means) to achieve this goal was to establish fifteen different racial education departments to control

and administer education. By contrast, the goal of organisations like the NECC, ANC and PAC is a unitary, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic education system. The challenge for these organisations is to translate their goal into actual policy; that is to develop strategies which will ensure that what is desired - a schooling system that is unitary, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic - is achieved.

Now that we have an understanding of what policy is, we need to look at the policy-making process; that is the various stages involved in coming up with a policy.

The policy process refers to the procedures by which policies are developed. Very generally, the policy process can be depicted in the following diagram:



The policy-making process is a circular process. Governments, organisations and classes set agendas for policy-making. This leads to policy formulation, and then to policy adoption. Policy is then implemented. The evaluation of the implemented policies leads to new agendas being set, and the process begins again.

Each of the stages outlined above can be elaborated in more detail and concretised with the aid of an example. The example we shall use is the struggle to democratise school administration and management.

During agenda-setting problems and issues are identified for which policy positions are required. The principles and values that are held by an organisation will influence the kind of issues and problems that are identified for policy-making. For example, if the principles and values of an organisation are concerned with democratisation, the democratic transformation of school management and administration will be a priority policy issue.

Policy formulation is the process by which actual policies are drawn up. Research is often an important part of the policy formulation stage. Frequently however, a number of policy options may be available so that policy formulation may also involve selecting from the available policy options. In relation to our example of school management, policy formulation may entail research which examines the present forms of school management, and the comparative experiences of other countries. Policy options and the implications of these options may then be generated and forums created for extensive discussion of the different policy options. Ultimately policy will be formulated in terms of the values of a government or

organisation and the particular economic and political conditions prevailing in a given country.

Policy adoption refers to the formal procedures by which actual policies are adopted by governments/ organisations. These procedures may be different for different organisations. Thus in adopting policy with regard to school management and administration, the ANC may follow one particular arrangement while the NECC may have a different procedure.

Policy implementation is the mechanics by which policies are translated into practice and may involve considerable planning. Again, the procedure for implementation may vary depending on whether the policy is being implemented by an organisation or the government. A government is likely to hand over policy to state officials for implementation. The NECC may mobilise its constituency to advance its policy and struggle for its implementation.

Finally, policy evaluation is the exercise of investigating how policies implemented actually function and their consequences. This stage involves an assessment of the success or failure of policy using particular criteria - in the case of policy intended to democratise school management, the extent to which school administration has become more participatory and democratic, its effect on the learning environment and so on. Such evaluation may or may not lead to new agenda setting and reformulation of policy.

We can see that the policy-making process, far from being merely a neutral and technical process, is actually strongly shaped by ideology, politics and values.

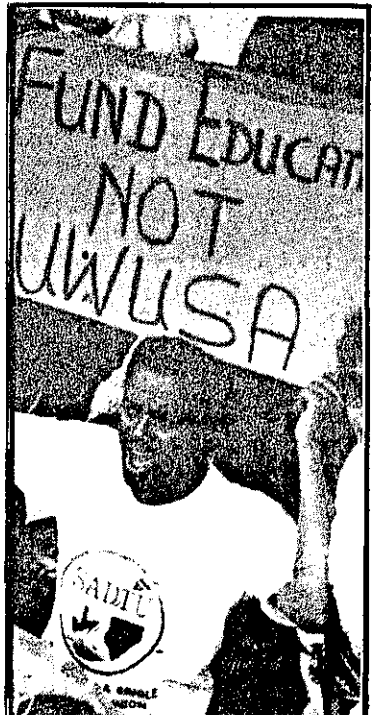
Depending on these:

- decisions are taken about which aspects of education should be identified as problems;
- what criteria should be used in making policy choices;
- who should be involved in policy-making
- how policies are implemented and;
- by what criteria they are judged successful or unsuccessful.

To conclude, two general points can be made. Firstly, policy choices raises the important question of legitimacy. In South Africa the practice has been for government to make policy over the heads of the backs of oppressed people. The trend was for only two groups, bourgeois politicians and academics to be involved in the policy-making process. The mass democratic organisations and trade unions, and the oppressed people in general - were cast in the role of mere spectators. Not surprisingly then the working people largely rejected these policies. For policies to have any legitimacy, the working class and the mass organisations must become vital participants in any policy-making process.

Secondly, policy-making is not simply about identifying and choosing the policy option that is "best", that is relevant, or not wasteful. That is to say, policy-making is not neutral. In actual fact policy-making involves struggle between different groups and classes. Policies are the outcome of struggles within organisations, institutions and society in general. They are fundamentally concerned with the politics of daily life - with issues of power, privilege and justice. As such, the different values and interests of different groups and classes must be recognised in any democratic policy-making process.

Next week we will look at how different organisations and classes approach the question of policy-making.



# Martyr who inspired a brave generation

w/mail 14/2 - 20/2/92

**BOUNDS OF POSSIBILITY** edited by Barney Pityana, Mamphele Ramphele et al (David Phillip, R35,50)

11A

**B**EFORE he died at the hands of the security police in 1977, Steve Biko said: "You are either alive and proud or you are dead ... And your method of death can itself be a politicising thing ... So if you can overcome the personal fear of death, which is a highly irrational thing, you know then you are on your way."

*Bounds of Possibility* is a compilation of some of the papers presented at a symposium in Harare in 1990 to explore the "legacy of Steve Biko and Black Consciousness". The project was devised by a group of Biko's friends — including Mamphele Ramphele and N Barney Pityana — whose lives had gone off in different directions but who had "retained a close, though inexplicable, bond. There was in our very being an insatiable need for fulfillment."

Indeed, Biko's death was a defining moment in the history of this country. It displayed the moral bankruptcy of the National Party and white South Africa.

Many Biko associates were "thrust into the diaspora", but courageously continued the fight even though "we knew that part of ourselves had died with him".

The last pictures of Biko showed a corpse with eyes swollen from the beatings, shocking because the man had always refused to be a victim. Pityana makes the point that Biko's death was a

continuation of his life: "Dying, as he lived, he thereby expressed to many young blacks a fearlessness that helped change the face of the country."

Biko was not a materialist. He wrote: "The first step is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity, to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth." He advocated freedom from the constraints of psychological repression. He wanted to raise consciousness, emancipate the minds of black people to prepare them for the task of social and political transformation.

Biko has been criticised for not taking on board a Marxist class analysis. Kogila Moodley believes this was both because Marxism was perceived as a white ideology and also that Marxist writings were not available at the tribal universities.

In his essay, CRD Halisi makes the point that Biko's New Left thinking, situated within a humanist perspective, rejected those aspects of liberalism, Marxism, and African nationalism that "obscured the political and psychological dynamics of racial oppression".

New Left ideas of cultural liberation drew from

a broad philosophical field — from Franz Fanon, Leopold Senghor, Mao Zedong, Africanist movements and the American black power movement. "Although primarily concerned with black liberation in South Africa, Biko was aware that a significant political discourse was emerging worldwide," says Halisi.

With its explicit concentration on race, BC emerged into the political vacuum of the 1960s to challenge both white liberals and the non-racial tradition of the African National Congress. Geoff Budlender writes that for whites opposed to apartheid, the emergence of BC, which denied a shared political struggle, was painful and bewildering. Much of that was valid. Biko and the BC movement jolted white liberals into a profound self-examination. It drove some out of politics, but many into a different way of engaging the black struggle. A decade later, writes Budlender, white students were invited back to participate in the struggle. This was possible because the development of black leadership meant that "there was not the remotest possibility that whites would again be able to take over and speak for black South Africans".

What comes across clearly in *Bounds of Possibility* is the very special role that Biko played

in channelling the alienation of young black intellectuals into fighting back. That, in the atmosphere of Vorster's police state, was a turning point. "Biko's work was to awaken the people: first, from their own psychological oppression through recognising their inferiority complex; secondly, from the physical oppression accruing out of living in a white racist society," writes Pityana.

A telling contribution is by Keith Mokoape, Thenjiwe Muntso and Welile Nhlapo, who went on to join the ANC and participate in the armed struggle. They write about Biko's youth leadership workshops and seminars, encouraging people to look inward and ask: "What makes the black man fail to tick?"

BC radicalised the black youth of the 1970s. "In their thousands, they joined the political struggle, and also injected a qualitatively new approach into the conduct of the armed struggle," the three write. It was also indelibly linked to the Soweto uprising of 1976.

In many ways, Biko lives on in the generation of activists — such as Cyril Ramaphosa and "Teror" Lekota — whom he tutored and inspired and who are rising to the fore in the ANC and could soon be in government.

The book unfortunately fails to separate the contribution of Steve Biko from the fate of BC. Why has BC become politically marginalised? Why did so many of its brightest students continue the struggle in the non-racial movement, either with the ANC in exile or with the mass democratic movement inside the country? Is there a possibility that Biko himself would have moved on and aligned himself with the ANC?

An equal disappointment is the failure to come to grips with Biko as a person. Acknowledging that it is hard to tamper with a symbol, Lindy Wilson appears uncomfortable with Biko's womanising and attempts to deal with it in an almost apologetic, defensive tone, as if it was something that happened to him — presumably to satisfy those who would not want it mentioned at all. "In the genre of the time, he accepted, without much thought, women's attention, and did not hesitate to have relationships with many of them. Being the person he was, he was much sought after," writes Wilson. This is not a plea for salacious gossip about the lives of public figures, but for a more realistic depiction of political leaders without the need to make excuses for them. Part of Biko's appeal is his spirit and it would have been useful to hear from his colleagues more about the flesh-and-blood man.

He and that band of young black students of the late 1960s and 1970s were incredibly brave. They built the foundations for the new South Africa.

Phillip van Niekerk



# Danger behind new liaisons

WIMail 14/2-20/2/92

(1/A) (30/1) (1/2)

By GAVIN EVANS

LESS than a year ago, the government and Inkatha looked ready and willing for a spell of blissful cohabitation — at least for as long as negotiations lasted.

Now something totally different is taking place. The weight of the Inkatha scandal, opinion polls and the realities of power in the changing South Africa have forced a hasty parting of the ways, and the making of new, more dangerous liaisons.

While the international community, the media, the Democratic Party and many of those who fall under the title "big business" have welcomed the growing convergence between the government and the African National Congress — and in some cases have rather hastily predicted a marriage — Inkatha is understandably spitting mad.

Over the past fortnight, the main plot at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been the relative ease with which the government/National Party and the ANC/South African Communist Party have come round to each

other's positions.

But the often understated sub-plot relates to the vigour of Inkatha's resistance.

Some of this was summed up by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in San Francisco this week. He spoke about "connivance" between the government and the ANC, came out strongly against the government proposal of an elected interim government over the next two years, and generally poured scorn on the notion that Codesa was getting anywhere.

Sources within the Codesa working groups confirm that similar themes have been stressed in their sessions, both by individual Inkatha speakers and through position papers presented to Codesa.

"When you read the Inkatha Freedom Party submissions as a whole, the implication is something close to an ultimatum," said one Codesa source.

"They are saying that unless the Zulu king is given full delegate status, unless their proposal of weak central and strong regional government is

accepted, unless there is no constituent assembly-type election and unless the Codesa declaration is amended to remove the words 'united, undivided South Africa', they will not go along with Codesa's decisions."

But this has not stopped the ANC or the government from being fairly optimistic in their prognoses.

The government's Codesa spokesman, Tertius Delpont, stressed that he was pleased with the rate of progress and the degree of convergence reached so far — particularly on the issue of an interim government — though he added that it was premature to assume "all-embracing agreement on all issues" had been reached.

An issue that is clearly causing a headache is that of deciding on the application for representation of the Zulu king and of the ANC-aligned chiefs' organisation, Contralesa.

The terms of reference of the sub-committee dealing with this issue have now been widened and a report is expected from it at the next full meeting of the Codesa management committee on February 24.

# ANC aims STAR 15/2/92 for equality

JOHN PERLMAN and SAPA

IT'S official. It's also amptelik, umthetho, molao and seven other versions of the same.

Language policy proposals released this week by the African National Congress confer equal status on all 11 South African languages. "The implication of granting all major South African languages such status is that no language will be declared official," the ANC said.

Its policy would be to "remove the fetters on growth and development of languages in this country, thus granting dignity and worth to the tongues that people speak".

The ANC proposals give some detail of how the policy will be implemented. Each language will be:

- Developed by language agencies guided by needs of those who use it.
- Taught at all levels in schools, colleges, technikons and universities.
- Promoted, with State assistance, as the language of the country.
- Made available to users in courts, police stations, administrative offices, post offices and other State concerns.

Observers are divided as to whether the ANC's all-inclusive policy is due to the fact that "the ANC's concept of a nation is an inclusive one" or whether the movement is simply hedging its bets.

## Cost

There are also questions being asked about the workability of such a proposal. Hans Olivier, managing director of the Public Servants Association, said he had no problem with "the principle that everybody can use his own language. But there might be some problems with the practical implementation of the thing.

"Everybody is entitled to write a letter to a government department in his own language and get a reply back in his own language. That is not a problem. We are doing it already.

"But service across a counter is a different thing. You cannot have enough people at every post able to speak in each of the 11 languages. Can you imagine what it would cost?"

Mr Olivier said other problems might arise with the career movements of senior officials. "Let us say someone moves to Natal to take up a director's post and learns Zulu for the job. If he is then made chief director in the northern Transvaal, must he now learn Venda?"

Mr Olivier said he did not expect massive duplication of State media such as census forms and other documents. "In 60 or 70 percent of the country, the language is regionally bound."

He said every government department would have to work out its own set of rules. "Our association is one of 11 public-sector organisations and we have regular joint forums. We have people who speak every language and we decided in our meetings that we would speak English."

# languages

11A  
It's official, in 11

# The Pied Pipers of Codesa take five

CPM 16/2/92  
THE ANC and the government were this week once again accused of striking secret deals in Codesa and trying to rig the negotiations before they even started, this time by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi's accusations are largely exaggerated and part of the IFP's manoeuvring to get full participation for the Zulu king at Codesa. But they are not without foundation, as was the case with PAC allegations last November.

The PAC was then on much firmer ground. But their allegations had little effect on the two as both realised the PAC did not really want to participate.

Early indications are that Buthelezi's attack will not have much effect either.

The PAC's allegations also had limited impact because parties in Codesa realised it was inevitable the two should do some homework beforehand.

Unlike the Zimbabwean and Namibian settlement talks, there was no outside party who could set the process in motion. Someone had to do it and in South Africa's case it turned out to be, for a number of good reasons, the ANC and the government.

Thus they played the role of Codesa's two benevolent dictators through much of the early stages.

When the working groups resumed their activities late in January, this started to change. The blow-out between Nelson Mandela and FW De Klerk at Codesa One influenced relations between their sides, but apart from that, both parties probably figured that their firm, albeit discreet, guidance was no longer needed.

It is also quite possible that the perception they were the two Pied Pipers of Codesa was starting to cost them support back home.

So when the five working groups settled down to business, the "facilitat-

11A  
**TIM DU PLESSIS, a senior journalist at *Beeld* who covers the Codesa talks for *Nasionale Pers* newspapers, looks at the rhetoric and the real problems that face the historic forum.**

ing" role by the two took a back seat.

Suddenly there was a rush of proposals and near frantic positioning by the smaller parties - much to the irritation of the bigger ones. It caused delays, to the point where key negotiators can nowadays hardly hide their frustration.

Obviously this cannot go on for ever. As the pressure increases on Codesa to come up with firm proposals, everybody will start to look at the ANC and the government for their positions on the crucial questions of an interim government and a constitution-making mechanism.

At that point they may well resume the role of Codesa's two benevolent dictators. Once again they will try to be nice to everybody, but basically implement the essence of their bilateral consensus.

Not enough firm information is available at this stage to safely predict which one of the two will make or gain concessions.

So, in spite of the protestations, past present and future, the other parties will simply have to accept that the two have a very special role to play because of the powers they command on the ground.

It is no coincidence they are the only two parties who have put proposals to Codesa that allow for an elected body to write the new constitution.

All the others parties are steering clear of that option, because deep down they realise an election would obliterate them or relegate them to insignificant minority parties.

... as they insisted on hav- ■ To Page 2

# Mandela bid to ease investors' fears

... often abducted in broad daylight from the taxi rank in Vereeniging. Some of the girls being abducted th

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC, reeling from international opposition to its economic policies, is considering adopting an investment code to encourage foreign capital.

The issue of an investment code comes in the wake of Nelson Mandela's recent trip to Europe, where he encountered open hostility from leading in-

dustrialists about the ANC's nationalisation policies.

Mandela, speaking to journalists at his Soweto residence yesterday, said that as long as a future ANC government maintained its policy of nationalisation, it would drive away potential investors. *APR 14 1992*

In a rare admission of the consequences of nationalisation,

the ANC leader said: "As long as we maintain nationalisation, we will not get investors."

Mandela and members of the organisation's national working committee went into a three-day retreat this week to have an "in-depth look into the overall political situation, ways of addressing the fears of minorities and the peace process".

The issue of nationalisation and the attitude of big business was also discussed and the matter will be dealt with at length at the organisation's economic policy conference in April.

At the end of the session the ANC reiterated its opposition to a whites-only referendum on constitutional changes. It also rejected regional self-determination.

# Three parties (11A) step up bids for W Cape support

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE Western Cape — and prospective "coloured" voters in particular — are to be the target of campaigns by the ANC, PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to garner support.

First shots are to be fired on Tuesday when PAC national president Mr Clarence Makwethu, accompanied by national secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and foreign affairs secretary Ms Patricia De Lille, briefs political correspondents and ambassadors.

Ms De Lille said the PAC "would not specifically target any ethnic group for recruitment".

On Wednesday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to visit the Western Cape and, with the high-profile Muslim Judicial Council

and the Call of Islam, will try to improve the image of the ANC among Muslims.

Meanwhile, the IFP is to meet this afternoon to discuss strategy and development.

Spokesman Mr George Shuttleworth said Inkatha had found it "difficult" to increase its membership "because of intimidation and the taxi violence", but it intended to continue its recruitment drive in black and coloured townships.

The findings of a Human Sciences Research Council survey, released this week, suggested that the Western Cape might be the only area where the National Party, with the support of coloured voters, could score an outright victory in a national poll.

The findings have been shot down by the ANC's regional publicity secretary, Mr Mziwonke Jacobs, who says the HSRC's research results are "regularly inconsistent with those of surveys by independent agencies".

However, he conceded that the ANC's support among coloureds had not grown as fast as had been expected.

It has been the Muslim community's official policy to reject participation in "ethnic" institutions, such as the House of Representatives.

Eighty percent of the coloured electorate stayed away from the 1989 elections for the House of Representatives — so its votes remain crucial to the result of a general poll.

# ANC forks out R2-m for a US fund-raiser

THE ANC has agreed to pay former United States Congressman Walter Fauntroy \$700 000 (nearly R2-million), plus expenses, for a year's fund-raising and lobbying.

This is close to what the Department of Foreign Affairs pays for all its remaining Washington consultants combined. Last year compensation for Stephen Riley, John Sears and their respective partners totalled \$720 000.

Details of the Fauntroy arrangement are contained in a one-year contract signed last October by Mr Fauntroy and the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza.

The contract is on public record at the Justice Department, where Mr Fauntroy has recently registered as the ANC's US agent as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

## Liable

On signing the agreement, Mr Fauntroy was to receive an advance of \$230 000 (R620 000) to cover the three-month period from October 10, 1991, to January 10 this year. The balance of the \$470 000 (R1,3-million) is to be paid in three further advance instalments, the last to be paid on or before July 10.

While the initial sum had to be paid with funds already at the ANC's disposal, the remaining payments are to come from whatever Mr Fauntroy and his firm, Walter E Fauntroy and Associates (WEFA), manage to raise

By SIMON BARBER  
Washington

on the ANC's behalf.

This does not include operational costs incurred by the firm, for which the ANC is liable regardless of how much or little money is raised.

To avoid any shortfalls, the contract stipulates that "the ANC will provide full co-operation and assistance as requested by WEFA to help ensure the success of its fund-raising efforts".

*11/1*  
**Target**

The ANC "understands and agrees" that it will have to make its own efforts to persuade US entertainers and "key media executives" to donate their time and services to the cause.

Although the firm must raise at least \$470 000 (R1,3-million) if it is to be paid in full, the contract contains no other performance clauses that would encourage the firm to raise more than that.

Instead, the company (incorporated on October 9, the day before the contract was signed) merely says it will "use its best efforts" to raise at least \$5-million (R13-million) during the contract period, no less than \$2-million of it by last Monday.

Neither Miss Mabuza nor Mr Fauntroy were available this week to say whether the \$2-million target had been met. Miss Mabuza failed to arrive for an interview. Mr Fauntroy's staff said he was out of

town.

A source close to the ANC indicated that the fund-raising was running behind schedule. This entails no conflict with the contract. It states: "WEFA does not guarantee that the fund-raising goals set forth in this agreement will be achieved."

The firm's most obvious achievement to date has been the establishment of a pay-per-call phone number to raise donations for the Mandela Freedom Fund. Callers pay \$5,95 (R16) to hear a two-minute recorded message of thanks from ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The firm which set up the number for WEFA, Optima Direct, declined to say how much of the money would find its way to WEFA or the ANC after expenses and handling charges had been deducted. *SI Times 16/2/92*

## Sanctions

Nine predominantly black American churches have agreed to proclaim Sunday South Africa Linkage Day and to urge their congregations to mark the occasion by dialling the number.

In a statement the churches said they hoped to stimulate at least 85 000 calls, for gross proceeds of about \$500 000 (R1,4-million).

Aside from fund-raising, WEFA's duties include developing "an overall political/lobbying strategy to counter further efforts to remove sanctions on South Africa at state and local levels".

# ANC to study investor code

S/Times 16/2/92 (11A)

THE ANC is to draw up an investment code of conduct in an attempt to allay foreign investors' fears of nationalisation by a future government.

But, said ANC president Nelson Mandela at a press conference yesterday, nationalisation was still the ANC's official policy.

He was speaking after a three-day "bosberaad" of the ANC's national working committee which ended on Friday.

Mr Mandela said nationalisation was seen by his organisation as the only strategy to address the problems that would face a new democratic government in attempting to redress imbalances created by apartheid.

However, he conceded that on his recent trip to Davos, where he participated in a world economic forum, he had been unable to win industrial leaders over to the ANC's policy.

The hostility towards nationalisation could be cut with a knife, he said. He had been unable to persuade in-

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Reporter

ustrial leaders that nationalisation was no threat to their investments.

This was a matter of great concern, as the ANC wanted foreign investment in South Africa once an interim government was in place.

It would be the first task of an interim government to lift sanctions — other than the oil and arms embargo — and to encourage investment.

## Experiences

Foreign investors had to be confident that their investments would not be nationalised. He had pointed out to the international community that the ANC was drawing up an investment code which would protect their investments from nationalisation.

He would also make representations to the ANC's national executive committee on his experiences in

Davos. It would be premature to speculate as to what the outcome would be over these discussions.

The ANC would also embark on a number of strategies in an attempt to allay white, Indian and Coloured fears of domination.

Mr Mandela said the ANC attached great importance to this question, as the organisation opposed black domination as much as it did white domination.

Whites would play a crucial part in a democratic South Africa because of their knowledge, skills and vast resources.

However, the ANC was still adamant in opposing a government referendum on changes to the constitution that involved a white veto on a majority decision.

Nor could the ANC accept the demand for self-determination by certain groups on the basis of ethnicity. The ANC rejected demands for ethnic homelands, he said. Acceptance of this demand would contradict Codesa's declaration of intent, which endorses an undivided South Africa.

# A MAN WITH REVOLUTION ON HIS MIND



HAROON AZIZ

AN imprisoned ANC guerrilla, unable to use paper and pencil, mentally penned the major part of a book on revolutionary strategy while in solitary confinement in Pretoria Central Prison in 1974.

Haroon Aziz — nom de guerre Lopatkin — used the same techniques to memorise the work as he used while learning by rote the Koran as a child.

The work — *The Power Of Revolution* — was written by Aziz after his release and published last year by his own publishing house, Raisa Books.

It is another early nomination for the Sunday Times Alan Paton Award.

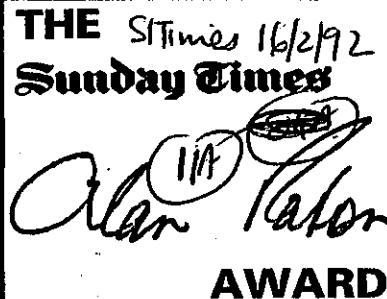
Aziz acquired the code name Lopatkin — based on a character in *Not By Bread Alone* by Russian author Drostov — when he worked as an Umkhonto we Sizwe operative in the '60s.

"My role then was essentially to recruit and train young cadres in bushcraft and ideology at Magaliesberg," said Aziz. He also

trained guerrillas in martial-art techniques and mental discipline.

He decided to publish *The Power Of Revolution* in December in an effort to counteract the emotionalism and ignorance of activists who chanted slogans without

By HEATHER ROBERTSON



having an understanding of the political forces at play.

"The book is directed mainly at people in the liberation movement to teach them the scientific objectives of the struggle," Aziz said.

Chapters of the book were used as the basis of ideological training for MK

recruits and cadres of the political underground in ANC camps. The book has a glowing foreword by former MK chief of staff Chris Hani.

With chapters like *A Scientific Understanding of Revolution as a Weapon of Revolution* and *The Importance of Psychology in Cultural Liberation*, the book is largely a collection of pamphlets espousing a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the South African conflict.

Already Aziz has sold 900 copies of the book at the New Nation Writers Conference, the SACP Conference and the ANC Conference.

The book was put on the recommended reading list of the House of Delegates' education department.



By SEKOLA SELLO

AN ANC-led government is likely to recommend that English be the official language of the country.

This is despite this week's recommendation by the organisation's language commission that no language should be declared "official".

According to the commission, the ANC accords equal status to all of South Africa's 11 languages - Afrikaans, English, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

Although this is the organisa-

## English likely to get ANC's vote

*CIP/MS 16/2/92*  
tion's official standpoint at the moment, ANC insiders claim that it is almost a foregone conclusion that English, which is understood by most blacks, will be the official language.

The other 10 languages will enjoy co-official status with English in areas where they are dominant.

At the moment the ANC is treading warily on the subject for fear of antagonising some

sectors of the community, particularly Afrikaans-speaking people.

The ANC is known to be making efforts to win over Afrikaans-speaking people to its side.

Commission member Buntu Mfenyana said it would be premature to say English would be the official language. He said it was up to South Africans to decide on this issue.

11A  
He admitted that the language was dominant in the country.

"Let the people decide themselves what language they want. Let us generate discussion on this issue."

According to the commission's recommendations, official work and business should be conducted in the languages people understood.

Wherever possible, people should be tried in court in the language they understood, and social, health and other community workers should understand and where possible speak the languages of the people they worked with.

# UK government body slaps Oxfam

STAR 13/2/92

(16)

LONDON — Britain's biggest overseas charity agreed this week to withdraw or amend booklets which criticised aid to Cambodia and supported sanctions against South Africa.

Oxfam agreed to the move after being told the booklets were too political.

The Charity Commission, a government monitoring body, said last year that Oxfam had exceeded its objectives by carrying out unacceptable political activities.

Oxfam was set up in 1942 to help relieve worldwide poverty and distress.

It operates in more than 70

countries.

The commission's inquiry was prompted by Oxfam's Frontline Africa campaign in 1990, which called for sanctions against South Africa to be maintained until the introduction of a democratic constitution.

The commission said this week Oxfam had agreed to withdraw or amend two booklets in the Frontline Africa series.

The charity also agreed not to distribute in Britain a 1988 book compiled by 31 international aid organisations called "Punishing the Poor; the Inter-

national Isolation of Kampuchea".

The book argued that people were suffering in Cambodia because of a political logjam and lack of government-to-government aid.

The commission said Oxfam had acted in good faith — but it reminded the organisation that its campaigns must be directly related to helping the beneficiaries of the charity.

An Oxfam spokesman said the commission was not outlawing political activity by charities but had objected to the style and tone of the campaigns on South Africa and Cambodia.

# Boesak hits out at IFP

**THE international community and the tricameral Parliament came under fire yesterday when African National Congress Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak addressed several hundred people at a rally in Eersterus, Pretoria.**

Few "coloureds" attended the rally or took part in the march.

The crowd consisted predominantly of people from Pretoria's black townships. There was also no sign of any of the National Party's newly acquired "coloured" MPs from the House of Representatives.

Boesak told the crowd: "Our destiny will not be decided by Washington, not (former British premier Margaret) Thatcher, not Germany," he told the chanting and ululat-

ing crowd.

He said Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a leader because US President George Bush and the local white-owned newspapers wanted him to be one.

Referring to the tricameral Parliament, Boesak said: "We never trusted people in the tricameral Parliament. It must be dissolved."

In an interview afterwards, Mr Mike Dearham, of the Eersterus branch of the ANC, admitted there was a very low turnout by the local community.

He denied this could be seen as an embarrassing signal for the ANC in the battle for the hearts and minds of the coloured people.

*Sowden 17/2/92*

*11A*

# PAC holds anti-Codesa rally in Lebowa

By Montsho Matlala  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

GROBLERSDAL PAC President Clarence Makwetu received a warm welcome from traditional leaders and about 1 000 supporters at the organisation's anti-Codesa rally held at Tafelkop village in Lebowa at the weekend.

"Codesa is not a battlefield for our liberation. It is an instrument designed by F W de Klerk to perpetuate white domination and to keep the oppressed apart," Mr Makwetu told the rally.

The US and other Western countries, he said, had been engaged in a series of strategies designed to protect their political and economic hegemony in southern Africa, particularly in South Africa.

He launched a scathing attack on the US for conducting anti-PAC campaigns in the Frontline states and other African countries to sideline the organisation for its standpoint against Codesa.

"The US has created a military airbase in Botswana for the purpose of monitoring here in Azania," he said.

"Despite the arms embargo against SA since 1963, the US continued to be a traditional arms dealer with this country. If they have audacity in violating their own resolutions, how can we trust them", he asked.

PAC would seek support from political organisations which also rejected Codesa and whose enemy was a white minority rule, he said.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC

was opposed to the Balkanisation of the country.

Tafelkop traditional leader and Lebowa's Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Chief Boleu Rammupudu told the crowd he agreed with the PAC views that the land belonged to the Africans.

The chairman of the 135 traditional leaders in Lebowa, Chief Manamane Mogashoe, said that contrary to views which many people have been made to believe by whites about the PAC, the organisation's rally at Chief Rammupudu kraal was impressive. STAR 17/11/92

He asked the PAC to propose a date on which to hold a meeting with all traditional leaders in the homeland's capital, Lebowakgomo.

Peter Fabricius comments on the Government's turnabout on foreign pressure

## Looking to others to temper ANC

STAR 17/2/92

ONE of the more enjoyable ironies of President de Klerk's trip to Europe last week was the way the Government suddenly became an enthusiastic advocate of foreign meddling in South Africa's domestic affairs.

The main purpose of the trip was to mobilise foreign governments and industrialists to pressure the ANC into dumping the vestiges of its socialist economic policies.

It was not too long ago that this same Government was berating the world for interfering in South Africa's affairs. The Government's philosophy then was that apartheid was purely an internal matter.

The new approach to foreign involvement — most sharply manifested at the World Economic Forum at Davos — dramatically gave the lie to this old argument.

It revealed the truth of the NP position all along, that foreign pressure is fine, as long as it not

applied to you.

Even as late as last week a slight contradiction in the Government's approach underscored the truth of this observation.

When President de Klerk received the Unesco peace award in Paris, he took the opportunity to warn Unesco that while it should encourage change, it should not "interfere". This warning was apparently issued for fear that Unesco might "interfere" on the wrong side — the ANC's.

Davos was an intense crucible of free market pressure, one of the most concentrated gatherings of world political and economic leaders ever. Under that pressure, ANC president Nelson Mandela offered important assurances to foreign investors which could prove crucial for the success of a post-apartheid economy: he promised their investments would be safe from nationalisation.

And in an earlier press briefing at Davos, he had made it very

clear that he disapproved of ANC statements threatening to review foreign loans granted to the present Government. Mr Mandela said he did not think it would be wise to acquire the image of an organisation that "did not honour its debts" — implicitly repudiating his hardline colleagues.

On his visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Mr de Klerk also tried to mobilise these governments against ANC economic policy. In nations which had just shrugged off the shackles of 40 years of oppressive communism, it was not hard to find endorsement for the free market.

The trip, and Davos especially, showed how in the future SA might come to be very grateful for foreign pressure — as it should have been grateful for the role which foreign pressure played in the past in persuading the Government to abandon apartheid.

But it is by no means certain that that all white South Africans

are grateful. Witness the quiet but persistent rumblings in the National Party establishment about Mr de Klerk's foreign excursions, similar to the criticisms of Mr Gorbachev and Mr Bush. The line is that instead of currying favour abroad, he should have been fighting the Potchefstroom by-election.

That surely shows a misunderstanding of the purpose of the mission, to win support for critical policy decisions.

"A few years ago we had little support outside the country, now we probably have more than the ANC," a senior government source said.

"If you strip away the personal reputation of Mr Mandela, the ANC is being slowly destroyed by its exposure to the world."

That is putting it much too strongly, but the general drift is right. The ANC is not so much being destroyed as moderated. Thank God for world pressure. □

8/Day 18/2/92

### Mandela jail nostalgia

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said his pressure cooker existence sometimes made him hanker after the relative freedom he enjoyed behind prison bars. Amid laughter he told the President 100 Club in Cape Town, "I sometimes think I had more freedom in jail than at the office," referring to the punishing schedule the six women who run his office oblige him to keep. His speech strongly supported the concept for affirmative action and entrenched rights for women.

(IA)

## Boesak rally: Poor coloured turnout

PRETORIA. — The international community and the tricameral Parliament came under fire yesterday when ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak addressed several hundred people at a rally in Pretoria's coloured township of Eersterust.

Very few coloureds attended the march or the rally. The crowd consisted predominantly of people from Pretoria's black townships.

Dr Boesak told the crowd that the destiny of the country would be decided by the people, not the international community.

He also demanded the dissolution of the tricameral Parliament. — Sapa

CT 17/2/92

# NP could buck the trend in the last white election

*Sidey 17/2/92*  
**POTCHEFSTROOM** — On a balmy evening at the rugby stadium of this western Transvaal town, President F W de Klerk is being cheered by a lone black man who offers repeated black power salutes. On another part of the grandstand, 15 burly men in khaki uniforms heckle raucously.

Unfortunately for the NP, blacks don't yet have a vote. Yet an NP victory is not an impossibility when voters go to the polls on Wednesday in what may prove to be SA's last all-white election.

The NP won the seat in the 1989 general election by a comfortable 1 500 votes at a time when the CP was gathering in former NP strongholds like Transvaal farmers used to harvest mealies in a good season.

The by-election could not have come at a worse time for the NP. Drought, a failing platteland economy, rising crime levels and constitutional uncertainty count against the ruling party.

By-elections historically cater for a protest vote that will not substantially alter the balance of political power. But the Potchefstroom poll is more than that and is being widely interpreted as a test of white, especially Afrikaner, support for government reform initiatives.

A bad loss for the NP (perhaps anything more than

*Sidey*  
**PATRICK BULGER**

1 000 votes) could be interpreted as a signal of white discontent with the direction government is leading the country. This in turn would suggest to shrewd NP minds that the party is in danger of losing the promised white referendum on constitutional alterations.

A win for the NP (by almost any margin) would indicate that in spite of a host of adverse factors, the NP still musters majority white support in its attempts at reaching an accommodation with the ANC.

If the by-election could not have come at a worse time for the NP, it could not have happened in a constituency more favourable. Potchefstroom is the political cradle of Afrikaner nationalism. Its university, which today boasts about 4 000 voting students, has produced leading figures in the Nationalists' ranks. De Klerk was quick to tell his audience that he received his degree at Potchefstroom, as did the party's candidate, Theuns Kruger.

The NP feels at home in Potchefstroom. Kruger attended the local high school and went on to play rugby for Western Transvaal including, local legend has it, one particularly memorable game against the British Lions. These things count in Potchefstroom — not for nothing are NP election posters boasting the return of international rugby tours.

As important is the town's religious orientation. De Klerk, like the majority of the townfolk, subscribes to the Gereformeerde Kerk which is based in Potchefstroom and which is politically — though not morally — more *verlig* than the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk.

CP candidate Andries Beyers lacks the local profile of his opponent. However, the CP's dream of an Afrikaner "volkstaat" may touch a chord in what remains a conservative constituency alarmed at the prospect of domination by the formerly oppressed.

Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal Str, Johannesburg.

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 Secretary  
 Durban  
 14th February 1992

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### CP map ridiculous — ANC

**TIM COHEN**

*Sidey 17/2/92*  
 THE CP's map for a white homeland, which includes all of SA except the TBVC states and other self-governing territories, was "ridiculous in the absolute". ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

His comments follow the long-awaited unveiling of the CP's plan for a white SA at a public meeting in Potchefstroom on Wednesday by CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg.

Hartzenberg said the CP would consider expanding homelands to incorporate black townships.

Macozoma said this proposal was something that had been tried and found wanting.

The extremely large

amount of SA that the CP said it wanted included in the white homeland demonstrated that the CP was not seriously addressing the issue, he said.

Macozoma was reluctant to comment on who the ANC would prefer to win the Potchefstroom by-election, anxious not to play into the hands of CP by giving the impression the ANC supported the NP.

But he said it was important that the NP should carry its supporters with it.

If it did so, the NP was likely to be a more confident negotiating partner at Codesa, as opposed to one "looking over its shoulder the whole time".



Patrick Laurence reflects on electoral challenges ahead for the ANC and the NP

# Spreading the net for voters

STAR 17/2/92

~~STAR~~ 11K

**T**HE African National Congress, having entrenched itself as the premier force in the black community, is still battling to win substantial support in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities.

The latest Human Science Research Council survey, based on 2 000 face-to-face and telephonic interviews conducted across the country, shows that the ANC's support levels are minuscule in the minority communities compared to its popularity in the black populace.

Where 67 percent of blacks would vote for the ANC in a general election tomorrow, only 3 percent of whites, 7 percent of coloureds and 8 percent of Indians would do so. The results confirm what the ANC already knows.

Its immediate past secretary general, Alfred Nzo, told the ANC at its general conference last July: "The biggest proportion of (our) membership is drawn from the African sector... we are not making much progress in respect of the coloured, Indian and white populations." He went on to list a number of possible reasons for the ANC's poor showing in the minori-

ty communities. They included the perception that the ANC is a black organisation (and not, as is sometimes charged by Africanists, an organisation controlled by whites and Indians) and its alliance with the SA Communist Party.

Mr Nzo offered ANC delegates an assurance: "We have started a process of specifically recruiting in the coloured, Indian and white communities." It was linked to a warning: "It is important... that we relate to all sectors of our people and not just activists."

Since then former World Alliance of Reformed Churches president, Alan Boesak, has been elected chairman of the ANC. The move — which had the approval of ANC president Nelson Mandela — was clearly calculated to boost coloured support for the ANC.

The HSRC survey was conducted in September-October last year, although its results were released only last week. It is therefore not a fair test of whether or not Mr Boesak has succeeded at attracting coloured people to the ANC's banner.

But, judging by the ANC's rally and protest march in Cape Town

at the opening of Parliament on January 24, he has made little impact so far. The rally, which marked the opening of the "People's Parliament" at the Grand Parade, and the march up Adderley Street toward Parliament, had one conspicuous characteristic: a marked absence of coloured people in the crowd.

Their absence was particularly significant because the majority of people in the Western Cape are coloured. They constitute more than 60 percent of the population. The black and white proportions are, in round figures, 12 percent and 26 percent respectively.

Trevor Manuel, who hails from the Western Cape and who was one of the ANC leaders at the march, does not dispute that the vast majority of the ANC protesters on January 24 were blacks from the townships.

He attributes the absence of coloured people to the nasty experience many of them had when Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990: there was a lot of pick-pocketing, looting and drunkenness on that day.

Mr Manuel remains hopeful, however, that the ANC will be

able to succeed in winning a large measure of coloured support. He believes the rural areas contain reservoirs of potential ANC members and supporters. While racial prejudice and coloured poverty are stark there, he explains.

Mr Manuel, who was a top official in the United Democratic Front in the 1980s, recalls that coloured support for the UDF — which was considered by many people at the time to be the ANC by another name — was high in coloured townships in the Transvaal. The ANC, he thinks, should be able to replicate the UDF's penetration of the coloured community.

Cecil Esau, a senior ANC organiser in the Western Cape, agrees with Mr Manuel. His diagnosis of the situation is that the ANC, unlike the UDF, has not yet succeeded in mobilising coloured people around local grievances and aspirations. It needs to link up more closely with civic organisations. He is determined to rectify that deficiency.

These hoped-for ANC gains would be at the expense of President de Klerk's National Party: its support in the coloured communi-

ty — according to the HSRC — runs at about 54 percent, well above that of any of its rivals, including Alan Hendrickse's Labour Party.

There is another potential catchment area for recruitment by the ANC and, obviously, the NP: about a third of the coloured populace is uncommitted politically.

Mr Manuel and Mr Esau agree on another point: Mr Hendrickse's Labour Party — which has lost control of the House of Representatives to a NP-led coalition — is unlikely to be an important ally in the coming contest with the NP.

They explicate: there is a long history of hostility in the coloured community to his decision to participate in the racially structured tricameral parliament.

Consequently he is seen by a large sector of the coloured populace as an opportunist. His sudden pro-ANC stand and membership of the Patriotic Front is judged to be an attempt to survive politically in changing times.

But if the ANC has problems in the minority communities, the NP faces an even bigger challenge in the black community. According

to the HSRC survey, NP support among blacks stands at a scant 6 percent. NP hopes of winning the allegiance of a sizable proportion of black voters look flimsy, even if account is taken of its "game plan" of forming tactical alliances with regionally based black parties.

Support for Chief Mangosuthu's Inkatha Freedom Party — once billed as a key partner in the projected alliance — runs at a mere 3 percent. The HSRC says: "It is very significant that in no race group did a majority — or even close to a majority — indicate that they fell very close to Inkatha."

A not insignificant proportion of blacks are undecided, however. Constituting about a fifth of black voters they are manifestly of great importance in the struggle ahead.

A problem for the NP is that its support level in the black population appears to be static; in contrast the ANC's black support seems to be growing steadily, having increased from 55 percent to 67 percent between April and October last year.

**I**N ITS desperation to raise money, the ANC is resorting to ill-considered expedients which can result only in yet more desperation.

Perhaps the most obvious example is Nelson Mandela's recent decision to intercede with the US and UK governments on behalf of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. To be sure, Mandela may have been motivated by an altruistic desire to help an old friend. But it is surely no coincidence that in the course of his "refuelling stop-over" in Tripoli last month, he also collected a cheque for at least \$1m.

A few years ago, this might not have mattered. Unfortunately, the closer the ANC gets to power, the more such transactions sow alarm. It is safe to say that for every dollar the ANC receives from Gaddafi, it foregoes many more that might otherwise have been forthcoming from other, far deeper pockets.

The ANC's decision to hire former congressman Walter Fauntroy as its chief US fund-raiser and lobbyist is another dubious investment. In some respects it may be even more dubious than renting out Mandela's good name to a sponsor of international terrorism. That at least involved no initial outlay and has netted some cash up front. In the Fauntroy case, all the ANC has achieved so far is a \$230 000 hole in its bank account.

**F**auntroy is a decent man. He is a preacher by profession and has a fine singing voice. His intentions are surely honourable. The question is whether Walter E Fauntroy & Associates (WEFA), as he is known in his newly adopted corporate manifestation, can possibly be expected to deliver on what is promised in his contract. A careful reading of the document suggests that even Fauntroy himself has some doubts on this score. It is, shall we say, a very one-sided agreement.

Signed on October 10 last year, the day after WEFA's formal incorporation, it lays out at length the services

# Risky fund-raising could soon part the ANC and its money

B/pay 18/2/92  
**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

(11A)

Fauntroy will attempt to perform for his client over the ensuing 12 months. If all goes according to plan, "at least \$5m will be raised". Notably absent, however, is any obligation on WEFA actually to raise said sum. The contract states this openly. "WEFA does not guarantee that the fund-raising goals will be achieved." To the contrary, virtually all the obligations are on the ANC, starting with delivery of \$230 000, to be paid upon signature of the contract and to cover the first three months of WEFA's basic retainer (expenses are extra). Subsequent payments totaling \$470 000 are due in three instalments, "payable on or before" the 10th of January, April and July.

The latter payments represent the extent of the incentive WEFA has to raise any money at all. These payments, though again not the expenses incurred in raising them, are to come from whatever donations WEFA manages to generate. And lest there be any misunderstanding about who gets first dibs on the pot, the contract states bluntly: "WEFA has the right to be paid ... before any other amounts raised ... are disbursed to the ANC or any other person."

The contract contains a number of clauses which suggest WEFA is concerned the ANC itself may hamper even the limited fund-raising the firm needs to meet its own requirements. The most direct of these stipulations reads: "It is understood and agreed by the ANC that the ANC will provide full co-operation and assistance as requested by WEFA to help ensure the success of WEFA's fund-raising efforts."

**W**EFA does not intend to go it alone. "The goals ... cannot be achieved unless ... the ANC actively assists ... by requesting selected US and other citizens, particularly African-American entertainers, to participate voluntarily in the fund-raising programmes; by asking key US media executives to support the fund-raising efforts by donating TV, cable, radio and print media time; and by helping ensure that key entertainers and ANC officials appear in televised, video, radio and other media appeals. ..."

Fauntroy undertakes to consult

the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, on the "style or content" of any promotional material WEFA produces, but only so long as this does not lead to bureaucratic and other delays. "Time will be of the essence for purposes of approval ... and (Mabuza) or her designee shall therefore act in an expeditious and timely manner." The impression is left that WEFA has some inkling of the ANC's punctuality.

What, exactly, is the ANC getting for \$700 000 plus expenses? According to the contract, the \$230 000 it has shelled out should have resulted in several things, including a net fund-raising profit of \$2m by February 10 and the revival of South Africa Now, a syndicated television show devoted to airing the ANC's version of the news, but which died last year for lack of money or viewer interest.

Fortunately, the agreement did not guarantee either eventuality. They were only three-month "performance targets". As was the production of a report, "concerning", as the contract bafflingly describes it, "the ANC's proposals on development of aid, trade and investment

policies which will assist SA for potential use with WEFA's efforts undertaken pursuant to the agreement." A little punctuation might have helped, but it is hard to see how.

In any event, neither Mabuza nor Fauntroy was available last week to confirm the completion of this document. Perhaps Fauntroy was too busy on another target — "the dissemination of information to various states, cities and counties with a view to persuading them to maintain their sanctions". Returning exiles who had been expecting resettlement allowances from the ANC will no doubt be glad to know that money which might have been theirs is not only being frittered away in America but is being used to help reduce their chances of employment.

WEFA's one solid achievement to date has been to establish (though not, as yet, to publicise) a pay-per-call telephone number. Callers are charged \$5.95 to hear a brief recorded message from Mandela thanking them for their contribution to the Mandela Freedom Fund which, he implies, will use the money to train teachers, build schools and improve medical services for apartheid's victims.

**I**t is not clear how much of the \$5.95 will ever make it to the fund after various service charges, commissions, and taxes have been deducted, or even if the money will ever end up in the fund at all. A group of black church leaders have agreed to urge their congregations to call the number next Sunday. Their aim is to gross about \$500 000 in donations. Enough to pay WEFA through April with change to spare for expenses.

Perhaps WEFA will defy expectation. Then again, it is probably just as well Fauntroy has insisted on an exclusive contract. At least this year the ANC will be barred from making the same mistake twice. In the meantime, it would do better to invest whatever money it has in things that offer proven returns. SA government Eurobonds, for example.

# ANC set to make concession to federalism

THE ANC is set to make a major concession to federalism by agreeing that the powers of regional governments be enshrined in the constitution.

This emerged yesterday from participants in the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday government and the ANC were approaching agreement on the status of regional government under a new constitution. He said an agreement could be announced as early as today.

A KaNgwane Inyandza National Movement delegate confirmed this, saying the ANC had agreed in principle to regional

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PATRICK BULGER  
and ALAN FINE

powers being enshrined in the constitution. The NP had made a concession by accepting that the precise nature of those powers need not be defined at Codesa but could be thrashed out at the constitution-making body which both parties agree should be elected.

Ramaphosa confirmed this, saying: "We have agreed we cannot define the powers at Codesa. The powers of regions can only be decided in a constitution-making body." The ANC has not placed constitutional proposals before the working group but

has always insisted on strong centralised government to help redress imbalances caused by apartheid.

NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the NP would insist Codesa agree in principle that regional government powers be incorporated in a constitution. Such powers should not merely be delegated by central government.

Sapa-AFP reports from London that Ramaphosa told the Financial Times the ANC was ready to enter a power-sharing agreement with the NP.

"We would agree, soon after a new constitution is adopted ... to bring people

To Page 2

## Federalism

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From Page 1

from other parties into government," even if the ANC did win a large majority of votes, Ramaphosa said.

But he rejected "a forced coalition with any party".

The ANC would like a new constitution "which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own", he added.

Ramaphosa said a system of power

sharing could be implemented by requiring a majority vote, which would need the agreement of other parties in Parliament, to amend certain clauses in the constitution or to make certain decisions.

"That could well be a permanent feature in a constitution ... the type of feature that could give comfort to those parties that feel they could be marginalised by a majority party," he said.

# Youth must 'join forces'

By IKE MOTSAPI

Sowetan

18/2/92

THE youth should consult and work with one other towards the establishment of a new democratic South Africa, listeners of the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show heard last night.

Leaders of the ANC Youth League and the Azanian Youth Organisation agreed that there was a need for the youth to consult with their leaders before embarking on "certain programmes of action."

Mr Peter Mokaba, president of the ANCYL, called for the formation of a youth front which would be structured along the lines of the Patriotic Front launched in Durban last year.

SONETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK



He said the front would strive to work towards the political and economic empowerment of the oppressed "black people of South Africa."

Mokaba said the front would also "act like a Youth Parliament", where important decisions regarding contributions the

youth could make for the establishment of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic government could be taken.

Azayo's president Mr Thami Mcerwa said while his organisation agreed to the concept of a youth front, it had reservations about its success.

Mcerwa said the front could be successful if it could "be revolutionary in a disciplined way".

He said: "The front will be a success only if it delivered the goods.

"It should be a fighting front because the ultimate goal is total liberation.

"Any quick-fix solutions will present problems in future."

## Drug industry may get code

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE National Wholesale Drug Association (NWDA) has proposed a code of conduct to monitor the industry in an effort to bring a halt to drug theft, estimated at R700m a year. (18/2/92)

The code of conduct is also intended to monitor pharmaceutical wholesalers to stop mishandling of scheduled drugs.

The medicines, most of them prescription drugs of schedule 3 and upwards, are disappearing in massive numbers from within the pharmaceutical industry and from hospitals. The drugs are then sold on legitimate markets.

It has not been established how drugs re-enter the legal market.

Earlier this month members of a task force investigating the black market reportedly received death threats. (18/2/92)

NWDA president Lex Tannenbaum said wholesalers often did not store the medicines correctly and, when exposed to high temperatures and moisture, some became inactive or even poisonous.

With the sudden increase in pharmaceutical wholesalers, Tannenbaum said it was necessary to widen membership and introduce a code of practice to "bring order to an industry that has been rapidly spinning out of control".

## PAC supports leader's stance on commission

THE PAC yesterday came out in support of its president's refusal to appear before the Goldstone Commission, branding it a product of an illegitimate order because of its appointment by President FW de Klerk. (11/2/92)

The organisation's secretary-general, Benny Alexander, was responding to Mr Justice Goldstone's threat that if PAC president Clarence Makwetu did not appear before the commission to answer allegations of attacks on police by its military wing Apla, the judge would "enforce" him to appear.

### Attitude

The threat was contained in a letter from Mr Justice Goldstone delivered to PAC headquarters in Johannesburg on February 13.

Makwetu was given 14 days in which to respond.

On the day of the deadline, Alexander made it clear his organisation would not tolerate state interference with Makwetu's refusal to appear before the commission.

Saying Apla's actions did not constitute public violence, Alexander defiantly said the PAC and Makwetu were not answerable to the commission.

"The commission states that it wishes to probe Makwetu's attitude," said Alexander.

"The commission is not entitled to probe attitudes. The PAC and its president (Makwetu) are not answerable to the commission nor to any state structure for their attitude on matters of our liberation. Moreover, the terms of reference of the commission do not allow it to probe attitudes."

Pointing to the widespread violence since the signing of the national peace accord in September last year, the PAC secretary-general charged that Apla activities did not constitute public violence or intimidation.

"The actions of all PAC structures are related to the historical necessity to destroy white domination and replace it with justice and democracy."

An even more defiant publicity secretary Waters Toboti warned of chaos if the state took action against Makwetu.

"A challenge to Makwetu is a challenge to all of us involved in the Azanian struggle.

"There would be hell if he were to be arrested and jailed.

"The people would surely free him with their bare hands," said Toboti. — Sapa.

# Judge's plea to PAC chief



THE chairman of the Goldstone Commission investigating political violence has appealed to Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu to reconsider his decision not to appear before the commission. *Goldstone 18/2/92*

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, in a statement issued yesterday, again asked Makwetu to meet the commission to discuss statements made by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

At a Press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, the organisation said the move was aimed at "pressuring the PAC to adopt the Codesa line".

"Appearances before the commission is an attempt to criminalise the just struggle of our people. The activities of Apla do not constitute public violence," the organisation said.

The PAC said it was surprising that while violence associated with the Govern-

## MOKGADI PELA and Sapa

ment, the African National Congress, Inkathla Freedom Party and the rightwing was occurring daily, none of those organisations' leaders had been summoned to appear before the commission.

Goldstone, however, pointed out that the commission had no direct or indirect link with Codesa.

Goldstone confirmed that he had informed Makwetu that if he refused to hold discussions with the commission, "it would have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

He said he invited Makwetu on January 9 to discuss the statements made by the Apla.

On February 12 the general secretary of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, replied that neither Makwetu nor any member of the PAC national executive committee knew anything about the alleged activities of Apla and would therefore be in no position to help.

## Govt objects to ANC official language plan

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government has expressed reservations about an ANC proposal that South Africa should have no national official languages defined in the constitution.

A recent report by the ANC's language commission recommended that instead, the State should designate regional languages.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the Government was opposed to a change in the status of the two official languages, English and Afrikaans.

However he welcomed the "high premium the ANC put on the importance and status of all languages, the desirability of multilinguism".

But he said the Government had reservations about the practicability of the ANC proposal that there should be no official national languages and that the state should rather designate regional languages for official use.

"The practical functioning of state administration also requires the existence of national official languages."

# ANC envisages a coalition with Nats

STAR 18/2/92 (11A)

The ANC was willing to make major concessions on the issue of multiracial power-sharing in a post-apartheid South Africa, which could form the basis of an eventual deal on a new democratic constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in a interview with the London Financial Times, said that a post-apartheid ANC government would rule in coalition with the mainly white National Party, even if the ANC won a large majority of votes.

He said: "We would agree, soon after a new constitution was adopted, that you might well need to bring people from other parties into government."

However, Mr Ramaphosa said: "We would be quite vehemently opposed to a situation where we would be forced to get into a coalition government with any party ... our view is that forced marriages don't work."

He believed that coalitions would arise naturally out of South Africa's political and ethnic diversity.

On NP insistence that it did not want to exchange white domination for black domination, Mr Ramaphosa said: "You need a constitution which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own."

"You could have a system where you share power by saying that on certain clauses of the constitution — amending the constitution or taking particular decisions — you would need the agreement of other parties in parliament."

"That could well be a permanent feature in a constitution ... the type of feature that could give comfort to those parties that feel they could be marginalised by a majority party."

On the areas subject to joint decision-making Mr Ramaphosa was surprisingly flexible.

He suggested that the Budget might be one such area.

On devolution of power to the regions — one of the main planks in NP strategy — Mr Ramaphosa was conciliatory.

But he said forming an interim government was the priority, adding: "We can only

think of one method of election, that is one person, one vote on a common voters roll based on proportional representation."

The statement that an ANC government would share power with the NP was a "very important shift" in the organisation's policy, the NP said yesterday.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed Mr Ramaphosa's remarks and said that although he did not agree with the details of how Mr Ramaphosa envisaged power-sharing, he was "very pleasantly surprised" by the ANC's shift.

Dr van der Merwe said that Mr Ramaphosa's examples of how majority domination could be prevented were unsatisfactory. The NP believed that entrenched clauses in the constitution were by themselves far from power-sharing and would have to be included. But, Mr Ramaphosa's acceptance of the principle of power-sharing — if it was a reflected, considered statement — represented a very important shift which would benefit the whole of SA. — Political Staff.



# Not all gloom and doom ahead for SA

STAR 18/2/92

11A

**G**LOOM? What gloom? Almost 60 percent of South Africans are confident of a happy future for all. They are not exactly brimful — only 18 percent are “very confident”, the rest “fairly” — but that still means twice as much confidence in circulation as there was six years ago.

Moreover, 43 percent think race relationships are improving, only 24 percent say they are deteriorating, and 68 percent reckon relations are not bad.

That's the good news in Markinor's latest survey of how South Africa views itself, conducted in November among whites nationwide and blacks in metropolitan areas.

Unfortunately that is also where the good news ends, especially from whites. For the first time in the survey's 14 years a majority of whites (52 percent) say they are now worse off. The lowest number yet (16 percent) consider themselves better off.

Blacks have a cheerier view of recent economic movements: averaged over the last two years 25 percent of blacks have felt better off and 29 percent worse off.

Blacks are also more hopeful for the year to come. Thirty-two percent anticipate see themselves being better off by Christmas, 27 percent worse off, with the wealthiest category, who are earning more than R1 500 a month, much more confident of making financial headway than their breadline brethren.

Among whites, 20 percent expect a better-stocked pantry by the end of the year; 47 percent expect deprivations. Here, too, the rich (R5 000 or more) are more optimistic than the poor.

Economic confidence shows an odd pattern. Rich whites and poor blacks have identical feelings: 43 percent pessimistic and

A survey by Markinor reviews the situation ahead for SA and makes some interesting political and economic discoveries.

Report by  
**DENIS BECKETT.**

25 percent optimistic. The poorest whites (less than R2 000 a month) are the gloomiest segment, 56 percent seeing a harder year ahead.

Not that this translates into political correlations. Rich or poor alike, 81 percent of whites think F W de Klerk is leading the country either “very well” or “fairly well”. So do 60 percent of blacks, and only 9 percent of either group think he is doing “not at all well”.

The news is not altogether comforting for Mr de Klerk. His rating among blacks is up from the 37 percent that P W Botha averaged, but down from his own 88 percent peak in 1990.

Among blacks, 33 percent feel less favourable towards him than “a few months ago”; 23 percent are more favourable. The trend applies in every city except Durban, where it is sharply reversed. In Durban, Mr de Klerk has gained favour in the eyes of blacks at a rate of two to one, as he has done among whites across the board.

Only in the OFS is Mr de Klerk losing white sympathy faster than he is gaining.

Blacks have moved massively towards Mr Mandela, 71 percent are more favourable towards him now than in the past, only 6 percent less favourable.

Nonetheless, in Markinor's total catchment of 8 million people (4,7 million black, 3,3 million white) Mr de Klerk's

performance draws an “approval rating” of just on 70 percent — far more than George Bush or John Major would dream of.

Only 9 percent of blacks, down from 22 percent in 1990, choose him as the person who should lead South Africa. This places him a poor second to Mr Mandela, 69 percent, but nonetheless second. Clarence Makhethu of the PAC checks in at third place (4 percent), with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Joe Slovo and Zach de Beer barely blipping the screen and the president of Azapo getting an unadulterated 0.

If you take the survey as gospel you believe there are 24 000 white people, mainly university graduates, whose first or second choice to run the country is the PAC.

You also believe Inkatha has five white supporters for every one (metropolitan) black supporter. And 6 006 whites and 125 000 blacks would allegedly give it either their first or second choice.

In keeping with the recent tradition of clipboard surveys, Markinor ascribes a 1 percent support base to Inkatha. Laymen often have difficulty swallowing this figure but among the research fraternity there is a well-known explanation. As one social scientist, not from Markinor, says: “Inevitably the interviewers look and talk like ANC types, so only the boldest respondents admit to Inkatha sympathies.”

What of the by-election? Nats may be consoled to hear that in white hearts and minds nationwide they are trouncing the CP by 56 percent to 20 percent. In the Transvaal platteland, according to the survey, NP support is running 12 percent ahead of the CP. Whether that applies to Potchefstroom, tomorrow will show. □

# PAC leader refuses to discuss Apla

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

STAR  
18/2/92

The Pan Africanist Congress is bracing itself for a showdown with the Goldstone Commission after PAC president Clarence Makwetu's refusal to appear and give an account for the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The main reason for Mr Makwetu's refusal is that he says he is not responsible for the activities of Apla — the PAC's armed wing.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the organisation's National Working Committee had told Mr Justice Goldstone that it did not know of "specific acts" carried out by Apla and had referred the commission to Apla headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

The PAC has persistently refused to condemn Apla for its actions, which include the recent killing of policemen.

In a letter delivered to Mr Makwetu last week, Mr Justice Goldstone said the PAC should declare its support or opposition to the Apla policy.

"This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla," he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission was an independent body, not a creation of Codesa as alleged by the PAC.

Mr Makwetu was also requested to discuss a report in which the PAC president is alleged to have said commissions probing violence were a "waste of time".

"The criminal can never investigate his own activities," Mr Makwetu allegedly said.

This, Mr Justice Goldstone said, was a serious reflection on the integrity of the commission.

He warned Mr Makwetu to reply within 14 days to his invitation or be subpoenaed.

If he fails to appear before the commission, Mr Makwetu could be charged with contempt of court and either spend a year in jail or be fined R4 000.

Mr Alexander said that Mr Makwetu and the PAC were not afraid of prison and dared the commission to have them arrested.

Mr Alexander said other reasons for Mr Makwetu's refusal to appear were:

- The commission was appointed by an "illegitimate" regime.
- The activities of Apla did not constitute "public violence and intimidation", but were part of a just struggle for democracy.

# 'Agreement on interim government'

STAR 18/2/92

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter 

There was general agreement on the need for an interim government among Codesa participants, National Party negotiator and Minister of Economic Co-ordination Dr Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

Several good reasons existed for an interim government, he told an NP media briefing after a meeting of the five Codesa working committees.

The present Government was not fully representative of all South Africans and therefore it lacked credibility.

An interim government was also needed to promote stability, Dr de Villiers said.

The NP and Labour Party yesterday submitted their constitutional principles to the working group charged with the matter.

The NP constitutional proposals did not differ from those unveiled at the NP federal congress last year.

## Proposed

The LP placed strong emphasis on constitutionally entrenched regional authorities.

It proposed that the constitution should reflect a process of constitution making that begins simultaneously from the national and the regional levels of government.

The geographical demarcation of the regions should be based on demographic, economical and political considerations and the existing nine development regions could be used as the basis for negotiation.

"The central government must not have the power to unilaterally revoke or undermine the exercise of political power at a regional level.

"A formula will have to be devised for the equitable financing of all regions and the rehabilitation of economically weak ones," the LP said.

The working group on constitutional principles yesterday debated regionalism and federalism and the discussion will be continued at its next meeting on Monday.

Dr de Villiers said the NP did

not commit itself to federalism per se but its proposals contained elements of federalism and a constitution appropriate for the country's circumstances should be developed.

The NP wanted the powers and functions of regions entrenched in the constitution.

On the other hand, in the ANC submission to the working group, it said: "Within the context of an undivided South Africa, government will function at national, regional and local levels, the appropriate division and decentralisation shall be such as to encourage non-racialism, democratic participation and administration at all levels."

The SACP proposed at last week's meeting of a sub-committee of the working group dealing with the creation of a free political climate that the release of political prisoners should be discussed at Codesa.

The IFP yesterday proposed that the release of all political prisoners, and not only those allegedly held by the Government, should be debated at Codesa meetings.

The IFP said the principle of general amnesty was desirable but it recognised that common criminals could be released along with political prisoners under such an amnesty.

It also submitted a letter by former ANC prisoner Patrick Hlongwane to the working group in which it was claimed that the organisation was still holding prisoners in Uganda and Tanzania.

"The IFP believes that all political prisoners, including those allegedly held by the ANC, must be released," it said.

The IFP proposed that a sub-committee be appointed to hear evidence from former ANC prisoners to determine whether the ANC was still holding people prisoner.

"The ANC and the South African Government must be seen to have clean hands on this matter," the IFP said.

The ANC released 32 prisoners last year and said it was no longer detaining any prisoners.

The working group postponed the issue until after a scheduled bilateral meeting between the ANC and Government was held next week.

## SA builders' institute seeks chartered status

8/0ay 1/12/92  
Business Day Reporter

PROFESSIONAL builders in Australia enjoy a higher status than those in SA, says SA Institute of Building (SAIB) vice-president Mark Massyn.

He says this became apparent during the recent visit to Cape Town of a former president of the Australian Institute of Building, Alec Rigby.

The Australian institute, established about 40 years ago, has "chartered status".

"This means the builder is recognised as a fully fledged professional on a similar footing to an engineer, an architect or a quantity surveyor," says Massyn.

He had found his discussions with Rigby enlightening because the Australian institute had achieved for its members the status that the SAIB had been campaigning for for several years.

"As most of the building industry knows, the SAIB is still trying to get some form of professional recognition for those with training and experience, so that they can call themselves professional or qualified builders."

Australian institute members not only qualified automatically for certain government positions but had a fee scale accepted throughout government circles. This acceptance influenced the private sector view of professional builders throughout the country.

Selected members of the Australian institute also qualified for professional indemnity insurance.

"They can, once accepted as professionals, indemnify completed projects for insurance purposes, provided they have inspected the projects regularly throughout the construction period. Here, again, the SAIB is working to bring about a similar situation," says Massyn.

"If and when it is fully achieved, the buyer of a professionally checked and indemnified building will have complete peace of mind as he will be automatically insured against defects due to negligence or in materials which might crop up within the first five years of the building being completed."

Massyn said the insurance system had apparently worked so well in Australia that it should now be accepted in SA.

"The employer or the buyer would, under the system we have proposed, use the SAIB member to help him achieve the indemnity required," said Massyn.

# Makwetu adamant on refusal to testify

CAPE TOWN — PAC leader Clarence Makwetu yesterday rejected the second appeal to testify before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into political violence and intimidation, and said he would rather go to jail.

"I reject the invitation to the Goldstone Inquiry. If coerced by way of an order, I will refuse to attend. If I am threatened with imprisonment because of my actions, my answer must be that I have suffered many years in prison for my beliefs," he said at a news conference.

He said he did not doubt Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's personal integrity but the PAC regarded the laws of the country as illegitimate. It was also clear the principal perpetrators of the violence had not been brought to book.

The Harms Commission of Inquiry into the activities of the CCB and hit squads was a farce and Makwetu wanted to know if Mr Justice Goldstone was going to summon "the Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, President F W de

Billy Paddock  
 Klerk, to answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my people".

He also wanted to know if the SAP Commissioner would be summoned to explain the train massacres, the possible involvement of his staff and why violence continued despite the SAP signing the peace accord.

Makwetu's comments come just after Apla, the PAC's military wing, admitted ambushing and killing three municipal policemen in Katlehong on Monday.

Apla chief information officer Johnny Majozi was reported yesterday as saying that Apla would continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly was established.

Makwetu said his organisation had never disassociated itself from Apla, and called for the immediate establishment of a constituent assembly through proper elections.

Makwetu denied the patriotic front was moribund and said planning was still

on track for the review meeting of the 92 organisations at the end of April. No definite date had been set.

He said the PAC was still working with the ANC and other organisations to plan patriotic front meetings despite some of these organisations' participation in Codesa.

Sapa reports Makwetu's response to attacks on white teachers at Katlehong was that he condemned them if the teachers were attacked because they were white. There may however have been unknown "other reasons" for the attacks, he said.

"The PAC is not anti-white, it is just anti-white baaskap," he said.

ANI  
Swa

## Farmers 'shock action' after s

ADRIAN HADI

FREE State farmers have convened next week to discuss security after a farmer was shot dead by armed intruders in the Free State yesterday morning.

Thys Martins, 46, a farmer living in the Free State, was shot dead after burglars in his kitchen.

The slaying, the sixth violent farm since December, had shocked the community into action, said Orange Free State Union representative Gerald Steyn.

The union has called a special

# Makwetu refuses to testify

Sowetan 19/2/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, as commander-in-chief of the army, must be brought before the Goldstone Commission, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Makwetu was invited by the commission to account for alleged violent activities of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

The PAC chief yesterday said that the same criterion which existed for him (Makwetu) to be summoned before Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, existed for the commander-in-chief of the South African Defence Force and the head of the South African Police.

There were more incriminating fingers pointed at the SAP and SADF in the violence that has swept the country in recent years, Makwetu said.

"Does Justice Goldstone have plans to summon the commander-in-chief of the SADF, Mr De Klerk, to answer widespread allegations that his army was engaged in the most notorious activities against my people..."

"Is Judge Goldstone about to summon the so-called Commissioner of Police to account for the SAP's possible involvement in the train massacres on the Reef?" Makwetu said.

He said that he considered the commission to be "a waste of time".



ABU-BAKER ASVAT

# Azapo wants Katiza's help

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called for the return of fugitive Katiza Cebekhulu to assist in the commission of inquiry into the death of its leader, Dr Abu-

*11A*  
*Sowetan*  
Baker Asvat

Azapo said in a statement yesterday it believed Cebekhulu could help with "crucial" information regarding the mysterious death of Asvat.

Asvat was gunned down in his surgery in Rockville,

Soweto, on January 27 1989 by two men pretending to be patients. The motive was said to be robbery but Azapo has maintained that it was "political assassination."

Azapo said two months ago Cebekhulu had made

*19/2/92*  
"serious allegations claiming he knew those responsible for Asvat's death. We intend having an independent commission of inquiry into the death of Asvat," it said.

Denmark has become the fourth country to refuse

political asylum to Cebekhulu, the Winnie Mandela co-accused currently languishing in a Zambian prison.

Cebekhulu has been held in custody for almost a year for "his own safety" ever since his alleged kidnap-

ping inside South Africa. The Azapo statement came after it was disclosed that Cebekhulu's requests for asylum had also been turned down in Britain, Sweden and the United States. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

# Apla claim to killing

'suspect'

Sowetan  
19/2/92

POLICE are investigating a claim by an alleged member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army that they carried out Monday's ambush on a police bakkie in Katlehong.

Three municipal policeman were killed and four seriously injured.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said the attack took place about 5.50am in Phadima Section.

But police are, however, sceptical about the claim.

Two municipal policemen died at the scene, a third died of his injuries later and four others are in a serious condition at Natspruit Hospital.

One of the survivors, Constable Lennox Lata, was shot in the right hand by the gunmen. Opperman said the police were investigating the matter.

*Sowetan Correspondent.*



Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply—and whilst I am fully aware of the fact that the hon the Minister of Finance still has to deliver the Budget on 18 March—is it not perfectly true that each university has already been informed of the amount of money it will receive for the 1992 calendar year, and that the hon the Minister certainly could answer part 1 of this question without referring to any statistics, and certainly, if he chose, could make a statement on what the universities and technikons have already been told they will be receiving this year?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, provisional figures have been given to the various universities to allow them to get their planning in order for the new year, but these figures have not been made public and cannot be made public until such time as they are disclosed in the budget.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is it not correct that a number of universities and technikons have had a reduction, in real terms, of the amounts that they received in the 1991-92 year, and that the cash-strapped universities and technikons have been placed in an enormously difficult position because of this hon Minister's policy of not supplying the subsidy formula that he should, in fact, be supplying?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I will reply to the hon member's question after the publication is released.

#### Discussion document: consultation with organisations

\*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

- (1) Whether the drafters of a certain discussion document, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, consulted beforehand with any representatives from within and outside formal education; if so, (a) what organisations within and outside formal education were consulted with and (b) what is the name of this document;
- (2) whether the drafters of the document were approached by these organisations; if not, on what basis was it decided to consult with the organisations concerned

and to exclude others; if so, what are the relevant details;

- (3) whether the Government formally or informally gave instructions that certain organisations had to be consulted with?

B56E

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION: Mr Chairman, this is a reply to a question of the hon member for Brits. I do not notice him here in the House but I reply regardless of this. [Interjections.]

- (1) The drafters of the relevant discussion document consulted beforehand with representatives from within formal education, including the organised teaching profession, as well as experts from within and outside formal education. In the case of experts, consultation was in the light of their personal expertise and they were not seen as representative of any organisation. Representatives were consulted in accordance with existing legislation in terms of which there are structures for advising the Minister of National Education in the process of developing general policy. Representation involved the various education departments, including those of the self-governing territories, the organized teaching profession, universities and technikons. Organisations with which I am aware that experts have ties include Anglo American, the English Academy of Southern Africa, the HSRC, the Independent Schools Council, Priscac, the SA Akademie vir Kuns en Wetenskap and the SA Agricultural Union.

- (a) The initiative leading to the relevant document was taken by the Committee of Heads of Education Departments (CHED). They in turn instituted the broadly based advisory committee known as Copap—the Committee for Pre-tertiary Academic Policy. This committee assisted CHED in the development of the above-mentioned discussion document. Copap recommended that institution of Framework Committees according to the various subject fields. In terms of the demands of the various subject fields these committees in turn evaluated and provided feedback on the proposals.

continued

developed by Copap. The re-composition of Framework Committees will be considered by the CHED on finalisation of the above-mentioned discussion document. In accordance with existing legislation the South African Council for Education also advised the Minister of National Education on the relevant discussion document.

- (b) The name of the relevant document is A Curriculum Model for Education in South Africa.
- (2) The involvement of organisations which are represented in the various bodies involved in the development of the Curriculum Model can be attributed to existing legislation regarding advisory structures for the development of general policy. It is not as a result of the fact that they approached the persons who drafted the document. With the release of the Curriculum Model in the form of a discussion document it is hoped to extend the involvement already achieved as far as possible.
- (3) No.

#### ANC: members entertained by NI

\*4. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of the National Intelligence Service:†

- (1) Whether he will furnish information on whether the top structure of the National Intelligence Service has met and entertained senior members of the ANC since this organisation was declared legal; if not, why not; if so, (a) where, (b) when and (c) for what purpose did they meet and entertain them;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B57E

†The MINISTER OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE:

- (1) and (2)

Yes; Members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) meet and have discussions with many people over the full relevant intelligence spectrum and vocation all over the world, in

the execution of its statutory task, in order to practise security intelligence.

It would be out of place and discourteous to disclose to or enter into details of such discussions.

I am prepared according to tradition to discuss with concerned colleagues the meaning and ambit of the Service's activities over a cup of tea.

#### Rapid rail transit system: Johannesburg

\*5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 106 of 2 March 1988, a decision has been taken on the introduction of a rapid rail transit system for Johannesburg; if not, why not; if so, what was the decision?

B69E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

No. This decision will be taken by the relevant local authorities after research regarding the financial aspects surrounding the implementation of a rapid rail transit system has been undertaken.

However, the feasibility study regarding the implementation of a mass transportation system undertaken by the Department of Transport is already available and recommends *inter alia* the planning and implementation of a partial light railway system to be done on the premise of the finding that the road network in the central area will reach saturation over the medium term.

It is also recommended in the report that the existing public transport system be utilised maximally over the short term. This will result in existing rail, bus and combi-taxi services being continually rationalised.

#### SAP: increase in number

\*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) With reference to the reply to Question No 2 on 4 June 1991, (a) what was the total net increase in the number of policemen in the South African Police Force in 1991 and (b) (i) how many are still in training and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

# De Klerk, Mandela poll equal credibility

*STAR 19/2/92*

Race, status and sex affect how political figures are perceived JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

**B**EAUTY is not the only quality dependent on the eye of the beholder, it seems. Take political credibility ...

Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party has the trust of 21 percent of readers of *The Star*, while his stakes rise to 64 percent among readers of the Sowetan, polls undertaken by the Argus Group's Marketing and Media Research show.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha scores 14 percent trust rate among Sowetan readers, while 35 of every 100 readers of *The Star* have confidence in him.

The *Star*'s readers are sharply divided on Mr Botha's qualities, with only 7 percent of blacks prepared to trust him and 65 percent of whites.

The racial group, economic status and sex of respondents in a recent poll of more than 300 *Star* readers critically affected how they perceive political figures. These factors are a good predictor of whether readers are even aware of the existence of some prominent figures.

The report observes that "an astounding 28 percent of whites have not heard of" African National Congress foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki. Not surprisingly, he is rated as trustworthy by only 40 percent of *The Star*'s sample in which blacks and whites are about equally represented, while 73 percent of Sowetan readers put their faith in him.

Significantly, black readers of *The Star* are more likely to trust President de Klerk than whites are to trust ANC president Nelson Mandela. Both rate a 49 percent score when black and white views are pooled.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi might pip SACP general secretary Chris Hani to the post, with 29 percent of *The Star*'s readers trusting him as against 28 percent for Mr Hani.

But, the report notes: "Trust and belief in Chief Buthelezi comes from white readers — 57 percent of white, but only 4 percent of black readers claim to trust this man."

Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and Mr Botha have greater appeal among female *Star* readers than among males.

When it comes to income levels, the wealthier tend to put their faith in Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi and (to a lesser extent) Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht. Readers from lower income groups support the ANC and SACP leaders.

Predictable? Perhaps. But where does it leave a newspaper whose readership is divided down the middle by race and gender, with a quarter of them earning under R1 500 a month and another quarter more than R6 000?

Despite their polarised opinions on politicians, 80 percent of readers feel *The Star* steers clear of favouring a particular political party and 75 percent believe that it gives politics about the amount of coverage that it deserves. □

# ANC gave me gun for protection - Marcus

STAR 17/2/92

By Anna Louw  
and Julienne du Toit

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus who was convicted of illegal possession of a Makarov pistol and ammunition in the Vosloorus Regional Court on Monday, said in a statement to the court that she was given the Russian-made firearm by the ANC after receiving death threats.

Marcus pleaded guilty to two charges before Mr Jan Jonck.

She was fined R1 000 or 250 days' jail for possession of an unlicensed firearm and a further R500 or 125 days for being in possession of the ammunition.

In a statement handed to the court by her legal representative, Marcus said she received death threats after the distribution of pamphlets which said that she was a member of Inkatha.

The firearm was found in the possession of an occupant of a car which was stopped by police in Katlehong on December 17.

After being questioned the man said the gun belonged to Marcus.

● Marcus told The Star the police had victimised her by putting her in the limelight of a threatening issue. The issuing of her licence had taken 11 months, whereas it usually took three to four

weeks.

Because she felt so threatened, she had obtained the Makarov pistol for her own protection, but only after speaking to officials in high positions about the delay in the issuing of the gun licence.

She said she spoke to the Minister of Law and Order and to the Divisional Commissioner of police for the Witwatersrand, Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, but no licence was forthcoming.


It was granted only in November, a month after she had obtained the Makarov pistol.

Marcus said police wrongly said she had lent the pistol to another man. It had been in her car, and police had questioned her driver when they searched the car.

Another aspect of the police's victimisation of her was that they had issued a statement to all newspapers on the court case, she said.

"Have the police become court reporters? There is no independent judiciary in the country. This shows police have a vested interest here."

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman, through whom the statement was issued, said they supplied the information after being approached on the matter by a newspaper he would not name.



Swaniewille squatter leader Methole Motsekga holds up a fax from the AWB threatening the forcible dismantling of shacks by the end of the month if the occupants do not leave by then.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

# Man who threatened judge unknown — Apla

*B/day 20/2/92* (11A)

IT WAS unlikely the Goldstone Commission would comment yet on a warning issued yesterday to Mr Justice Goldstone by a man purporting to be a field political commissar of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), a senior member of the commission said.

Mr Justice Goldstone was unavailable for comment.

The caller, who identified himself as Tafara Rafara, phoned Sapa to warn Mr Justice Goldstone he would be responsible for any action taken against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu on Tuesday vowed he would rather go to jail than testify before the commission on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives.

Apla information chief in Dar es Salaam Johnny Majozo said yesterday Rafara was unknown to the organisation's high command. While Majozo backed Makwetu's

refusal to testify before the commission on the grounds that Apla's struggle could not be classified in the same way as township violence, it was not the organisation's policy to target civilians, he said.

A PAC statement issued in SA said Apla's activities did not constitute public violence and intimidation as they were "related to the historical necessity to destroy white domination and replace it with justice and democracy".

Our Durban correspondent reports that PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said government would be "putting its hand into a beehive" if it "dared" to arrest Makwetu.

Speaking at a news conference on PAC policy regarding Codesa and the Goldstone Commission, Nemadzivhanani hinted that arresting Makwetu could result in an attack on the "regime". — Sapa.

## Bare protest not ANC's strategy

Staff Reporter (11A)

THE ANC yesterday described the action of women stripping in front of police as a "desperate form of action" — but would not recommend it as a form of protest.

The organisation was responding after women stripped in protest against the presence of police in KTC earlier this week.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the ANC understood why women took this form of "spontaneous" action.

## PAC will 'act' if chief jailed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government would be "putting its hand into a beehive" if it "dared" to arrest PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu for refusing to testify before the Goldstone Commission, a spokesman has said. (11) OCT 20/21/92

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said arresting Mr Makwetu could result in the PAC unleashing an unprecedented attack on the "regime".

The commission wants to question Mr Makwetu on the PAC's attitude to the killing of policemen by its military wing, Apla. Mr Makwetu has refused to appear before the commission, saying he would rather go to jail.

# Apla denies threat on judge Goldstone

*Sowetan 20/2/92*

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army yesterday distanced itself from the man who threatened bloodshed if PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was forced to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry.

In a statement from the Tanzanian capital Dar es Salaam, the PAC's military wing said the man was unknown to them and, furthermore, it was not its policy to target civilians.

The statement was issued by the organisation's chief of information Mr Johnny Majozo, who backed Makwetu's refusal to testify to the commission.

He said the Apla's high command had no knowledge of Tafara Rafara, who issued

the threats yesterday, claiming he was a political commissar in the organisation.

"It is definitely not Apla's policy to target civilians," Majozo said.

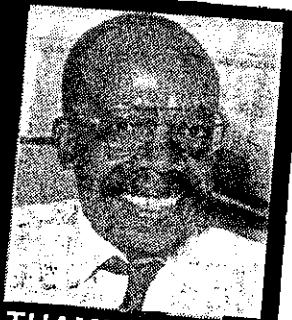
Apla has admitted responsibility for the murder of several policemen this year and warned more killings should be expected, despite an outcry from the black community.

In defending Makwetu's stance not to testify, Majozo said there was no way that Apla's "struggle" could be classified in the same way as township violence.

Makwetu has turned down a request by Mr Justice Goldstone to give evidence before the Commission, saying he would rather go to jail. - *Sapa*.

# Mandela left me speechless

It's my business



THAMI MAZWAI

Sowetan 20/2/92

11A

THAT word "nationalisation" is once more doing the rounds. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela left me speechless on Saturday. He wants the ANC's national executive to have another look at nationalisation.

"It is keeping overseas investors away and we desperately need investment," he says.

For the record, I am not a disciple of doctrinaire nationalisation, or socialism for that matter. A mixed economy appears the sensible route to take.

I am, however, worried about the nature and timing of the ANC re-

think on nationalisation. The reasoning is flawed. Also, the sudden hurry to ditch nationalisation as if having it as a policy is a sin of the first order, is frightening.

Blacks have wanted nationalisation because of its success in the economic empowerment of the Afrikaner.

After First World I there was a slump in the world markets for agricultural produce. The agricultural sector was dominated by Afrikaners.

This led to them flocking to the urban areas in search of jobs. They were, however, without skills for the developing industries. They were then em-

ployed in the civil service. Also, when the Government of the day created the Iscors and Eskoms in the twenties, there was this ready army of unemployed Afrikaners to be trained for the newly created jobs.

Of course, nationalisation was not necessarily aimed at creating these jobs.

At the time it was economically wise for Governments to control major industries. Just about all the western countries did it.

It then made a lot of sense, although our Government spiced its nationalisation by employing whites only, whom it called "civilised labour".

Cutting a long story

short; the success of nationalisation in empowering Afrikaners economically has made the policy attractive to blacks. Simple as all that. Has this been taken into consideration as the ANC now talks of a rethink?

Last year Mandela said the white business community was quick to criticise nationalisation but did not come with viable alternatives.

Now that he thinks nationalisation should be dumped, what alternatives have been offered?

In addition, why must foreign investors fear nationalisation in this country, before even knowing the form it will take, when

they have investments in countries who have some of their industries owned by the Government?

Must they determine our policies?

Is it not enough to guarantee them that their businesses will not be taken over, and they are free to repatriate their profits?

This is just as good, for scrapping nationalisation today does not mean it will not be considered in future.

In rushing to rethink nationalisation, it appears the ANC wants to accommodate white fears rather than black aspirations in shaping its economic policies.

Also, saying that overseas investors fear nationalisation borders on the na-

ive. Investors want security for their investments. Nationalisation is one side of the coin, and the other is political instability.

And this instability is President F W de Klerk's department.

The Government is doing very little to stabilise the country. Lurking behind the violence in the country are the CCB, Askaris and rogue elements in the security forces.

The ANC makes this point every other day. What should happen is

that as the ANC juggles nationalisation, which scares investors away, the Government should precede this by stabilising the country.

At the moment, it is simply bludgeoning everybody to its point of view.

Time that somebody told Mandela it takes two to tango. So far the ANC has been doing the giving; time that it asked De Klerk to do the same.



# Unity is strength

Sowetan 20/2/92

119

By IKE MOTSAPI

BLACK cultural organisations need to unite and form a cultural board as prescribed by the United Nations to overcome challenges facing them, listeners to the Radio Metro Talkback Show heard last night.

The show was sponsored by Tribute magazine as part of its fifth anniversary celebrations.

Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana of the Pan Africanist Congress suggested that a cultural conference of all

liberation movements be held where a cultural board could be elected.

He said the task of the board would be to work out strategies that would help cultural organisations overcome challenges.

A caller, Sandile from Cape Town, suggested that groups at grassroots level be invited to such a conference.

Mr Wally Serote of the African National Congress supported the call, and said such an organisation should be non-

sectarian.

He said the main issue such a body would face was how it related to a new government.

Poet Mzwakhe Mbuli said liberation movements should meet to iron the differences they may have had.

He said he was not opposed to foreign artists coming to South Africa, adding: "Cultural exchange is good because the two groups could exchange ideas relevant to their goals".

# Azapo says 'no' to Goldstone

11A  
~~11A~~

Southern 20/2/92



NEFOLOVHODWE

**THE Azanian People's Organisation has rejected an invitation by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into violence and intimidation to testify about violence during the Paul Simon tour.**

In a letter sent to the commission yesterday, Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the organisation's central committee had found no reason why its president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, should testify before the commission.

The commission had invited Nefolovhodwe to attend a hearing and explain allegations of violence made by "an affiliated organisation" during the Simon tour.

After Azapo said the commission should identify the organisation, the commission sent it a newspaper article in which the

By MATHATHA  
TSEDU

Azanian Youth Organisation was quoted as saying it appreciated all forms of support in its efforts to disrupt the tour.

The article also referred to a grenade blast which rocked the offices of a company supplying Simon with a sound system.

In Azapo's letter to the commission yesterday, Nkadimeng said it was "history that all Azapo's demonstrations against the Paul Simon tour were peaceful, that Azapo's president was detained wrongfully and released without being charged and that the Azanian National Liberation Army had claimed responsibility for the explosions that accompanied the tour.



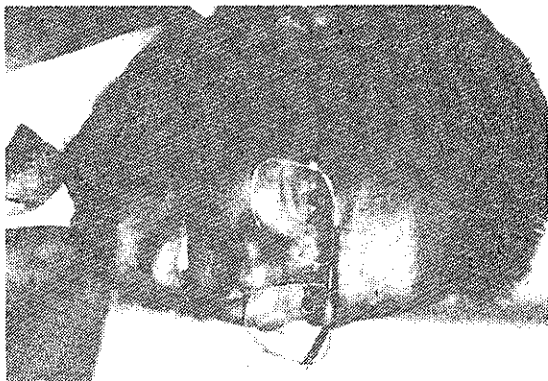
NELSON MANDELA



F.W. DE KLERK



CLARENCE MAKWETU



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



JOE SLOVO

# Mandela tops the pops

## in latest opinion poll

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is top of the pops.

A survey by Markinor shows that if elections were held now, he would be South Africa's new president with 69 percent of the electorate voting for him. Sixty percent of South Africans are confident of a happy future for all and 43 percent think race relationships are improving.

The survey showed that President F.W. de Klerk would get the second highest number of votes - mostly from whites. He

IKEMOTSAPI checks out who figures in a recent survey

What is interesting about the figures is that blacks - who have been subjected to violence in trains, taxis, funerals and meetings of political parties - feel things will improve.

The reason for this is that the police, and especially the Government, are doing their best to curb on-going violence.

The Government does not want to be seen by other delegates at Codesa as "having a hand" in vio-

Source - 20/12/92

11A

3

claimed hundreds of lives since Mandela was released from prison.

The interesting point is that acceptability of Mandela and Buthelezi differs sharply among whites

and blacks.

The survey showed that Inkatha has five white supporters for every black sympathiser in the metropolitan areas and 6 006 whites and 125 000 blacks

would either give it their first or second choice.

The actual "poll", however, confirmed that among blacks De Klerk's popularity is waning whereas that of Mandela is growing.

Mandela, by contrast, improved his position from 55 percent in November to

69 percent one year later. Inkatha's support dropped further to only one percent.

Looking at the growth potential for various parties, that is in first and second choice, the PAC had 26 percent, National Party 20 percent and the SACP 14

percent and to a lesser extent the DP with seven percent. These figures are very similar to the ones recorded in 1991. The IFP, however, did not gain additional votes to a significant degree. It recorded three percent in this category.

would only get nine percent of black voters.

### Dramatic

De Klerk, the first National Party leader to make dramatic reforms, has obviously fallen from grace.

A similar poll in 1990 gave him 22 percent support from blacks when they saw him as the person who should lead the country.

However, in the latest poll 81 percent of whites think De Klerk is leading the country either "very well" or "fairly well".

About 60 percent in the black community share similar views about the way De Klerk is running the country.

Mr Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan Africanist Congress, comes third in the popularity stakes with four percent support. He is followed by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party and Dr Zach De Beer, leader of the Democratic Party.

### Happy

The good news is that of the 60 percent who are confident of a happy future, only 18 percent are very confident while the rest have a glimmer of hope for better things to come.

These figures by Markinor are from a survey conducted three months ago among blacks and whites in metropolitan ar-

ence.

Despite a high number of unemployed among blacks they, however, feel that the bad state of the economy will improve steadily with prospects for jobs for many.

The Markinor figures show that about 25 percent of blacks feel better off during the past two years.

About 32 percent of blacks feel confident that they will be "much better off" by December.

### Dismal

Most feel that they could be earning as much as R1 500 a month.

The outlook for the future is affected by the present dismal situation.

Whites felt that the majority of the population group, about 52 percent, are now worse off than in the past 14 years. About 16 percent of whites feel they are better off.

### Drop

The biggest drop in positive figures is found for the evaluation of De Klerk among blacks. The enthusiasm of May 1990 has given way to increased criticism.

Positive attitudes have dropped from 88 percent in May 1990 to 84 percent in May 1991 and to a low of 60 percent during the past three months.

This could be attributed to insinuations that the De Klerk government and Inkatha were responsible for the violence that

# PAC threat to judge who heads violence commission

STAR 20/2/92

A man claiming to be a "field political commissar" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, yesterday issued a warning to Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for bloodshed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions," the man, who called himself Tafara Rafara, said by telephone.

The warning came only a day after Mr Makwetu himself vowed he would rather go to jail than testify on reported attacks on police by Apla operatives before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

The commission is headed by Mr Justice Goldstone.

The caller purporting to be Mr Rafara warned: "The commanders of Apla will in no way restrain forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president (Clarence) Makwetu and the PAC leadership."

There was no immediate comment from the Goldstone Commission or the PAC.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Patri-

cia de Lille, said by telephone: "I can't help you on this issue. I can only refer you to PAC's external headquarters where you can contact Apla."

Police said that at this stage they were not in a position to comment on the warning against Mr Justice Goldstone.

Mr Rafara said Apla supported the PAC's position that "an illegitimate and illegal regime cannot set up a legitimate commission and issue legal orders to our leader".

Mr Rafara also warned government on possible action against Mr Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to warn the South African regime that any action taken by the Goldstone Commission against Comrade Makwetu will not be taken lying down by Apla forces and the people of Azania.

"We of Apla can assure the racist regime that any action of humiliation against Comrade Makwetu will be too costly in terms of human life as it is bound to trigger the uncontrollable anger of the oppressed and humiliated people of this land."

Mr Rafara said the only solution to violence lay with the oppressed demonstrating their ability to defend themselves.

He added that attacks on police were Apla's main campaign.

A police spokesman said attacks on their men would not be tolerated.

— Sapa.

# 'Bid to defuse English issue'

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

By Justin Pearce

THE ANC's language policy released last week has been greeted with praise, condemnation, and a fair dose of confusion.

The policy seeks to grant equal recognition to Afrikaans, English, Sesotho, Seswati, Sindebele, Sipedi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu.

Access to education, the law and government services would be available through the medium of any citizen's preferred language.

Mr Nigel Crawhall of the National Language Project (NLP) believes the announcement must be seen in the

context of Codesa, in which the ANC is forced to bargain with the National Party on certain policy issues.

The ANC's refusal to give any language privileged status above another could be an attempt to defuse the question of English, a sensitive one for the NP.

Crawhall says the NP is unwilling to accept any proposal that recognises English without making clear the position of Afrikaans.

The NP has responded by condemning what the party sees as a move to deprive English and Afrikaans of their official status.

While the NLP agrees with the recognition of African languages, Crawhall expressed doubts about the

workability of granting South Africa's nine African languages equal status.

Under the ANC policy, Zulu, spoken by approximately nine million people (25 percent of the population), has the same status as Venda, which is spoken by only two percent of the population.

The ANC document contains little to suggest how its policy might be implemented, and the NLP has interpreted it as "a general statement of the principle of full recognition of linguistic rights. It is not a full working document."

The NLP supports a regional language policy, which the ANC document hints at.

# Qibla leader's aim is united Muslim council

South 20/2 - 26/2/92

Zubeida Jaffer

ISLAM WOULD reflect a major ideological position in South Africa if the Muslim community were to be united under one leadership.

Such a formation could be larger than any other existing political party and could therefore have an impact on the entire liberation process, says Qibla leader Imam Achmad Cassiem.

A former Robben Islander, Cassiem has committed himself to work to-

wards the establishment of a supreme council for Southern Africa to bring about such unity.

"It could be called by any other name," he says. "But such a council would bring about, reflect and maintain the unity of all the Muslims in this country."

For him, such a formation would mean that the strength in numbers of the Muslims, their financial resources and their military capabilities would be consolidated.

"The moment a person embraces Is-

lam, fighting becomes obligatory. Under what conditions and when to fight, depends on the leadership," Cassiem said.

"But if a supreme council is established, the spin-offs of that unity will have an immediate impact."

When such a formation would come off the ground, however, is difficult to say.

Efforts to bring about unity are being made in obedience to the Islamic command "not to be disunited and divided amongst yourselves".

11A  
Adds Cassiem: "We are not doing this out of political expediency. We are saying to Muslims they have a personal obligation to unite.

"If needs be, they must unite over the heads of the ulema (traditional leaders) who have been dividing the masses and have been dividing themselves for all this time."

While Cassiem harbours no illusions about the difficulties that lie ahead, he believes such unity is essential to bring about a just social order.

# 'Muslims must be allies of the oppressed people

Soall 20/2-26/2/92

20/2/92 11A

**M**USLIMS IN South Africa are considered one of the most self-reliant and active minorities in the world. With a population close to one million of the national population of 35 million, they have suffered and survived — along with other oppressed communities — the tyranny of apartheid's Group Areas Act and forced removals.

"The community has shown an enormous survival potential over the past 300 years," said Imam Hassan Solomon of the Muslim Judicial Council.

Without foreign aid, Muslims have established and successfully sustained mosques, madrasahs (religious schools), newspapers, colleges, schools and various welfare institutions.

"The South African National Zakaah Fund is a most prestigious organisation with a R2-million budget, providing some relief for the poor and needy," said Solomon, who is also Western Cape chairperson of the Fund.

He said those and other projects had become a reality solely because of the tremendous commitment and efforts of the community.

"In other countries where Muslims are a minority, mosques and other institutions are built on foreign aid."

Solomon said a worrying factor was an increasing domination of the business class and professionals on controlling bodies of mosques, madrasahs and other structures.

"Apart from the immense survival capabilities, Muslims have exhibited tolerance towards other faiths and should guard against manipulation and abuse by the government.

"Muslims in South Africa must continue to identify with the rest of the oppressed.

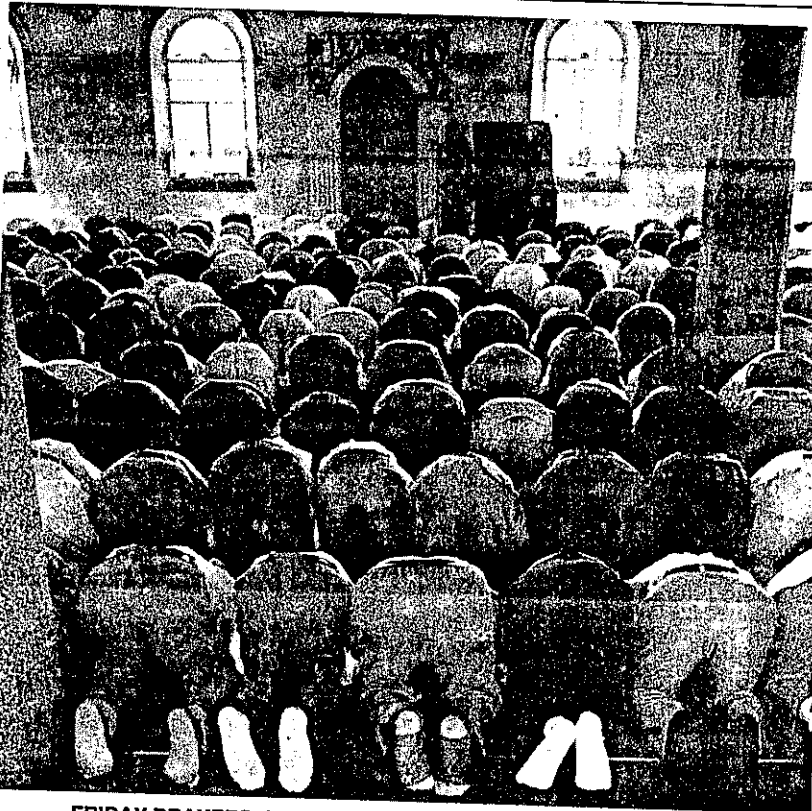
"Experience on the ground has indicated that the role and cultural visions of Muslims can most effectively be realised and protected in alliance with the oppressed.

"Muslims must be involved in mainstream politics in the future and will find themselves most comfortable with the African National Congress (ANC) because of its religious and cultural rights."

Acknowledging the objections voiced by Muslims on the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), Solomon said it would be unfair to call on the ANC to sever ties with the SACP because of the two organisations' history of fighting oppression.

"The SACP has made it quite clear it is not anti-religion," he said.

**Islam is one of the fastest-growing religions in the world. In Africa Islam blazed a trail of conquest long before the colonists arrived with their missionaries. For the past three decades, Muslims have been oppressed in several African states as Christianity gained ascendancy. This three page investigates the problems facing Muslims in Southern Africa:**



**FRIDAY PRAYERS:** Muslims gather for their main sermon of the week

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Highlighting rich traditions at the lifestyle of the community, Solomon said the spirit of "helpmkaar" was "alive and an integral part of life".

"In many homes, the bak-en-bré of koecksisters, samoosas, daltjies ar vetbroodjies continues and will live on.

"This demonstrates yet another way the community carries forth one of its traditions but it is sad that many families are not doing this because of economic hardships," said Solomon.

This year saw the launching of pilot project introduced in some government primary schools where Muslim teachers have been employed to conduct Islamic Studies.

Various schools catering only for Muslim students and providing Islamic Studies as part of the curriculum are recognised by the Christian government, like Habib College in Athlone, Mohammedyah Primary and Rahmaniyyeh Primary.

"It is my view that religion taught in schools should not be propagandist but a means of teaching an understanding of interfaith relationships said Solomon.

"He who knows one, knows none. He said "exemplary" structures existed in a number of communities where Islamic studies were provided.

Muslims in South Africa do not however, constitute one united community.

**A**LTHOUGH THERE are various organisations possessing different views on the role Muslims should play, they do agree unity is essential.

"Muslims have a religious duty to oppose any oppressor, no matter what it takes," said Sheikh Abubaker Najaar of the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA).

"For over 500 years Muslims have gone through trauma and now have to look at themselves to lead the world to virtue.

"They would not be worthy of Islam if they neglect their duty and the goes for South African Muslims as well."

ICSA was formed in the late seventies and is the only national body according to Najaar, with branches throughout the country.

The council has strong international links and ensured the recognition of the South African community with Islamic countries worldwide, he said.

The Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) represents the majority of Muslims in the Western Cape with 96 affiliated mosques — nearly 95 per cent.

Formed in 1945 to cater for the need of Muslims, it is the most recognised body.

The MJC has three main departments dealing with marriage and divorce, education and the overseeing of halaal food outlets.

# PAC raises a row over Goldstone commission

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South 20/2-26/2/92

By Sabata Ngcai

A MAN claiming to be a "field political commissar" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), military wing of the PAC, this week threatened Mr Justice Goldstone that he would be held responsible for any action against PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu refuses to testify before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence, even if subpoenaed.

APLA has distanced itself from the threats, saying the man was unknown to them and it was not their policy to target civilians.

"APLA wishes to put it on record that Goldstone himself will personally be held responsible for any blood that will be shed as a result of his provocative and irresponsible actions," the man, identifying himself as Tafara Rafara, said.

"The commanders of APLA will in no way restrain the forces on the ground from taking any action they deem fit in defence of president Makwetu and the whole PAC leadership."

The commission has appealed to Makwetu to testify or be subpoenaed about alleged violent activities of the PAC's military wing.

It is alleged that APLA killed a number of policemen in the last few months.

In their statement dismissing the threats to Goldstone, APLA's chief of information, Mr Johnny Majozo, admitted responsibility for the killings.

Makwetu, however, denied allegations that APLA was involved in violence.

He said in Cape Town this week he could not expect justice from the commission "as it is an institution created by the racist illegitimate regime".

If he was threatened with imprison-



**DEFIANT:** PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu

ment, his answer would be "I have suffered many years of imprisonment for my beliefs".

"The liberation of my people from 'baaskap' is an aim which I cherish, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to pay the price of incarceration."

Makwetu said it was clear that the principal perpetrators of violence had neither been questioned nor arrested.

"Does Judge Goldstone have plans to summon the Commander-in-Chief of the SADF, Mr FW. de Klerk, to

answer widespread allegations that his army is engaged in the most notorious activities against my people?"

"Is Judge Goldstone about to summon the Commissioner of Police to account for the SAP's possible involvement in the train massacres on the Reef?"

"Are the presidents of the principal organisations involved in the violence being invited to testify why violence rages although they solemnly signed the Peace Accord?"



By Quentin Wilson

WHILE white Potchefstroom buzzed with excitement during voting for the by-election this week, black Potchefstroom was not impressed.

Residents from the surrounding townships of Ikageng, Promosa and Mohadim, largely ignored by election campaigners and hordes of press people seeking white attitudes to National Party reforms, expressed disgust.

"These racist elections have al-

## 'White election' disgusts blacks

<sup>South 20/2-26/2/92</sup>  
ways been irrelevant but with Codesa underway, they are even more irrelevant," said ANC Transvaal regional spokesperson, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

"That we can still afford to have racist elections at this time is repugnant."

Population figures given by the Potchefstroom City Council estimate that white residents amount to 31 per cent of the area's total population.

"The CP's victory takes us back to

the Verwoerdian days of apartheid," Mamoepa said.

Black Potchefstroom residents didn't have to wait for the election outcome to experience how their lives would change under CP rule.

On Wednesday Mr Johannes Lebitse was hit on the mouth, allegedly by a CP supporter, who said he was not allowed to stand outside the polling station.

Rightwing supporters were also seen chasing away two black people,

and slapped an NP sticker on the chest of a third and shoved an NP placard into his hands.

Police were called in to avert a clash when a group of black NP supporters were threatened by CP loyalists.

University of Pretoria students supporting the CP parked one of their rag floats near the polling station with figures caricaturing President FW de Klerk, CP leader Mr Andries Treurnicht and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The figure of Mandela had a bone stuck through its head.

# How key organisations form Policy

*New Nation  
(Learning Nation)  
2/12 - 27/2/92.*



NECC delegation

The extent of the collapse of education in South Africa has shown that the present state does not have the legitimacy to be in control of education. Within this context various organisations are beginning to formulate education policies. In this article we will examine how the process of formulating education policies is understood by the major organisations contesting the education terrain. In other words, how are policies for a "new" education system to be formulated. We will critically examine how the government, the ANC, big business and the NECC understand the process of formulating education policy.

## The Government

The state announced its policies for education in the form of the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS). The ERS proposals were drawn up by senior officials of the various education departments and experts appointed by the Department of National Education (DNE). Of the 20 committees who worked on the ERS most members were male and white. Education representatives from the "independent homelands" were excluded. It is clear that the government does not see the bantustans as part of South Africa. Representatives of Big Business were however included in the various committees.

The ERS proposals were drawn up in the space of a year. Input from the people was largely through the submission of memoranda to the DNE. This implies that the state sees the process of formulating education policy as largely a matter for the senior officials of the various government departments of education and experts appointed by the government. At no stage did the ERS take into account the demands of the progressive education movement.

In presenting the ERS, the state argued that the recommendations were based upon

scientific investigations which were not influenced by any particular political beliefs and values. Despite this claim however, the ERS failed to make specific plans as to how the history of apartheid education was going to be overcome.

The ERS proposals were mainly targeted at what the state called "first line change managers" - a nice name for the senior bureaucrats of the existing education departments. In fact, the first presentation of the ERS recommendation was to these "first line change managers". Having formulated the proposals the state then only began to consult with community-based structures. Thus the masses were excluded from the beginning of the project. They had no say in setting the terms of reference, deciding on the composition of the committees and in giving input into the actual work of the committees.

In summary, the ERS project represents a highly undemocratic and technicist approach to policy formulation.

## The ANC

The process of formulating education policy by the ANC is governed by the broader political objectives of the ANC. Education policy is thus an attempt to represent the programme of the ANC as a political party contesting power. Furthermore, the process of formulating policy is related to the task of building the organisational strength of the ANC.

The ANC emphasises the participation of its membership in the process of formulating education policy. The form such participation takes is through regional and national workshops/meetings where education policy is debated. This task is co-ordinated by the education department of the ANC.

However, it is not clear at this stage how the ANC sees the process of education policy in terms of issues such as the role of experts.

## The National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC)

The NECC's approach to policy is in the form of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). Similar to the ANC, NEPI stresses participation and accountability in formulating education policy. For NEPI this is done through the way the

project is structured, the research agenda set up, and the way policy is understood.

NEPI is at all times accountable to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the NECC. Internally the work of NEPI is controlled by the Executive Committee (EXCO) which is made up of representatives of the NECC, the ANC, academics and the 12 research group conveners. The EXCO is the highest decision-making body of NEPI and is responsible for the direction of the research.

Unlike the ERS, the NEPI has formulated 5 principles which guide the research conducted by various research groups. These principles include non-racialism and democracy. Thus the research undertaken by NEPI is guided by a specific set of values and beliefs which are spelt out.

NEPI understands the process of formulating policy to provide the NECC with policy options for education. Furthermore, the focus of the various research groups is to critically examine the demands of the progressive education movement and to formulate policy options based upon these demands.

In addition, NEPI has suggested that accountability can also be ensured through consultative forums where the work of the various research groups can be scrutinised and debated by community-based structures. Such consultative forums further the participation of the community in the formulation of education policy as well as providing a forum for sharing information and insights.

## Capital

Big business does not at this stage have any concrete project for education policy that is publicly known. However, there are two major features to Capital's understanding of the education policy process. Firstly, according to Capital, any education policy must secure the approval of the progressive education movement. Secondly, Capital places emphasis on intervening in various education policy initiatives. For example, Capital gave evidence to the ERS concerning their understanding of the relationship between education and the world of work. The Private Sector Initiative (PSI), the Urban Foundation's Education Policy Unit and the Private Sector Grouping are presently the most signifi-

cant of Capital's initiatives in terms of education policy. While there may be differences between the various groupings of Capital, they are all concerned with a future South Africa which is safe for profitable investment. Overall, the process of formulating education policy is seen by Capital to be the work of experts who consult and are informed by the "community" at large. Capital argues that their education policies are not aligned to any particular political grouping or party.

## Conclusion

What is clear is that the process of formulating education policy is understood differently by the state, the bosses and the ANC. All of them however claim that community participation is crucial in securing the legitimacy of the various education policy recommendations. They differ as to how such participation should be structured. It is clear that the struggles in education are not simply around the actual policies themselves but also as to how education policy will be drawn up.

Key issues in terms of the policy process are:

- the role of experts
- the values and beliefs that underly various education policy initiatives
- participation and involvement of the people
- the extent to which the policy process takes in the demands of past struggles in education.

The policy process is becoming a site of struggle and the implementation of policy will be dependent on how policy is drawn up. It is therefore important for the progressive education movement to ensure the most democratic approach to drawing up policy.

# PAC raids Natal

11A

8 Dec 21/2/92

**THE PAC has embarked on a major membership drive in Natal in an attempt to strengthen its anti-Codesa position.**

National organiser of the PAC Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said in Durban on Wednesday that the organisation was determined to mobilise South Africans against the "undemocratic Codesa monster".

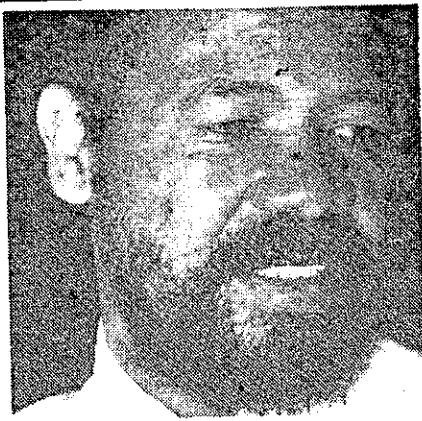
Nemadzivhanani said that Codesa was a "useless talkshop dominated by the illegal and illegitimate South African regime with the active collaboration and blessing of the ANC/SACP alliance".

## **Support**

He said the PAC campaign against Codesa was being well received and that many people were joining the PAC in support of its position.

Nemadzivhanani said a rally in Umlazi, which was addressed by PAC deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke on Sunday, drew a much smaller crowd than meetings in other centres.

"The PAC recognises the fragile nature of its structures in Natal and consequently realises the need to strengthen and re-invigorate its structures," he said.



AUBREY ADAMS



AMELIA MAKOANE

# 'Joe Soap' doesn't care much about referendum - survey

11A  
SOWETO

Sowetan 21/2/92

**THE man in the street did not care whether State President Mr FW de Klerk held a referendum or not, a snap survey revealed yesterday.**

Ten people interviewed by Sowetan said they were not interested in politics and "had more important things on their mind than politics" but the rest said if De Klerk was serious he would call for an all-race General Election.

"No to a whites-only referendum," was the response of Mr Aubrey Adams of Fleurhof said. But, he added, the prospect of De Klerk resigning if he lost was tempting.

Adams said: "He has no plans for the future.

"It is time he let the people decide their future in an open election."

Mr Ricky Pillay, a businessman said: "We seem to be going backwards. After two years of negotiations, he still proposes this referendum. It is time all South African citizens were consulted."

Miss Lele Molefe of Johannesburg, said De Klerk's decision to call a whites-only referendum was unfair.

Miss Amelia Mokoane said: "I am not interested in politics. The corruption makes me even less concerned."

A worker at a

Maraisburg fast food outlet asked why De Klerk was not concentrating on solving violence instead of calling for an exclusive referendum.

Mr J Jonker said all races should be given a chance to participate in processes aimed at determining the future of this country.

One white who declined to give his name called for open elections, saying it would help the country out of its current problems.

Mr Albert Mpinda of Soweto, said for centuries whites had been deciding the fate of blacks.

"The ANC must have a say in our political future, but members of Inkatha must be excluded," he said.



Spokesman Saki Macozoma announces the ANC's rejection of the whites-only referendum

# Apartheid is in a crisis - ANC

*Sowetan 21/2/92*

11A

THE African National Congress and its allies - Cosatu and the SA Communist Party - yesterday warned State President FW de Klerk not to hold a whites-only referendum as this would delay the establishment of a democratic government.

The three groups said they rejected the notion of racial and ethnic referenda which they said would give whites a veto over "our country."

The alliance reiterated its call for the establishment of an interim government.

It also announced that it would embark on a programme of action between March 18 and March 21 to focus on the need for a speedy movement towards the establishment of a constituent assembly.

The alliance said De Klerk's intentions reflected the crisis "of the apartheid establishment and underlines the need to move as speedily as possible towards a democratic society."

"A whites-only referendum is not only the hallmark of racism but also has the effect of delaying movement towards peace and justice for all our people," they said.

The three groups were reacting to De Klerk's announce-

ment yesterday that he intended to hold a whites-only referendum to test the opinion of voters on his reform policies.

"I will resign if the response is negative," De Klerk said yesterday.

During a hastily arranged Press conference, Mr Saki Macozoma, of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, read a prepared statement to the waiting journalists.

## Fate of negotiations

"In the course of a meeting of the tri-partite alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr John Gomo and Mr Chris Hani respectively, we received news of President De Klerk's decision to hold a referendum for the white community.

"The prerogative to decide on the fate of negotiations resides with all the people of our country and we are convinced that the overwhelming majority of South Africans support a peaceful and negotiated resolution of the country's problems."

By Ike Motsapi

# Goldstone request to meet Azapo leader withdrawn

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

119  
The Goldstone Commission has withdrawn its request to Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe to come before it and discuss the alleged involvement of its youth wing, Azayo, in violence associated with the recent Paul Simon tour.

Mr Nefolovhodwe refused the request by the commission investigating violence and intimidation this week after the matter was discussed by a meeting of the organisation's central committee.

In a letter turning

down the invitation, Azapo's secretary-general Don Nkadimeng told Mr Justice Goldstone that Azapo and its president were in no way linked to any acts of violence. Consequently the organisation "saw no need to involve themselves at this stage".

He also stated that responsibility for the hand-grenade blast at PA Sounds, the company that provided sound during the tour, had been claimed by the exiled Azanian National Liberation Army.

In his letter, delivered to Azapo on Wednesday, Mr Justice Goldstone

said: "In view of your assurance that Azapo and its president were in no way linked to the activities in question, the commission will take the matter no further."

Meanwhile, the commission this week renewed its request to PAC president Clarence Makwetu to come before it and account for activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Makwetu has refused the invitation, saying he was not responsible for the actions of Apla — the PAC's armed wing — which included killing policemen.

By PAUL STOBER

ANOTHER attack by the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing left three more policemen dead this week, but the PAC continues to refuse to accept responsibility for the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a letter sent to Judge Richard Goldstone explaining why PAC president Clarence Makwetu has refused to appear before the Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, the organisation claimed no member of its national executive had any knowledge of Apla activities. Instead, it referred the commission to the Apla headquarters in the capital of Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti explained that Apla is controlled by a military commission situated in Dar-es-Salaam. He insisted: "No member of the PAC NEC is a member of the military commission." However, he later admitted that "those in the military commission cherish the ideals and objectives of the PAC".

At a media conference this week, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said "the activi-

## PAC denies links to killing of policemen

ties of Apla do not constitute public violence and intimidation but are part of a just struggle for democracy".

Toboti accused the government of using the Goldstone Commission to try to force his organisation to join the Congress for a Democratic South Africa.

He also rejected Judge Goldstone's assertion of the commission's independence from the government. "If the commission is independent, why does it have the legal power to send the police to enforce a subpoena?" he asked.

According to Judge Goldstone, "the commission wishes to discuss with Makwetu the attitude of the PAC towards the policy and statements of Apla. This is a matter which concerns the PAC whether or not it has control over the policies of Apla."

The PAC has never disassociated itself from Apla and has refused

to condemn it for the recent spate of attacks on policemen for which it has claimed responsibility.

Judge Goldstone has warned Makwetu that if he refuses to appear before the commission, "it will have no alternative but to compel his presence at a public inquiry".

On Tuesday Makwetu stated he would rather go to jail than appear before the commission if he is subpoenaed. Failure to appear could mean that he will be liable for a year in jail or a R4 000 fine.

On Wednesday a man calling himself Tafara Rafara, the field political commissar of Apla, issued a warning to Judge Goldstone that he would be held responsible for action taken against Makwetu.

"Apla wishes to place on record that Goldstone will be held responsible personally for any blood that will be shed as a result of his irre-

sponsible actions," he said.

But in a statement issued from Dar-es-Salaam the next day, Apla denied any knowledge of the man and distanced itself from his threat. "It is definitely not Apla policy to target civilians," said Apla's chief information officer, Johnny Majozo.

Apla has been reported as saying the organisation will continue to target security force members until a constituent assembly is established.

●On Wednesday the Goldstone Commission withdrew an invitation to the president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, to appear before it. He had been asked to discuss media reports linking "organisations affiliated to Azapo" to a grenade blast in the offices of a company linked to the Paul Simon tour. Azapo had opposed the tour.

In a letter to Azapo, Judge Goldstone said the organisation's insistence that neither it nor its youth wing, the Azanian Youth Organisation, was involved in violence during the tour meant the commission would take the issue no further.

W/Mail 21/2 - 27/2/92



# fight - Apla

We are real, and we will

STAR 22/2/92

IN South Africa these days, policemen get killed all the time. Last year, 145 men in blue were mowed down — that's one dead every two and a half days. The words "Policeman shot" in a newspaper headline were becoming as regular as "bank robbed" or "prices to rise".

Then last October, a man calling himself Carlson Zimbiri began telephoning newspapers with a story that always began like this: "The attack was carried out by three Apla combatants..." Suddenly the issue looked different.

Apla, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, is the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. This week it claimed responsibility for an ambush in Katlehong which left four policemen dead.

The fact that Apla might be killing policemen in pursuit of political goals has shifted perceptions away from cops and criminals shooting it out towards an awkward question: is there a significant constituency in the townships that believes the armed struggle should never have been dropped?

That issue has tended to get lost in wrangling over whether Apla is actually capable of all these attacks. Jonny Majoji insists that it is — not surprisingly, perhaps, since he is Apla's information secretary.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam, Mr Majoji told me: "For a long time the press has been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1986."

The police, not surprisingly either, don't want to give Apla too much credence. "While we take Apla's claims seriously, they are not above claiming responsibility for killings they haven't done," says Law and Order ministry representative Captain Craig Kotze. "We are sceptical about their claimed ability to kill policemen."

Mr Majoji says: "The build-up in activity reflects a definite expansion taking place in Apla ranks. Our strategy has been to train people outside and to set up training camps within South Africa."

One political risk analyst esti-

**Armed cadres of the PAC's military wing could be about to infiltrate back into South Africa soon.**  
**JOHN PERLMAN**  
**reports.**

mates that "there are between 350 and 410 well-trained Apla cadres outside the country. Some have just finished their training in Libya. They are likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon."

Professor Mike Hough of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies puts Apla's trained strength at "around about 600". He adds, however, that "you can teach someone to use an AK47 or a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc".

Some of the scepticism about Apla's current capacity may stem from past perceptions that it was a small player compared to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC.

That view is to some extent borne out by indicators of guerilla activity. Gary van Staden, a researcher for the South African Institute for International Affairs, notes that in 1986 just 38 Apla insurgents were captured or killed — frequently while trying to enter the country — compared with 660 from MK.

The hard fact in 1992, though, is that MK is bound to hold fire while Apla is not. "Our target has always been the security forces, both black and white — and blue and yellow for that matter," says Mr Majoji. "Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets."

The police — formally at least — are not treating this as a political phenomenon.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neville Thoms heads up a team of 10 detectives whose full-time job is to investigate killings of policemen in Soweto, where 37 officers died last year. "There are definitely two different things," he says. "The case where a policeman is shot while making an arrest, and

when gangs of people go round shooting policemen."

It is these planned attacks which Apla has tended to claim as its work. Colonel Thoms says it is "still speculation" to call these the work of Apla.

Colonel Thoms does however concede that while informants have come forward with information that has led to arrests in some cases, incidents for which Apla has claimed responsibility "have been more difficult".

"Information has been harder to come by," he says, despite police offering a reward of R25 000.

He says Apla involvement does not alter his task. "I feel that a guy who kills someone is a criminal, even if he has a political motive — which I don't believe he could have at this particular time," says Colonel Thoms. "The police have nothing to do with politics."

But politics is likely to have a great deal to do with whether this wave of police killings ebbs or not. "Apla will cease its attacks when the political goals set down by the PAC are met — a democratic formula for the establishment of a constituent assembly," Mr Majoji says.

That implies an absolute unity of purpose between Apla and the internal PAC which some question. The PAC inside the country has been non-committal regarding Apla's claims — "We neither condemn nor condone Apla". "That simply reflects a dilemma inside the PAC," said one observer.

"According to their constitution, Apla must at all times consult with the party."

Mr Zimbiri, following a December attack on a Soweto police station, reflected that division in a different way: "While our leadership decides over Codesa, we will continue the fight."

His remark begs a more long-term question: is that view simply confined to the PAC? Is that not a choice that others might make if events make it hard for political leaders to keep the rein on black rage?

All the ingredients are there — over-stretched security forces, high-powered weaponry available at street level — for others to make policemen their targets. Perhaps some have already started doing just that.



# Mandela's six women

**JACQUELINE MYBURGH**

Weekend Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — There are six women in Mr Nelson Mandela's life, but there is nothing romantic about his relationship with them.

This week, the African National Congress president jokingly blamed the women in his Johannesburg office for his punishing schedule, saying he sometimes hankered after the relative freedom he had in prison.

But, the women say his schedule is of his own making.

Barbara Masekela, head of administration in the ANC president's office, says: "He tries to accommodate everyone, especially the ordinary ANC members and we have to fit it all in."

Barbara, Jessie Duarte, Frene Gin-wala, Adelaide Mahabane, Thoko Mavuso and Themba Stofile are the women who bring some order to the potential chaos in Mr Mandela's 10th-floor offices in Shell House, Johannesburg.

Asked why he had surrounded himself with women instead of men, he laughed and said: "I don't want to offend any of my comrades".

"These women play a crucial role in the president's office.

"They are strong personalities who have benefited me. They don't hesitate to correct me if I'm wrong. That is the strength of an office that attaches im-

## Indispensable organisers (111) work behind the scenes

portance to collective thinking."

The women oversee his diet, his health, his wardrobe and more. They order his lunch (pickled fish and two peaches on Thursday), they make his doctors' appointments and they even arrange his bookings with the tailor.

They call him "Tata" (Xhosa for father), but when he "makes us cross, we call him Comrade President", says Barbara. She jokes that hers is actually "an awful job" — everyone tries to butter her up to get to the president.

Themba and Thoko attend to his correspondence, phone calls, trips and appointments. He, in turn, is concerned about their well-being.

"When we arrive in a country and everyone starts fussing over him, the president makes sure to tell people the whole delegation must take part," says Thoko.

She says: "He makes those jokes about prison, but he actually appreciates the fact that there is some control in his life, otherwise he would not cope."



□ **WOMEN BEHIND MANDELA** ... ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela with, from left, Barbara Masekela, Thoko Mavuso, Adelaide Mahabane, Themba Stofile and Jessie Duarte.

# Yawa leads youth

CP Correspondent <sup>CP/PAW</sup> 23/2/92

11A

FORMER Cosas leader Andile Yawa of Port Elizabeth will be appointed president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

He is the second South African to hold the position. ANC leader and Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada was the first.

Yawa, who left South Africa in 1985 after he was charged with public violence, chose to live in Port Elizabeth when he came back in December last year.

## We shot Moroka cops, says Apla

THE PAC's military wing Apla has claimed responsibility for shooting and wounding three policemen at Soweto's Moroka Police Station on Friday night. *CIPress 23/2/92*

Police said the gunmen in a car used AK-47 rifles and Makarov pistols to shoot policemen on guard duty at the gate. *(11A)*

A man identifying himself as Apla commander Carl Zimbiri said in a call to Sapa that four cadres had carried out the attack.

"This is an indication to the settler colonial regime that Apla's armed revolutionary programme will unfold until the land has been restored to its rightful owners," Zimbiri said.

# Will ANC do what ANC says?

By DEVAN PILLAY, editor of *Work in Progress*,  
in the latest issue of his magazine.

**W**HILE the ANC leadership may have the best intentions with regard to press freedom, there is no guarantee that, once in power, it will not succumb to the temptation to whip the press into line. This sense of caution arises out of two sets of experiences.

Firstly, there is the experience of journalists in the field, who encounter activists still moulded in the Stalinist conception of press freedom – you may write what you like, as long as we come out smelling like roses. Black journalists in particular are frequently threatened with physical harm by members of political parties across the spectrum – including the ANC.

We have yet to see a robust intervention by the ANC on behalf of these threatened journalists.

Secondly, there is the ambiguous approach of the (collective) ANC leadership.

On the one hand, ANC president Nelson Mandela expresses the view that the press, including the ANC-supporting press, has to be free to criticise the ANC, so that the organisation can have a mirror in which to view itself. This is a far-sighted approach to press freedom, which embraces the notion that, to echo a previous editorial in *WIP*, constructive criticism, and not blind obedience, is an act of loyalty.

## Right of reply

But at the same time, members of the same ANC leadership feel “betrayed” when they, or the ANC, are criticised by “their” publications. It is perfectly correct for anyone who feels they were unjustly criticised, to want to reply to the criticism. No alternative publication has disputed that. But some ANC leaders are not satisfied with the right to reply.

Because they do not (yet) have State power, they cannot ban those publications that assert their independence. So they resort to threats and intimidation. For example, a senior ANC official told one of *WIP*'s staff members recently: “We are watching you!”

In mitigation, given years of ANC-bashing in the media, some ANC leaders cannot at times distinguish between constructive criticism – including exposés of corruption and incompetence – and sinister attempts to undermine the ANC.

For example, one response to the recent *Vrye Weekblad* expose of members of the ANC paying an AWB member to kill an ex-ANC/MK member, was that it was “another attempt to discredit the ANC”.

It is at moments like these that the ANC behaves no differently from the government, or its security forces. The instinctive response is to deny and counter-accuse, rather than recognise that a publication such as *Vrye Weekblad* will not set out to embarrass the ANC for the sake of it.

## ‘You’ve been duped’

*WIP* also had a (friendly) brush late last year with the ANC's department of information and publicity (other ANC officials were not so friendly). A (relatively minor) factual error on our part encouraged the ANC to issue what must have been its first press statement criticising an alternative publication. It implied that we had been duped into carrying out the government's work of undermining the ANC.

What does this tell us about the ANC's attitude towards the press? These episodes bring to the fore the ANC's own incomplete understanding of what press freedom means in practice.

It will be a great victory for democracy when organisations fighting for democracy do not expect to be above criticism. If individuals within an organisation are corrupt or incompetent, then it is surely in the interests of the organisation that they are exposed. The best media charters or bills of rights cannot guarantee democracy. Some of the most impressive charters and codes have been trampled underfoot by corrupt and power-loving leaders.

The only institution that can empower the public to assist genuinely democratic leaders is the mass media, however imperfect it may be.

Without the media as an independent, critical force, democracy is doomed.

# Crown prince chose another road

CP/rev 23/2/92. (11A)

It is almost three years since you opted for the leadership of the SACP, do you have any doubts or regrets about that decision?

CH: I have no regrets whatsoever. My coming into the leadership of the party was a well-considered move. It was a result of my analysing developments in the country since organisations were unbanned. Despite the crisis in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe, I feel that given the political and material conditions of the oppressed and exploited people in this country, the SACP is a much-needed formation.

More than any other organisation, it represents and articulates the aspirations of the working people and the poor. It is fully committed to the defence of the interests of the workers and the poor in this country. Therefore, I felt that I should be a part of that collective that will strengthen a formation that must ensure that when liberation comes into the country, the interests of the working people and the poor are not marginalised.

We feel that at all moments we have got to focus on their interests. We must admit that in this country capitalism bears the main responsibility for the poverty of our people. Capitalism and apartheid have been and are still like Siamese twins and you can never say it is not capitalism, it is apartheid. Both worked together to reap maximum profits. So for us in the party, this will be our main terrain of struggle, now and in the future.

So, I feel my decision was a correct and proper one. Some people are saying I destroyed my chances of being one of the top leaders in a future South Africa, I want to tell you I have never really gone into the struggle for personal rewards.

CP: Would it not have been wiser for you, as heir apparent, to have remained in the ANC so that if and when the movement

**Chris Hani is regarded as the most popular ANC figure after Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. Not so long ago, he was considered an heir apparent to the leadership of the organisation. Yet this enigmatic figure from rural Transkei surprised many in December when he opted for the leadership of the South African Communist Party, a party with a much smaller membership and an ideology under siege. Here he speaks to SEKOLA SELLO.**

took over government, you would be in a better position to advance the interests of the workers and the poor?

CH: I don't think so. I think there was a bit of an element of romanticising me, if I can use that phrase. For most of my political life I have been involved in the armed struggle. I have been in the bush in Angola, I fought in Zimbabwe and probably I was one of the first leaders of the ANC to get inside the country in 1974 to try and build the underground. I think I did that because of my total commitment to the struggle... I have never seen the struggle as an armchair issue. I have always wanted to be involved totally in the struggle. For instance, I never felt it was correct for me to send cadres into South Africa and expect them to fight when I was not in a position to lift one or two fingers in the same direction.

Coming back to your question, the ANC is a multi-class organisation. And I don't think with my commitment to socialism, my passionate commitment to socialism, I would have been in a position to hold the ANC together. For me the natural road was in the SACP more than in the ANC. I want to continue playing my part in the ANC because I want the workers to have a strong voice in the ANC.

We don't want an ANC that pre-occupies itself with the fears of the capitalists and the rich and does not equally pre-occupy itself with the fears of the poor and

the unemployed.

CP: Is the party showing any signs of growth?

CH: The party is growing and I am amazed at the sort of growth given our slender resources. For a party which has been in existence, in terms of being launched officially, for one-and-a-half years, I think we have grown beyond our expectations. Our strength is now over 30 000.

CP: The policies of the party, I think, would frighten potential investors and lead to serious economic problems. How do you intend attracting investors, considering the hostility they have shown to your policies?

CH: Let me make a political point before I answer your question. I think the people of South Africa should decide their economic policy. There is a certain intervention and interference which I find distasteful. We are under pressure now by foreign investors, monopolies and conglomerates to shape our economic policy in a certain direction. The people of South Africa are not even given a chance to sit down to look at themselves and look at their economy.

I don't think we should idolise investment as a panacea for economic problems. People should not feel that come investments, our problems are solved... we cannot allow, for instance, the sort of exploitation we see today in the mines, in the steel industry, in agriculture.

CP: How would you describe yourself? You have been labelled a radical in comparison to other ANC leaders and it has been said that you are anti-white.

CH: I consider myself radical because I want a radical transformation of the South African society. I want redistribution of the resources of this country. I want our people to have houses, to have proper schools and to participate in government. I am totally against elitism in government. I am not anti-white. I would not have been in the party or ANC if I was. I am against whites who exploit our people. I am not anti-white as a race. I am anti oppression and oppression has been associated with whites and I hate oppression and exploitation.

CP: Moving to Boksburg, Conservative Party territory, was this an act of defiance?

CH: I was not defiant nor was the choice political. I was not personally involved in that choice. My wife together with a few friends were hunting for houses. I have never really considered this question of a house and property. I did not even know where Dawn Park was. I thought it was somewhere around Johannesburg.

I did not even go to the house because I did not want to expose myself to the owners who might change their minds if they saw it was Chris Hani - because of the perception whites have about me. I went there when we were actually moving in and to my amazement I saw it was in Boksburg. Generally, I have never accepted that I should submit to threats from anybody. If I am threatened I become very stubborn. So, I said, well I am in Boksburg and I am going to stay here. Some of my friends said there would be violence because I moved there, that I must move out. I said I am not going anywhere, I am staying here. Boksburg is South Africa, and the CP must learn that even in places controlled by them, there are other people of different

political persuasions who have as much right to stay there.

CP: Do you have any life outside politics?

CH: I have very little life outside politics. I get home at seven from Monday to Friday. My weekends are not mine. I am always addressing meetings, branch meetings, rallies. I am always out of Johannesburg. In Natal, Empangeni, Maritzburg, Owa Owa, Transkei, the Western Cape. This occupies 90-something percent of my time.

When I do have time, I spend it with my family. I have a wife (Limpho) and three daughters aged 20, 13 and 11. They are very unhappy. They think I ought to be organising myself in such a way that I have a little bit of time for them as well.

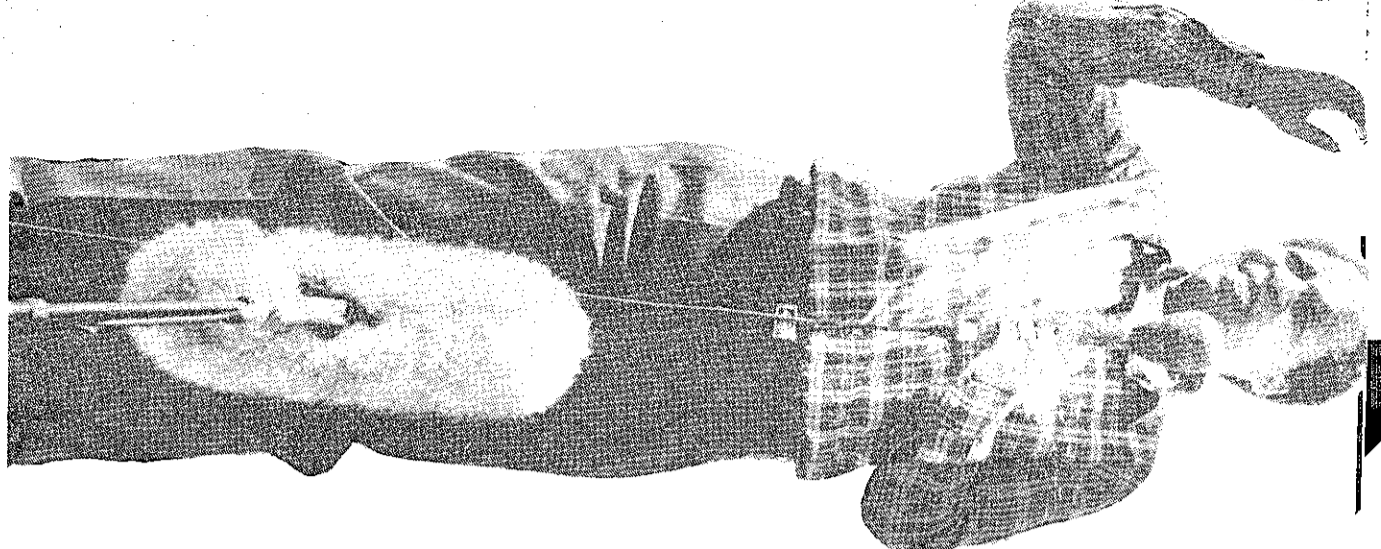
We are a close family despite the fact that I have really never stayed with them for more than six months since 1981. But, they always visited me whenever it was possible either in Mozambique or Zambia, and used to stay with me for four or five weeks. They have supported me in an amazing manner.

They have been very loyal to me and loyal to what I am doing.

CP: What does Hani do outside politics and family commitments?

CH: I am an avid reader of newspapers because I want to follow trends. I read a lot of classical novels by Dickens, by George Eliot, Jane Austen. I am an avid reader of English poetry as well as African literature. I read Greek classical literature - the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, that sort of thing. I listen to classical music, jazz, traditional African music as well as mbaqanga.

I am a physical exercise fanatic. I exercise, I run, I swim and I believe that without doing these, I would not have been able to physically cope with the demands of the struggle.



COMRADE HANI... One of the most liked figures in the liberation movement.

# Britain's recession (16) sets post-war record

blpau 24/2/92

LONDON — Official figures published last week confirmed that Britain was in the longest recession since the Second World War. The economy has been flat or falling for six successive quarters since the middle of 1990, and the figures gave no indication that a turning point has been reached.

Ministers are pinning their hopes for a recovery on a tax-cutting budget on March 10, expected to be the launch pad for a general election a month later.

Latest statistics show that the UK economy shrank by 0,3% in the fourth quarter of last year. Excluding oil and gas production, GDP has been falling since the second quarter of 1990. While the pace of decline has eased, there is nothing in fourth-quarter

Own Correspondent

figures to suggest the economy is near turning point.

Government statisticians reported a sharp contraction in fourth quarter manufacturing output and pronounced weakness in other sectors such as construction, banking and business services.

Central Statistical Office figures show that between 1990 and 1991 average output fell by 2,4%, the sharpest fall for any year since the 1930s. But statisticians said it was misleading to make annual comparisons since earlier recessions had been "staggered" by interruptions to the downward trend. Measured from peak to trough, output fell by 5,5% in the 1979/80 recession against a decline of 3,7% in this one. — Daily Telegraph.

# ANC transition proposals

THE ANC yesterday formally presented to Codesa its proposals for constitutional transition, which offer measures to reassure whites and rule out significant participation in government until a constituent assembly is elected.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposals had been agreed to by ANC branches, its SACP/Cosatu alliance partners, members of the patriotic front participating in Codesa and, in principle, by government.

The proposals entail a two-stage process: the first to "level the playing field" culminating in the election of a constituent assembly, and the second to draft a new constitution and have the assembly govern until it is adopted.

The first phase entails the establishment of a powerful interim government council once agreement had been reached on all

TIM COHEN

issues at Codesa. The council, consisting of all participants in Codesa and possibly other parties as well, would oversee:

- Two independent non-partisan commissions — one an electoral commission, in which the international community would participate, the other a media commission;
- Four multiparty committees on security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government; and
- The activities of the tricameral Parliament, the Cabinet (which would continue as is) and all homeland governments.

Not more than six months after Codesa reached agreement on the process, elections for a 300- to 400-seat constituent assembly would be held. Parties which received 5% and more of the vote would take

To Page 2

## ANC

seats on a proportional basis. Within a period of six to nine months of being constituted, the assembly would draw up a new constitution, taking decisions by a two-thirds majority.

This body would also act as an interim legislature, with the tricameral Parliament falling away once the assembly became operational. A multiparty interim Cabinet would then be appointed.

ANC national executive committee member Joel Netshitenzhe said government agreed in principle with the proposals. But government wanted Codesa members to take part in government in the first phase, which the ANC rejected because it did not want its members co-opted.

Government wanted the tricameral Parliament to coexist with the constituent

assembly in the second phase, which the ANC also rejected.

Ramaphosa said at a news conference yesterday the ANC was still discussing the specific "sunset" clauses it intended proposing, which would be introduced principally to reassure whites. They would lapse after a certain amount of time.

Examples he gave of sunset clauses included entrenched seats for whites, and regulations inhibiting the complete overhaul of the public service.

NEC member Mohammed Valli Moosa said the whole process could not begin unless agreement was reached on the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Ramaphosa denied news reports that there had been any prior agreement with government on the ANC's proposals.

From Page 1

# ANC plans for interim govt

Gonelan 25/2/92

11A 3887A

**THE ANC yesterday submitted to Codesa its proposals for an interim government which would prepare for the election of a constituent assembly.**

In a paper presented to Codesa Working Group 3 by NEC member Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC said the interim structure would also have to level the playing field.

"They should ensure equal treatment for all organisations, especially in the election campaign," the ANC said in the paper.

Three categories of structures would be needed in these instances. First, an independent commission had to be appointed by Codesa and non-partisan groups.

The ANC suggested that "electoral commission made up of South Africans of integrity" supervise elections.

The organisation added: "It (the commission) will have sole and exclusive con-

By IKE MOTSAPI

trol on the electoral process with powers to validate and invalidate election results.

"Media commissions made up of South Africans of high standing to ensure fair and balanced reporting. Emphasis will be on an independent communications authority which will take charge of all State broadcasters and appoint new boards. This will also cover the TBVC territories."

●The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa yesterday opposed efforts to have the Zulu king take part as a delegate at Codesa.

Instead, Contralesa proposed that King Goodwill Zwelithini be allowed to attend Codesa's proceedings only as an observer.

And, the Bophuthatswana government issued a statement saying although they were part of Codesa, they were, however, not bound by the convention's decisions.



THABO MBEKI



# NP, ANC are in it together

STAR 25/2/92



11A

**T**HERE are probably several reasons why the African National Congress, homeland leaders and participants in the tricameral system do not wish to publicly support President de Klerk in his call for a whites-only referendum. But there is at least one compelling reason why they should: they are all in this together.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has tried, over the months, to get this message through to his own organisation and its supporters — seemingly without much success. The argument that it was Mr de Klerk's business to deliver the white constituency is superficial, for one could just as well argue that it is Mr Mandela's business to deliver the black constituency — about which there is equal doubt.

The truth is that the two, having embraced and taken to each other, have to continue relying on each other for each to be able to deliver his constituency.

It could be argued, as it often is, that both parties need only consid-

er bringing with them a substantial majority of people — black and white — for a settlement to work. Again, however, the matter is not as simple as that.

The threat of a great number of Afrikaners "going into the bush" is real, and whether the country can withstand another period of protracted, bloody guerilla activities is doubtful. Indeed, what we have seen in the form of the ANC and PAC "armed struggle" could well be Sunday school picnic stuff by comparison.

Potchefstroom could therefore provide the turning point for whites. Mr de Klerk, having written off the seat well before the election date, clearly made the election far more important than it should have been.

He could have dismissed it as irrelevant in terms of the process now under way in Codesa, and thereby limit the ripples caused by the sounds of victory from the direction of Potch.

He could also, in the process, have achieved something else: a reduction in the victory margin for the CP, for there is no doubt

that the more importance the Government attached to the election, the more the right wing went out to ensure victory. The very survival of the right wing, at least in the form of the CP, depended on their performance in that election.

Analysts say that the right wing sent a clear signal to the Government. Nobody seems to recognise that they also sent a clear message to the black majority: and the message was simply the old "swartman in sy plek", the rallying cry that served the National Party so well in 1948 and subsequently. The message is one of intolerance, of hatred.

It was clearly demonstrated when even a post office technician, who turned up at the polling station to carry out necessary work, was beaten up just for being black. It is a message that blacks have taken note of.

Dr Andries Treurnicht seemed to temper his party's position slightly when he said that if the De Klerk Government was forced to resign, and a general election is

held which brought the CP to power, he would continue the negotiating process.

This was a somewhat different approach, recognising as he did Codesa as a forum for negotiation.

However, he still stated that his party would restructure Codesa so that negotiations take place on an ethnic basis.

The question, clearly, would be who would remain in that forum.

Is the CP flexible enough to be able to change its position in this regard? After all, even the National Party held the same view only a few years ago.

And yet, the danger exists that if that came about, South Africa would be plunged into the worst crisis it has yet seen.

Mass action, a return to bloody guerilla war, even stronger international isolation than we have ever had before, would follow. Mr Mandela has said that the CP would be brought down in the same manner that the NP was forced to the negotiating table.

A CP government would have only one choice which could satis-

fy its supporters and that is bloody repression.

But such bloody repression will be met with further rebellion, further mass action, bringing the economy to an absolute standstill.

Capital flight will increase, the brain drain will accelerate, and there will simply be no sympathy from the rest of the world.

That grim scenario brings us back to the question: can the ANC and the Government's other partners in Codesa grow up enough to realise that they will sink together, unless Mr de Klerk delivers something?

First, the ANC has to temper its position on nationalisation. Then, Cosatu will have to be seen to be playing a constructive role in the reconstruction of the South African economy, rather than being seen as the obstructionists who view "the bosses" as something to be scorned, ridiculed and isolated.

The Western world will be hoping to get a clear signal on the issue of sanctions: the ANC position of holding off until an interim government has to be reviewed; they arrived at that position be-

cause it was generally assumed that an interim government would be in place within six to 12 months. Current developments must surely change this scenario.

But having done that, can the ANC convince its own supporters of the need for all these actions, without losing out to the Left?

Is there a danger that its supporters will believe that their organisation is compromising on too many fronts without advancing the struggle? To be able to counter this, the ANC needs the Government to show results of the negotiation process.

The instinct for self-preservation, created by the economic recession and black violence, among whites is not unique to South Africa. But then, one should not underestimate the blacks' capacity to defend themselves from race hatred.

For this reason, unless the country is to sink into bloody civil war, an economic Marshall Plan is needed to kick-start the economy and set us on the road to prosperity all round. □

# ANC unveils plan for new govt by end of 1993

STAR 25/2/92  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The ANC has unveiled a two-phase plan for the constitutional transition to a democratic South Africa — and the organisation believes the process can be completed by the end of next year.

The ANC scenario, announced at a media briefing at Codesa yesterday, sets out firm proposals for interim rule, and the drafting of a final constitution.

In the interim phase, the ANC proposes a powerful "interim government council" (IGC), drawn from Codesa, which would oversee the running of the country.

Significantly, the scenario sees a role for the existing Parliament until the end of this interim phase, and the elections for a constituent assembly. Parliament would give legislative effect to decisions of the IGC.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the interim arrangement could be in place before the end of this year,



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . interim phase by year-end.

and a final new constitution could be instituted before the end of next year.

The ANC proposed yesterday in the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements that Codesa should appoint an IGC to oversee the tricameral Parliament, the National Party Cabinet, the TBVC and homeland governments.

The council would appoint multiparty committees to take responsibility for macro policy in key areas.

It would appoint indepen-

dent electoral and media commissions.

The electoral commission would be empowered to conduct the elections. The media commission would be an independent board to watch over all State-controlled media.

The tricameral Parliament would dissolve either when elections were declared or when the constituent assembly was elected.

Elections for a constituent assembly, including a legislature, would be held on the basis of proportional representation and the country would be regarded as one constituency.

The main task of the constituent assembly, which would comprise between 300 and 400 representatives, would be to draw up a new constitution, while the legislature part of the constituent assembly would appoint an interim Cabinet to pass legislation.

Parties would need to get at least 5 percent of the votes to be part of the constituent assembly, Mr Moosa said.

## Opponents of Codesa plan a new front

CAPE TOWN — Four organisations opposed to participation in Codesa meet in Cape Town today to discuss the formation of an "alternative patriotic front".

Representatives of the PAC, Azapo, New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action will also discuss a campaign of pamphleteering, pickets and placard demonstrations to coincide with the Codesa II session expected at the end of March or in April.

New Unity Movement public relations officer Norman Maharaj said the organisations were intent on forming an alternative patriotic front "constituted in terms of the principle of non-collaboration".

The organisers also hoped to involve Sacos in discussions.

Maharaj said an action campaign to oppose Codesa would be initiated at a national level.

Azapo, one of the prime movers of last year's Patriotic Front conference in Durban, later withdrew from the proceedings because of the attendance of parties represented in the tricameral Parliament and homeland governments.

Although represented in the Patriotic Front, the PAC subsequently withdrew from the Codesa negotiations. — Sapa.

SBBW 1481 17 15

- (5) whether the police returned the weapons so confiscated to the KwaZulu Police?

B239E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, Mr D Luthuli.
- (2) Yes, and one other person.
- (3) Yes, both were released on bail.
- (4) Yes, official firearms that belong to the KwaZulu Police.
- (5) No, the firearms were returned to his fellow suspect and acknowledged on receipt. Both persons were members of the KwaZulu Police at the time of the incident.

\*7. Mr P G Soal—Law and Order. [Question standing over.]

#### ANC: issuing of passports

\*8. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) Whether his attention has been drawn to a report published on 7 February 1992 in a certain newspaper, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, to the effect that the African National Congress issues South African passports in co-operation with his Department; if so,

- (2) whether he will comment on this report?

B250E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) Cognisance has been taken of the report and the contents thereof. Although there are references in the report implying that the Department of Home Affairs was consulted about the subject, there is no record that the Department was either formally or informally approached in that regard. The report is also a misrepresentation of the facts of the matter.

The ANC does submit applications for passports and other travel documents to the Department of Home Affairs. These applications are in respect of members of the ANC but this aspect does not play any role whatsoever in the consideration thereof. The role of the ANC is similar to

that played by travel agencies on behalf of their clients, as well as that of larger employers where public relations departments often handle applications for travel documents on behalf of especially managerial staff. Although it is a well established practice it must be emphasized that the application still needs to be made by the individual concerned and that it is only the administrative handling of such applications which is at issue here.

The prerogative for the issuing of passports is vested in the office of the State President and is by convention exercised on his behalf by the Minister of Home Affairs and Department of Home Affairs and its officials. There has been no deviation from these practices yet, nor could there be. The ANC has played no part in the processing, consideration, rejection, approval or issuing of passports, or any other travel documents. Applications channelled through the ANC have been considered in accordance with the established conditions and procedures that apply in respect of any application for a passport.

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask him whether he issued a statement to the newspaper concerned clarifying the issue, because I saw no report at all clarifying it. I should also like to ask him if the DP could have a similar facility to offer to its members if they want passports issued.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the question is whether we will make this available to the press. Naturally we shall do so. Secondly, anybody acting as an agent for anybody else—an attorney or authorised agent—can apply on his behalf and submit documents or else obtain authority to fetch documents.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply I want to put it to him that in the remainder of that report it is stated that officials from the hon the Minister's department said they were doing it in that way because they would do anything to keep the ANC satisfied. Did the hon the Minister conduct an investigation to ascertain whether officials of his Department furnished such answers?

continue

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, no such answer can be traced. (HA) ~~SA~~

#### SAP: gender qualification

\*9. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, in references to female members of the South African Police Force, the rank of the member concerned is followed immediately by the gender qualification (F); if so, why;
- (2) whether he will give consideration to stopping this practice; if not, why not;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B251E

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, from both an administrative and efficiency point of view, it is essential.
- (2) No, it will prejudice the efficiency of the general administration.
- (3) The computerized personnel records (PERSAL) in the South African Police do not refer to gender regarding members of the Force.

In writing, an (F) is still used when referring to a female member. One of the reasons for this is that female members themselves chose it and they also hold the view that the uniqueness of the woman in uniform is confirmed by it. This practice is therefore maintained without any question of discrimination.

From an efficiency point of view, gender identification is used for the following reasons:

- only 10% of the numerical strength of the South African Police is female members. The female members form an integral part of the South African Police and for effective policing it is essential that a balance is maintained between the various sexes.

At large centres where numerical strengths vary between 200 and 700 members, gender identification facilitates arrangements regarding duties;

- facilities at the various training institutions are of such a nature that accom-

modation is arranged separately and gender identification facilitates allocation and planning;

- single members are accommodated in official single quarters and gender identification also facilitates this allocation and planning;
- for logistical purposes, the uniforms of male and female members are stored in separate warehouses. Although the uniform items are requisitioned according to code numbers, gender identification on the requisition facilitates the dispatching of the requests to the various warehouses, the dress of the two sexes also differs somewhat—and
- the placing of members after training is facilitated by gender identification and enables officers at Head Office to allocate female members proportionately.

#### Correctional supervision

\*10. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

How many persons had been sentenced to correctional supervision as at 31 December 1991?

B252E

†The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

Up to and including 31 December 1991, 277 persons were placed under correctional supervision.

It should be mentioned that on 15 August 1991 correctional supervision as a sentence option was launched in the Pretoria and Wonderboom Magisterial Districts and on 31 December 1991 was operational only in those districts. However, from 1 April 1992, it is intended to implement correctional supervision as a sentence option country-wide in a phased manner.

†Adv C H PIENAAR: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply I want to know from him whether he also intends releasing prisoners in so reckless a way as his predecessor did.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my predecessor did not release people recklessly in any way. The

CONF INCL - - -  
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

# De Beer, ANC hold talks

REPRESENTATIVES of the African National Congress and the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, met for three hours in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Pieter du Plessis, a spokesmn for De Beer, said the meeting was part of on-going dialogue between the Minister and various organisations, including the ANC.

Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape and a member of the ANC delegation, said De Beer had indicated that he wished to share certain information with the ANC.

Gerwel was non-committal about the meeting and declined to comment. He, however, said the meeting had a bearing on the ANC's education summit to be held between March 6 and March 8.

Du Plessis said there was nothing extraordinary about the meeting. *Sowetan 26/2/92*

"Last year the Minister said his door was open and that he would consult as widely as possible before taking decisions," he said.

De Beer was in regular contact with the Council of Education and Training, as well as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Yesterday's meeting took place in a positive atmosphere and displayed trust between the participants, Du Plessis added.- *Sapa*.

# ANC's twin-edged plan

STAR 26/2/92  
 (11A) (11A)

The latest ANC blueprint for the transition period and beyond is both a concession and a challenge to the Government, writes Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON.

**T**HE MAJOR parties to negotiations are nearing an advanced stage in designing a mutually acceptable "package" for how South Africa should be ruled during the transition and how a final constitution should be drawn up.

It is a process not unlike that of building model aeroplanes. Each has been busily cutting and gluing pieces together, and showing the product of their labours to the others. Each has then gone back and altered its model in the light of what it has seen, trying to make it look a little more like the others. The ultimate object of the exercise is to settle on a single structure which includes parts taken from each — and can still fly.

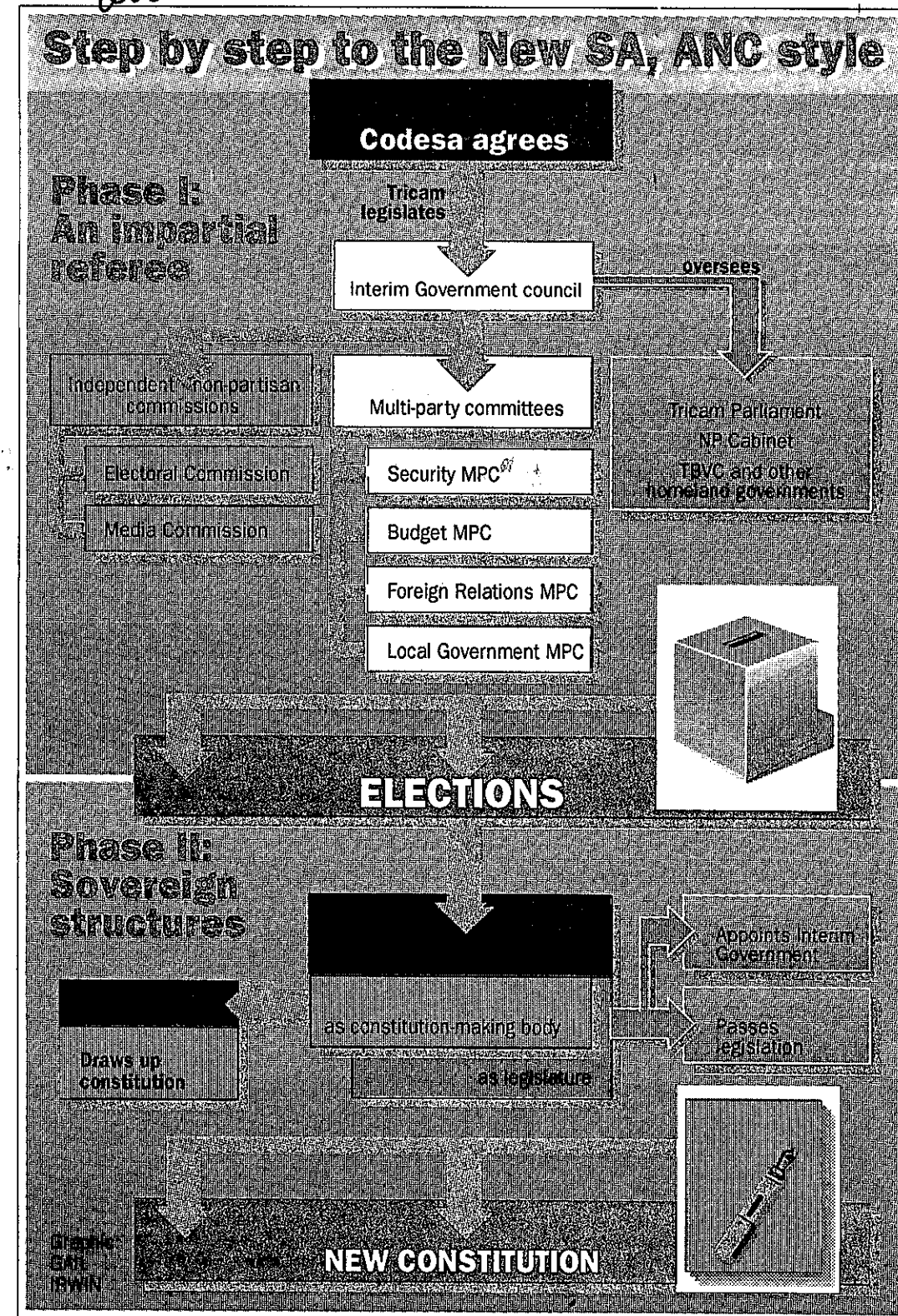
This is the context in which the ANC's newest model for interim government and constitution-making, presented at Codesa this week, should be seen. It is an adaptation of earlier positions, and includes clear attempts to address the Government's concerns; but without discarding the principles of the original design. It will, no doubt, prompt an updated model from the Government.

In two areas, in particular, the latest ANC scenario seeks to satisfy — or at least take the sting out of — Government objections.

Firstly, the Government has insisted from the outset of the negotiations process that it would not accept a transitional arrangement which involves leaping into a "constitutional vacuum", or ceding power to an unelected body which would rule by decree. The ANC previously demanded that the present Parliament be dissolved or suspended, and power transferred *in toto* to a representative, but unelected, body.

Now the ANC is proposing that the tricameral Parliament be maintained — possibly in a rationalised form — in order to give legislative effect to decisions taken by an "interim government council" appointed from the ranks of Codesa. This offers the Government a compromise: Parliament survives, but loses its ultimate authority.

Secondly, the Government has been set against the idea of



a constituent assembly (CA) drawing up a new constitution ever since the ANC first proposed the body. Now, however, the ANC proposals offer the possibility that a CA could operate as a legislature subject to checks and balances at the same time as it performed its constitution-drafting function.

This would allow for an interim Cabinet operating under suf-

ficient or even full consensus, and interim measures such as the requirement of a two-thirds majority for legislation to be passed. There would also be agreement that all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the vote under proportional representation, would be represented in the CA.

In these and other areas, the ANC and Government positions

are converging markedly — not to the extent that full agreement is imminent, but rather in the sense that details of similar concepts are being debated.

The ANC's detailed step-by-step plan for a two-step path towards a final negotiated solution is set out, in its distinct phases, in the accompanying diagram. In summarised form, it would operate as follows:

Phase one, which can only come into being once agreement has been achieved on the matter at Codesa, would seek to "level the political playing field". Interim structures would be charged with ensuring equal treatment for all political competitors, particularly regarding elections.

Codesa would appoint from its ranks an interim government council (IGC), in effect a supreme transitional Cabinet with final powers over Parliament and homeland structures.

Beneath the IGC would operate independent commissions charged with overseeing elections and ensuring equal access to the public media. There would also be four multiparty committees, enjoying final control in the key areas of security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

The international community would be invited to become involved, at least at the level of the electoral commission.

Phase one would lead to elections for a CA. The first phase should not last for more than six months beyond the date of its inception.

Phase two begins once the CA has been elected. All South Africans over 18 would vote on the basis of proportional representation.

The main task of the CA would be the drafting of a final constitution, but it would appoint an interim Cabinet and perform transitional legislative functions. The process of constitution-making should not exceed nine months, and incentives and penalties would be devised to ensure the timetable was adhered to. The constitution could include "sunset" clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

The new ANC "transitional package" takes the tactical fight to the Government: it cannot but demand a serious and considered response from Dr Gerrit Viljoen and his strategists. There are certainly still points of difference — the Government will argue that the IGC is still a form of "rule by decree", for example — but many of its elements will not be easily dismissed.

The likely next step is a revised Government plan, swallowing what it feels it can swallow from the ANC blueprint, and finessing those areas with which it still has problems. The model aeroplane-building route to agreement is a long one, requiring patience — but it has achieved an extraordinary amount thus far and is speeding up all the time. □

# Major changes needed to address problems

Sowetan  
27/12/92  
304

BASIC social challenges facing the black community in South Africa were yesterday identified as housing, joblessness and education.

The guest speaker on Radio Metro's Talkback Show, sponsored by *Tribute* magazine as part of its fifth anniversary celebrations, was Mr Molatihegi Tlhale, Azapo's political education commissar.

He said the three aspects were a deliberate creation of the Government.

"Fundamental and qualitative changes will

have to take place before these aspects can be remedied. And that can only happen if the Government was removed and replaced with that of the people."

Tlhale's sentiments were echoed by the ANC's deputy head of the welfare department Mr Dali Mpofu who, however, differed with him on the methods of combating the problems.

"I agree with Azapo on the challenges facing the black community and I will also like to add that they will plague us for long time.

"However, it needs to be

remembered that the ANC had already held talks with organised commerce to address socio-economic problems." (11A)

Tlhale disagreed and said these forums were only addressing the symptoms of the problem.

"These aspects can only be fairly addressed by a government which will accept responsibility towards the people."

He added that problems related to jobs should be left to "people in charge of commerce and industry and bodies like trade unions.

South Africa 27/2/92

# Mandela meets Mangope

By IKE MOTSAPI

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela will today meet Bophutatswana president Chief Lucas Mangope in what is seen as a move to ease tensions between the two parties.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday confirmed the meeting.

Mangope also confirmed the meeting. He is reported to have expressed the hope that differences that existed between the ANC and Bophutatswana would be addressed.



### **SACP rebukes Russia**

THE SA Communist Party yesterday condemned reports that the Russian Federation was set to upgrade diplomatic relations with Pretoria when its Foreign Minister, Andrei Kozyrey, arrives in SA today. *6/Day 27/2/92 (11A)*

"The upgrading of diplomatic relations at this moment is premature and counter-productive," the SACP central committee said in a statement.

REPORTS: Sapa.

Stanley Uys reports from London on a carefully prepared speech

## Is this a preview of ANC policy?

STAR 27/4/92

(11A)

VELA Pillay is a short, mild-mannered, highly articulate man with unexpectedly strongly held views.

A South African Indian, he worked for the Bank of China in London for 20 years.

Now he is a senior member of the ANC's economic unit, and it was in this capacity that he treated the South Africa Foundation-British Research International conference, held here this week, to his views on the post-apartheid economy.

Treat of course is not the right word — Mr Pillay's views were highly unpalatable to most of the conference delegates.

Mr Pillay delivered his address to the conference against a background of speculation that the World Economic Forum at Davos had been Nelson Mandela's moment of truth, and that at its April conference the ANC would review its position on nationalisation and non-payment of loans.

Well, Mr Pillay dispelled such illusions.

Just when businessmen thought it was safe to go back into the water, up came Jaws 2.

Mr Pillay delivered a carefully prepared, written speech, and one assumes it has an African Nation-

al Congress stamp of approval.

It is in this light that I find it interesting.

As Mr Pillay explains it, the African National Congress wants a "significant public sector" that will be designed to steer the economy towards, among other things, generating employment for the deprived and securing mandatory agreements (a social compact) between business, the trade unions and government.

On the question of foreign capital, the ANC's view is yes, please, we would like some of this nice lolly, but because it is ANC policy to continue financial sanctions, it sees recent bond issues on the Euro-currency capital market as part of a deliberate campaign to undermine sanctions.

There is "a hidden agenda" here to use foreign capital to support the status quo in South Africa, and therefore "we have warned the international banks that a democratic government will weigh with great care its obligations to service and repay such recent bond issues. In this matter we mean what we say."

But if there was one thing that Mr Pillay made clear it was that high on ANC's economic target list are South Africa's conglomer-

ates, whose power has had a "negative impact" on the economy.

The Government's deregulatory policies in the 1980s had simply compounded "the inefficiencies of conglomerate power," and the De Kock commission had "simply opened the way to ... a highly short-term, quick-profit, and even asset-stripping mentality in corporate strategy".

The ANC had studied the balance sheets of the conglomerates, said Mr Pillay, and discovered that "instead of deploying these funds for employment generating economic growth, the conglomerates have sought to export those funds ... since 1990 a steady and cumulative fall in gross domestic investment in the economy has taken place.

"We would like to ask whether the conglomerates, which have largely built their power and size under apartheid, have ceased being the acclaimed paragons of virtue, and are now looking elsewhere for their fortunes."

Mr Pillay assured the conference that "we in the African National Congress do not possess any doctrinaire position relating to control of the conglomerates".

But he added: "Our concern is that they should be seen to serve

the public good, that they are accountable for the exercise of the enormous power they wield in the economy, and that company boards of directors cease to be self-renewing oligarchies.

"Thus to ensure these requirements, a democratic government is bound to exact regulatory arrangements — no different to those in force in Germany, France, Japan and South Korea — which commit the conglomerates to a set of social obligations to their work force and to long-term investments in productive capacity such as to generate employment and technological innovation and progress."

ANC spokesmen have said all these things before.

But what seems to me to be interesting, as I mentioned before, is that Mr Pillay's considered statement comes at a time when the ANC's position on various economic issues is supposed to be pending review.

Is Mr Pillay telling us that this is the line the ANC's April conference will take?

Ah, well, then once more onto the breach, dear friends, once more. □

# SACP objects to Moscow upgrading diplomatic ties

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party has called on the Russian Federation not to take the "premature and counter-productive" step of upgrading diplomatic relations with South Africa.

A delegation headed by Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev is to arrive in South

Africa today.

A spokesman for the Russian interest section in Pretoria said he was not ready to comment on the SACP's objection, but after studying the statement might contact the party to clarify the position.

It is understood that relations between the two countries will be upgraded to ambassadorial level during the visit.

The SACP condemned any at-

tempt to upgrade diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa, saying it was premature and counter-productive.

Full diplomatic relations should be established only once interim transitional arrangements were in place because relations would then be with a more representative and legitimate authority, the SACP said.

"Throughout our difficult

years of struggle, the oppressed and exploited people of our country received the full political, moral and material support of the people and political and public organisations of the Soviet Union.

"It is, therefore, a matter of great regret that the present Russian government should see fit to upgrade its diplomatic relations now," the SACP central committee said.

STAR 27/2/92

~~11A~~ ~~304~~

# ANC bid for joint control of security forces rejected

STAR 27/2/92

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has strongly rejected ANC proposals for joint control of the security forces during the transition to a permanent new government.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said in a statement yesterday that "no form of unconstitutional joint control over the security forces will be accepted by us".

The statement was in response to the ANC's transitional proposals which were published in the organisation's journal *Mayibuye*.

They recommended that Codesa should appoint an interim government council which would oversee the present Cabinet and tricameral Parliament and in turn appoint multi-party committees representing all the Codesa delegations to supervise the security forces, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

Mr Meyer said that by "unconstitutional" control he meant control by decree.

He was asked why he characterised the ANC proposals as unconstitutional when the ANC had suggested that the present tricameral Parlia-

ment should enact legislation to bring about the interim government council and its subordinate bodies.

Mr Meyer said the Government's objection was that the ANC proposals implied a legislative status for Codesa which it did not really have.

He said Codesa was looking at the possibilities of various phases in the transition. A first phase could involve adding people to the Cabinet and a second could involve changes to the composition of Parliament.

## Unacceptable

Responding to the ANC proposals for the transition, the statement said they showed encouraging movement towards the Government's approach.

But there were still elements of unconstitutional structures in the ANC proposals. This was not acceptable, the statement said.

The Government was "not interested in foreign involvement in transitional governmental structures".

"Insofar as the ANC's scenario may include anything like that, it is not acceptable to us."

This referred to the ANC proposal that the "international communi-

ty should be intimately involved" in the transition, especially in the supervision of elections for a constituent assembly.

The climate of violence would have to improve before the transition could be entered.

Asked if the Government was determined not to enter binding transitional arrangements until the ANC had finally renounced the armed struggle, Mr Meyer said this was being discussed with the ANC.

The statement said the Government was not prepared to accept anything that was not compatible with its eventual constitutional goals and principles.

However, they were confident that Codesa would reach agreement on interim arrangements.

Mr Meyer said he thought that none of the present transitional plans would be the one finally agreed to.

He said the Government and the National Party would have to scale down their participation in Codesa to concentrate on the referendum campaign.

Executive members would occasionally have to send substitutes to Codesa meetings, but he did not believe this would slow down progress.

# SA athletes back on world stage by April

STAR 27/2/92

By Dave Beattie

South African athletes will be back on the international stage in April — and the door to Barcelona is open.

A two-man delegation from the International Amateur Athletics Federation — senior vice-president Lamine Diack and IAAF member for Africa Hassan Agabani — wound up their brief visit to South Africa last night with the announcement that they would recommend provisional membership of Athletics SA at the next IAAF Council meeting on March 7.

Mr Diack said that while only the full IAAF congress could bestow full membership, provisional membership would open all international doors to South Africa.

The “problems” with South African athletics concerned unity, he said. The IAAF had wanted all three athletics bodies to unite and the two delegates had been asked by IAAF chief Primo

Nebiolo to visit South Africa again in an attempt to sort out the problem.

The two men held talks with President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Athletics SA, and the group which refuses to join the unity process, the SA Athletics Board.

Mr Diack said the African Unity athletics meetings would take place in Dakar on April 18, and in South Africa on April 24/25. “That’s the way we will celebrate South Africa’s return to the African sports family,” he said.

Both men looked forward to seeing SA athletes at the World Cup in Havana.

I will recommend that Athletics SA be a member of IAAF . . . Lamine Diack, IAAF vice-president.



# ANC alliance calls for white ‘yes’ vote

STAR 27/2/92

Political Staff

The ANC has called on whites to vote “yes” in the reform referendum.

This is the effect of a carefully worded statement issued after a crucial meeting yesterday of top officials representing the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu.

The statement, issued in Johannesburg, condemned the referendum as racist and made it clear that the organisations would rather it was not taking place.

But in recognition of the fact that President de Klerk would definitely go ahead on March 17 — and that a “no” vote might bring the Conservative Party to power — the alliance implied heavily that whites should participate and vote “yes”.

ANC sources said that although the statement did not call in as many words for a “yes” vote, “this is its clear intention”.

Sources said the ANC

could not be seen to be endorsing an ethnic referendum which it had already condemned, but that its followers would understand the “realpolitik message”.

Other sources added that the ANC might be concerned not to “kill the NP with kindness” by appearing to offer clear support, which would be exploited by the right-wing.

The statement had harsh words for Mr de Klerk, however. “We reject the referendum, which is ethnic and racist, and condemn President de Klerk for taking this gamble with the future of our country.”

“The referendum question gives the impression that he is responsible for the negotiations process now unfolding in our country. The National Party was dragged into negotiations. The struggles waged by our people, led and guided by the tripartite alliance, were responsible for the unfolding processes.”

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# Unity movement slams 'new collaborators'

By Quentin Wilson

11A

South 27/2 - 4/3/92

MONEY is a weapon to "wreck the freedom struggle", the New Unity Movement believes, and at an anti-Codesa public meeting, they said "fresh layers of collaborators" were another weapon.

About 200 people attended the

meeting in the Bo-Kaap Civic Centre this week and endorsed the NUM's rejection of Codesa as a vehicle towards "total liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa".

NUM president Mr Richard Dudley said he regarded Codesa as another stage in wrecking the strug-

gle by engaging fresh layers of collaborators.

"This time the ruling class is co-opting organisations around the ANC/SACP/Cosatu tripartite alliance," Dudley said.

A pamphlet issued at the meeting slated South for trying "to make the oppressed accept negotiations".

# Street talking

## Strini Moodley

Spokesperson for Azapo:

There are several of these caricatures in the form of graffiti. Nobody takes them seriously as it is just an expression of somebody's opinion and everybody has the democratic right to express their opinion. The behaviour of the AWB men was childish, and such behaviour should not be countenanced. Any developing society will have its criticisms and caricatures. They are a demonstration of democracy.

11A

## Gill Marcus

ANC Department of Information and Publicity

When the ANC was banned, cartoons of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo were often used derogatively. We would phone newspapers which ran such cartoons and explain while we understood the nature of their work, it was miscommunication because you can only cartoon something you know about. If there is a

## Karen Williams <sup>South 27/2-4/3/92</sup> sounds out opinions

AWB members, below, appeared in court this week after they smashed a sculpture of Eugene Terre'Blanche which they found derogatory. What would progressives do if this was done to their leaders?



derogatory statue or picture of one of the leaders now, people can take replicas and throw darts at it, but we won't destroy the picture. We have to accept that people have different views and perhaps in a more open society, leaders won't take things like burning effigies as

personally as they do now.

## Omar Badsha Federation of South African Cultural Organisations

We have come to the stage where we are building a culture of accountability and tolerance. All

political organisations, as well as non-political organisations, subscribe to the National Peace Accord which calls for tolerance. We are also totally opposed to any form of censorship, and believe checks against censorship should be one of the most important provisions in any constitution.

## Garth Strachan

South African Communist Party

The actions of the AWB men interfered with the right of the artist to independently express his or her view and we certainly do not condone such practices. Neither will I ever participate in such practices- it is not in keeping with respect for freedom of the artist.

## Willie Hofmeyr

ANC regional assistant secretary

I believe that problem should be solved in a peaceful way and, in any event, I am not convinced that the statue of Terreblanche was derogatory.

# War and peace still dominate

South 27/2 - 4/3/92.

The ANC Western Cape held a "brainstorm" last weekend and emerged satisfied it's still in touch with its base, reports

**Rehana Rossouw:**

**T**OPPING the agenda at the Western Cape ANC's first two-day regional general council (RGC) were the taxi war violence and the Codesa negotiations.

The organisation has so far been unable to translate its mass support into decisive action to end the taxi war. It has also run into the problem of making Codesa negotiations meaningful to its grassroots base.

Regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak said the ANC had been "quite meticulous" to ensure members were kept as up-to-date as possible on the Codesa negotiations.

He told the council this was done despite the fact that reports from the working groups were not always forthcoming.

"The process of democracy must be given legitimacy and this means participation on the ground. We must create the institutions for democracy. We cannot simply wait



**FLASHBACK: A massive show of strength at the ANC's Peoples' Parliament in January this year**

to enjoy the fruits." The ANC's structures in the region were stronger than any other political grouping, said regional assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

The organisation did not see the National Party's attempts to woo coloured voters as a threat to their support base.

The organisation had launched

97 branches — of which half were in the rural areas — with at least 100 members a branch. There were also 60 unlaunched branches.

However, most of its membership is drawn disproportionately from the region's African areas.

The weekend conference called for an immediate boycott of the Webta and Lagunya taxi associa-

tions, and demanded that police and soldiers withdraw from the townships. "The police are implicated in the violence taking place and they must move out," said regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

The ANC intends meeting township organisations to discuss a joint peace march this weekend to

demand an end to the violence.

Regional executive committee member Mr Vincent Diba accused the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, of "indifference" because he had failed to respond to an ANC request for an urgent meeting on the taxi war. The council said the ANC would protest over the budget and VAT.



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Rehana Rossouw: 11A

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# Sunlight dawns on ANC proposals

W/maill 28/2 -513/92 (11A) (2000)

**T** IRED of baring its fingers on politically loaded terms, the African National Congress has turned to poetic metaphors to win support for its proposals. Included in its blueprint for the drawing up of a new constitution, revealed at a press conference on Monday, are "sunrise and sunset measures".

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa explained: "These are measures aimed at building confidence in the new dispensation among all South Africans."

To illustrate a sunset measure, he used the Zimbabwean example where

20 seats for whites were reserved in parliament for a limited time. Sunrise measures will be aimed at meeting the aspirations of those who have been disadvantaged by apartheid.

The problem with all the sunlight dawning at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is that neither the government nor the ANC wants to be seen in a compromising position.

While the ANC's proposals undoubtedly bring it closer to the government, the organisation has emphatically denied making any moves to accommodate objections to its earlier

*The African National Congress introduced 'sunrise and sunset measures' to the constitutional deliberations this week.*

**PAUL STOBER reports**

proposals. And this week Defence Minister Roelf Meyer rejected "unconstitutional elements" in the ANC scenario, adding: "We accept nothing that is not compatible with our own eventual constitutional goals and principles."

The ANC has proposed a two-stage

process for drawing up a new constitution. The first stage would require the agreement of Codesa and involve the establishment of interim structures which would ensure the equal treatment of all organisations before and during an election campaign.

By providing for these structures, and any decisions they might make, to be legislated into existence by parliament, the ANC is seen to be responding to the government's insistence that "all transitional arrangements must be constitutional".

However, parliament would be overseen by an interim government

council made up of all parties in Codesa. The council would also oversee the National Party cabinet, the "independent" TBVC states and the "self-governing" territories, and be able to veto and initiate legislation.

Multi-party committees would take complete control of the most important areas of government: security, budget, foreign affairs and local government.

Two independent, non-partisan commissions, consisting of South Africans appointed by Codesa, would monitor the electoral process and the media. The electoral commission would have sole control of the election process and have the power to validate or invalidate election results.

The chief emphasis of the media commission would be the establishment of an Independent Communications Authority to take charge of all state broadcasting institutions and appoint new boards. This authority would also cover the TBVC states.

Agreement on this point will not be easy as control of the media continues to be a sensitive issue. On Tuesday, the sub-group concerned with electronic media began an investigation to establish whether there is any legislation which limits political parties' access to the electronic or print mass media.

Stage one in the process of drawing up a new constitution, which the ANC envisages will take no longer than six months, would lead to elections for a constituent assembly.

Stage two would begin when all South Africans over the age of 18 elect a constitutional assembly on the basis of proportional representation. Parties which achieve more than five percent of the vote will be given seats at the assembly.

The assembly will have as its main task the creation of a new constitution, but it will also serve as a legislature to pass statutes relevant to the transition.

Decisions about the constitution will be taken by a two-thirds majority but legislation will be passed on the basis of consensus.

An interim cabinet, consisting of all parties represented in the assembly, would form the executive arm of the constitutional assembly.

According to the proposal, a new constitution should be drawn up within nine months, after which new elections could be called or the assembly could transform itself into the first legislature.

At this point the sun will rise or set, depending on your view of the new South Africa.

The ANC is confident it will be able to win over the majority of parties attending Codesa. But one problem is the centrality of the TBVC states to the success of the proposals.

While most of the bantustan governments may go along with the ANC, the Bophuthatswana government has issued a statement to the effect that it will not be bound by any decision of Codesa which impinges on its sovereign status.

## Reporter 'stripped for a story'

**DE WAAL**  
Karen Lotter take off money or to write a

the case, now Magistrate's charge be admit an or



Lucky Dube



Naas Botha



Brenda Fassie

## Fearful of celebrity sob stories

you like an earful of his tortured harangue and his exploits? Or (of Naas) on the dress seven Or Lucky a court endy

**Local celebrities are cashing in on the 'dial 087' mania.**

**PHILIPPA GARSON**

*phoned in for an earful*

have a cup of tea (or a list of other refreshment alternatives) with me ... you'll get to know what kind of a person I am ... that's why I'm singing in my new album I'm not a bad girl. I one person that's very loving, I've very good heart, I'm very giving NOT A BAD GIRL..." (the son).

wins the prize for the with his astonishing, atribe (although no doubt pre- of course- e-born-

Parrot Publishing adopts a selective approach when it comes to personalities. Says director John they've got a story to tell worthy and of interest."

legating that people's differ widely, his want to develop a ng rubbish on a mind that e popu- erma-

across as natural and nice and not at all boastful. But do his fans really want to pay R1,40 a minute to hear that his car's stuck in Beaufort West? And will their hearts beat any faster at the news?

Telephone Information Marketing (TIM) is big on personality services. Some personalities, says managing director Joe Teron, are approached by TIM, others do their own knocking. Each gets a varying percentage of the profits.

Phone Media managing director David Duff Scott says his company prefers to build itself up as a community service rather than a "frivolous" service, though a big enough personality may warrant a line. The public figures Phone Media prefers are the advice-giving professionals like Dr Paul (on sex) and Maureen Kark (Weight-winners).

Parrot Publishing adopts a selective approach when it comes to personalities. Says director John they've got a story to tell worthy and of interest."

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## Mangope and ANC leaders fail to agree

11A TIM COHEN 16/79

A LONG and "hard-hitting" meeting between ANC and Bophuthatswana government leaders yesterday failed to find common ground but agreed on further meetings.

In a joint statement after the meeting, the high-level delegations led by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President Lucas Mangope agreed that there were fundamental differences between them.

The delegations agreed that the identification of problems and the frank manner in which they were addressed laid a firm foundation for their resolution.

A Bophuthatswana government spokesman said the gruelling and hard-hitting discussions lasted six hours. *BIP 28/2/92*

The delegations discussed political prisoners, but no agreement on the issue was reached.

The joint statement said a major problem was the non-recognition of Bophuthatswana by the ANC and the perception of the Bophuthatswana government that such an attitude led to the promotion of ungovernability.

The ANC raised the issue of free political activity in Bophuthatswana and both parties agreed they would consider the representations made by the other.

on all the matters it is engaged in by the second half of the year. Once those agreements are reached, they would have to be made law by the present parliament.

Phase One is intended to end before the year is out, and it would wind up when elections are held for a constituent assembly of 300 or 400 seats. The issue of voter registration and identification is still under negotiation. The main purpose of this assembly would be to draft a new constitution within nine months. It would also take over all legislative functions.

Part of the assembly's functions would be to appoint an interim Cabinet, thus continuing the interim government, which will be based on the principle of national unity. This situation will continue until a new constitution is drawn up and implemented. Much of

this seems to tally with what the NP is prepared to accept.

Different options would then be available: the elected assembly could, as happened in Namibia, transform itself into the first national assembly; or it could be dissolved and fresh elections held.

Either way it seems that the pace of change will accelerate by the month. ■

THE TRANSITION  
FM 28/2/92  
**The players converge**

The ANC believes that the new constitution should include "sunset" clauses to help ease the country into full-blooded democracy.

Their nature has not been fully worked out but secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says: "I can refer to situations which we can relate to: Zimbabwe had 20 seats reserved for white people for a specified period. In Ghana, soon after independence, no major change could take place with regard to the civil service for a stated period."

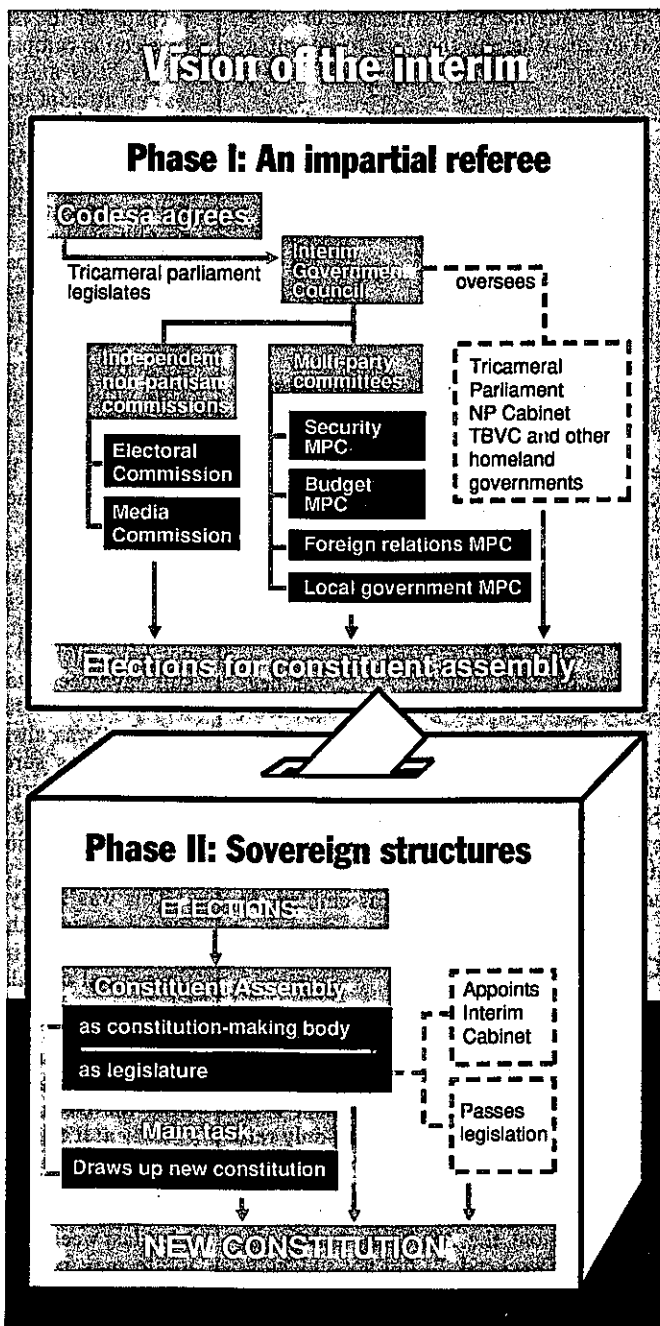
The other side of this coin concerns sunrise clauses to "address the aspirations of our people as a whole."

This emerges from the ANC's proposals on interim government arrangements presented to Codesa this week. The sunset clauses, with an offer of multiparty interim rule, suggest that a strategic compromise is being floated.

Government, of course, wants such high-minded intentions translated into principles that will be constitutionally entrenched. The NP observed this week that "constitutional conventions are not mere ad hoc assurances and informal agreements."

Meanwhile, the ANC believes that implementation of the first phase of transition (see charts) should take place within months.

The starting point, explains ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli, is Codesa's arriving at agreement



Source: ANC

# Sobukwe remembered <sup>118</sup>

FOR the first time since its unbanning, the Pan Africanist Congress will commemorate the anniversary of the death of its founding president, Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, in his birthplace in Graaff-Reinet, this weekend.

Hundreds of PAC supporters are expected to attend the ceremony, which starts at 10am at the Masizakhe Stadium.

The keynote address will be delivered by PAC president Mr Mlamli Clarence Makwetu. *Sowetan 28/2/92*  
The PAC's secretary for political affairs,

Mr Mahlubi Mbandazwayo, will deliver a tribute to Mr Sobukwe.

"This is the first time in its history that the PAC will commemorate the death of Sobukwe on home soil," PAC regional vice-chairman Mr Theo Mabusela said.

Sobukwe, who was a lecturer in African languages at the University of the Witwatersrand, was the organisation's first president.

He died of cancer in 1978 after serving a seven-year prison sentence on Robben Island.



**ROBERT SOBUKWE**

# Mandela in 'frank' talks with Mangope

THE African National Congress's refusal to recognise Bophutha-tswana and the antipathy of the homeland's government to this stand, emerged as a major difference when the two parties met for six hours in Mmabatho yesterday. *Sowetan 28/2/92*

A statement released by the Bophutatswana government said the homeland's delegation, led by Chief President Lucas Mangope, and the ANC contingent, led by Mr Nelson Mandela, also discussed the creation of a climate

of free political activity in the homeland.

They described the discussions as frank and direct, and agreed there were fundamental differences between the two sides. *(11A)*

They also agreed to consider ways of taking the talks further, with Mandela saying meetings would be arranged by the Bophuthatswana Minister of Defence, Mr Rowan Cronje, and ANC head of international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki. - *Sapa*.

# Paso (TIA) warns watchdog group

Sowetan 28/2/92  
By JOE MDHLELA

THE Wits region of the "Revolutionary Watchdogs", a group purporting to have links with the Pan Africanist Congress, would be dealt with if they continued to misrepresent the ideals of the PAC.

This warning was sounded by Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela yesterday.

Nqandela, whose organisation is the youth wing of the PAC, described the Revolutionary Watchdogs as officials of neither the PAC nor Paso.

"We want to restate that the so-called Wits region is not a legitimate structure of Paso, which is a component of the PAC."

He said Paso wished to warn them that "our cup of endurance is now beginning to overflow".

STAR 28/2/92 (3/4) (11A)

## Slovo would say 'yes' if he could

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo would vote "yes" in the referendum — if he could. But he was still an alien and so would not qualify, he explained yesterday. "I haven't an identity book so I can't vote. I have never been naturalised." But he said he wouldn't want to express support for President de Klerk and had some reservations about the question.



## Bop, ANC at odds over recognition

STAR 28/2/92  
11A  
MMABATHO — The non-recognition of Bophuthatswana by the ANC and the antipathy of the Bophuthatswana government to this stand emerged as a major difference when the two sides met for six hours in Mmabatho yesterday.

A Department of Information statement said the Bophuthatswana delegation led by President Lucas Mangope and the ANC delegation led by Nelson Mandela also discussed the creation of a climate of free political activity in the homeland, and prisoners on hunger strike.

Both sides agreed there were fundamental differences between them.

They also agreed to consider ways of taking the talks further.

Mr Mandela said meetings would be arranged by Bophuthatswana's Defence Minister Rowan Cronje and ANC head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki.

— Sapa.

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# From Protest to Transformation?

## Education Strategy

New Nation (Learning Nation) 28/2 - 5/3/92

Since President FW De Klerk unbanned political organisations on February 2 1990, South Africa has changed significantly. Since then we have witnessed talks about talks; pacts such as the Pretoria and the DF Malan Minutes; Peace Accords and the scrapping of some Apartheid legislation.

### Are we in a Period of Transition?

Many people are asking the question: are we finally on the doorstep of majority rule and democracy? Within the ranks of some theoreticians in the mass movement this question is posed in the form: can the present period be described as transitional? Some people argue that a transition is only when an interim government or similar structure is in place. Given that the present white minority regime is still in control of power, from the law-making process to the army and the police, these people argue that South Africa is not in a transitional situation. Others, however, argue that South Africa is in transition because the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of organisations signalled the transition. These reforms of the post-February 2 period, they argue, must therefore fundamentally affect policy and strategy.

Despite the variations in views about the present South African situation, one thing is common: things are changing. How much is changing, how, and why may be debated, but the change is clearly taking place. For some people in the mass movement the changes require a change of strategy: from the politics of Protest to the politics of Transformation.

### Arguments In Favour of the Shift to Transformation Politics

The shift to the politics of transformation is also called by the supporters of that approach, a shift to the politics of reconstruction or the politics of development. In the field of education, in particular, the focus has become that of policy and the role that education should play in fulfilling the needs of the new South Africa.

Prior to February 2, the politics of the people of South Africa was characterised by protest actions. Organisations were banned and their members harassed. The politics of protest was necessitated by the Emergency conditions; which is what characterised the reality of black South Africans in particular, since 1960 in greater or lesser degree until 1990.

At the same time, two fundamental trends emerged within this context. Firstly, the development of a broad anti-Apartheid alliance. Second, the over-politicisation of everyday life.

The struggle in South Africa has been within a broad anti-Apartheid alliance. The description of the people versus the

state was used because the struggle was essentially against a single system - apartheid. It became impossible to separate the politics of apartheid from any area of life. It, then, made perfect sense to point to the system of apartheid in dealing with rent issues or the lack of textbooks in schools.

However, since February 2, this scenario has changed fundamentally. First, the anti-Apartheid alliance is not that simple any more. Second, we are being called upon to respond to specific issues in very specific ways. Third, the kind of actions we now undertake are more positive and interventionist than protest-based.

Previously all organisations allowed their platforms to be used to promote and/or support the ANC or its policies. This was because the ANC did not have a legal space to express its own views. Now, the ANC/SACP/PAC are legal. They have their own platforms and they express their own views. This has meant a fundamental change in other organisations' roles.

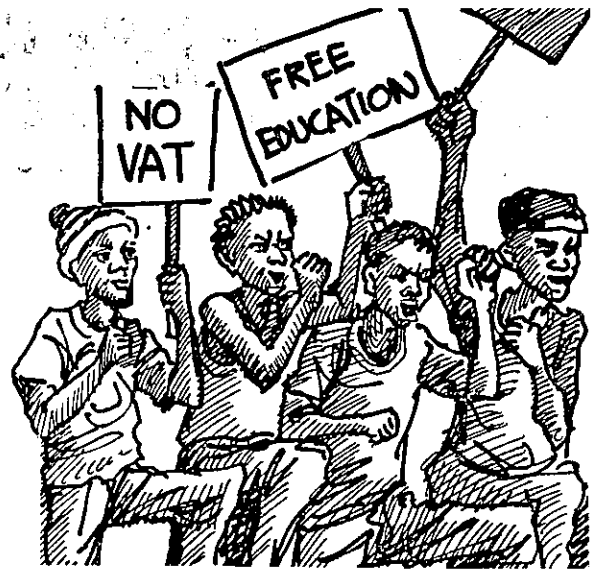
Let us take a youth organisation for example. This organisation is now forced to define its actual role more specifically. It can no longer use its platforms to promote the ANC because the ANC is doing so on its own. The youth organisation, if it intends to continue to exist, needs to clearly spell out what it sees its continued role to be, who it would be representing and what kind of issues it will take up. The youth organisation can no longer over-politicise the issues it takes up, neither can it embark on campaigns against apartheid.

Furthermore organisations are required to narrow their focus to something specific. For example, students are now more prone to fight the practices in a particular school, rather than staging a march against apartheid education. Nurses, as another example, are more prone to take up issues directly related to their conditions of work in a particular hospital, rather than staging a march against apartheid health.

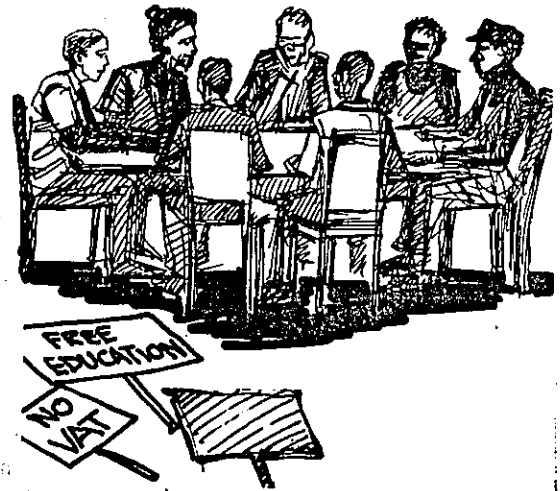
These shifts are what essentially characterise the politics of transformation. This does not mean that protest actions will not get used. Rather there will be less recourse to protest actions and more to interventionist actions on specific issues. Neither does this mean that actions and issues will suddenly become apolitical. Rather they will be political in other ways, other than being broadly anti-Apartheid. Nor does it mean that alliances will not be formed. Rather if alliances are formed, they will not be a principled alliance of the anti-Apartheid sort, but would more likely be temporary and for a very specific purpose.

### Problems with the Theory of the Shift to Transformation Politics

Before February 2 the masses in South Africa made the immediate connection between practically every aspect of their lives and the political practices of the



VERSUS



apartheid state. This was due to the fact that the state itself played a direct role in all aspects of people's social life - both at the level of the social engineering of Apartheid (Group Areas, Immorality Act, Multi-National Sports Policy); as well as at the level of state repression of unions, education protests etc. In many capitalist countries the extreme inequalities in wealth and the poverty and homelessness of the working class and the poor are not blamed on the state because the state often does not play a direct role in the affairs of people's lives. The result is that in the midst of the worst attacks on the lives of working people, the same bourgeois parties get voted for at elections by the people who suffer under their indirect rule. Most people often only get involved in political struggles at election times and for the rest regard their problems as their individual issue.

The strength of the mass movement in South Africa was precisely that, because the focus of all protest was on the state, a unified mass movement could emerge which internalised a simple truth - that the key to resolving local issues was to win democratic power in the state. With current attempts to de-politicise struggles and remove the focus on the state, the masses have become dispersed and struggles so localised that they are easily defeated. Moreover the distance established by the apartheid state has allowed the state to attack the people through

localised state and parastatal structures (such as ESCOM cutting electricity) while still appearing to be reasonable at the level of national political negotiations.

Within the field of education the shift to the politics of transformation, especially when posed too strongly, has raised particular problems. Whilst black schooling has practically collapsed and facilities deteriorate even further, thus making effective learning almost impossible, political mobilisation at schools against apartheid education has stopped. The result is that students and teachers have neither effective education and workable teaching conditions nor national political mobilisation. In this context students become ripe for acts of ill-discipline and impatience and teachers lapse into despair.

We can therefore see that there is much to debate about the change from the "politics of protest to the politics of transformation" in the mass movement particularly in the field of education. What are your views? Write to Learning Nation and tell us at:



PO Box 11350  
Johannesburg 2000.

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town  
POLITICAL confusion reached new heights in the western Cape this week when Pan Africanist Congress denies that it was engaged in forming an alternative Patriotic Front were rebutted by the very organisations with which it is said to be forming the new alliance.

Reacting to a report that a meeting between the PAC, the New Unity Movement (Num), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Azania (Wosa) was to take place in Cape Town on Wednesday with a view to forming an alternative Patriotic Front, PAC general secre-

## A new PF? Yes ... No, say others

W/Mail 28/2 - 5/3/92  
tary Benny Alexander issued a statement denying knowledge of any such meeting.

And in Cape Town yesterday the PAC's director of foreign affairs, Vuyani Mngaza, denied there had been any formal contact between the organisations. "We already have a Patriotic Front—that which the PAC convened in Durban last year."

But the president of Num, Richard Dudley, told *The Weekly Mail* that at least seven meetings took place late last year involving the PAC, Num,

Azapo and Wosa.

Dudley said the initial aim of the meetings was to organise opposition to the Paul Simon tour but that the focus then shifted: "An alternative PF was the subject of discussions towards the end of 1991. We discussed the political basis and organisational framework of a united front."

Such a grouping "would have amounted to an alternative to (the PF) concluded with the African National Congress," Dudley said, adding that there would be further meetings

between the groups "to co-ordinate the anti-Codesa battle nationwide".

A meeting organised by Num in Cape Town's predominantly Muslim Bo-Kaap this week was to have marked the first occasion that the PAC, Num and Azapo shared a public platform.

However, the PAC representative was "called away at the last minute", according to Dudley. The meeting was addressed by Dudley and Azapo's regional chairman in the western Cape, Dr Khotso Mokhele.

Mokhele yesterday confirmed that meetings focused on forging an alternative Patriotic Front were held last year.

But Wosa central committee member Brian Ashley denied his organisation had ever been involved in discussions around an alternative front. However, he had heard rumours that Num, the PAC and Azapo were discussing the possibility.

Ashley said Wosa had organised a number of meetings last year attended by Num, Azapo and the PAC, but that these dealt with the possibility of uniting around an anti-Codesa campaign. The question of an alternative front was not discussed, he said.

# Too many chiefs

W/maail 28/2 - 5/3/92 (11A)

IT was an eventful week for the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Among the issues discussed were:

■ The question of how traditional leaders will be represented at Codesa remains unresolved.

Repeated attempts by chiefs to gain participatory rather than observer status at the conference have failed and the sub-committee established to investigate the issue has not given any indication that a solution is in the offing.

Codesa administration spokesman Murphy Morobe said a number of independent applications from chiefs in all the homelands had been received.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has dismissed as impractical a suggestion that each traditional leader be represented because of the number of kings this would involve.

A proposal by Contralesa that a united neutral delegation of traditional leaders be elected on the basis of proportional representation has been rejected by Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Musa Myeni.

He explained that King Zwelithini wanted his own delegation to Codesa because he represented "the specific interests of the Zulu people".

■ First, the Patriotic Front and now the "alternative Patriotic Front".

On Wednesday, representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action will meet in Cape Town to discuss the formation of a front based on the principle of non-colaboration.

The organisations will also discuss a national campaign to oppose Codesa which will include pamphleteering and demonstrations and coincide with Codesa 2 to be held in late March or early April.

■ THE steering committee of the constitutional principles working group has accepted that a new constitution should provide a meaningful role for political minorities. However, the committee left the debate about what measures should be adopted to accommodate this decision to a future constitution making forum.

However, the proposal must still be accepted by the working group as a whole before it can be taken to "Codesa 2".

W/Mail 28/2-5/3/92

# Blacks have no interest in white poll

(17A) ~~SECRET~~  
With almost everyone urging a 'yes' vote, an alternative view from Azapo's publicity

secretary **STRINI MOODLEY**

THE outcome of the white referendum that is being called by President FW de Klerk's regime is of little consequence to black people as far as the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is concerned.

We believe the calling of the referendum is a part of De Klerk's ploy to perpetuate white control over the political destiny of this country.

Ironically, by deliberately losing the by-election at Potchefstroom De Klerk decided to pack away his party's "swart gevaar" tactic and replace it with a "wit gevaar" one — and that only because he believes he has contained the "swart gevaar".

De Klerk can, at any time he wishes, put away the rightwing but he chooses not to do so because he lost the battle at Potchefstroom to win the war at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

He hopes to force the African National Congress and its allies at Codesa to accept any settlement — most probably one which will entrench ethnicity and minority rights.

Thus he raises the "wit gevaar" bogey and all black people are expected to fear this crazy fascism on the right. The referendum forces all blacks to come out in support of the National Party. If they do not, everyone argues, they are then accepting a Conservative Party-ruled government.

Let everyone be reminded, De Klerk called a referendum to test his white support. De Klerk did not come to black people and say: "I have messed this country up. Now what do I do?"

Azapo has no interest in the future of the NP and its supporters nor in the CP and its crazy Nazi-style politics. Consequently, it is not only unfair but devious to expect black people to support De Klerk.

This is a white issue and becomes the responsibility of white people. Black people, and certainly Azapo, are not obliged to take sides in this useless game which simply wastes more money.

The CP is comprised of a bunch of dinosaurs who have no capacity, nor the intelligence, to shape this country's future — and they know it.

All De Klerk has to do is resign. But he has chosen to slap the face of black political representatives and proceed regardless to "test white opinion".

If, by some quirk of fate, the CP wins this referendum, what will it, in truth, mean for black people?

Blacks will still be homeless, jobless, landless, uneducated, deprived of health care and voteless. Certainly, the political space won for organisations to operate within will be far tougher. We will be returned to the Verwoerd/Vorster era.

But for how long can such conditions be kept in place? South Africa will be returned to economic, political and social isolation from the rest of the world.

It will clarify the political battle lines for all those who profess a love for democracy so that blacks will find it easier to unite — their organisations will be forced by the realities to come together in solidarity and work out common programmes to overthrow such a regime.

There is actually no need to fear the rightwing. They are incapable of ruling this country and will face the wrath of the international community.

# Goldstone slams IFP arms at trial

Political Staff

MR Justice Goldstone has written to President F W de Klerk criticising the conduct of more than 160 Inkatha Freedom Party supporters who attended their February 14 public violence trial in Mooi River carrying dangerous weapons.

All the accused were on remand.

The letter, attached to the Goldstone Commission's second report on Mooi River violence, says: "Such conduct reflects upon the dignity and credibility of the courts and is conduct which the law should not tolerate".

CF 29/2/92

## Top unionist joins ANC

Political Correspondent  
29/2/92

TRADE union leader Mr Salie Manie has been co-opted onto the ANC's Western Cape executive.

Announcing the move yesterday, ANC publicity secretary Mr Mziwoke Jacobs said that Mr Manie had played a key role in uniting Muslims and encouraging them to speak with one voice. (U)

A founder executive member of the South African Municipal Workers' Union and present chairman of the Cape Town branch, Mr Manie is also on the regional executive of Cosatu.

# Cash-strapped ANC 'wants US aid to pay for Mandela's wage'

ARC 29/2/92

(11A)

**HUGH ROBERTON**

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — There is speculation in the United States that the ANC, faced with financial difficulties, is pressing for its share of the R28 million "Transition to Democracy" aid package approved by Congress last year to pay the salaries of its president Nelson Mandela and other officials.

Most of the money, under the control of the US Agency for International Development (USAID), is being administered by the US-South Africa Leader Exchange Programme (Ussalep), whose officials declined to comment on the issue this week.

But a senior USAID official said none of the R28 million had been disbursed so far and the agency was awaiting proposals from Ussalep on how the funds should be spent.

Talks were under way between Ussalep and the recipients — the ANC and Inkatha — but no agreement had been reached. "We would have to approve any proposals they come up with," the official said.

According to a respected Washington newsletter, Africa Insider, "a sharp drop in international funds for the ANC's political ambitions could cause problems for USAID's 'Transition to Democracy in South Africa' project."

Quoting reliable sources, the

newsletter added: "Ussalep, which is managing most of the R28 million congressionally mandated funds, has been asked to use some funds for salaries to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other officials."

There would be an outcry from conservatives in Congress if such a proposal were to be acted on. They have been stridently critical of assistance to the ANC and when the issue was debated they expressed concern that US aid might be used to pay ANC officials and members of the South African Communist Party.

This week the conservative Washington Times questioned whether the ANC might have used USAID funds to employ

the services of its new US fundraiser, Mr Walter Fauntroy, who, it claimed, had already been paid R644 000 of his R1 960 000 fee.

A recent tour of the US by Mrs Winnie Mandela was largely aimed at raising money.

Of the R28 million voted by Congress, some R12,88 million was allocated to the ANC and about R7 million to Inkatha. Ussalep is to receive a small fee for its services in negotiating the disbursement of the money.

A further R5,6 million was shared between the US Information Service in South Africa and the National Endowment for Democracy.



## Probe of ANC camps invited

STAR 29/2/92

THE ANC, trying to quell claims that it is still holding prisoners in camps outside the country, yesterday invited international human-rights bodies to inspect the camps.

"The ANC again reiterates that we have no prisoners. Those organisations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, which wish to inspect alleged prison camps are welcome to do so through countries concerned," it said in a statement.

On Thursday, the International Freedom Foundation supported appeals apparently made by a UN-backed organisation to the ANC to aid investigations of people allegedly murdered, or still held, in ANC camps.

The IFF said appeals

had been made by the International Society for Human Rights, which the foundation said was backed by the UN.

According to an IFF statement, the ISHR had sent a letter to ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, reiterating its protest.

The IFF noted among several allegations that more than 500 people were still being held and that detainees had been tortured or executed. The ANC allegedly never responded to IFF demands that prison camps be subjected to a Red Cross inspection.

The IFF had rejected the ANC's suggestion that a commission of inquiry including ANC members could perform such an inspection, saying this had to be done by a neutral party. — Sapa.

## Camp inspections invited by ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress, in an effort to quell claims it was still holding prisoners in its camps outside the country, yesterday invited international human rights bodies to inspect the camps.

"The ANC again reiterates that we have no prisoners. Those organisations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, that wish to inspect alleged prison camps are welcome to do so through countries concerned," it said in a statement

On Thursday, the moderate International Freedom Foundation grouping supported appeals to the ANC to aid investigations of people allegedly murdered, or still held, in ANC camps. — Sapa

CT 29/2/92

# MK bomber's <sup>CT 29/2/92</sup> term suspended <sup>(11)</sup>

JOHANNESBURG. — Family and friends of umK-honto weSizwe (MK) member Jeremy Seeber were clearly relieved yesterday when he received a wholly-suspended 10-year prison sentence for bombing Braamfontein's Devonshire Hotel in 1986.

Applause was heard outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after Seeber, 25, was sentenced to six years, suspended for five years, for attempted murder, and a further four years, also suspended for five, for unlawfully causing an explosion.

Magistrate Mr J Esterhuizen found Seeber's age a mitigating factor. He said that attempted murder and causing an explosion were serious crimes but they were "coloured by political circumstances".

Earlier, defence lawyer Mr Gilbert Marcus said it would be unfair to treat Seeber any differently from other political criminals, who had been granted indemnity for more serious crimes.

Prosecutor Ms J van der Bijl said the court's authority would be undermined if it allowed itself to be swayed by the decisions of political institutions.

— Sapa

BLACK POLITICS — 1992

~~THE~~ MARCH

# Unmasking the man

CPres 1/3/92

(11A)

## Beeld's correspondent, TIM DU PLESSIS, interviews Nelson Mandela

**W**AS your attack on State President FW de Klerk at Codesa 1 not an over-reaction?

It is true that my reaction on his speech may have been too strong, but, given the circumstances, I was entitled to it.

Shortly before the first full sitting of Codesa there was a request from the government that De Klerk speak last, despite a decision all would speak alphabetically.

We argued that, even if we did not recognise the government as legitimate, he was still the head of state.

Up to the previous evening at 9.30 pm I had spoken with him on the ANC's objections to the Declaration of Intent. He never said anything about the MK issue.

Then he came the next day with the most vicious attack possible on the ANC, in which he said the organisation could not be trusted.

There was the cream of SA's political leaders, together with representatives of all the international organisations and he says in front of them that I, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo cannot be trusted.

This surprised me totally. I never expected he would do that. We had made many concessions to the government, not just at the two summits held between us and them, but also in the many discussions we had with them on Codesa.

It was nevertheless a painful day for me to have attacked him in public, but it was unavoidable and the only thing I could have done to save the image of my organisation.

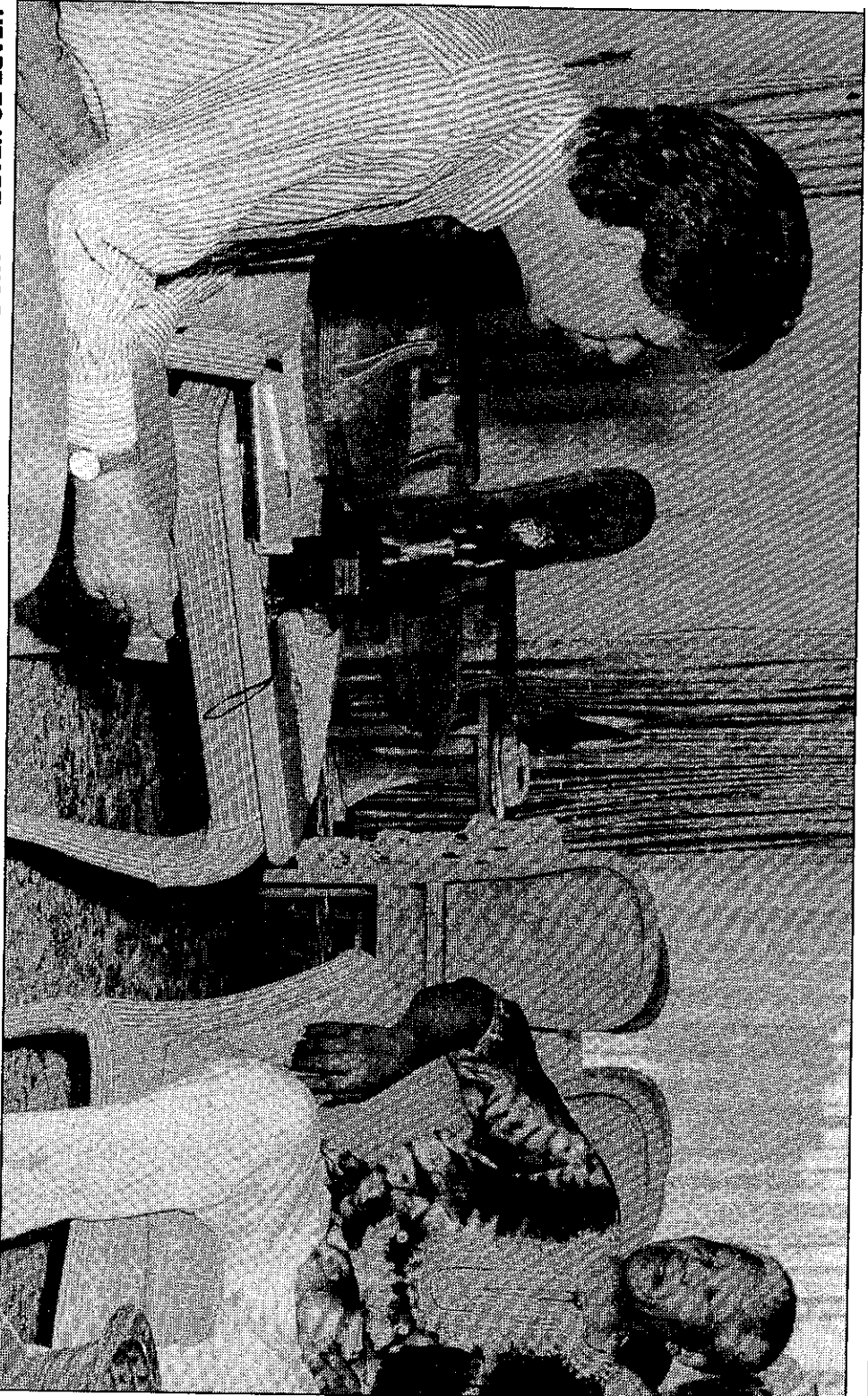
But I have now forgotten that. We were together at Davos in Switzerland, and in Paris and our speeches were complimentary and we did not attack each other. And there was no infighting.

Despite what happened, I believe De Klerk has made a very positive and substantial contribution to the peace process. It must have required a lot of courage.

**What do you say to young professional people who are leaving the country?**

I want to advise young people, especially Africans, not to leave the country, despite their fears. We want to bind everyone in the peace process.

If there is one thing that the peace process requires, it is the



**HEART TO HEART ... ANC President Nelson Mandela being interviewed at his Soweto home this week.**

support of Afrikaner intellectuals. To leave the country would weaken the hands of the peacemakers. To remove the knowledge, skills and technology will be a disaster for the country.

**What about white fears regarding the economy under an ANC government?**

No political body can be stable without economic stability. And this can only be possible in a growing economy which generates wealth to provide job opportunities and create sufficient wealth for the purpose of redistribution.

It is understandable that whites, especially Afrikaners, are concerned and fearful about the future. When black people will be given the right to vote there will be a lowering of standards, but this would be a natural development.

There will definitely be people in the civil service, the Defence Force and the Police who are concerned about their positions. However, we have no intention of telling the

members of the existing Police Force, the Defence Force or the civil service: 'You have been dismissed.' No country in the world would do that. We have to rely on the existing services.

**Has the ANC lost support for committing itself to negotiations?**

Out of the question. No political organisation inside or outside parliament enjoys the kind of popular support the ANC enjoys.

The concept of negotiations was approved by an overwhelming majority at our December 1990 Consultative Conference and once again at our national conference in July last year.

Just look at what happened on January 24 this year with our People's Parliament on the Parade in Cape Town. The SABC said there were 50 000 people. The *Citizen* said there were 30 000, while *The Star* - I don't know why - said there were 15 000.

However, the media agreed that hardly 1 000 people joined the

PAC's procession on that day. The PAC and Azapo say no to negotiations; we say yes. The people who joined the two processions on that day prove the public support for negotiations.

**Your views on support for the ANC?**

I am confident the ANC would be in a position to form a government on its own, based on a complete majority.

We shall naturally ensure that, even should we gain an absolute majority, we will make the government representative of the whole country. We shall ensure that all parties, elected on the basis of proportional representation - parties with substantial support - will be taken up in the government.

There should be no fear that a majority government would lead to the oppression of any population group. There will be a bill of human rights which will protect the rights of every citizen. In this regard we are speaking

the same language as Judge Pierre Olivier of the Law Commission who believes that as long as the rights of the individual are being entrenched in a bill of human rights with an independent judiciary, there is no reason why other forms of protection are needed.

**What about the possibility that the Conservative Party could win the referendum?**

If the CP take over the regime, we will stay in the country. They will have to jail us. There is no way the country could be taken back to the days of Dr Verwoerd. Even Dr Treurnicht will have to give in to the forces of peace in South Africa.

**What about a Boerestaat for rightwingers?**

I totally reject a Boerestaat as a solution. We rejected the Bantustans and we will reject a Boerestaat, even if only for the forced removals which will accompany it. The NP government moved more than three million people. We could never allow a repeat of that.

**And your proposal of a block of votes for whites in the new parliament?**

I was not surprised at all when everyone shot that down. I did it however in an effort to placate white fears. These are real fears and it is our duty to address them.

Already in March 1989, when I was still in jail, I said in a memorandum to PW Botha the challenge to the government and the ANC would be to put whites at ease so that the acceptance of the principle of one man one vote would not lead to a reversed situation where whites would be suppressed by blacks.

**What about white fears when they look at what happened elsewhere in Africa?**

The ANC took note of what happened in African countries north of South Africa, also that in none of these countries was there an attempt to drive whites out after independence. Even Robert Mugabe appointed whites in his cabinet.

We need whites in South Africa even more than countries north of South Africa. They have knowledge, expertise and technology.

**Your views on the economy?**

Our economy must not only ensure growth, maximum production, wealth creation and redistribution, it must also attract investors. Although capital must be generated in the country, investments from abroad are extremely important.

I expect that sanctions will be lifted soon, or as soon as an interim government is appointed. As far as I am concerned, it could happen within three months. Then the financial sanctions, which are hurting South Africa badly, could be lifted.

If we want investment, investors must have the confidence that their property will not nationalised, that they will have a safe return on their investment and that they can repatriate dividends.

**That is why we are now drafting an investment code which would reassure investors.**

We have investigated the issue of nationalisation. Make no mistake, it scared off investors. As long as nationalisation hangs like the Sword of Damocles over investors, it would be very difficult to attract investors. We are discussing that at the moment.

Rose, Special Sgt Roy Ndwalane, Special Constables Cyprian Ngunbane, Thabo Sikhosana and David Khambule.

Mitchell said he and Terblanche had arranged a meeting for November 30, 1988, between Gabela and David Ntombela - described by the presiding judge as a "prominent jerk up" Gabela for not

shortly after special constable approached him and told him they had shot people. Mitchell told the special constable that he must burn the Mbongwas' house.

Advocates for the special constables said their clients would tell the court Mitchell took part in the shootings. The case is proceeding.

## Judge's death ends libel case

THE death of a Pretoria judge has ended a R12 000 defamation lawsuit he instituted against Argus and Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Judge LL Esselen, who died earlier this month, had claimed the money from Curren and former editor of *The Star*, Harvey Tyson, after an article which appeared in the newspaper two years ago.

Esselen had claimed the article said he was racially prejudiced in his judgment of a rape trial three years ago.

Judge Hattingh of the Pretoria Supreme Court dismissed with costs this week two exceptions noted by the defendants to Esselen's claim, saying they disclosed no cause of action.

He said in South Africa public policy did not militate against any right of a judge to sue for defamation. - Sapa

# Battle for KwaZulu

By S'BU MNGADI

A BLOODY feud has been raging at Esikhawini near Empangeni for the past six months as Inkatha and the ANC fight over the political soul of KwaZulu's heartland.

Inkatha, backed by the KwaZulu-controlled Esikhawini Town Council, is making its last stand against ANC encroachment of the heartland.

The ANC, on the other hand, frustrated at not having launched its northern Natal region since it was unbanned two years ago, is aggressively asserting itself.

Ironically, the two organisations signed the historic Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord in August 1990. The accord was violated by both organisations as soon as it was signed and it remains only on paper.

What makes Esikhawini unique is its proximity to the KwaZulu political capital of Ulundi.

Inkatha this week admitted bussing in scores of hostel-dwellers from the Reef to attend the memorial service of a local Inkatha leader at Hlanganani Hall last Saturday. This was on the eve of an ANC rally, which was later

banned.

Two people were shot and then burnt to death in their car as they drove past the hall. On Sunday, a man KwaZulu Police described as an Inkatha supporter was shot and killed outside his house in H-section.

The ANC has been attempting since October 1990 to hold a meeting at Esikhawini. Every attempt was resisted by the township manager and council.

After repeated attempts resulted in a successful court application, the ANC arranged a meeting for November 24, 1991. However, it never took place as the stadium was "occupied" by the IFP, culminating in the death of a local resident.

Last month, SA Communist Party general secretary and Umkhonto we-Sizwe chief-of-staff, Chris Hani, was prevented by police from entering nearby Enseleni to attend the launch of an ANC branch there.

Police later explained this was done for Hani's own security after about 3 000 heavily armed Inkatha impis had assembled at the entrance of the township.

# PAC official jailed 18 years

CP/Pres 11/3/92

A SENIOR PAC official based in Zimbabwe was on Friday sentenced to 18 years' jail by a high court judge for illegal drug dealing.

Ramudi Michael Maphai, the PAC's deputy chief representative in Harare, and his Indian accomplice, Chjandrakant Jomnadas Ajmera, were found guilty of smuggling drugs into Zimbabwe last year.

They had collaborated to ship about one ton of Mandrax tablets with an estimated street value of Z\$8-million (about R4,5-million) from India, the judge said.

Maphai was arrested while offloading the drugs at a house in a Harare suburb last year.

Judge Wilson Sandura slapped an additional Z\$3 000 (about R1 700) fine on both men and also refused them appeal.

The PAC head office in Johannesburg would not comment and referred City Press to their acting chief of information and publicity, Waters Toboti, who was not available. — Sapa-AFP-CP Staff



OLD COMRADES ... Tambo greets KK at Jan Smuts Airport. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

## 'FW de Klerk, I presume'

By ZB MOLEFE CP/Pres 11/3/92

IIA

FORMER Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on Friday night added his sharp wit to South Africa's political vocabulary.

"I keep on saying Margaret Thatcher discovered Gorbachev, and I discovered FW de Klerk," said Kaunda in a light-hearted moment at an informal meeting with black journalists held in a swank Johannesburg hotel.

There was another pearl of wisdom from the father of Zambian independence when journalist Joe Latakomo reminded him of his scheduled meeting with AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche during his four-day South African visit and that the name Terre'Blanche means "white earth".

Kaunda broke into his famous toothpaste smile and said: "Oh, if he is 'the white earth', then I'm the 'black earth'."

There was a note of sadness in Kaunda's voice when he touched on the violence wreaking havoc across SA, particularly in black areas. He warned that if the violence continued unabated "you will be delaying the coming of freedom".

"We can't accept your killing each other. Whenever it happens we weep with you," he said.



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**Exposed: Plot to whip up revolt against Gqozo fails**

# HOW ANC TRIED TO GRAB CISKEI

SITimes 11/3/92

By PETER MALHERBE

**A BIZARRE ANC plot to seize control of the Ciskei has been thwarted.**

The ANC planned to mobilise intensive mass action by the Ciskei people for the removal of leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, culminating on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a "people's assembly" for the homeland.

The conspiracy was exposed this week when a blueprint for the campaign was leaked to Brigadier Gqozo.

Sources within the ANC confirmed this weekend that the strategy had been drawn up by the ANC's Border region executive, but would not say whether it had the approval or knowledge of the ANC National Executive Committee.

One of the aims of the plan was to weaken the South African government's position at Codesa by installing an interim administration in the Xhosa homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo learned of the plot — which he described to the Sunday Times on Friday as "diabolical" — within days of the ANC proposing that a Xhosa region, consisting of the Transkei, the Ciskei, East Griqualand and Border, be added to the government's nine regions in a united South Africa.

## Objective

Last Tuesday, Brigadier Gqozo telephoned ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and told him he knew of the plan. Brigadier Gqozo sent a copy of the documents to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg and later discussed them with Mr Mandela.

An ANC delegation will hold talks about the plot with Brigadier Gqozo within the next few days.

According to the blueprint, the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" had five objectives:



## Illness riddle of a balding balladeer

By CHARIS PERKINS

POPULAR Country and Western singer Cora Marie, once nicknamed "bossiekop" for her thick mop of tight curls, would forgive her fans for calling her "bleskoppie" instead.

The 39-year-old crooner of romantic songs is fast going bald because of a mystery ailment. All that she has left of her once glorious mane is a fuzzy dome.

But after weeks of covering up with a turban, she



THEN: Cora's thick locks

decided to go public this weekend when she stepped on stage in Standerton, in the Eastern Transvaal, with her balding head bare for all to see.

"I was so nervous it was like being on stage for the very first time," she said. "But my fans tell me they will like me no matter

□ To Page 2



NOW: A mystery ailment has left crooner Cora Marie with a balding pate. Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN



Last Tuesday, Brigadier Gqozo telephoned ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and told him he knew of the plan. Brigadier Gqozo sent a copy of the documents to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg and later discussed them with Mr Mandela.

An ANC delegation will hold talks about the plot with Brigadier Gqozo within the next few days.

According to the blueprint, the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" had five objectives:

- To weaken Brigadier Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- To isolate him politically;
- To expose South Africa's agenda in Ciskei and, "in particular", Military Intelligence's programme in the homeland;
- To bring about an interim administration in Ciskei;
- To "consequently" weaken government's position at Codesa.

The ANC devised the campaign because it did not believe Brigadier Gqozo represented the people of Ciskei at Codesa, and that he was a stumbling block to peace in the region.

The documents claim that an interim government at national level "is the only way to prevent further government attempts to destabilise the transition process" and that "the people demand democratic elections for a constituent assembly to ensure a stable and prosperous future for all South Africans".

The campaign was to be launched on March 10 at a press conference, where members of the public would be urged to sign demands for Brigadier Gqozo's removal. There was no indication that military force was to be used.

The launch of the campaign was to have been followed by pickets in all urban centres, door-to-door canvassing for support, mass meetings and rallies.

### Votes

On Saturday, March 14 — three days before white South Africans voted in the referendum — polling booths were to have been set up in major urban centres and mobile booths sent to rural areas to collect votes for a new Ciskei administration.

On Sharpeville Day — March 21 — rallies were planned to mobilise support for a people's assembly, which was to have been announced by Mr Mandela on Friday, April 3.

Three days later, on Solomon Mahlangu Day, the people's assembly was to have been convened in King William's Town and an interim administration announced.

The administration was

□ To Page 2

# ANC grab at Ciskei

□ From Page 1

to symbolically occupy the Ciskei capital of Bisho the next day, and signatures of support were to be handed over.

On May Day, the campaign was to have ended with report-back rallies in all sub-regions.

A budget of R142 550 was allocated for the campaign.

Transport costs — including car hire for 60 days — were estimated at R50 400, while R17 650 was earmarked to hire venues, sound equipment and stages for six rallies and for the stadium where the people's assembly was to have taken place.

Newspaper and "sky" advertisements, banners, pamphlets and posters

were budgeted at R41 000, while 20 temporary organisers were to be paid R1 000 each for work on the campaign.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the matter was being dealt with by the organisation's senior leadership, the Border regional organisation, and Brigadier Gqozo.

She said it was not known who had drawn up the document and "this is one of the things we are looking into".

However, reliable sources confirmed the plan was the brainchild of the ANC's leadership in the Border region and that the documents were intended for "internal use only".

The plan is the latest move in a protracted dispute between the ANC and Brigadier Gqozo, who seized power in a military coup that ousted President Lennox Sebe in 1990.

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**W**HAT goes on behind closed doors at Codesa?

This question is being asked on numerous occasions by people who are concerned and anxious about the future of this country.

While most people, including notable politicians like former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, talk about Codesa and why it must be supported, locals know little about its workings.

The media is doing its best to report on what takes place at Codesa, but this coverage is obviously not enough.

Starting this week, I will attempt to give you readers of this column the titbits within Codesa – not the usual press statements you've been getting.

My insider tells me that sex reared its ugly head at Codesa this week when the gender of an IFP delegate was called into question.

Dr B gained the unfortunate distinction of being the first Codesa delegate to be censured when he tackled the ANC

## MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

# Is Codesa a sexcess?

*DLWA HIA  
C/Pres 11/3/92*



on its alleged political prisoners still being held in some African countries.

The note of censure in the minutes read as follows: "A number of delegates objected to material distributed by an IFP delegate attacking the ANC, arguing that the procedure of Codesa was abused and disrupted by an individual member distributing the documentation in question without consulting his/her own organisation."

Dr B objected strenuously to the note of censure and particularly to the "her" inclusion.

He had no doubts whatsoever that he was a "his". His manhood was being questioned. He cited as evidence the fact that he generally used male toilets, and he had a wife who regularly used female toilets.

However, Working Group 1 refused to remove the "her" from the note of censure. Dr B suggested that an all-male subcommittee be appointed to deal with this matter, and an in loco inspection could be held to confirm that the "her" be deleted from the note of censure. Female delegates

objected on grounds that this was a sexist approach which violated the rules of Codesa, and some female delegates volunteered to serve on the subcommittee.

Being a reticent man, Dr B declined their kind offer of assistance. There was a deadlock.

The chairperson kindly intervened and he/she suggested a compromise – and it was agreed that on receipt of a sworn affidavit from Mrs B, Dr B's gender would be confirmed.

Dr B sincerely hopes

that his wife will confirm that he is in fact a man.

A sworn affidavit from Pat Hlongwane, chairman of the ex-ANC Detainees Committee, accompanied the IFP position paper.

Hlongwane claims that the ANC is still holding political prisoners in African countries.

When challenged by the ANC to produce evidence of one ANC-held political prisoner, Dr B referred the ANC to Katiza Cebekhulu, Winnie Mandela's co-accused, who Dr B said despite his protestations was being held on ANC instructions, by the Zambian government for "his own safety".

Dr B believes that the "delegates (who) objected to material distributed", (and who refused to have their identities minuted), in fact "disrupted" the "procedure of Codesa" by launching a vicious personal attack on him, lasting approximately an hour.

He is, however, pleased that the question of his gender has been clarified.

# ANC to meet in city on economic policy

S/Times [cm] 11/3/92

11A

By **NORMAN WEST**  
Political Reporter

THE ANC is to hold a national "policy conference" in Cape Town in mid-April, just after the holy month of Ramadan, to consider afresh its policy on nationalisation.

A senior source said yesterday nationalisation had always been for the ANC "a means to an objective".

This "objective", he said, was "eradicating poverty and ensuring wealth is more equitably distributed".

He conceded that the question now being deliberated in ANC executive circles was whether, in the current situation, nationalisation was "the best way of achieving the objective".

If "other players (businesses here and abroad),

refuse to co-operate with the ANC" and if nationalisation does not prove to be the best way of achieving the ANC's objective, then "it is time to rethink strategy".

This was "the crossroads" at which the ANC now found itself, the source said.

The ANC had realised "it was not the only player" and that if it reached the stage it

could no longer follow nationalisation as a policy, it would have to "look at it again".

The ANC had now reached this stage because of the lack of co-operation of business here and abroad.

The April policy conference in Cape Town will:

- Look anew at its objective of redistribution of wealth; and
- Look at alternatives for achieving this objective.

# ANC to go ahead with anti-Gqozo plan

B/Docu 2/3/92 (11A) (107)

TIM COHEN

THE ANC said yesterday it would go ahead with its plan to oust Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo through a mass action campaign, and denied this contradicted its commitment to negotiations.

The statement follows a Sunday Times report which disclosed that the Border region planned a mass action campaign to press for Gqozo's removal.

The campaign would culminate on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a "people's assembly".

ANC Border region secretary Lucille Meyer yesterday criticised "the sensationalism" of the Sunday Times report and denied the plan was contradictory to the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent. She said the ANC had made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to discuss its difficulties with Gqozo.

According to documents released by the ANC yesterday, the plan is designed to

weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa; to isolate him politically; to expose SA's military intelligence programme in Ciskei; to bring about an interim administration in the homeland; and to weaken government's position at Codesa. The region had budgeted R142 000 for the campaign.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord and Codesa's declaration of intent.

He said a meeting between Ciskei and the ANC was planned.

# 'No' vote an 'economic crisis'

CAPE TOWN — The equity market will probably be pushed to new highs by a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum, Board of Executors senior portfolio manager Rob Lee says in the latest Economic Outlook.

Significant support for the negotiation process would remove a major source of uncertainty, boost domestic and foreign investor confidence and enhance the probability of a fast and sustained economic upswing over the next three years or more. Growth rates as high as 4-5% a year were possible. *Bidau 2/3/92*

A "no" vote, bringing with it sanctions and a massive flight of capital and skills, would be economically devastating and would result in a dramatic fall in the equity market. A narrow "yes" vote would have confusing implications for the market.

Lee expected a cut in bank rate within the next few weeks, probably after the referendum and the Budget.

He said the short term economic outlook had deteriorated as a result of the drought, the delayed world economic upswing and inflation.

LINDA ENSOR

"Present estimates suggest that the impact of the drought will be to reduce GDP growth by 0,5% or more, increase inflation by 0,5%-1% and reduce the trade surplus by about R2,5bn."

Lee said longer term economic prospects had been strengthened by strong indications that IMF support would be available to SA.

"The remarkable progress being made within the Codesa negotiation process, plus a forthcoming Budget that looks set to cut spending and boost investment are also positive for the longer term outlook," he said.

"This has very positive long-term implications, and makes one more comfortable about the still relatively high fiscal deficit (about 4,5% of GDP) that is likely to eventuate."

Lee expected a generalised world upswing to develop by year-end with equity markets, except the Japanese, being kept bullish for most of the year by falling interest rates and inflation.

# We'll take up arms again, says Sisulu

BONN — The ANC will renew its armed struggle if a government of the extreme right takes power in the event the March 17 referendum seeking support for dismantling apartheid fails, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu says.

In an interview with the German magazine Der Spiegel, Sisulu said if President F W de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement, "then we could have a gov-

ernment of the extreme right which would reintroduce apartheid".

In such a case, he said, "we would fight such a regime just as we have fought the government, just as long as it did not commit itself to ... reform".

Sisulu also evoked the possibility of a coup staged by the extreme right.

"We are living in a crazy country and I can't rule out that some madmen might make such an insane at-

tempt," he said.

On the ANC's rejection of the principle of a referendum, Sisulu said it would never accept a veto, and would follow the road to democracy through peaceful negotiations.

He called on "all reasonable whites" to vote "yes" to stop right-wing extremists from making SA go back.

"Every vote for the right is a vote for chaos and ruin," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

WISH to have any business de

SUSAN RUSSELL

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Vertical text on the left margin, possibly a page number or reference code.

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including "BIDAU" and other illegible scribbles.

# Join civic bodies - PAC

Sowetan 2/3/92

By MOKGADI PELA

THE deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Dikgang Mose-neke, yesterday urged members of his organisation to join civic associations or form theirs in cases where it was not possible.

Addressing a service to commemorate the death of the PAC's founder, Mr Robert Sobukwe, at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, Mose-neke said struggles were won "on the ground".

"We should find out why people live in shacks, why they pay high rent and

why the transport system is not proper. These issues can only be addressed within civic bodies," he said.

Turning to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Mose-neke said the forum was similar to the Native Representative Council of the 40's.

He said those who served in the NRC of the 40s and those in Codesa believed "it's possible to destroy the system from within."

## PAC official jailed

*Sowetan 2/3/92* (11A)  
A SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress official was jailed for an effective 18 years by a Zimbabwean High Court judge last week for illicit drug dealing.

Ramudi Michael Maphai, the PAC's deputy chief representative in Zimbabwe, and his Indian accomplice, Chjandrakant Jomnadas Ajmera, were found guilty of smuggling drugs into Zimbabwe last year.

Maphai was caught off-loading the drug consignment at a Harare house.

## Azapo 'no' to Codesa

*Sowetan 2/3/92*  
THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday restated its unwillingness to take part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and its desire for a socialist economy.

Speaking at an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy conference at the University of the Witwatersrand, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe in-

(11A) ~~(11A)~~  
sisted constitutional negotiations should be at a neutral venue under an independent and impartial mediator.

Because the Government controlled the country's security forces, financial resources, television, radio and newspapers, it was both participant and referee at Codesa. It was therefore pointless to take part. - *Sapa*.

# Pik Botha slams ANC over 'plot'

Sowetan 2/3/92

(11A)

**THE Government has accused the African National Congress of breaching the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent following the organisation's alleged plot to take over the Ciskei.**

A delegation of senior ANC members is to hold talks this week with Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, about the alleged plot.

The Minister of Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in a statement yesterday that South Africa would not permit its territory to be used in plots to destabilise homeland governments.

He said the plan conflicted with both the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

Botha added that he hoped the matter would be resolved at the meeting between Ciskei and the ANC.

A senior Government source said yesterday the document detailing the plan was genuine.

It was reported in a Sunday newspaper that the plan was launched by the ANC's

## Sowetan Correspondent

Border region's executive committee and involved mobilising the Ciskei population against Gqozo, culminating in an interim administration to be announced by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on April 3.

Gqozo was in a meeting all day yesterday and was unavailable for comment.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said any internal action regarding Border region executive members would depend on the outcome of the discussions with Gqozo.

An ANC source was reported as confirming the plot, but would not say whether it had the approval of the national executive committee.

The report listed five objectives of the plan:

- To weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa.
- To isolate him politically.
- To expose South Africa's Military Intelligence programme in Ciskei.
- To bring about an interim administration in the homeland.
- To weaken the Government's position at Codesa.



# The truth is not a pretty picture

Sowetan 2/3/92



**THE ugly, ungainly sprawl of dead bodies on the front pages of Sowetan is becoming the norm.**

It is also getting me down.

Newspapers use such dreadful pictures for various reasons.

The immediate reason is aimed at getting what is rather indelicately called the "best" story or picture. In the old days it was called a scoop but with television and other forms of instant communication, scoops are rare.

## Sadistic

This does not mean journalists are sadistic or ghoul-ish. They are forced by dictates of the market - the readers who prefer bad news over good.

Another reason is the endeavour to shock readers, with the intention (the hopeful intention, I must add) that such acts will be stopped.

This sometimes works. Many times it does not. *Sowetan* tries to be the type of paper that responds immediately, preferably creatively, to problems in the community. If we can shock or advise, cajole or induce readers to be peaceful we give it our best shot.

We start campaigns. We will soon start a peace crusade with the help of our communities and certain organisations.

We will try to reach every mind, touch every heart.

At the start of this year I said I would start a children's crusade, a process that will encourage people to do what is best for the children of South Africa. I have said that every married man and woman knows that the journey to marital bliss is often aided by a love for children.

## Personal

I have quoted my personal case. After 18 years of turbulence in the home, we are now sailing together as a family. If we have to be honest, the essential ingredient that kept the marriage intact came from our kids. Extending this paradigm

to communities, I believe the essential "glue" that keeps nations together must come from its children.

I have suggested that members of all organisations, political and otherwise, of all race groups should have plans to fight for the present and future happiness of our children.

I thought that while I am nation building, we should remind ourselves of Steve Biko and how he had his own brand of nation building.

I am not ashamed to say that the fundamentals of my thinking on nation building came from Steve Biko and Black Consciousness. I know I have upset the followers of this creed by not following the political or ideological imperatives behind BC to the letter.

Biko was a revolutionary, not in the orthodox fashion that causes hair to grow on the puny political chests of weaklings, but in an honest and profound manner.

Steve Biko's magic came from a love of people - all people - and what almost seemed like a romantic innocence about the goodness of man.

## Saintly

Such saintly people are usually martyred.

Steve Biko could quite easily have taken the fashionable route to fame and "relevance" by using all the accepted slogans and beating his chest with orthodox rhetoric.

What he did - and I am amazed at the way in which political organisations have failed to copy this - was to get intimately involved with communities. Most political organisations claim they have links with what is called "the grass-roots". They are forever doing things for that mystical element called the people. What they actually mean is that the rallies, the funerals, the meetings that they hold are well attended.

I am not suggesting that political organisations are deviant. They simply mistake the myth for the fact. They probably honestly believe the things they are



**FLASHBACK:** The type of picture that is used on the front page of *Sowetan*. Sometimes people have to be shocked into consciousness.

doing will benefit the people. Many political activists will sacrifice time and money, will go to jail even for the sake of what they call the people. The problem is that they do not seem to be able to translate such noble sentiment into acts of commitment.

## Heroes

The people love political heroes. The people, however, also need leadership and support in the manifold complex things that make them human.

Unless I am otherwise persuaded, the young men and women who worked with Biko had more regard and care for the people than for political power. What the Black Peoples' Convention and its sister organisations did was to understand the immediate concerns of people. They then attempted to heal the wounds of apartheid and

rebuild the black nation. The fact that they called this Black Power was perhaps unfortunate but right for their time.

The Black Consciousness organisations of the 1970s and early 1980s worked in clinics, in theatre, in schools, in various developmental projects, often with rural communities.

The struggle was not simply for becoming fashionable, but by sweating it out with the people.

Building the total person. That is why they called it a conscious struggle - a struggle to do with the shift in consciousness about self.

The truth of this will emerge in what is being called the new South Africa. Unless blacks are strong about who they are and where they come from, they will not be able to integrate with other nations. There will be little multi-racialism when the dice is

so heavily loaded against black South Africans.

If we had followed Biko's example we would not have dead bodies on page one. The centre in black life would have held.

## Dynamic

We would have reinforced our *ubuntu*, would have firmed out our extended families; we would have become an example to the nations of the world by devising a dynamic socialism (with the small "s") that many of us still believe is part of the African ethos.

I am afraid we will continue using gruesome pictures on page one of *Sowetan*. We will sometimes use them on our posters. This is because we often have to defend the actions of our people who have been brutalised by the evils of the past against those who are distinctly contemptuous of us.

# Mandela calls for more foreign pressure on Govt

STAR 2/3/92

2/3/92  
11A

AMSTERDAM — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, writing in a Dutch daily newspaper on Saturday, has urged foreign sympathisers to exert pressure on the South African Government to establish an interim government.

He said in an article in *De Volkskrant* that President de Klerk was mistaken in allowing the March 17 whites-only referendum.

"By calling for this referendum, (President) de Klerk is showing he does not see himself as leader of the entire South African population, but only as leader of the 15 percent who are white."

He said the right wing was strong, full of self-confidence and growing.

"Since the elections, the right wing has gained a greater percentage vote at each by-election. Before the general election in 1989, the governing National Party held 40 parliamentary seats in the Orange Free State. Now, 30 of these are in the hands of the Conservative Party, which has openly indicated it wants to reinstitute apartheid and have me back in jail," Mr Mandela wrote.

Mr Mandela said the ANC agreed that the trade embargo and financial sanctions should be lifted as soon as a representative interim gov-

ernment was installed.

He said the ANC would hold an economic conference next month to review its nationalisation policy.

"Because we know economic advancement is not possible without the business world, we have asked South African businessmen to design an alternative to nationalisation which also would lead to a correction of economic apartheid.

"I wish to emphasise we are open to all suggestions in this regard. Our ideal is a mixed economy in which government interference would be no greater than that in Italy, France or Germany." — Sapa.

# Land must be given back - PAC

By Helen Grange

(11A)

The Pan Africanist Congress was serious about seeing "each and every square inch" of the land returned to the African people, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Speaking at an Institute for Multiparty Democracy conference held at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Makwetu said the repeal of the Land Acts had not changed the fact that a minority group owned most of the land.

"How are we to buy it back from whites without the economic resources?" he asked.

Political democracy without economic democracy was an "empty shell" and people had to be assured not only of a vote, but of land and economic resources.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC would vigorously work for a constituent assembly as an antidote to the illegitimate rule of a minority, adding that majority rule in a democracy did not exclude minority rights.

Commenting on white teachers who have been intimidated and attacked by PAC youths in Reef townships, Mr Makwetu said he was opposed to actions against whites but not actions against

white dominance.

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolohodwe restated Azapo's unwillingness to take part in Codesa, saying constitutional negotiations should be at a neutral venue under an independent and impartial mediator.

Commenting on the pending referendum, Mr Nefolohodwe said: "Before the calling of the white referendum, the reform process was said to be irreversible. But after the announcement, it is doubtful whether the process cannot be reversed by a Conservative Party victory."

STAR 213192

11A

# 'ANC breach of Codesa'

By Helen Grange

STAR 2/3/92

## Pretoria condemns 'plot' against Ciskei

The Government has accused the ANC of breaching the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent after learning of the organisation's plot to take over Ciskei.

Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said in a statement last night he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the plot — a blueprint of which had been leaked to him.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed on Saturday that a delegation of senior members is to hold talks this week with Brigadier Gqozo about the reported plan.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday said South Africa would not permit its territory to be used in plots to destabilise homeland governments.

Mr Botha said the plan conflicted with both the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent accepted at Codesa. He added that he hoped the matter would be quickly resolved at the meeting between Ciskei and the ANC.

The East London News Agency reported that the executive committee of the ANC's Border region yesterday dismissed as "panicky" reports of the ANC plot.

And in another development, Border branches of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu yesterday endorsed the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" — and vowed to continue with the programme of action.

Hitting back at yesterday's newspaper reports about the "bizarre ANC plot", the vice-president of



Pik Botha ... SA won't allow its territory to be used in plots against homelands.



Marlon Sparg ... doesn't see campaign as different to people's parliament.

the regional executive, Andrew Hendricks, said: "We believe this is the year of democratic elections, and the first shots have been fired by the media."

Members of the Border ANC executive who drafted the programme for the campaign said that, far from being a conspiracy, it was simply a continuance of ANC action that had started last year to bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

"It is no secret we want to see the life-span of the Gqozo and the South African Government brought to an end in the shortest time possible," said Mr Hendricks.

He said the campaign had been adopted at a regional general council meeting of all ANC branches in the Border area last Saturday, and that the programme for the campaign was a public docu-

ment that had been circulating in Ciskei.

And Border ANC secretary-general Lucille Meyer said the ANC had previously told Brigadier Gqozo their demands in meetings, adding there was "nothing new" in the objectives of the campaign.

The Border ANC executive has said that if Brigadier Gqozo would like to discuss the campaign, they would have no reason not to meet him this week along with members of the ANC national executive committee.

According to the programme of action given to the press yesterday, the campaign aims:

- To weaken Brigadier Gqozo's position at Codesa.
- To isolate him politically.
- To expose South Africa's Military Intelligence programme in Ciskei.

● To bring about an interim administration in the homeland.

● To weaken the Government's position at Codesa.

A campaign of mass action is to be launched on March 10 with a collection of signatures demanding Brigadier Gqozo's removal. Later next week, Ciskei citizens are to vote "yes" or "no" for an interim administration in Ciskei. On March 21, rallies are to be held mobilising support for a people's assembly.

An interim administration for Ciskei will be announced at a people's assembly in King William's Town three days later and the following day they will take symbolic occupation of Bisho.

"We don't see the campaign here as different to the people's parliament in Cape Town, and no one saw that as a plot to unseat F W de Klerk," said Border ANC publicity secretary Marlon Sparg.

Ms Marcus said any internal action regarding members of the Border region executive — which includes former Umkhonto we Sizwe insurgent Ms Sparg — would depend on the outcome of discussions with Brigadier Gqozo.

The campaign is the culmination of a history of strained relations between the ANC and Brigadier Gqozo. In October, the brigadier said the ANC was trying to make his homeland ungovernable and that he would hit back with all the means at his disposal.

In his statement last night, Brigadier Gqozo said his territory was stable and was "fully equipped" to contain the plot.

"My government wishes to confirm that it is in possession of the ANC document," the statement said.



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ... a delegation of senior ANC members is to hold talks with him this week about the reported plan — a blueprint of which was leaked to the Ciskei military leader.

NEW

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# ANC told aid is going

The Argus Correspondent

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Military support from neighbouring states to South African liberation movements bent on toppling the government is being withdrawn, according to former Zambian president Mr Kenneth Kaunda. ARG 23/92

He said in Johannesburg yesterday after meetings with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, President De Klerk, IFP president Mr Mangasuthu Buthelezi, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and SACC general secretary Mr Frank Chikane, that there was now a shift in southern African countries' perception of South Africa.

Known for their military support to Umkhonto we Sizwe (ANC's military wing) and Apla (PAC's military wing) cadres, African countries, said Mr Kaunda, "would not wish to interfere in the peace process by supporting the armed struggle."

"There should have been no need to have a referendum at this time. But in South Africa, we're not dealing with a normal situation.

"There is no other way out to peace in South Africa other than voting 'yes'."

# Rumours of ANC's lack of funds spread

STAR 2/3/92

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau

(1A)

WASHINGTON — There is growing speculation in the United States that the ANC is facing financial difficulties and is pressing for the use of its share of a \$10 million (R28 million) "transition to democracy" aid package approved by Congress last year to pay the salaries of ANC and Inkatha officials.

Most of the money, under the ultimate control of the US Agency for International Development (Usaid), is being administered by the US-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), whose officials in Washington declined to comment on the speculation.

But a senior Usaid official said none of the \$10 million had been disbursed so far and that the agency was awaiting proposals from Ussalep on how the funds should be spent.

Consultations were under way between Ussalep and the recipients — the ANC and Inkatha — but no finality had been reached. "We would have to approve any proposals they come up with," the official said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed yesterday that the money had not yet been received, but made no other comment.

According to a widely respected Washington newsletter, *Africa Insider*, which is edited by a former State Department specialist, Dan Matthews, "a sharp drop in international funds for the ANC's political ambitions could cause problems for Usaid's Transition to Democracy in South Africa project".

Quoting reliable sources, the

newsletter added: "Ussalep, which is managing most of the \$10 million congressionally mandated funds, has been asked to use some funds for salaries to ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other officials."

There would be an outcry from conservatives in Congress if such a proposal were to be acted on. They have been stridently critical of assistance to the ANC, and when the issue was debated, they expressed concern that US aid might be used to pay ANC officials and members of the South African Communist Party.

Last week the conservative *Washington Times* questioned whether the ANC might have used Usaid funds to employ the services of its new US fundraiser, Walter Fauntroy, who it claimed had already been paid \$230 000 of his \$700 000 fee.

According to the *Washington Inquirer*, Mr Fauntroy hopes to raise \$5 million (R14 million) for the ANC as part of an urgent effort to shore up its funds.

Of the \$10 million voted by Congress, some \$4,6 million was allocated to the ANC and about \$2,5 million to Inkatha. Ussalep is to receive a small fee for its services in negotiating the disbursement of the money. A further \$2 million was equally shared between the US Information Service in South Africa and the National Endowment for Democracy.

In Johannesburg, Stan Kahn of Ussalep said the organisation was negotiating with the ANC and Inkatha.

"They are private negotiations at this stage and it would be incumbent on them to disclose details if they wanted to.

"As we are acting as the go-between, and these are sensitive negotiations, any statement should not come from us."

# Sisulu: we'll fight if Right wins

STAL 2/3/92

(11A)

BONN — The ANC would renew its armed struggle if a government of the extreme Right took power in the event that the referendum seeking support for dismantling apartheid failed, says ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu.

In an interview with the German magazine Der Spiegel, Mr Sisulu said that if President de Klerk did not get majority support for a negotiated settlement, "then we could have a government of the extreme Right which would reintroduce apartheid".

In such a case, he said,

"we would fight such a regime just as we have fought the Government, just as long as it did not commit itself to the road to reform".

Mr Sisulu also discussed the possibility of a coup staged by the extreme Right.

"We are living in a crazy country and I can't rule out that some madmen might make such an insane attempt," he said.

He called on all reasonable whites to vote "yes" so that right-wing extremists could never make South Africa go back.

"Every vote for the Right is a vote for chaos and ruin," he said. — Sapa-AFP.



Walter Sisulu . . . "no" vote will mean chaos and ruin.

# ANC gives up on US money

PATRICK BULGER

TRYING to secure a \$4.5m aid package approved by the US Congress had become a waste of the ANC's time, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said last night. *610cy 313/92*

He was commenting on a report that the ANC had stepped up measures in Washington aimed at having the money released so that salaries could be paid to senior officials, including that of ANC president Nelson Mandela. The allegation is contained in a Washington newsletter, Africa Insider.

Macozoma said the money, which was part of a \$10m plan to aid political movements in SA's transition to democracy, is under the control of the US Agency for International Development and is administered by the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme.

The report quoted a development agency official as saying the money had not been disbursed and that the leadership programme was awaiting

programme proposals from the ANC on how it would spend it.

Macozoma said the ANC was not under the impression that it had to draw up such programmes.

"That money is an albatross and a waste of our time," he said. He was not aware of ANC attempts to get the money. He said the ANC had raised \$44m since in Africa and Asia since Mandela's release and that this money was sufficient to pay salaries.

He said the ANC had never intended using whatever money was received for salaries. He said the money was intended for constitutional negotiations.

"Either the US wants to give us the money or they don't," he said.

Macozoma said the ANC would lodge a complaint with the publication's editors about what he described as "racist" reporting.



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# ANC rejects idea of minority rights

11A

Bloay 3/3/92

TIM COHEN

THE ANC rejected enforced power-sharing and minority rights at Codesa yesterday, saying these provisions would result in a government effectively becoming a one-party system. Constitutional devices which had the effect of conferring executive power to minority parties posed the danger that the government would become a form

of political monopoly, the ANC argued. "The experience of one-party states, notwithstanding the intentions of the architects, has not served democracy well," the document presented at the constitutional principles working group of Codesa said.

- The document lists other dangers of enforced minority vetoes as being:
- The undermining of an active, vibrant opposition;
  - The exercise of executive authority becoming ineffective;
  - Constant friction and confrontation as the majority would find its aspirations constantly thwarted, which could result in hostility towards minorities; and
  - The formation of coalitions not based on mutual interest or arising from the need and circumstances of SA.

However, the ANC was not opposed to all-party committees scrutinising legislation, appointments and the operation of institutions, and opposition party members could serve on governmental and parastatal boards.

On the issue of cultural, religious and linguistic minorities, the ANC proposes strong protection.

But these rights were best protected by protecting individual rights incor-

porated in a bill of fundamental rights.

For example, the right to freedom of association could effectively be protected by an individual enforcing the right, established in terms of the constitution, in the courts.

"We are therefore in agreement with the SA Law Commission, that rights — including those essential to community life — should be formulated and exercised as individual rights."

However, the ANC said that in the framework of a colour-blind constitution, there was scope for developing mechanisms for enhancing community autonomy.

Communities and interest groups could have the right to be heard at the standing committee stage of the legislative process on matters affecting their interests, rights and legitimate expectations.

The document says the ANC takes as its starting point the belief that individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purposes of political representation.

The majority should not have the right to ride roughshod over the constitutional rights of citizens and the minority should not have the power to prevent the government from legislating, the document says.



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DECEMBER 1991

Year Ended	Year Ended
1.12.1990	30.06.1991
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453,4	1 014,0
3,5	19,0
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3,5	19,0
56,0	126,4

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# ANC aim for US loan 'a waste'

(114)

CT 3/3/92  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Trying to secure a \$4,5 million (about R12,6m) aid package approved by the US Congress had become a waste of the ANC's time, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

He was commenting on a report that the ANC had stepped up measures in Washington to have the money released so that salaries could be paid to senior officials. The allegation is contained in a Washington newsletter, Africa Insider.

Mr Macozoma said the money, which was part of a \$10 million (about R28m) plan to aid political movements in South Africa's transition, is controlled by the US Agency for International Development and administered by the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme.

The report quoted an agency official as saying the money had not been disbursed and that ANC proposals were awaited on how it would spend it. Mr Macozoma said the ANC was not under the impression it had to draw up such proposals.

# Patriotic Front alive in Codesa

Swekan 3/3/92

11A

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN, Political  
Correspondent

**THE Patriotic Front is alive and well and working perfectly within Codesa, sources said yesterday.**

The participants in Codesa who signed the PF declaration assemble for weekly caucus meetings to formulate joint strategies and streamline the approach to negotiations.

Differences, difficulties and dissonances among participants are ironed out in this weekly caucus to speed up the process and consolidate the PF's strategies within Codesa's working groups.

The PAC and Azapo have refused to accept Codesa.

Both formed part of the initiative which saw the launch of the Patriotic Front in Durban last year.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress and Mr



MANDELA



MOSENEKE

Dikgang Moseneke, deputy deputy vice-president of the PAC, were present when the Patriotic Front was launched.

A working group source, who is part of the PF caucus, believes that it was inevitable that the Front had to kick into gear. The launch of the PF was not a flash in the pan and will continue to function throughout the negotiation process, he said.

A separate source, also from the PF and who features very prominently in

Codesa, suggested that those parties who stayed on within the front and are participating in negotiations were doing the people, who recognised them as leaders, a political service.

The PF participants in Codesa also report growing confidence within the caucus. Former political opponents such as the ANC and Labour Party, for example, are working closer together within the caucus - which naturally flows into the activities of the various working groups.

An SACP source from Codesa's PF caucus yesterday said the Labour Party was playing a solid role in the Front.

"In fact, they and the Transkei are most militant," he said.

Nine political parties within Codesa meet every Sunday night for a Front caucus.

The PF was pronounced dead at Codesa's preparatory meeting on November 29 last year after the PAC walked out of the talks.

The PAC contended that it had expected the ANC to work closer with it in approaching the Government in a kind of two-sided negotiation forum featuring the liberation movements and the State.

An ANC executive yesterday said it was in the nature of democracy that all political parties - including the ones deemed less relevant - voice their opinions and express themselves in any negotiation forum.

# Murders not 'work of ANC'

Sowetan 3/3/92

**THE ANC had nothing to do with any violence or murders taking place in the Orange Free State, says Mr Nelson Mandela.**

He was speaking at a media briefing in Welkom on Monday at the start of his visit to the Northern Free State.

The visit kicked off a campaign to visit the 14 regions of the ANC in South Africa to ascertain the state of the organisation and to ensure that the ANC was ready to participate at all levels - national, regional and local - in the peace process.

Mandela said he felt everyone should be involved in the campaign for a peaceful democratic South Africa. This was one of the main reasons for his visit.

He said the ANC was prepared to give any help it could to put an end to violent crimes.

The ANC was also prepared to help people and organisations affected by the drought.

Mandela said the ANC



**NELSON MANDELA**

had been shocked by recent murders in the Free State.

"The killing of any human being is a tragic event, especially when the killing appears to be systematic," he said.

He said the media had presented these murders as only affecting white farmers, but in the Welkom township of Thabong three businessmen had recently been murdered.

"It affects all population groups. The focus by the mass media is not accurate," said Mandela.

It was regretted that valuable people like businessmen and farmers were be-

ing lost. The ANC expressed sympathy to the next-of-kin of those who had been killed.

Mandela said the ANC could not be held responsible for any form of violence. The SA Police had stated clearly that the farmers' deaths were not acts of any political organisations but purely criminal.

He had been appalled, on a recent visit to the Northern Transvaal, by the destruction caused by the drought.

Food prices were rocketing because of crop failures. This placed an enormous strain on a community which had fought poverty, disease and the lack of basic facilities for several years.

Mandela said the ANC was prepared to help wherever it could. It would not make promises it could not keep. It was in contact with a number of charitable organisations and was prepared to help them focus their attention on areas which most needed aid. - Sapa.

# ANC slams SABC moves

*Southern 2/3/92*

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

THE Government cannot make any kind of meaningful change to the SABC while its present management remained intact, the ANC said yesterday.

The ANC was responding to a statement by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Gene Louw, at Codesa in which he said that legislation would be formulated later this year that would affect the SABC.

Louw said that the Government had decided, as a necessity, to establish a "neutral regulatory commission" for all telecommunications.

## Neutral

The proposed legislation would "not directly affect the existing SABC's management, but will introduce negotiated standards, norms and codes" that would govern all established independent and neutral broadcasters.

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma reacted curtly and strongly against the proposal and dismissed it. Macozoma said he was perturbed by the Government's statement that the legislation would be made "after due consultation with all interested parties".

He said that there was no clarity on exactly who these "interested parties" were - they could only be the parties in the tri-cameral Parliament.

But an even greater problem was the refusal (by the Government) to accept that the problem with the SABC was in its management structure.

"It (management) was appointed by them (the Government) to use the SABC to further National Party purposes," Macozoma said.

# ANC rejects NP proposal on minorities

By Esther Waugh <sup>STAR</sup> 3/3/92  
Political Reporter

The African National Congress is opposed to any forced coalition entrenched in a constitution, saying this would result in the government effectively becoming a one-party state.

Such coalitions also undermine active opposition to the government, thereby rendering checks and balances in a constitution dysfunctional, the ANC said at yesterday's meeting of the Codesa working group on constitutional principles.

## Thwarted

The ANC rejected the Government's proposal that minority participation should be entrenched in a constitution.

Last week the Government proposed that meaningful minority participation should not be entrenched by a single clause in a constitution, but through various mechanisms.

The ANC said forced coalitions would render the exercise of executive authority ineffective. Checks and balances in a constitution which conferred executive power to minority parties could also lead to friction and confrontation, as the aspirations of the majority would be constantly thwarted.

Individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purpose of politi-

cal representation, the ANC said.

It said the constitution should not compel membership of groups in order to secure rights, as this would result in ethnic conflict overwhelming the political process.

"While the ANC believes that the rich diversity of South African cultures and languages needs to be protected and promoted, it does not follow that constitutional mechanisms allocating special additional political powers to minorities, either political or ethnic, is an effective way of addressing minority concerns," the ANC said.

The participation of political minorities in the democratic process required, it said:

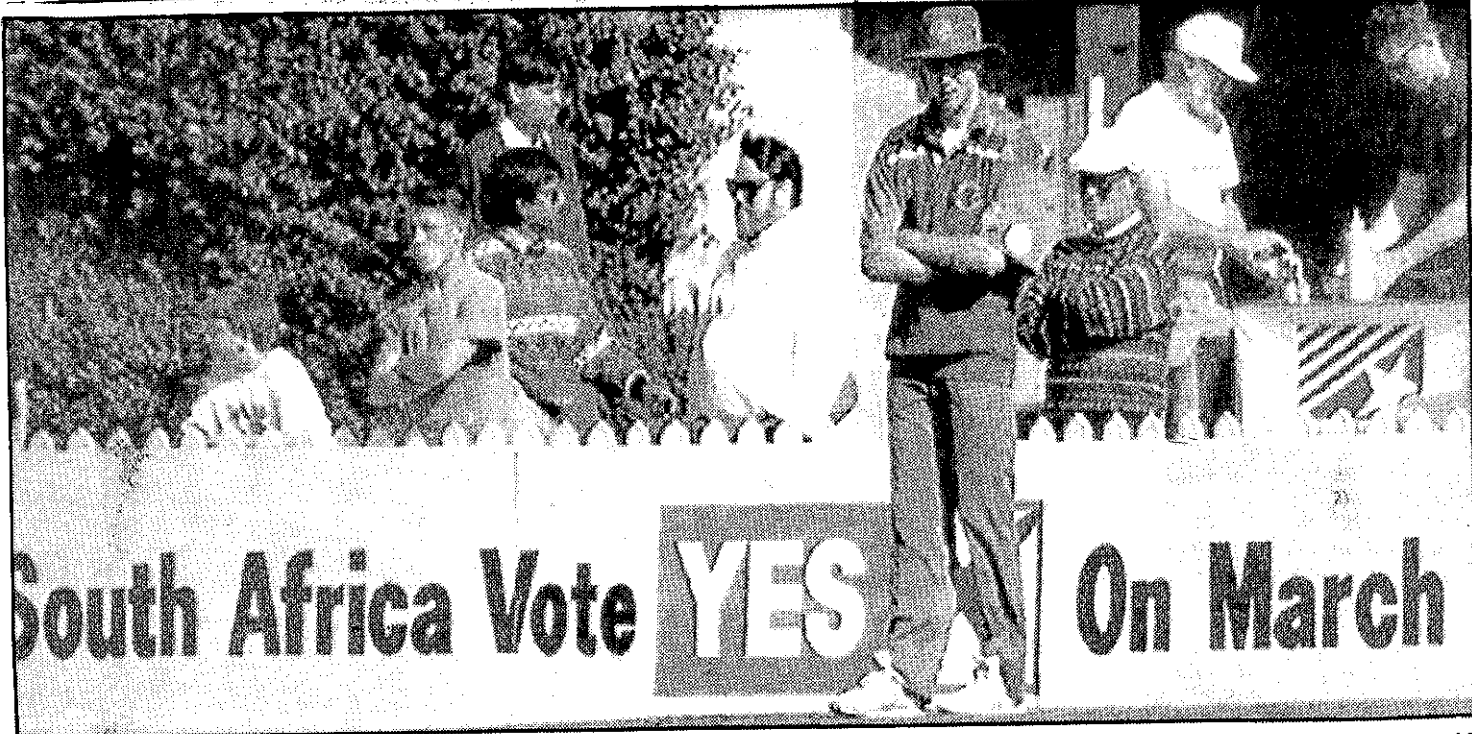
- Freedom of association.
- Proportional representation.
- The promotion of a free civil society that enhances the institutions with which a political minority is associated.

## Sought

The ANC noted South African political parties were rapidly departing from racial forms and had sought to expand their bases by founding political groupings on the basis of shared interest.

"It is indeed more than possible that in South Africa, a party which is initially in the minority could end up in the majority," the ANC said.

The organisation proposed strong protection of linguistic, religious and cultural communities by entrenching these rights in a constitution, and by judicial review.



Eye-catching . . . South African cricketer Richard Snell and boundary board in Wellington yesterday.

Picture: AP

## SACP's 'Red Pimpernel' to make mark for democracy

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter



Kasrils . . .  
for new  
constitution.

They called him the "Red Pimpernel" and he spent months evading the security police — but on March 17 Ronnie Kasrils will be out in the open, voting "yes" in the referendum.

Mr Kasrils, with Jeremy Cronin, another white member of the SA Communist Party's central committee, told The Star he would be making his mark for democracy when the time came.

"My vote is not for F W de Klerk," he said. "My vote is for a new democratic constitution."

STAR 313192  
Mr Kasrils said he was urging all democratic whites to vote "yes" — "so that blacks can vote next time".

Mr Cronin said he would vote "yes" to ensure that "a shameful thing" such as an all-white referendum would not take place again.

He would vote to demonstrate that the white electorate did not only "belong to Treurnicht and others".

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman and central committee member Suzanne Vos said she would vote "yes" because she supported reform.

"We must go forward. We

have got to concentrate our minds on what is best for the country.

"A vote for reform is not just in support of negotiations, but a vote for reconciliation and national unity," she said.

She also said her vote was not a vote for Mr de Klerk but "for an inclusive process which would lead to reconciliation and national unity".

Both the ANC — with its SACP and Cosatu allies — and the IFP have advised their white members to vote "yes", despite objections to its "racist" nature.

(Report by Esther Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Cronin . . .  
against  
Treurnicht.

## Welsh aid ANC

THE Wales Anti-Apartheid Movement (WAAM) gave R9 825 to the Western Cape region of the ANC yesterday to prepare for non-racial general elections.

(1/A) CT 4/3/92



# Ciskei pulls out of peace body

Sowetan  
4/3/92

CISKEI has pulled out of the Border regional peace committee.

This comes after the disclosure of African National Congress' plans for a campaign against Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

At a Press conference yesterday, Ciskei's director general of justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, said since the formation of the Border-Ciskei regional dispute resolution committee, the ANC-led tripartite alliance had displayed total disregard for the principles of the National Peace Accord.

The committee had become simply a forum for the airing of political points of view and the scoring of political points, Notshe said.

The homeland, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the National Peace Accord.

## Regretted

Reacting to the Ciskei's decision, the ANC said it was "not surprised", but regretted the step.

Ms Marion Sparg, the Border region's publicity secretary, said the Ciskei administration had "never been interested in peace from the start".

It was also significant that the decision came just as Ciskei was required by the peace committee to explain why Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act had not been repealed.

This section had been used to ban ANC meetings.

Nevertheless, the ANC hoped Ciskei would rethink its decision.

"The only way to achieve peace in the region is for all parties to sit together and discuss the situation honestly and squarely," Sparg said.

## **PAC chief no longer required at inquiry**

STAR 4/3/92

(11A)

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu will not be required to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation, commission chairman Mr Justice R.J. Goldstone said yesterday.

Instead, the commission is considering whether the issue which led to Mr Makwetu's highly publicised refusal to appear before the commission should itself be the subject of an inquiry.

"Until a decision is taken and the terms of reference for such an inquiry have been finalised, the commission considers it would be inappropriate to enforce the attendance of a witness from only one group which may have relevant evidence.

"To do so could give rise to a perception of partiality on the part of the commission," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

But he gave notice that, should such an inquiry be held, the commission would not hesitate to use its power to compel the attendance of anyone considered by it to have information and who refused to appear voluntarily.

"The primary endeavour of the commission is to put an end to the violence which is plaguing our country. It is a cause for regret that the PAC is unwilling to join in that enterprise on the pretext that the commission has no legitimacy," he said.

In reference to Mr Makwetu's refusal to appear before the commission, he said an informal approach had been made to Mr Makwetu.

"Informal discussions have been held with other parties. The PAC chose to make a public issue of the approach made to it." — Sapa.

# Makwetu not required to appear

*Sowetan 4/3/92*  
 PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu will not be required to appear before the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into public violence and intimidation, commission chairman Mr Justice RJ Goldstone said yesterday.

Instead, the commission is considering whether the issue which led to Makwetu's highly publicised refusal to appear before the commission - violence by trained and armed people - should itself be the subject of an inquiry.

"Until a decision is taken and the terms of

reference for such an inquiry have been finalised, the commission considers it would be inappropriate to enforce the attendance of a witness from only one group which may have relevant evidence.

"To do so could give rise to a perception of partiality on the part of the commission," Goldstone said.

But he gave notice that, should such an inquiry be held, the commission would not hesitate to use its power to compel the attendance of anyone considered by it to have information and who refused to appear voluntarily.

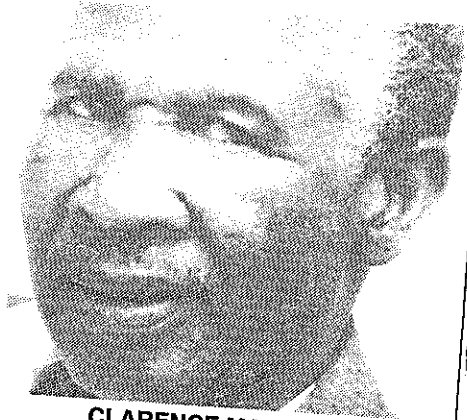
"The primary endeavour of the commission is to

put an end to the violence which is plaguing our country.

"It is a cause for regret the PAC is unwilling to join in that enterprise on the pretext the commission has no legitimacy," he said.

In reference to Makwetu's refusal to appear before the commission, Goldstone said an informal approach was made to Makwetu, relating to the commission's concern about violence and intimidation by trained and armed people.

"Informal discussions have been held with other parties. The PAC chose to make a public issue of the approach made to it." - Sapa.



CLARENCE MAKWETHU

# PAC's Highveld launch 11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress will launch its Highveld branch at Witbank's Lynneville township on March 25.

Mr Maxwell Nemaizivhanahi, the PAC's national organiser, and Mr Lawrence Nqandela, the general secretary of Paso, will address the launch meeting. The regional leaders said in a statement

*Sowetan 5/3/92*  
issued yesterday that matters which will be discussed at the launch include the all learning campaign; the anti-Codesa campaign; the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

The launch meeting will start at 11am and will be held at the Elukhanyisweni High School. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

Co-option into Cabinet rejected

# ANC support for appointed interim power

~~2/11/92~~ 11A

B/day 6/3/92

TIM COHEN and  
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC says it supports Codesa's proposal for an appointed transitional executive structure to be established as the most powerful executive body in the country.

The proposal, agreed to in the Codesa working group dealing with interim arrangements, was recently referred back to participants' principals. The ANC's national working committee approved the plan on Wednesday. Government and the NP have also indicated they are likely to endorse it.

The transitional executive structure would be the supreme authority over Parliament, the Cabinet, the TBVC states and the self-governing homelands, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

However, at a media briefing he rejected government members' interpretation of the working group agreement as meaning that Codesa participants would be co-opted into the existing Cabinet.

On Wednesday Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delpert hailed the agreement as a significant breakthrough and agreed there was a need for an interim executive to be appointed rather than elected.

Ramaphosa, who regarded the agreement as significant, said the ANC envisaged the body being appointed by Codesa and not by President F W de Klerk.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Joel Netshitenzhe said the ANC envisaged this body being established three months after Codesa finally ratified the agreement — hopefully, early next month. After another three months, the

ANC envisaged this body would be replaced following elections for an elected interim government.

Netshitenzhe said the ANC wanted the interim executive to have veto powers over legislation introduced in Parliament, as well the power to initiate legislation.

Another NEC member Mac Maharaj said that although the breakthrough was significant, it was contingent on the finer details being negotiated and agreed.

Codesa has also resolved most differences on principles to be enshrined in a new constitution. ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said proposals on regionalism had been agreed and talks on minority rights were progressing well.

It appears the agreement reached on the transitional executive structure remains vague on several important points, including who will appoint the body. The agreement states that, at least initially, the executive structure would be appointed in accordance with procedures agreed upon by Codesa without defining what these are.

Ramaphosa said the ANC had not yet decided whether all remaining sanctions should be lifted when the appointed executive came into being or when an interim government was elected. It would be up to the "interim authority" to decide.

Asked whether the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) would be disbanded once an interim government was established, Ramaphosa said the two issues were unrelated.

## MINORITIES

**Active resistance**

Soon after the announcement of the white referendum, a row broke out in one of Codesa's working groups. The joint delegation of the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses (TIC and NIC) led a broadside against the government for daring to hold a "racist" poll. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, responding, pointed out that TIC and NIC are the only participants at Codesa who still have an ethnic tag.

The Indian congress movement, proud of its resistance to apartheid, was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1896.

Du Plessis' jibe, however, highlights an unresolved dilemma. Is there still a need for the Indian congress? The ANC's political programmes are almost identical to those of the congresses; the ANC's leadership of "the struggle" is accepted; many Indian leaders are also ANC members.

The question was again raised at the biennial general meeting of the TIC in Johannesburg last Sunday. Taking its cue from opening remarks by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, the matter was left in strategic abeyance. The ANC view was that it would be more useful for the TIC to consolidate existing structures and concentrate on "looming elections to a constituent assembly.

"Your major responsibility is to deliver the whole South African Indian community into the democratic camp," the ailing Tambo told the small gathering of about 200. (The many activists who used to fill such meetings before February 1990 appear to have decided on TIC's relevance.)

But what about the silent majority of Indians, many of whom could well vote for the new, nonracial National Party? Re-elected TIC president Cassim Saloojee admitted that the Indian community, long committed to the political direction of the ANC, "was not finding a comfortable organisational home in the ANC." And ANC concern about its failure to recruit large numbers of Indian and coloured members has been publicly voiced by Nelson Mandela.

Seeking to allay fears, Saloojee said that the ANC "has shown particular sensitivity to the general position of minorities, to the insecurities of those who fear that their language may be lost, their religion trampled underfoot or their cultural practices demeaned." The new order, he asserted, will accommodate minorities and diversity.

Because apartheid had made a "fetish" of cultural distinctness, there was a tendency in the liberation movement to deny the reality and vibrancy of cultural diversity. The prospect of a new, democratic order had made congressites more frank about the reality of minorities, observed Saloojee. ■

**Majority rules, OK?**

**Formal breakthrough** looked close at Codesa this week on three issues:

- Regional government powers;
- Acceptance of the need for a multiparty interim government; and
- Inkatha's endorsement of the Declaration of Intent.

The predictable sticking point, however, is the fundamental question of whether the new constitution will be based on a majoritarian or power-sharing form of democracy.

Government and its allies are pressing for the latter, which they want constitutionally enshrined, against the ANC's stance that individual rights is the way to go and the will of the majority should not be frustrated.

The ANC is prepared to go a long way — of its own volition and during the transition, especially — to give significant other parties a piece of the action, so to speak, if the ANC gets a majority at the polls. But the ANC is resisting entrenchment of the principle of minority "meaningful participation" via laid-down structures and mechanisms, as called for by the National Party.

The ANC's proposals on the issue, tabled at Codesa last Monday, reject the idea of constitutionally allocating individuals into groups so as to legitimise minority interests.

"We believe that the equality of individual rights should not be upset by the creation of group political statuses. The constitution should not compel membership of groups in order to secure rights," says the ANC.

Such an outcome would see the political process overwhelmed by ethnic conflict. Rights, including those essential to community life, should be formulated and exercised as individual rights.

"While the ANC believes that the rich diversity of SA cultures and languages needs to be protected and promoted, it does not follow that constitutional mechanisms allocating special additional political powers to minorities, either political or ethnic, is an effective way of addressing minority concerns."

Trying to protect minority interests in this way would fundamentally and dangerously infringe the principles democracy ought to be based on.

"We take as our starting point the belief that individuals should not be constitutionally ascribed to any fixed ethnic, racial or other group for the purposes of political representation."

Cultural, language and religious minorities — rather than interests based on colour — should be protected in the constitution and by judicial review, says the ANC.

"Effective government is not possible without an acceptance of the principle that the elected representatives of the majority should have the right to make decisions affecting the political life of the nation."

*The political minority or opposition should be involved in presenting and articulating*

alternative views; exposing errors, corruption and misrule by government; ensuring that the checks and balances in the constitution are used; and presenting an alternative government to voters.

Constitutional roles for minority parties could, says the ANC, include representation on all-party committees examining legislation, appointments, the operation of institutions and serving on governmental and parastatal boards and commissions.

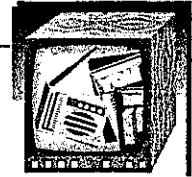
By giving collegial, executive power to minority parties, says the ANC, the principle of an active and vibrant opposition would be damaged and effectively allow government to become "a form of political monopoly."

The exercise of executive authority would become ineffective and there would be constant friction and confrontation as the majority found its aspirations thwarted.

The ANC agrees with the SA Law Commission which last year proposed that rights, including those essential to community life, be formulated and exercised as individual rights.

A proposal by Solidarity's Ismail Omar calls for a form of power-sharing which should be given constitutional form. The rationale for adopting such power-sharing measures was to institute "factual equality" between members of minority groups and other individuals, it says.

The National Party is expected to respond formally to the ANC's proposals at the next meeting of Codesa's constitutional working group.



BLACK MARKET

FM 6/3/92  
**Brand loyalty in Soweto**

The common image of Soweto youth as being a "lost generation" of violent, lawless people without hope may be a long way from the truth. Market researcher Gill Stacey, who spends much of her life trying to construct a more accurate picture of the black market, has done a myth-shattering study which she calls "Insight into Soweto youth."

Its results are summed up by this quote from a 19-year-old Jabulani youngster called Thabo: "Our toyi-toying days are over. We are now looking for a future."

Stacey, who runs her own company, The Alternative Consultancy, specialising in black market research, spent 600 hours conducting in-depth interviews with 200 Soweto youngsters aged 15-25, to obtain a rare picture of the modern generation.

The results, while reflecting the deep-seated problems of crime, drugs, unemployment and social breakdown in black urban areas, also carry an uplifting message of hope. For the youngsters recognise many of the causes of their problems and are not short of sensible suggestions on how to solve them.

"The so-called lost generation has been reduced to a small minority," Stacey says. "Youths are disillusioned with party politicking. Only 5% of those interviewed attend political meetings or canvass political membership. However, 90% would vote ANC."

The picture Stacey paints is a startlingly familiar one of kids who love movies, buy Aramis and Gucci after-shave on their mothers' Edgars' accounts and read *Cosmopolitan*, *Fair Lady* or *Femina* for fashion tips, often scanning them in the CNA.

Only those with the lowest income and education levels are still under the sway of the older African traditions. Most feel these traditions will be swept aside as a totally new

type of African *persona* emerges.

They group themselves into distinctive but peaceable lifestyle cults, which marketers



Stacey ... youths disillusioned with party politicking

will be delighted to hear are defined to a large extent by their brand preferences.

The Pantsulas, for example, are a hip, self-confident group, distinguished by their swaggering walk and clothes — Brentwoods (trousers), tackies for informal wear, Crockett & Jones shoes for dressing up, both worn "tubeless" (without socks).

Stacey, an Englishwoman who holds a BA in industrial studies from Newcastle-upon-

Tyne Polytechnic, carried out a 1988 study of spaza shops for Perry & Associates, a management consultancy. She learnt Sotho and Zulu and uses her good grasp of township slang and urban black cultures to gain the confidence of her subjects. ■

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# YOUR NEW ORGANISATION BUILDING PAGE

New Nation

(Learning Nation) 6/3-12/3/92

(11A) (10)

This is a new page in *Learning Nation*! This focus on building organisation has come about because we received so many requests for organisation building skills from readers last year. Also there is a general recognition within the mass movement that organisations are weak and need to be rebuilt.

It is important to understand the broad political issues of organisation building so that you can apply them to your specific organisations whether they are SRCs, civics, unions or branch. We hope that you will take some of the ideas discussed in these pages into your organisation for further discussion. Because of your past and present experiences we look forward to receiving comment and feedback from you about these articles. Do you agree with the ideas expressed here? What is your experience of organisation building? Perhaps you have got suggestions for us. Write to us and tell us about your organisational problems and how you struggled to solve them. Perhaps we can publish your contribution so that it can be shared with other Learning Nation readers and organisations.

sustain working class organisations we need to understand the source of the obstacles that prevent or hinder building organisation. It is only people that make an organisation which in turn offers its membership an explanation for some of the problems that they experience. The relationship between membership and an organisation and the experience of that relationship will equip people with a clearer understanding of their world and the means to change it. This understanding will then give people the tools to understand why bosses exploit them, why there is all this violence, why their children can't have a good education and why there is a housing crisis when the cement and brick factories have got a surplus. Organisation provides the means for finding answers to these questions and fighting for solutions.

Since February 2 1990 there have been calls to build branches of political organisations, youth and school structures and rebuild civic and worker organisations which were smashed by the state following the 1985 uprisings. We must remember that it has been the organised struggles of the masses that have brought the current regime to the point where it has to make some concessions. This frequent call to build organisation is occurring in the light of the reform package the De Klerk regime is offering. Because organisations have been unbanned and leadership and activists released, the situation is open to building organisation.

The current call, particularly from the ANC, is to build organisations which will in turn facilitate mass action. The purpose of these calls is to strengthen the negotiating hand of the ANC through the democratic participation of the working class. But people can't just be called into action. The working class has always rallied around a particular issue which has then often taken the form of a campaign. For a campaign to get off the ground people need to meet, plan and organise. Finally, for a campaign to be successful, the masses of people have to participate. Campaigns are crucial to organisation building.

It is not just the ANC that is calling for the rebuilding of organisations. The call has gone out from educational bodies, youth structures and the community. Cosatu, representing the organised sections of the working class has also recently reiterated this call and has integral to its three year programme the consolidation and development of its structures.

However, despite "the freedom around the corner" which people

thought the post-February 1990 period would bring, the majority of people are still experiencing retrenchments, cost of living increases while wages remain the same, and the ongoing violence. Experience has taught us that these problems of every day life will only be solved and have only been partially solved by the very people it affects the most. The only way the working class has been able to struggle successfully for its rights has been when it has formed its own organisations to fight particular issues whether it be housing or questions of political power. It is therefore crucial that if the social, economic and political change that the working class wants is going to take place, this is going to have to be done by the working class building and struggling through its own organisations.

We all thought that organisations would flourish as a result of the liberalisation of the De Klerk regime. The last period has shown us that that branches are not growing and meeting as regularly as they thought they might, workers' local meetings are sometimes poorly attended, civics' strength vary from area to area and youth structures are developing unevenly. We often say that the violence which has swept the country-side is the cause for the lack of successful organisations. This might be so but in order to fight this violence we need to understand the source of it and rebuild the very organisations the violence destroyed in order to counter it.

For organisations to develop and move ahead they need politically clear and accountable leadership. In the past, when people have been on the march, for example, the militant student activities during the seventies and the uprising during the mid-eighties, the

state responded by removing the leadership layer. People were abducted, tortured, and assassinated. When new layers of leadership emerged they were treated in the same way until the working class was exhausted and demoralised. One of the reasons why we have weak organisations today is that no potential leadership layer has been allowed to develop because of heavy state oppression. In some cases this situation has been made worse because organisations have not recognised the need to nurture and develop this potential leadership layer sufficiently. This has resulted in the current new layers of militants not having the necessary theoretical and administrative skills. Without organisations there can be no genuine leadership. If we are serious about rebuilding organisations of the working class into a big and powerful force, then we need to take the question of developing a skilled leadership layer seriously and address it urgently.

We have already mentioned how the state has made organisation building difficult because of destroying its leadership layer. There are other ways in which the state can be an obstacle to building organisation.

The state can weaken working class organisation by simply smashing it. It can burn or bomb its buildings, detain its leadership, and divide the working class in many ways. In South Africa the state has created divisions in the working class along ethnic and racial lines, as well as exacerbating urban and rural divisions. It has used the violence to drive a wedge between the organised and unorganised sections of the working class and has generally created havoc amongst people.

If we are going to rebuild and

In this part of the series we will outline why organisation building is so important. We will look at the political aspects of building organisation as well as some of the skills necessary for building strong organisations.

## Some of the issues we will focus on are:

- ★ why do people organise?
- ★ the role of organisations
- ★ leadership and its role
- ★ how organisations are built
- ★ obstacles to building organisations
- ★ how to sustain organisations

as well as series on:

- ★ how to plan and run meetings
- ★ how to make posters and pamphlets
- ★ how to run workshops
- ★ how to write reports, letters and strike pamphlets,
- ★ issues arising from readers' requests and suggestions.

As we have already said, we would like to have suggestions from your organisation.

Write to us at:

✉

Learning Nation, SACHED TRUST, Box 11350, Johannesburg, 2000.

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You can also phone us at (011) 333 9746 Ext. 156.

**T**HE row over the African National Congress' "plot" to oust the Ciskei government has thrown into sharp relief the differences between the organisation's national leadership and its activists on the ground.

While national ANC leaders are prepared to talk to the Ciskei in the conciliatory spirit of negotiations, the organisation's Border branches — confronted by old-style repression — has opted for mass action.

The controversy erupted last weekend, when the Ciskei announced it had thwarted a conspiracy to overthrow the homeland government.

The Ciskei Council of State said the ANC's blueprint for an interim administration which would occupy the homeland's capital, Bisho, in early April — had been leaked to Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The initial response from the ANC was cautious. Sources would not say whether the plan had the approval or the knowledge of the ANC National Executive Committee.

But the organisation's Border region quickly took a more assertive line. It said the plan was perfectly legitimate, and vowed to go ahead with it.

It said far from being a top-secret plot, it was a public programme which has been endorsed by more than 100 ANC branches the previous weekend.

# Softly-softly vs the Big Stick

*Behind claims of an ANC 'plot' in Ciskei lie tensions between the conciliatory ANC national leadership and the militant Eastern Cape branches, reports **CLAIRE KEETON***

The campaign called for intensive mass action, culminating in the announcement of a "people's assembly" by ANC president Nelson Mandela on April 3.

The assembly would announce an interim administration to take symbolic occupation of Bisho on April 7.

The Border regions of the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have thrown their weight behind the

campaign.

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg said the organisation has always maintained there was no contradiction between mass action and negotiations. "It is no different to the 'people's parliament' in Cape Town, and no one saw that as a plot to unseat President De Klerk," she said.

Gqozo insisted the ANC must explain the campaign to him, and a top-level delegation, including

Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa, agreed to meet him. The Border regional executive was to accompany the national delegation.

"It is usual for the regional executive to be present at talks," said national ANC spokesman Saki Macazoma.

He denied there were tensions between the ANC nationally and regionally. "We may have different strategies but regions have a fair amount of autonomy and we

believe Border has a right to protest against the Ciskei government," he said.

Ciskei, for its part, pulled out of the regional peace committee during the week, claiming the tripartite alliance had acted in disregard of its principles.

The move came at an opportune moment. As the ANC pointed out, it meant the Ciskei government could avoid having to answer to the regional dispute resolution committee on why

provisions of its security legislation used to ban meetings and detain people could not be repealed.

This is not the first time differences have emerged between the national ANC and its activists in the region. At the height of the repression under the Ciskei's State of Emergency, Mandela was in contact with Gqozo, despite reservations from local ANC members.

In mid-November Mandela came to Border to talk to Gqozo, who agreed to lift the Emergency.

But even with the lifting of the Emergency, tensions have been high in the homeland for months.

Meetings are frequently broken up, people have been detained without trial and there have been numerous allegations of assaults by police. — Elnews

# On the march!

## Women

By SIZAKELE KOOMA

Soweto 6/3/92  
**SUNDAY** marks International Women's Day.

In South Africa the focus of the day's celebration will be on women's participa-

tion in the plans for a new South Africa.

Although the strike by women at a New York textile factory on March 8 1913 was about dissatisfac-

tion over unfair labour practices, South Africans will broaden the perspective to encompass discrimination in the political arena.

The absence of women in groups which could influence the future direction of the country has been of concern to most women's organisations and some political parties.

Women comprise about 5 percent of the delegates who attended the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

A march in the streets of Greater Soweto will be followed by discussions and poetry readings. A plenary meeting of the women's national coalition will also sit at the weekend to discuss the programme for the national workshop on the campaign for a women's charter to be held in April.

Actions and protests like the New York workers' strike enabled women to achieve some of their goals on the labour front.

Women trade unionists like Lucy Mvubelo, founder member of the South African Garment Workers' Union, Emma Mashinini, founder member of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union now called Saccawu, the late Joyce Sedibe and Maria Ntseke fought bitterly for better working conditions for everyone - not just women.

Their efforts made it possible for women to combine employment and family life without jeopardising their jobs.

A report by the Human Sciences Research Council last year showed that there were few women graduates earning more than their male counterparts.

**A**FTER decades of "politically correct" behaviour the Dutch government now seems to open its mouth only to change its feet. At least as far as the African National Congress is concerned.

The Dutch still do not seem to have official ANC blessing for Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers' trip to South Africa, scheduled for August 10 and 11, despite the furore over a planned February visit — when they trampled all over the ANC's feelings on the issue with an astonishing lack of tact.

They are getting some help, of course, from the ANC. The organisation's left hand doesn't seem to know what its right is doing and therefore it could not respond officially to the Dutch announcement for several days this week.

It all started in January when Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek put his foot in it by allowing the world to know that Lubbers, accompanied by Van den Broek, would be paying an official visit here at President FW de Klerk's invitation in February. It would have been a first visit of a Western head of government since the dark years of apartheid were ushered in by that other Dutch-born person, Hendrik Verwoerd.

Unlike several other Western countries — Australia and Canada in particular — they did not bother to mention the visit to the ANC, let alone seek its blessing.

The ANC's nose, naturally, was put out of

# The ANC ookes get Dutch helm disease

*The normally pure Dutch government ministers once again seem to be at odds with the ANC over their desire to visit South Africa.*

By **PAT SIDLEY**

joint. De Klerk's government was representative of an old and hated order and certainly not of most people in the country. Besides, it wouldn't be long before the ANC would itself form part of a government and the organisation believed the Dutch could have waited until an interim government was formed, or at least announced.

So the visit was postponed after talks in Switzerland between Lubbers and De Klerk (Lubbers had hitched a ride in De Klerk's jet), and between Nelson Mandela and almost every Dutch official with access to him, including

Deputy Prime Minister Wim Kok.

Kok represents the other Dutch government coalition party, the Labour Party, usually more sympathetic to ANC feelings. The coalition took a bit of strain over the issue and it was generally agreed that the visit would take place once agreement had been reached at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on an interim government.

Meanwhile, the Dutch embassy in Pretoria beavered away at various officials within the ANC — but not all. It was seeking the organisation's blessing for a new set of dates. This time, it would not blow it.

A new date was announced: Lubbers, Van den Broek and Kok would visit in August at the specific invitation of the ANC. According to Dutch Christian anti-apartheid organisation Werkgroep Kairos, the announcement had the general support of the Dutch parliament, barring the Green-Left. The Green-Left believed the announcement should at least have waited until the outcome of the referendum.

Back home, the ANC was asked for its reac-

tion to the announcement. At the time it was made, there was no word on an interim government (there has subsequently been in the form of a leak out of Codesa). But a Dutch trade fair and attendant government people were already here and doing business.

Exasperated officials spluttered at the unseemly haste of the previously politically pure Dutch to leap in here boots and all. "Just between you and me," said one at ANC headquarters. "What is the matter with the Dutch?"

His exasperation turned to embarrassment by midweek when it was clear that the embassy had dealt with one arm of the ANC and believed agreement on the dates had been reached. But others within the ANC — including general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and deputy president Walter Sisulu — had been left in the dark to varying degrees.

By that point, the Dutch were feeling a certain amount of irritation at the ANC, but they were kept busy with the opening of the trade fair.

It was, after all, a business venture and as the minister here to open the fair, Yvonne van Rooij, noted at the opening, the Dutch are "a nation of traders back here after a brief interruption to do business again as South Africa's oldest trading partner".

Dutch people, since Van Riebeeck, Verwoerd and others, have always made waves here, not to mention done business. Remember Klaas de Jonge?

(11A)



ulmail 6/3-12/3/92

# Fingers are crossed in the townships

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Wilmail 613-1213192

*Blacks are accustomed to have whites vote about their destinies.*

By **RAY NXUMALO**

THE referendum may be a whites-only affair, but it has a majority of township people holding their breaths and keeping their fingers crossed for President FW de Klerk.

A snap survey among ordinary black people revealed that a majority of respondents wanted to see De Klerk finish what he started two years ago.

None of the so-called "black anger" at a whites-only referendum came through in the snap poll. Perhaps the African National Congress' call for a yes vote has helped to suppress negative perceptions.

• People waiting at taxi ranks showed which way the voters should go.

"White voters have to stand by him (De Klerk) to show that they regret the hardships apartheid brought upon us," said taxi driver Glen Kubheka, from Naledi.

Equally optimistic was young Diepkloof taxi owner Ezra Mkhonza, who believes a civil war will be averted if De Klerk pulls this one off. "A Conservative Party victory will force people to arms, others to exile and we

may see the reimposition of sanctions," he said.

His worst fear was that "the police under a CP government would be a nightmare".

While he was speaking, 74-year-old Peter Ndzungu added his view to the poll. "We are not yet satisfied with what De Klerk has done so far. He still has a lot to do and as such he must be supported for the bravery he has shown," said the old-timer sternly.

A teacher at Phiri Primary School, who said her name was Puleng, shouted as she packed taxi whisked her away that she could only wish De Klerk luck.

In another taxi sat Mimi of Protea North, who "generally does not follow politics". She said she did not know what the referendum was about, but

that she thought life under CP rule was "unthinkable".

Alongside her, Eunice from Moletsane was crocheting a peach-coloured baby's jersey. She shrugged her shoulders indifferently when the question was put to her.

Sixteen-year-old Moletsane High pupil Tshepo Pooe, who "has no interest in politics", hoped the outcome of the referendum brings peace to the country: "When you switch on radios and televisions, you see violence and death. It must stop now.

"With the CP in power, there is no way there will be peace. They dislike us, don't they?"

Pooe said though he doesn't trust whites much, De Klerk seemed to be headed in the right direction.

Forty-eight-year-old Amos Baloyi of Alexandra has lived most of his life under National Party rule and had no faith or praise for its leaders.

"I was around in 1960 when they held the referendum (on becoming a republic), and that one brought apartheid. Now they tell us this one is

to reform it. But will apartheid really end?" he asked with resignation as the queue marshal packed him into a minibus taxi.

Lindi Mnisi said she had heard a lot about the referendum recently, but did not know what it means to her. "It's difficult to express an opinion in a whites-only matter," she said.

Kelina Mnisi and Vera Mkhwanazi said there were too many things going on which they don't understand. They mentioned the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) as an example.

"It's so confusing with all these things happening at the same time. We'll just have to wait and see what comes out of this latest thing."

Although he had reservations about De Klerk, unemployed Jacob Phokwane said: "De Klerk must do all in his power to make sure he wins this round."

(Report by Ray Nxumalo, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)

# 'Soft' ANC line under fire

By DREW FORREST

W.M. 6/3-12/3/92  
SIMMERING discontent in some union quarters over the African National Congress' "soft" referendum line — and demands for mass protest action — are set to surface at a key Congress of South African Trade Unions pow-wow at the weekend.

Sources predict a furious set-to on the referendum at a meeting of Cosatu's central executive committee (CEC), second only to the national congress in its policy-making powers. "It will be a long, heated and difficult debate," said one unionist.

At issue is the "hands-off" policy adopted by the "tripartite alliance" — of the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party — on the March 17 poll. Sources say there is a substantial body of opinion within the unions, reflecting a broader division within the alliance, which wants mass action to focus on the referendum's racially exclusive character.

Also likely to spark controversy is the linked issue of Cosatu's direct

participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) — the federation formally applied for a seat early this year.

The powerful National Union of Mineworkers has already registered its opposition to Cosatu's participation and its belief that Cosatu should feed into Codesa's deliberations through the alliance.

It is understood that other unions, among them the strongly ANC-aligned Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa), are set to demand the withdrawal of Cosatu's Codesa application.

Some unionists see the call for mass protest against the referendum, and for a direct union role in Codesa, as emanating from the same "hard-left" elements in Cosatu, and especially in the 280 000-strong National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa). Cosatu president John Gomomo is named as being in the "mass action" camp, as are some unionists in the federation's chemical and commercial affiliates.

11A  
Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso said the union caucus would yesterday reach a "consolidated position" on the referendum. On Codesa, he said Numsa followed the pro-participation line adopted at last year's Cosatu congress, but was open to opposing arguments.

Most unionists contacted this week believed the CEC would rule against mass action and endorse the alliance's current referendum line.

"The struggle against the Conservative Party at local level, in areas where it actually holds power, must be intensified, but we should not do anything to help the CP derail Codesa or roll back hard-won advances," one said.

There was also concern that a referendum protest would deflect attention from Cosatu's anti-VAT campaign, which is set to peak with mass action on Budget day, March 18, when the referendum result will be announced.

(Report by Drew Forrest, 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg)

# ANC rejects Govt plan for cabinet

Peter Fabricius  
and Esther Waugh

STAR 6/3/92  
the majority of participants in  
Codesa."

The African National Congress National Working Committee (NWC) has rejected suggestions that the Government will appoint representatives from Codesa to an interim cabinet.

But the NWC yesterday welcomed a "major breakthrough" agreement this week at Codesa that parties at Codesa should be appointed to a "transitional executive structure" to supervise at least the first phase of transition.

The NWC said it fully endorsed the consensus which was reached on this issue by negotiators at Codesa.

## Acceptance

It said the agreement signified the acceptance of two basic principles by "virtually all" Codesa participants:

- The need for an interim executive structure; and,
- That in the first phase such a structure will be appointed by Codesa.

The Government has meanwhile stressed another part of the agreement — that the present Parliament should enact the changes to the Constitution to enable the transitional executive structure to be implemented.

The NWC rejected the Government's interpretation of the agreement as meaning that the present cabinet should be expanded to include other Codesa parties.

It was reacting to a statement by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in which he said that the Government envisaged that Codesa would set the guidelines for the appointment of Codesa parties to the cabinet but that the State President would actually do the appointing.

The NWC rejected "any interpretation that the agreement implies that the State President will appoint members of organisations taking part in Codesa to the cabinet".

"Co-option under any guise is not acceptable to the ANC and

Earlier Mr du Plessis had said that the Government proposal could not be regarded as co-option because Codesa — not the Government — would decide who should be appointed to the cabinet.

He said the Government envisaged submitting legislation — similar to the Bill submitted but later withdrawn by the Government under former President P W Botha — which would change the Constitution to allow blacks to be brought into the cabinet.

However SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo rejected any suggestion of the ANC/SACP alliance being brought into the present cabinet in any form. The alliance did not want to be part of a cabinet which had to accept joint responsibility for all the "ills of apartheid" without the power to cure them.

The alliance's position remained unchanged: that a separate transitional executive structure should be created to supervise the existing cabinet and to "level the political playing field" by focusing on specific areas such as the Budget, State-controlled media, the security forces and the elections for a constituent assembly.

The way the transition continued after that had still to be agreed on.

"The Government is giving its own colouring to the document to advance its position in the referendum," Mr Slovo said.

## Transition

"We urge them not to do it in a way which creates problems for the Codesa process," Mr Slovo said.

He stressed that the Codesa agreement referred only to what the ANC regarded as the first phase of transition — the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly-cum-interim legislature.

Despite the ANC's reaction, the acceptance by Government negotiators this week that Codesa should appoint an interim executive represents an important shift in its position.

It has so far insisted that an interim government should only come about after new elections.

# ANC consults traitor Gerhardt

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

STAR  
6/3/92

The ANC has confirmed it is consulting convicted Russian spy and former SA navy commodore Dieter Gerhardt on Codesa.

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff and SACP secretary-general Chris Hani said yesterday that Nelson Mandela and other senior ANC leaders had already met Gerhardt in the Pretoria maximum security prison.

He said Gerhardt — who has joined the ANC — had invaluable information that could assist the ANC and Codesa with the process of transforming the SADF.

He demanded that the pris-

oner be immediately released in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

"Although Gerhardt spied for the Soviet Union, he did so because he saw apartheid as an oppressive system which was being supported by western imperialism. He was trying to strike a blow for freedom."

The Government has rejected calls for his release, saying his actions were not political but motivated by financial gain.

Mr Hani said it was strange that Pretoria continued to hold Gerhardt after establishing relations with the then Soviet Union — his former master.

Gerhardt, who became part of a sophisticated Russian spy network, was convicted of treason and sentenced to life im-

prisonment in a secret trial in Cape Town in 1983.

Speaking for the first time about Gerhardt's 20 years of espionage, the SAP last month said his modus operandi "was faultless and would make James Bond green with envy".

According to the police publication *Servamus*, Gerhardt "fell into the laps of the Russians" when he walked into the Russian Embassy in London and offered to spy against South Africa.

His Swiss wife Ruth was sentenced to 10 years' jail for her part in the crime. She was freed in 1990 after serving six years and now lives in Switzerland, her homeland.



# Blacks view 'no' majority as disaster

STAR 6/3/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Probably for the first time in South African voting history, the results of an all-white poll are being as eagerly — and tensely — awaited in black communities as they are among the voting minority.

With polling day imminent and the result a mere 48 hours away, there is a clear perception among black people excluded from the voting that a "no" majority would be an unthinkable disaster.

While political organisations like the ANC initially regarded the outcome of the white poll as a foregone conclusion, the apparent effectiveness of the right-wing campaign has shaken this assurance. For many, the words "future" and "yes" have become synonymous.

There are those in the black communities who look no further than the probable reintroduction of the pass laws as the likely result of a Conservative Party victory. This alone would be grounds for defiance and conflict, they claim. "I'll never, never carry that dompas again — they can do what they like," said one. He was clearly reflecting a mood that has now taken hold strongly.

There are others, at last enjoying the fruits of past battles waged against apartheid — for example those living in Johannesburg's centre city and suburbs — who are also watching the "white fight" keenly.

"A 'no' vote means I could lose my house," remarked a woman who has battled for months since the abolition of the Group Areas Act to get her property transferred from a nominee into her name.

Civic associations are concerned that hard-fought gains



would be reversed in the fields of housing and local government negotiations, in the event of a "no" vote and the collapse of national constitutional talks.

Sandy Lebese, publicity secretary for the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal (CAST), had no hesitation in saying that those with the privilege to vote should exercise a "yes" vote — although CAST regretted that President de Klerk had resorted to a racial poll.

In past racial elections, whites (and later Indian and coloured people) who chose to boycott the polls were regarded as politically "correct" in the townships, from the vantage point of the liberation struggle.

This is no longer uniformly true. Heated "to vote or not to vote" debates have been taking place in left circles — with disenfranchised black activists hotly advising white proponents of the boycott that they are playing with the future of the voteless majority.

There are also those who have transcended racism in their personal lives — people who have married, had families or adopted children in disregard of the old official colour barriers. They fear a "no" vote — and find themselves in the curious situation whereby only one member of such families has the vote on which the entire household's future depends.

(Report by J Collinge, 47 Sauer St, Job)

# 'Apla men dead in shootouts'

JOHANNESBURG. A man claiming to be a field political commissar of the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday said that two APLA members died in separate shootouts with security forces in the Free State and Natal in the past three weeks.

Mr Tarara Rafara said in a telephone call that Mr Zukile "Prof" Tolibadi died when a unit of three Apla men were intercepted by a security forces at Fairways, in Botshabelo in the Free State, two weeks ago.

He also said an Apla guerilla killed in Inanda, near Durban, last week was Mr Thamba Zaba — a member of Apla's high command and a director of political and ideological development in the political commissariat section — and not Mr Moses Mathe as the police had said.

He said that Mr Zaba died in a police raid on a "safe house" on February 26. — Sapa

**ANC 'welcome to join reservists'**

*8/31/92*  
ALL SOUTH Africans, including members of the ANC, were welcome to join the police reserves, said Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Kriel said legislation which presently barred police reservists from belonging to political parties would be repealed during the current session of parliament.



## ANC applies for interdict

by THEMBA KHUMALO

THE ANC southern Natal region has applied for a court interdict to stop KwaZulu Police from harassing its supporters in Durban's Umhlanga township, according to the region's chairman, Jeff Hadebe.

He said the interdict would be heard in the Durban Supreme Court tomorrow or Tuesday.

Violence is on the rise in Natal following the killing of top Inhanga official Winnington Mkhomo. C/PRESS 4/3/92

The interdict coincides with the discovery of an alleged plot to kill Hadebe and Moses Mphahlele, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of S.A.

However, Hadebe said he was not aware of the plot.

TALKS to resolve tension between the ANC and the Ciskei government deadlocked on Friday.

An angry Brig Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei's military ruler, has now vowed to use all the force at his disposal to stop a planned ANC campaign against him. (11A) (11B)

The talks dealt with the ANC's plans for a mass-action campaign against the Ciskei Government, culminating in the "symbolic" installation of an interim government for the territory.

Reg Mason of the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee yesterday said he was

## Gqozo to crack down on ANC plan

disappointed at the outcome of the talks.

"The least we will do is to try to make the two parties come together as soon as possible," he said.

Gqozo described the ANC plan as a recipe for conflict and confrontation.

He said it was in con-

travention of the National Peace Accord, to which both parties were signatories. (11A) 8/3/92

He was shocked to hear that the ANC's national leadership knew about the plan.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the plan was not a subversive plot, but rather a campaign for democratic expression and free political activity.

"The document containing what our region and its structures is about to embark on is not aimed at engineering a coup of any sorts," he said. — Elnews

THE battle for the soul of white South Africans is on. Their choice is simple — a continuation of doomed baasskap or a swift and ready negotiation to democracy.

It is painful and abhorrent to us that once again a decision on the destiny of our country is being taken by a minority of 15 percent of the population. We condemn any form of racial referendum and cannot give any legitimacy to the present one.

Those of our members who happen to be white are faced with an awesome dilemma. They have joined the ANC because of their belief in non-racialism, yet they are being asked to identify themselves as whites and not as South Africans. We understand their difficulty and do not pretend the answer is easy.

In our view, however, they could not step back from the opportunity to make a direct contribution towards ending white domination in this country. We want white South Africans to declare themselves unequivocally in favour of democracy and against racism.

This is not a contest between FW and anyone else.



We are not witnessing a presidential campaign, no matter how many babies are kissed or posters put up. There is one issue and one only, namely, whether the movement towards democracy, as represented by the negotiations at Codesa, will be halted.

### Notions

A "yes" vote means we will sit round a table as South Africans and work out the best method of installing a democratic system in which all the country's inhabitants feel secure. A "no" vote will be a declaration of war against the majority in this country.

# Accept with pride your new destiny

(11A) ~~11A~~ S/Times 8/3/92

**NELSON MANDELA writes a stirring appeal to white voters**

We have to move away from notions of domination and subordination and accept the principle of equal rights for all. There are no magic solutions. We need hard, honest, face-to-face bargaining to ensure that, within the context of democracy, the cultural, religious and linguistic diversity of the country is acknowledged.

We have to find ways and means of stimulating the economy and at the same time ensuring wealth reaches the whole population. We need a government that is accountable to all South Africans and not just a section. We want good government, and that means government that functions with a high standard of competence and in a fair

manner.

We look forward to good relations with neighbouring countries and with the whole world — no more living in exile for some and sneaking in through the back door for others.

It is unthinkable that we will return to the era of banning orders, imprisonment, torture and death sentences. There can be no going back to the days when soldiers and police were sent into the townships with guns, sjamboks and teargas to disperse schoolchildren.

The age of lies, disinformation and CCB assassination squads has to be put behind us forever. There can be no revival of the hated pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the

obnoxious signs on buses, in parks and at swimming pools. If the hopes of the majority of South Africans for a decent and dignified life are once more thwarted, the stress and upheavals of the past will be like a game of marbles. There can be no going back to baasskap.

We have already made extensive progress in clearing the way towards a negotiated means of achieving democracy. Old antagonists are sitting down together and working out how we can all live together as equals in this country. The path has been stony and many rocks still lie in our way, yet we have to move forward. There is no other way.

We are all South Africans.

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# SUNDAY

## PROFILE

# Anti-apartheid veteran hits at 'intolerant' ANC

STimes 8/3/92  
IRISH writer and politician Conor Cruise O'Brien caused a stir this week when he quit the Anti-Apartheid Movement, saying he would not support an ANC-dominated government.

But to Mr O'Brien there has always been a clear distinction between opposing apartheid, which he has done all his life, and supporting the ANC, which he believes is intolerant.

Mr O'Brien has long been disenchanted with the AAM because of its lapdog relationship with the ANC, but until now has felt unable to resign because of his deep commitment to fighting apartheid.

In an interview from his Dublin home this week, he said:

"I think that a South Africa run by the ANC alone would be an awful place. If I lived in South Africa I would not be supporting the ANC. However, they must be part of a coalition."

The 75-year old writer and former UN diplomat, who was chairman of the AAM in the 1960s and remained a member until now, says he grew away from the AAM over the years as its executive aligned itself more and more with "the communists" and organisations bent on terror and murder campaigns, such as the IRA.

But his disenchantment reached a peak in the late 80s with the cultural boycott, which he called self-defeating and unfair, cruel to the wrong people and institutions.

"They chose to boycott SA universities, something which I could not understand. These institutions did not support apartheid. In fact, they campaigned against it."

He personally felt the whiplash of ANC intolerance five years ago when he found himself engaged in outraged exchanges with furious University of Cape Town students over his breaking of the academic boycott.

In an incident which led to a debate over academic freedom, he was prevented by left-wing students from lecturing on the UCT campus.

He recalls: "My lectures were mobbed and broken up. People carried placards which read, 'Viva ANC', and, on the same banner, 'Viva IRA'."

Shortly before the UCT fiasco, Britain had held a world archaeological conference to which South Africans had always been invited.

"That year, under pressure from ANC



CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN: Admires FW

activists, South African scholars were disinvited. I joined in the public protest and denounced the cultural boycott. That was the point at which I broke with the ANC. It showed me what an intolerant lot they were.

"It is this intolerance that I believe will not bode well for South Africa should they come into power alone.

"I have had enough reason to resign from the Irish AAM over the years. But I stayed because to resign might have been seen as my giving up the fight against apartheid. I would not resign until now. I cannot reconcile myself to their partisan treatment of the ANC.

"An AAM newsletter that I received in January reiterated old ANC policies, even those which are contrary to Codesa. If it were honest, the newsletter would title itself as Irish supporters of the ANC."

He also questions the relevance of the AAM once a coalition government in South Africa is achieved.

Mr O'Brien said he had "great admiration" for President De Klerk.

"I hope there will be a coalition government in SA, including the ANC and the National Party."

*Charmain Naidoo*

# DEADLOCK ON UMKHONTO

Sunday Times 8/3/92

EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Reporter

THE existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC's refusal to renounce armed struggle have emerged as the stumbling block to progress in negotiations for an interim executive authority which would oversee the election of a constitution-making body.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee all warned this week that no mixed cabinet could be introduced unless MK was disbanded.

But MK chief of staff

Chris Hani said yesterday the matter could only be resolved once an interim executive authority was in place, not before. (11)

While the ANC recognised that the government saw this as an important issue, the ANC needed to be reassured that the security forces were under the control of the interim executive and could not frustrate the negotiating process before MK was disbanded, he said.

Despite the deadlock on

MK, the ANC and the government moved closer to agreement at Codesa this week on what sort of body should oversee the election of an interim government.

The government has accepted the ANC's proposal for an appointed interim executive, but how the body will be appointed, how it will be constituted and what powers it will have are still to be negotiated. (25)

The government proposes that people from other parties should be included in the existing cabinet, but the ANC wants a separate interim executive. (25)



# Pik warns ANC against Ciskei plan

5 Times 8/3/92  
By PETER MALHERBE

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha warned yesterday that mass action by the ANC in support of an interim administration in Ciskei could lead to violence and bloodshed in the territory.

He said the South African government viewed the deadlock in talks between the ANC and the Ciskei government in an "extremely serious light".

Reacting to the ANC's refusal to back down on its campaign for an interim administration in Ciskei, Mr Botha said the government could not allow the Eastern Cape region to be destabilised and would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent this.

The ANC and the Ciskei government failed to reach agreement at a meeting in Bisho on Friday, called to discuss a plan — exposed in the Sunday Times last week — to oust Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. The campaign is due to be publicly launched in East London this week. (U) (S)

The alleged presence of SADF military intelligence personnel in Ciskei has become a major issue following the meeting.

The ANC said it was "ominous" that Brigadier Gqozo had ad-

mitted to the presence of SADF personnel in Ciskei, and claimed it was clear that the homeland government would continue to use military intelligence members against the ANC.

The leader of the ANC delegation to Ciskei, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, came out in full support of the organisation's campaign yesterday. He called on Brig Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign, which, he said, could lead to bloodshed and further conflict.

But Brigadier Gqozo responded: "I will use every means within the parameters of the law to ensure that the disruptive and callous

campaign is nipped in the bud."

He accused the ANC of trying to destabilise the territory.

Mr Ramaphosa said the campaign was no different from any other programme of mass action undertaken by the ANC. The ANC would be calling on its supporters to "vote" in favour of an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced during a "people's assembly" on April 6, he said.

He said the only "illegal" element of the campaign was the intended defiance of repressive laws in Ciskei, which were used to ban ANC meetings there.

# Govt holds breath as ANC, Gqozo square up

By Peter Fabricius  
and Esther Waugh

The Government was yesterday trying to defuse a potentially explosive clash between the ANC and Ciskei.

SA Government sources said they did not believe Pretoria would intervene militarily.

A deadlock was reached between the two parties at a meeting in Bisho on Friday after revelations of ANC plans to oust Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned at the weekend that mass action by the ANC in the homeland could lead to violence and bloodshed.

The SA Government regarded the ANC-Ciskei deadlock in a very serious light.

Mr Botha said the Government would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent destabilisation of the eastern Cape region.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the movement's campaign in Ciskei was no different to other ANC programmes of mass ac-

tion. The ANC would call on its supporters to express their support for an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced on April 6 at a "people's assembly".

Brigadier Gqozo has, however, said he would use all legal means to prevent the campaign.

● IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of underground activities by the ANC in its plan to undermine Ciskei's government.

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said ANC activists relied on the support of Umkhonto we Sizwe to set black against black and promote mass action.

"I am incensed by what the ANC is trying to do in Ciskei," he said. "The ANC obviously has difficulty in abiding by normal democratic rules of the game.

"Brigadier Gqozo must be assured the whole of South Africa wishes him well and regards the ANC offensive against his leadership as being contrary to the spirit of Codesa and the National Peace Accord." — Sapa.

STAR 9/13/92

11A

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# 'Urgent talks' on arms

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

communists, he said.

The Government would not enter into agreements in the negotiations process unless the ANC ended the armed struggle, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said last night.

Two further preconditions were that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ceased its activities and that arms caches were "properly handled", he said during a TV debate with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Urgent talks were taking place about these issues, Mr Kriel said. *STAR 9/13/92*

Mr Marais said he condemned right-wing violence, but the Afrikaner people would turn to "extra-parliamentary means" if their rights were removed. This would happen when a transitional government was established and it included

Communism and the SA Communist Party are emerging as a central theme in referendum speeches by right-wing leaders.

Mr Kriel warned Mr Marais not to scare voters with communism as its days were over.

He added that the Government would not prescribe to the ANC about the inclusion of communists in a transitional government, just as the ANC could not prescribe to the Government who should represent it on such a body.

Mr Marais said the SACP and ANC wanted to seize power and make the country ungovernable. He added that the SACP controlled the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mr Kriel said the Government would not allow the ANC or SACP to seize power.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## US team here for culture

A GROUP of Americans invited by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela for a two-week cultural study tour of South Africa arrived in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The invitation to the group is in keeping with the ANC's policy of allowing "person-to-person" contact as part of the process of winding down the cultural boycott. *Sowetan*

On arrival the group met representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian Peoples Organisation Mr Fitzroy Ngcukana and Mr Steven Peters.

The two said their organisations still maintained the cultural boycott because South Africa was undergoing only cosmetic change. *9/3/92*

No ANC representative attended the meeting.

Over the weekend the group was in central Johannesburg and appeared at the Federated Union of Black Arts, the Open School and an upmarket flea market.

The group was also due to visit the Kallehong Art Centre but by yesterday it was not clear if they would do so because of violence. -

*Sowetan Correspondent*

# Jobs are safe, Mandela tells public service

B/Day 10/3/92

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday went out of his way to reassure white public servants that their futures under a nonracial government were safe.

Many whites in the public service and the security forces feared they would lose their jobs, "but this is a totally false perception that has helped to fuel the violence", he said in an interview.

Public servants should feel secure in their positions as they would not lose out. There would be a process of democratisation of the public service but this would be done in a humane manner.

"We would start the process of democratisation from the top and retire officials," Mandela said. But none of the officials would lose out financially.

"If an official is, say, 50 years old and he normally retires at age 60, we would pay him out all his benefits and pension as if he had worked till retirement age," he said.

The costs of the exercise had not been calculated nor the extent of the "retirement process".

Mandela said whites need fear that the change to a democratic, nonracial government would signal a radical falling of standards, and all those in the bureaucracy believed they would be replaced by blacks. White fears were genuine and understand-

able but he wanted to allay these and tell whites the ANC had no such intentions. "I don't think a new government would last very long if it just dismissed people but the process of democratisation will have to happen — we would be failing in our duty if we did not democratise the services."

Mandela, hailing the Codesa working group agreement on a transitional executive structure as the first step towards an interim government, said he believed Cosatu's threat of mass action and a general strike would become redundant.

Cosatu was an independent organisation that was entitled to take its own position. He believed Codesa was progressing well, but the Cosatu statement indicated the impatience of people.

Mandela said he did not think he and some key ANC leaders should be included in the cabinet of the transitional executive structure and he would advise against it.

He said the strength of the ANC was more important and key leaders should concentrate on putting the organisation in a position to win an election for a constituent assembly.

Rejecting the ethnicity of the referendum, Mandela said he was optimistic that

□ To Page 2

## Mandela

B/Day

10/3/92

From Page 1

the majority of whites would vote "yes" but warned that should this fail to happen, the ANC would be forced — with regret — to return to the struggle. But it was premature to say the ANC would reactivate the armed struggle.

"If there is a 'no' vote then we will have to fight as we fought for the past 40 years."

He dismissed former President P W Botha's call on whites to vote "no" and said that while his views should not be underestimated, he did not think Botha had much public influence.

Addressing white farmers' fears that their farms would be nationalised along Zimbabwe lines, Mandela said the condi-

tions were entirely different. "We will be influenced by our own conditions, not those of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe believes in a one-party state but we believe in a multiparty state."

He said the ANC's policy on nationalisation was under discussion and review. It was being debated with business and other opinion-makers to find a solution.

A special policy conference had been called for May.

Mandela said the OAU decision in Addis Ababa last week to endorse Codesa was very important and would put pressure on the PAC to join the process.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

# Referendum ads in Britain 'calling all South Africans'

B10aw 10/3/92  
LONDON — A full-page advertisement urging South Africans in Britain to vote "yes" in the referendum appeared in London's Daily Telegraph yesterday.

Headlined "Calling all South Africans!" and sponsored by the Private Sector Referendum Fund, the advert urged voters to "vote 'yes' on March 11/12 and make sure you have a place you can be proud to come home to".

Up to 70 000 South Africans are in Britain. The SA embassy in London, which is running a separate, neutral publicity campaign, last week fielded 5 000 telephone calls from information-hungry white voters. Embassy staff handled 250 "referendum calls" within the first two hours of work yesterday morning.

Embassy official Richard Carter said all South African or SA-linked companies in Britain and people who voluntarily registered at the embassy and SA clubs had been sent letters.

He and ambassador Kent Durr had "mounted quite a campaign — we've been on umpteen radio and television programmes".

CHRIS BATEMAN

Some callers who wanted advice on which way to vote were referred to speeches by CP leader Andries Treurnicht and President F W de Klerk, other political parties or newspaper articles.

Other callers were "more robust and told us in no uncertain terms what they were going to vote", Carter said.

He declined to say which of this category had formed the majority, "as we have to remain strictly neutral".

Scores of South Africans would be bused in from the Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester areas for early voting.

White voters (verified by the number coding in their identity documents) had to produce an ID book and a valid SA passport at the embassy in London or the Consulate-General in Glasgow to vote.

They would be required to fill in special applications to vote and sign affidavits saying they were temporarily in the UK.

"We are certainly expecting a few thousand people — and the odd demonstrator," Carter said.

Report by C Bateman, TML, 23 Hatton Gardens, London.

## Azapo calls for boycott of referendum

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) called on whites yesterday to boycott next Tuesday's referendum, saying neither President F W de Klerk nor CP leader Andries Treurnicht could offer South Africans a brighter future.

The call on whites to boycott was made by Azapo's deputy president Nchaube Mokoape at a news conference in Durban, after a central committee meeting at the weekend. B10aw 10/3/92

"If white people in this country truly desire peace, prosperity, democracy and a productive future, they should boycott the coming racist referendum," said Mokoape.

He explained that SA's problems needed a lasting solution and not a "quick-fix" plan such as the referendum. Security for all would be guaranteed by the establishment of a truly democratic country through a constituent assembly. (11A) (300)

Whites in SA were again being hoodwinked into choosing between two parties who both stood for apartheid, he said.

He accused De Klerk of tricking the CP into the referendum by calling for it so soon, claiming the CP would win easily if a referendum were held in 18 months' time.

— Sapa.

# Call for Codesa suspension over ANC drive in Ciskei

By Esther Waugh <sup>STAR</sup>  
Political Reporter 10/3/92

Four Codesa participants have called for its proceedings to be suspended until the ANC has given an undertaking that it would withdraw its campaign in Ciskei.

But the Ciskei government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Ximoko Progressive Party (XPP) of Gazankulu and the Dikwankwetla Party of Qwa-Qwa yesterday stressed they would not walk out of Codesa.

However, in a surprise move, the XPP yesterday afternoon distanced itself from the call.

XPP national chairman E P Mhinga said support for the Ciskei government's call was given on the strict understanding that this matter would be dealt with by the management committee "behind closed doors in the spirit of Codesa".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that talks between the SA and Ciskei governments and the ANC would be held today. The meeting, he said, would be "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in Ciskei".

Codesa's management committee has come out in support of today's meeting. Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the trilateral meeting could make a substantial contribution to the resolution of the dispute.

He said the committee did not want to become involved in the dispute at this stage and felt the issue would be best resolved by the parties themselves.

The groups who called for the suspension of proceedings said the ANC campaign was contrary to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and

contemptuous of Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

"We, accordingly, call upon the management committee to suspend the proceedings at Codesa until such time as it has obtained an unconditional undertaking from (secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa on behalf of the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn," the groups said.

Asked if this was the start of a loose alliance, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said this was not necessarily so, but "if it happened, there would be nothing wrong".

Dr Henk Kayser of Ciskei said his government wanted Codesa to succeed and sought to safeguard Codesa's principles.

The ANC said it regretted the Ciskei move to bring a regional dispute to Codesa. "We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it,"

said Mr Ramaphosa.

The Ciskei government's move was "unhelpful" as the Codesa management committee was in the process of discussing the matter when Ciskei was going public with the dispute.

"All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and are contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion," Mr Ramaphosa said.

From the moment the issue arose, the ANC headquarters had been involved with discussions with its Border region, the Ciskei administration and the SA Government in order to find an effective solution, he said.

"Our commitment to the negotiations process is unchallengeable," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The issue was not the alleged destabilisation of Ciskei but the fact that there was no political freedom in the homeland.

# 'Don't be blinded by the light'

STAR 10/3/92

**S**OUTH AFRICANS must not be blinded by the light emitted by the referendum campaign, says ANC president Nelson Mandela — the March 17 poll is about short-term prospects, while the future is really being decided at Codesa.

Although accepting that a "no" vote could be fatal to the negotiations process — and urging whites to vote "yes" for that reason — Mr Mandela insists that the referendum should not be allowed to divert attention away from Codesa, and in particular the recent breakthroughs made there.

In an interview in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leader said the agreement reached last week by all 19 parties on the principle of a transitional executive structure "augured very well" for quick progress on constitutional negotiations.

While there were still considerable conceptual differences between the ANC and the Government, interim structures could be in place by the end of this year.

"We have made significant progress. Even from the Government delegation we got the impression there was no fundamental opposition to the scenario we presented."

In this context, he said the referendum should be seen as "an incident which involves whites. The peace process itself is in place, and that is what we want the position to be. That is the crucial issue for the country, not this vote."

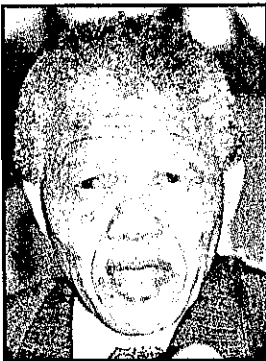
Mr Mandela said only Codesa — and not an ethnic referendum — could allay the genuine fears of both whites and blacks.

He expressed confidence that "the supporters of the National Party to me appear to be committed to the peace process". He said liberals loyal to the Democratic Party were also enthusiastic about change. It had not been sufficiently noticed, he said, that reconciliation could be seen in action at Codesa.

"Take a man like Dr Zach de Beer. He has done so well that in the first steering committee of Codesa, we elected him chairman. Now that is quite significant if you take into account the general hostility between black and white."

More surprisingly perhaps, Mr Mandela said he sensed that even in some right-wing quarters the realisation was dawn-

While the referendum is giving rise to hatred, Codesa remains the beacon of hope for all in South Africa, says ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He spoke to Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** about his continuing faith in a peaceful solution.



Mandela . . . only Codesa could allay the genuine fears of both whites and blacks.

ing that negotiations were the only route forward.

He said: "I've just returned from the Free State — Welkom, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein. (I came into contact with) members of the right wing, and I think they are looking at the matter quite objectively."

"I got the impression — although it is dangerous to generalise — that they understand the importance of exchanging opinions between various national groups. One felt that the peace process in the country has made a formidable impression on everybody."

"I also made it a point in all these places to see the police commanding officers and to discuss relations between the police and our people. I found the situation rather interesting in all these areas, the way one was received, the seriousness and the elaborate steps which were taken by the police officials to welcome me in all those areas."

"And the response to our complaints and representations . . . even the briefings from our

own people, who are overwhelmingly young and normally against the police, suggested that the relations between the police and our people in Bloemfontein and elsewhere are very good.

"I think there still is a well of goodwill among whites. Clearly, a substantial number welcomes the peace process. I see it all the time . . ."

Mr Mandela dismissed speculation from some quarters that President de Klerk might be using the referendum — and fears of a "no" vote — to strengthen his eventual negotiating hand at Codesa. Some commentators have argued that this could have been Mr de Klerk's primary motivation in calling the referendum.

"When you're negotiating with someone, you must trust him or you can't make any progress," Mr Mandela said. "I don't see how Mr de Klerk could strengthen his negotiating position by winning a 'yes' vote in an ethnic referendum."

"He might come to us and say 'look at the difficulties we are having (with the right wing), you must make more compromises' — but we don't accept that whites have any right to veto what has been agreed to by the majority at Codesa."

"We are all under pressure — pressure from people who feel that the peace process should move at a faster rate, and also pressure from the people who oppose Codesa. In spite of this I believe the political parties at Codesa are strong enough to weather all storms."

He said a "no" vote on March 17 would be dangerous if the right wing then "tried to stop the (Codesa) process. Then there would be a fight. If they wanted to restructure the process, then there would be resistance on the part of the majority of South Africans."

"What we would insist the CP should do is to join Codesa and make their suggestions there. We would consider them on merit . . . (But) if they take a line which in our view would threaten the work we have done over the last two years then, of course, we would consider taking action."

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted "every shade of political opinion to be represented at Codesa. It would be good for the process for the CP to be involved."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)



# ANC investment code seen as encouraging

STAR 10/31/92

1/A

By Garner Thomson,  
London Bureau

LONDON — The ANC's prospective investment code guaranteeing rights for foreign investors is one of the most positive steps yet toward reassuring them about the future of South Africa, says the London Times.

The report, by finance writer Jon Ashworth, quotes Max Sisulu, ANC director of economic affairs, as saying that foreign investors would be allowed to repatriate some of their profits — the first time such a guarantee has been made in writing.

Mr Sisulu also agreed that a stable and growing economy was needed to attract investment.

But Mr Sisulu admitted that the ANC would want something in return for the concessions.

"We will want some of the profits to remain, and we also want foreign investors to concentrate

on certain areas. We want them to come in where it is going to be productive, create work and create jobs".

However, Mr Sisulu was clear that until an interim government was in place, the ANC wanted no new investment.

He said: "Until there is a new form of government, until there is some kind of agreement on the constitution, we are opposed to any investment or loans because these tend to strengthen the present illegitimate regime.

"Having said that, we recognise that foreign investment has played an important role in South Africa and elsewhere.

"We would welcome in the future foreign investment and would like to believe that foreign investment will contribute to economic growth as well as to increasing the standards of the people."

He said the ANC was particularly interested in companies that would set up labour-intensive

plants in areas such as the Eastern Cape, where work was desperately needed, pumping some of their profits back into the communities.

Mr Sisulu echoed Nelson Mandela's words last month in rejecting mass nationalisation as a path South Africa could reasonably follow.

Mr Sisulu said: "Nationalisation is not a problem for us, it is not a sacred cow.

"I don't see massive nationalisation going on. It is simply one of those options and one of the policy instruments for change. We are not opposed to privatisation."

However, he warned against continuation of the principle in which "one conglomerate controls everything".

He said: "We are looking at anti-monopoly/anti-trust legislation. We want to see how it works elsewhere and how it can be applied in South Africa to break up the monopolies and to open up competition."

# ANC women take aim at Defence Force

THE ANC Women's League has taken up arms — in a manner of speaking — in an attempt to ensure that a future Defence Force is as much the preserve of women as it is of men.

The league wants a non-sexist SA army which would rely on volunteers but would actively recruit women.

Its proposal forms part of a league submission to Codesa which suggests a gender commission be established to attend to sexism, and calls for a women's charter which would help women exercise their rights, to be included in a new constitution.

31 Day 11/3/92  
TIM COHEN

At a news conference yesterday, league leaders brushed aside suggestions that women would be unsuited to the rigours of military training.

The ANC experience when training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres was that women performed as well as men, former MK member and league financial manager Thandi Modise said.

The single, unified defence force should be committed to the principles of non-racialism, non-sexism, democracy and

national unity, she said.

Women should be included in debates on the formation and principles of this new defence force, and attention should be paid to the eradication of discrimination against women in training, deployment, command structures and combat roles.

The submission also calls for introduction of a code of conduct to ensure the police force deals with alleged police violence against and sexual harassment of women, and proposes an independent media commission to "end all forms" of degrading portrayals of women.

ANC to tone down campaign

# Pact averts Codesa crisis over Ciskei

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TIM COHEN

CODESA was saved from possible suspension yesterday after the ANC, government and Ciskei leaders resolved to allow free political expression in Ciskei, while the ANC undertook to tone down its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

The crisis was sparked after the Ciskei government called for Codesa's suspension until the ANC called off its campaign.

Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, who was supported at Codesa by several other groups, claimed the campaign was aimed at overturning his government, although this was subsequently denied by ANC leaders.

In a statement after the meeting in Pretoria, the parties agreed to abide by their undertakings in terms of the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent.

The parties, led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Gqozo, agreed that meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss a range of issues. These would include co-operation within the Border region to promote peace, freedom of political expression and the headman system — a form of local government introduced by Gqozo.

The Ciskei government undertook to review Section 43 of its National Security

Act, which restricts political gatherings, to bring it into line with Section 46 of the SA Internal Security Act and provisions of the peace accord. This would allow all parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches in the region, the statement said.

For its part the ANC agreed to review its campaign, while government identified itself with the conclusions of the meeting. Ramaphosa described the outcome of the discussions as a "victory for all".

ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki said it had not yet been decided exactly which aspects of the ANC's Ciskei campaign would be reviewed, as this required discussions with members of the ANC's Border region. Mbeki said the discussions would result in the Ciskei government withdrawing its call for a suspension of Codesa, and encouraging parties that supported the call to do the same.

Meanwhile, Codesa management committee member Pravin Gordhan said yesterday discussions on suggested amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent had made "very encouraging progress" and were all but completed.

His comment confirms the views of Codesa delegates that discussions had resulted in a resolution to attach an explanatory

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## Ciskei

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statement to the declaration of intent. The statement would make changes to the declaration unnecessary, but would clarify the meaning of phrases, some of which were fiercely resisted by Inkatha.

In particular, the declaration's statement that SA should be a unitary state would be clarified so it was clear this did not militate against the principle of re-

gional government.

The agreement deals with all but one of Inkatha's objections to signing the declaration: the non-participation of the Zulu king.

Gordhan said a process was in place to deal with traditional leaders' participation, which should resolve the issue.

● See Page 6

From Page 1

YOUR editorial of March 4 certainly needs repudiation — especially because of the title Treurnicht's Big Lie and the loaded phrases within.

Let me state at the outset that never in the history of this country has a so-called free Press been so obsessed with blanketing SA's voters with its point of view. The orchestrated "yes" campaign from the media, big business and overseas "experts" is unprecedented, and my experience is that it is creating a serious backlash among the voters, a reaction which will manifest itself on March 17.

Voters are asking: why the frenzy? What's in it for them? Why are they all saying the same things? And why don't overseas governments mind their own business?

Frankly, the CP is a little tired of repudiating the accusations that it is racist and retrogressive. The hysteria which creeps between the lines of certain editorials and "impartial" reporting about the CP is indicative of the ill-concealed desperation of the liberals who see their "yes" landslide disappearing as more and more

# Nothing worse than ANC

B/Dca  
11/3/92

~~CPA~~ 11A

## ANDRIES TREURNICHT

voters recoil from a future under a Mandela regime.

Furthermore, your relentless advocacy of ANC rule puts a question mark over your credibility with many heretofore liberal voters who are simply not prepared to live in a Third World country, and wonder why you are obsessed with promoting it.

It would, I believe, be an exercise in futility for me to refute, paragraph by paragraph, your diatribe against me and the CP. We are used to phrases like "dire consequences", "blatantly racist" and "Treurnicht and his henchmen".

I would, however, like to rebut your assertion that this country's "real" black leaders are not prepared to talk to the CP.

If you define Nelson Mandela as a "real" black leader, that is of course your prerogative, although I do not

know how you can prove this because he has not proved it himself.

The CP has had discussions with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with President Lucas Mangope, with Bishop Abel Mokoena (whose church has more than 4-million members) and other black leaders, none of whom are prepared to accept an ANC dictatorship over their people.

And after all is said and done, the March 17 referendum is about this: ANC rule and all its awesome ramifications.

Despite the one-sided barrage of "yes" vote propaganda and advertising; despite the not so thinly veiled threats from Zach de Beer about "blockades" (while Sir Geoffrey Howe said in 1988 that a blockade of

SA would never work); despite some big companies' intimidation of employees to vote "yes"; despite all this, the bottom line is whether white SA is prepared to live under an ANC dictatorship.

This is the decision which white voters will have to make on March 17, no matter what guarantees are given about minority rights, independent judiciaries and, best of all, a "nonracial" new SA.

For ourselves, we in the CP have no intention of becoming victims of F W de Klerk's sellout to an ANC government because, frankly, nothing could be worse.

A "no" vote is a vote for an election, a chance to examine the policies of the participating political parties. A "yes" vote gives De Klerk carte blanche to proceed towards his goal of an ANC government in this country.



□ TREURNICHT

ground combat. Although the US eco-

# Ciskei and ANC shake hands and look to the future

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

The Ciskei government has agreed to urgently review its security legislation to enable peaceful public meetings and marches — following a meeting yesterday between Ciskei leaders, the ANC and the Government in Pretoria.

In what was termed an "exceptionally productive" meeting, the ANC also agreed to review its campaign to call for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace the Ciskei government with an interim government.

## Disputes

Further meetings between the ANC and Ciskei have been planned to discuss co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of political expression and the headman system in the homeland.

The breakthrough in relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC is the culmination of months of bitter disputes between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC's Border region ex-

ecutive. Scores of ANC activists have been arrested in the homeland for participating in mass protest actions over the past year.

In a joint statement yesterday, the three parties said the meeting had taken place in a "spirit of goodwill and willingness to accommodate each other".

Ciskei is to review its National Security Act to enable all parties in the homeland to hold peaceful public meetings and marches.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa," the statement said.

All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa, it added.

On Monday, the Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

Yesterday's meeting was hosted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Brigadier Gqozo.

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# ANC's 'white paper' on referendum

STAR 11/3/92

**T**HE ANC's decision to urge whites to vote "yes" in the referendum — made even though the organisation's leaders condemned the ethnic poll — came after much soul-searching and strategic thinking, it emerges from a document in the possession of The Star.

In a discussion paper entitled "Should white democrats vote in the referendum?", produced by the ANC department of political education, the dilemma presented by the snap vote on reform is confronted in detail.

The document urges ANC members to distinguish between overall strategic objectives, and short-term tactics demanded by unusual situations.

Noting that the ANC has white members and a large white constituency "that looks to us for leadership", the discussion paper says that an exclusive focus on the strategic objective — the democratic transfer of power in South Africa — shackles an organisation and closes off tactical options.

Equally, if immediate condi-

**Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON on how the ANC finally decided it had to call on whites to vote "yes" with the National Party.**

(11A) (S04A)

tions are considered in isolation, there is a danger that the overall objective might be lost.

In terms of the ANC's core objectives, therefore, members are urged to remember that the chief opponent in South Africa remains President de Klerk's Government, because it still has its hands on the levers of power. Both ANC and National Party are agreed on the need for negotiations, "but we talk with different objectives in mind".

The right wing, of course, is also an enemy, but the thrust of the document is to insist that in reacting to it, ANC members do not forget the primacy of the NP as an opponent.

"How do we characterise the right wing? It is easy to fall into the trap of seeing them as the main enemy and therefore concluding that since we 'must' negotiate with Mr de Klerk, our job is to save him.

"The correct characterisation ... is that the NP remains the main enemy, holding State power. At the same time the right wing is the most serious, immediate danger, in that they threaten the entire process leading to the negotiated transfer of power."

The discussion paper argues that Mr de Klerk called the referendum for three reasons:

- To cut the right wing down to size after Potchefstroom.
- To free himself from his commitment to a white veto.
- To create a sense of insecurity which will panic Mr de Klerk's critics into believing that they must save him because the entire process depends on his survival.

The paper reiterates the organisation's principled objections to the referendum — including the question, which implicitly credits Mr de Klerk with sole re-

sponsibility for launching the negotiations process — but notes that "we cannot content ourselves with condemning a racist referendum.

"The future of this country must be decided by all who should have the right to vote.

"But we face a very concrete question ... A white referendum has been called and it is not impossible, though unlikely, that the white right will win and the process of negotiations will be destroyed."

This reasoning leads to the unequivocal conclusion that "we cannot stand by as spectators". Whites must be urged to vote yes "even if it is painful ...

"We cannot allow ourselves the luxury and self-indulgence of sitting and carping on the sidelines. If the correct thing is to act in a way that is personally unpleasant — if it is politically necessary, we must do it!"

The document concludes that the referendum has "highlighted the need to move quicker to a test of the opinion of all who live in South Africa ..."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St., Johannesburg)

# ANC launches its Ciskei campaign

11A (11A) B/day 12/3/92

EAST LONDON — The ANC and a broad front of allied organisations last night officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for “peace and democracy” in Ciskei.

The launch followed Tuesday’s “truce” in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei government, which was seen as defusing tensions over the campaign aimed at calling for an interim administration for the homeland.

The Popular Front for Peace and Democracy in Ciskei, consisting of 17 organisations, said last night it would push ahead with the campaign, but had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession was made following Ciskei’s undertaking to “review” Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

## Own Correspondent

But even as the campaign kicked off, an incident of Ciskei police action against protesters was reported.

The front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements in Pretoria and added Ciskei had recognised the right to free political activity in the homeland.

The ANC said Ciskei had been made aware the campaign would continue.

Yesterday placard demonstrations were held around Ciskei.

Sapa reports from Bisho that the Ciskei council of state confirmed Ciskei police used teargas to disperse about 300 placard-bearing demonstrators in Whittlesea.

It said the demonstrators were bran-

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## Ciskei

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dishing placards “denigrating” and “degrading” the Ciskei government. Police gave them 20 minutes’ warning before dispersing them.

“It is regretted that the protesters acted prior to acquainting themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, SA government and the ANC,” the council said.

“The requests for the marches reached

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authorities after midday today, when the marches had already commenced.”

Signatories to the campaign’s declaration included the ANC, ANC Youth League, SACP, Cosatu, Bocco, Popcru, East London Taxi Association, Sadtu, Afesis Advice and Resource Centre, East London Arts and Culture Union, National Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Nosc, African Culture, Young Christians Society, Sached, Corplan and Cosas.

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# Mayekiso favourite for post

B/Day 12/3/92

WILSON ZWANE

VETERAN trade unionist and Southern Transvaal Civics Association (Cast) president Moses Mayekiso is most likely to head the new national federation of civic organisations to be launched this weekend.

Sources close to the civic movement say 14 regions will nominate the same number of candidates for positions in the executive committee of the new federation, to be called the Civics Association of SA (Casa). However, Mayekiso is high in the popularity stakes and most likely to be elected president of Casa, the sources say.

At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, National Interim Civics Committee (NICC) general secretary Sithembiso Radebe said organisations, including the ANC, PAC, SACP, Cosatu and Nactu, had been invited to Casa's launch at Uitenhage, in the Eastern Cape.

"We are also expecting 450 delegates from our regions and invitations to the launch have been issued to homeland leaders," Radebe said.

Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa will deliver the keynote address.

This week Radebe said Casa would throw its weight behind Cosatu's four-

month programme of action. Cosatu announced at the weekend that its programme of action, which centred on a variety of political and economic demands, included a "people's referendum" on March 18 — Budget day.

On that day, the union federation planned nationwide marches and pickets as well as a march on Parliament.

Radebe said Cosatu's demand for a speedy establishment of an interim government was supported by the civic organisations. "But unlike Cosatu, we are not setting a deadline yet, as the matter will be on the agenda at this weekend's launch of the national civics federation," he said.

Also to be discussed at the launch was the role of township civic organisations in Codesa, the independence of civic organisations from political organisations, and the escalation of violence in the townships. "It should be made clear, however, that the focus of the federation will be on bread-and-butter issues, such as development, housing, education and electricity."



# Alliance mobilises against the Budget

B/Day 12/3/92

CAPE TOWN — The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has embarked on a national mass action programme including rallies, marches and pickets in a buildup of opposition to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' Budget speech next Wednesday.

The alliance objects to what it says is a unilateral drawing up of the Budget on the eve of SA's transition. It is determined not to have its opposition hamstrung by concerns about white fears prior to the referendum.

The three organisations threatened a strong response to what is expected to be a tough Budget.

Pickets outside factories in several centres, rallies in Cape Town townships and a signature campaign in Bloemfontein have been planned for early next week. On Budget day, there will be marches in major centres.

The programme will culminate in a "People's Budget" to be announced on Cape Town's Grand Parade, followed by a march to Parliament led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and other senior members of the alliance.

Workers and students will be called on to participate. The alliance has planned a meeting today with major employer organisations in



LINDA ENSOR

Cape Town in an attempt to reach agreement on employers' reaction.

But Cape Town Chamber of Industries executive director Colin McCarthy said chamber representatives would not attend as it could not bind individual member associations to any course of action. It had recommended that Cosatu approach each association individually.

The alliance said it hoped 10 000-20 000 people would participate in the rally and march, which would focus on demands for a negotiated budget, the immediate installation of an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly. Government would be asked to enter a national economic negotiating forum.

"The alliance will call for a drastic reduction in defence spending, a halt to secret funding of security forces and Inkatha, and an end to spending on duplicate departments," ANC western Cape regional secretary-general Tony Yengeni said.

He said VAT would be highlighted. Demands included the equalisation of pensions, equal education, a negotiated job creation scheme and an increase in government's involvement in the provision of houses.

# ANC to march on Budget day

So wednes 12/3/92

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**THE ANC, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu will march to John Vorster Square in Johannesburg and the Union Buildings in Pretoria on March 18 to protest against the Budget.**

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis will deliver the Budget in Parliament next Wednesday, the day after the referendum.

The march organisers said they were not concerned about their protest possibly encouraging whites to vote "no".

"Our action is not directly linked to the referendum. We are focusing on the Budget and how it will affect us," ANC PWV executive Mr Paul Mashatile said at a news conference yesterday.

"I think we have made it clear that a 'yes' vote is important for the negotiation process to continue."

The organisations' demands include no VAT increase, an immediate end to the unilateral restructuring of the economy, an interim government by June, a constituent assembly by the end of the year and reincorporation of the TBVC states.

The marches will start at 11 am. In Johannesburg it will begin at the corner of Wanderers and Plein streets and will end at John Vorster Square. In Pretoria protesters will march from Brown Street to the Union Buildings.

ANC PWV leader Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said they had applied for permission to march.

He said all school children would be encouraged to attend classes.

In Cape Town, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will lead a march to Parliament to present an alternative people's budget. - Sapa

# Movement fails to disrupt Codesa PAC has to have a credible alternative

Sowetan 12/3/92

11A

THE PAC enters its third national congress next month facing the heaviest odds in its entire existence.

Since the movement decided not to continue in multiparty talks - which are embodied by Codesa - last November, it has faced the arduous task of creating an impression on the unfolding democracy in South Africa.

It has been difficult for the PAC over the past four months to disturb the flow of Codesa. In fact, almost all the political leaders in Codesa are emphatic: "The PAC cannot disrupt Codesa."

Nevertheless, while Codesa has been accepted by all and sundry as the most effective vehicle for change in the country, the PAC has dubbed it a farce.

And with this the Africanists have isolated themselves from the mainstream - but have retained their following.

In places, PAC membership has swelled, and it reports around 410 branches nationwide.

At next month's congress in Um-tata, the PAC expects nearly 4 000 delegates from within South Africa and from around the world.

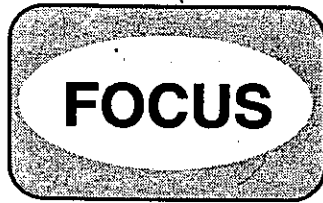
Effectively then, in shirking Codesa, the PAC has bolstered its grassroots popularity.

The question then is: What next? Where to now?

Mr Mhlubi Mbandazayo, the PAC's political affairs spokesman, says that the Africanists are not terribly perturbed by Codesa and the advances made there.

The PAC keeps one eye in the convention but its main focus remains on education.

"Our main thrust is to educate the masses about political developments.



**ISMAIL LAGARDIEN**  
Political Correspondent

"We must show them what Codesa has to offer, and what tricks lie behind Codesa," Mbandazayo explains.

In terms of PAC thinking, Codesa is a forum where the "political strength" of the liberation movement is outweighed by the "relative strength" of the white people in South Africa.

The PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemandzivhanani, cites the gun laws as an example.

"Whites have always been allowed to (legally) own up to 27 firearms, they have had military training, the South African Defence Force reports to the white government, the white minority holds the economic power in the country and Parliament and the civil service are controlled by whites," Nemandzivhanani says.

Both Nemandzivhanani and Mbandazayo believe that this powerful position of the white bloc will lead to black people being "co-opted" into central government as "co-managers" of apartheid.

Mbandazayo believes, too, that it is not enough to protest against Codesa only for the sake of protesting.

"We must come out very clearly with our own position," he says.

What is the PAC's position, then?

"We shall never stop short of the total transfer of power to the majority," he says.

And the PAC does not believe that Codesa will deliver this.

It is easy, he explains for political negotiators in Codesa to speak about "peace and good government" in supplication of eventual votes.

"But we in the PAC are not looking at numbers or (a show of) hands.

"We are looking at the heads behind the hands," he says.

Shifting the locus to what Codesa promises, he says the convention is loaded with people like homeland leaders and political figures in the tri-cameral Parliament who do not have any real constituencies.

He points out that military leaders in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda were never voted into power by means of elections.

"The bantustans and the tri-cameral Parliament are structures of apartheid anyway," Mbandazayo says.

The PAC believes, however, that the present constitution - which makes room for apartheid structures in terms of the Own Affairs concept - should be abolished.

"It cannot be in existence during the interim period," he says.

The PAC does not, before the April congress, rule out participation in an interim government or constituent assembly - the latter might however by the end of the negotiation process be known by a different name.

"If a constituent assembly is created democratically, we have no problem with participating. But we will do so at a disadvantage," Mbandazayo says.

It is in this regard, he explains, that the PAC congress must come up with a workable alternative to disrupt and discredit Codesa, he says.

"Our members do not want to be part of Codesa. But we will put it to them that this is not enough. They must mandate us to come up with an alternative," he says emphatically.

But, surely, the leaders of the PAC must be able to read the situation, must be able to take a decision and lead?

"Naturally the leadership will make suggestions, but it remains up to the party as a whole. And its following on the ground make as much difference as its leadership," Mbandazayo says.

Is there, then, absolutely no way that the PAC will, at this stage, get involved in negotiations of any kind with at least the Government present?

"We are prepared to have bilateral talks with the Government in a foreign country with an independent chairman, and only to discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly.

"At this meeting a transitional authority will be appointed which will return to South Africa and govern by decree," he explains.

The PAC faces a difficult task in stepping out of the giant shadow that Codesa is casting in South Africa, and indeed coming out with a more acceptable (to the world) alternative to the convention.

And when it does come out of next month's congress, a lot of people will be waiting to see just what it is that the Africanists have up their sleeve.

But at this point nobody knows.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Kjaaste and Joe Thloloe. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# PAC goes East

*Sowetan*  
12/3/92 BY JOE MDHLELA

(11A)

THE Pan Africanist Congress Highveld region will launch its branch at the Elukhanyisweni High School in Witbank on Sunday.

The theme of the meeting will be "advance and consolidate all forms of struggle".

Speakers will include the PAC national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhani, and the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, Mr Lawrence Nqandela.

# New civic body to be formed

10/2/92  
11A

STAR 12/3/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Civic associations from across South Africa will gather in Uitenhage this weekend to launch a national structure, likely to be known as the Civic Association of South Africa (Casa).

The launching conference and rally are the culmination of a year's work by the National Interim Civics Committee (Nicc) to draw together a large number of local associations with diverse programmes and histories.

Nicc executive member Mzwanele Mayekiso said: "Our view of the national civic is that it won't be prescribing to local civics what is to be done. It will be more of a co-ordinating body."

The civic associations developed a strong protest tradition under apartheid, leading the battle against black local authorities and poor living conditions.

They were the force behind the rent boycotts which crippled township councils and compelled the Government to reconsider compulsory racial segregation of local government.

In the changing political climate the civic movement is striving to develop a non-party-political base.

Said Nicc general secretary Sthembiso Radebe: "The civic organisations are there to see to it that the rights of all residents are fulfilled and to deal with daily problems of residents on bread and butter issues."

He said 450 delegates from civic associations in 14 regions and about 100 guests from national organisations and labour federations would attend the conference, which would be opened by Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa.

The delegates would be debating the relationship between Casa and Codesa.

Mr Radebe said that while the interim structure recognised the role of Codesa and fully supported its initiatives, delegates would have to decide whether Casa would seek representation to Codesa or attempt to influence the debate on the constitution of local government from outside of Codesa.

In addition, the interim structure would urge the new body to carry forward campaigns for "one municipality, one tax base"; the dismantling of black local authorities and coloured and Indian management committees; for land and affordable housing and service charges; and for a constituent assembly.

Cosatu, (TIA)  
ANC plan  
Budget  
STAR 1/23/92  
day march

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

Thousands of supporters of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance are to march on the House of Parliament in Cape Town and the Union Buildings in Pretoria on March 18 to protest against the "racist" Budget of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

Cosatu said yesterday that the march on Parliament would be led by its president John Gomo and secretary-general Jay Naidoo as well as ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

A Cosatu spokesman announced to the media the marchers would demand that:

- Codesa appoint an interim government by June.
- The Government stop its "unilateral" restructuring of the economy.
- There be no more increases in VAT.
- A constituent assembly be elected by the end of the year.
- The TBVC states be reincorporated into SA.

The organisers denied that the protest action would negatively affect President de Klerk's campaign for a landslide "Yes" vote in the coming referendum.

# ANC asks for police protection

STAR 12/3/92  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela has asked the police to protect ANC supporters at a rally on March 21 to mark the Sharpeville shooting in 1960, said ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma.

At a meeting yesterday with the Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner, Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, the police gave Mr Mandela the assurance that the police would do everything possible to protect all citizens, including ANC supporters.

General Erasmus said the police would maintain a low profile where at all possible but would at the same time be prepared for any eventuality.

"The police also assured the ANC delegation that the police will not unnecessarily delay the buses conveying ANC supporters to Sharpeville on that day," said police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe.

General Erasmus also requested Sharpeville residents as well as the leaders and supporters of political organisations to exercise restraint so as not to precipitate any incidents.

"It is the SAP's wish that the celebrations take place peacefully and without any incident," he said.

# Hani challenges Jaap Marais

By Esther Waugh <sup>STAR</sup> 12-13/92  
Political Reporter

South Africa's top communist has himself refuted right-wing claims that a "yes" vote in Tuesday's referendum would lead to communism.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani told The Star yesterday that a "yes" vote meant that the country would continue its path towards democracy, not communist domination.

Mr Hani was asked to comment on allegations by right-wing leaders, who are using the communist issue as a key tactic in the referendum campaign.

The two leaders of the yes-vote campaign, Mr

de Klerk and Democratic Party chief Zach de Beer, have also strongly rejected rightist charges that the Codesa negotiations were dominated by communism.

Mr Hani said communists were in the minority at Codesa, and challenged HNP leader Jaap Marais to name them.

He said 19 groups were represented at Codesa, including the ANC and the SACP which have communists in its ranks. The Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses also have some SACP members, but the other 16 groups did not have any communists.

Turning to Mr Marais's allegation that the ANC national execu-

utive was dominated by communists, Mr Hani pointed out that the committee did not comprise 36 members, as Mr Marais had claimed, but 90 people.

He said there were "fewer than 12" communists on the NEC. These included himself, Joe Slovo, Jeremy Cronin, Raymond Suttner, Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie Kasriis, Jeff Radebe, Harry Gwala and Raymond Mhlaba.

He added that Dr. Treurnicht was dishonest by saying he would not reintroduce apartheid, while he said he intended reintroducing influx control and the pass system.

(Report by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer St., Jhb)



## Red Cross attacks ANC over camps

81099 13/3/92

THE ANC had denied the International Committee for the Red Cross access to camps abroad where, it is alleged, it is holding prisoners, the Red Cross said yesterday.

"Officially, the ANC has invited us to visit the camps," said Marc Henzelin, an ICRC official based in Pretoria, in an interview. "But in practice, we have not been able to carry out the invitation. We have met the highest representatives of the ANC several times over the past year, but to no avail."

He said the Red Cross now believed there was little chance that the ANC would allow it access to the camps, most of them in Tanzania or Uganda.

The Red Cross knew the ANC still ran camps, but until it made on-site inspections it could not say if camp residents were being held against their will.

The ANC said last August it would end its 15-year-old policy of barring the Red Cross from its camps.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus was adamant yesterday that the Red Cross had not been denied access to camps.

Marcus reiterated an earlier ANC statement extending an open invitation to the Red Cross to visit the camps, and said they were "free and welcome to do so". — Sapa-Reuter.

# ANC warns of 'offensive'

B10 am 13/3/92

(11A) (13/3/92)

KATHRYN STRACHAN

IF THE CP ever came to power, the people of SA would launch an offensive on the new regime that would make everything else look like a Sunday school picnic, ANC official Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday at a referendum debate with the CP and the NP at Wits University.

Moosa said within three months of that onslaught the CP would talk to the ANC.

He said the NP had not come to the negotiating table out of choice. "It was at great cost to ourselves, and it was only because none of their other plans worked."

Jacques Theron, CP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, said his party would rather side with the AWB, despite its neo-Nazi standpoints, than with communists, as they shared the same ideal of a boërestaat.

"Afrikaners feel strongly that we want to rule ourselves. It's not that we're racist. We don't want blacks to rule us — just as we don't want Americans or Eskimos to rule us," he said.

Theron said his party was opposed to Codesa because it did not believe the forum was democratic. The ANC and the NP were "conniving" and holding secret discussions, he said, and they had already

decided on a undivided SA.

He denied that a "no" vote would be detrimental to the country's economy. A "yes" vote was a vote for a communist-/Marxist ANC government, and the instability that would follow would be a far greater deterrent to foreign investors, he said.

Deputy Regional Planning Minister Andre Fourie said it was imperative that parties moved away from the "one-man, one-vote" system, where a straight majority took all. "We need to create mechanisms where basic agreements are reached by consensus rather than vote, and minority rights are protected," he said.

The country's most critical problem was the staggering unemployment rate, he said. He warned the ANC about "talking glibly" about nationalisation because, he said, SA would die like the rest of Africa if it did not get foreign capital.

Employment was fundamental, said Fourie, because "people who are employed do not need to steal. People who are employed do not need to commit violence".

Report by K Strachan. TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

# Lebowa college crisis goes on

<sup>Now Nation [Learning Nation] 13/3-19/3/92</sup>  
STUDENTS' representatives from colleges which have been closed down by the Lebowa education department met officials from the department last week to discuss the re-opening of the institutions.

But the meeting failed to resolve the issue after education officials informed the students' delegation that they were not allowed to take any decisions on their own.

"This left us with a lot of uncertainty as to whether the department or the govern-

ment were willing to resolve the crisis," said Cedric Mathebula, the regional co-ordinator of Young Christian Students (YCS).

A YCS statement said: "The recent closure of colleges of education by the Lebowa education department further exacerbates a situation which is already out of control."

## Disappointed

Mathebula said they were disappointed that the Lebowa education minister,

Johannes Mahlangu, failed to attend the meeting.

But, he said they were making arrangements to meet him instead of his "juniors".

Lebowa students are demanding the admission of more students; scrapping of all forms of exclusion; an end to unfair marking and arbitrary failing of students; the re-opening of closed colleges; the unbanning of SRC's and the establishment of education monitoring committees.

CODESA FM 13/3/92

~~11A~~  
11A

**Waiting for 'yes'**

The seventh meeting of Codesa's working group 3 has agreed on "certain general elements" for interim arrangements, "which would facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution." The landmark agreement was achieved on Monday.

The group, whose big hitters include Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, leading the government delegation, and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, agreed that:

- There is a need for interim arrangements to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which Codesa is committed;
- An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure;
- The transitional executive structure will initially be by appointment in accordance with procedures agreed by Codesa (these have yet to be worked out);
- Arrangements reached at Codesa will have to be given effect by parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation; and
- Other aspects of the interim/transitional arrangements still need to be discussed.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan (of the Natal Indian Congress) stated that certain press reports suggesting that a comprehensive agreement had been reached are incorrect and misleading. Among the details yet to be tackled are the:

- Objective of transitional arrangements;
- Structure and functions of the transitional executive and the transitional legislature;
- Position of the TBVC and self-governing states; and
- Time frames.

Working group 5, which is trying to place time limits on the other groups' proceedings, has (unofficially) called for agreement on principles to be reached by April 16 — in time for Codesa 2 (the second plenary), which now looks like being on April 24-25 — and an interim government to be installed when parliament rises on June 30. This proposal has yet to be ratified.

Working group 2 has, meanwhile, decided to suspend its debate on constitutional principles in order to catch up, as it were, with group 3. When it convenes again in two weeks' time, therefore, it will tackle its second brief — the constitution-making process — specifically to discuss transitional constitutional arrangements to tie in with the broad agreement on interim plans.

Some ANC negotiators after Monday's session seemed pleased indeed with the apple-pie draft principle on "meaningful participation of minority political parties" prepared by the steering committee of group 2. This appeared to them to signal acceptance that an elected constitution-making body would fill in the details — which government has in principle accepted.

In the view of some NP and DP delegates, however, the draft principle reflects stalemate on this fundamental issue of power-sharing (see *Current Affairs* March 6).

The draft principle states: "A new constitution should provide for effective participation of minority political parties consistent with democracy." (The previous week's draft said: "There shall be meaningful participation of minority parties in a future constitutional dispensation.")

Intriguingly, though, this principle does not imply or reject:

- Constitutional prescription for the participation of minority political parties in any structure of government;
- Simple majoritarianism; or
- Veto powers by minority political parties on any issue.

In short, the delegates seem, if not deadlocked, to be treading water on the issue of minorities and coalition government — at least until the referendum is over. Both the government/NP side — which argues that there is no example of where majoritarianism has worked in divided societies, and the ANC — which says there is no case where coalition government is constitutionally required — have quite strong cases.

It is doubtless also realised by the NP that, whereas at Codesa there are various parties among the 19 who back its stance, the situation will be quite different in an elected constitutional forum which many expect will be ANC-dominated. The NP could therefore press for all manner of consensus provisions to be arrived at at Codesa, possibly including a "shared executive," to use Colin Eglin's phrase.

"A number of points of vital interest to our electorate have not been met," says an NP source. "Negotiation will continue on mechanisms to ensure minority protection."

JOINT NEGOTIATING FORUMS

200 11A

FM 13/3/92

# The point of popular pressure

There are signs that the ANC and other extra-parliamentary bodies could already be involved in *de facto* government — at least at a local level. Long before Codesa has reached agreement on an interim structure to replace the tricameral system, local-level nonracial authorities are emerging — with implications for business and residential development.

Cosatu's VAT stayaway last year mapped a path whereby white MPs' exclusive power to create and change laws became subject to wide consultation with special interest groups. Thus the fate of an historic stretch of Durban land — Cato Manor, once seized from blacks and Indians in terms of the Group Areas Act — now looks set to be decided by a forum involving all interested parties. Government, the House of Delegates and the city council (which in theory is still responsible for Cato Manor) no longer have sole say.

The forum collapsed temporarily at the end of last year because participants believed the House of Delegates would be able to veto its proposals. However, it is now back on track and its recommendations are expected to prevail.

While this may seem to be an isolated incident, it clearly isn't.

In Durban, the civic associations — the main conduit of township "people's power" — and the ANC are actively trying to expand their sphere of influence into commercial development. Particular emphasis has fallen on the ambitious Victoria Embankment, Point and Bluff redevelopment projects — possibly involving billions of rands over two decades. Durban City Council and Portnet are guiding the Victoria Embankment and Point projects through the preplanning phases.

But the ANC's Michael Sutcliffe says they are botching the job. He has met Port Captain Jan Mors, the council's Peter Mansfield, and other members of the steering committees to suggest the formation of another, consensus-based forum. This would be broadly representative of government, the private sector — and community and political organisations including the ANC as a major organisation not now represented. The forum would be charged with defining a vision of the future for Durban.

Sutcliffe says: "I argued that Victoria Embankment and Point cannot be treated as private schemes. They involve public areas and must be looked at in terms of how they will satisfy the needs of the harbour, the people of Durban, and Durban at large. Furthermore, I stressed the need for Point and Victoria to be treated in the context of the vision of greater Durban of the future.

Even if consensus over priorities proves impossible, at least everyone will know that there are several views about what should happen to specific development projects."

Sutcliffe initially believed his overture had been well received — but nothing was done about it. The city and Portnet are, he says, continuing as before, without input from the ANC.

Mansfield concedes that there are some individuals and organisations who are "not totally happy" with the process and the conclusions being reached. He adds: "Inevitably, one can't satisfy everyone and I don't believe the ANC should be either singled out or discounted. I'm also opposed to political parties — whether NP, DP, ANC or IFP — dictating the course of city development."

It may be argued that the ANC, as with everyone else, has a stake in the future of Durban and SA and listening to its views, perhaps through a forum, could be of benefit. The ANC might find, however, that it will only be through legislated power — such as that of a combined local authority — that it has any muscle. The problem is getting these

agreements between local authorities to stick in the face of the legacy of debts of one or more local authorities who were party to such agreements. While, for example, Bedfordview's recent withdrawal from the proposed Greater Germiston authority highlights these problems, the fact that metropolitan areas like Durban and Johannesburg are still working towards unification bodes well for the future.

But again — as in the fraught issue of squatters — the problem is that while a political vacuum lasts at the highest levels, waiting for Codesa, authorities down the pyramid of power wallow in uncertainty. ■

# ANC appoints camps inquiry

CT 13/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress had appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate complaints of maltreatment in ANC camps outside South Africa, the secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, announced at a press conference here yesterday.

The announcement came as the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) said the ANC had denied it access to camps abroad where it was alleged to be holding prisoners.

Mr Marc Henzelin, an ICRC official based in Pretoria, said officially the ANC had invited it to the camps but in practice it had not been "able to carry out the invitation".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus denied this, saying the ICRC was "free and welcome to do".

"The ANC will try to help them as far as possible, but if access is refused by the authorities they should raise the matter with us."

Former detainees in ANC camps arriving back in South Africa have complained about conditions in detention, the treatment they received and the way their property was dealt with.

The commission consists of advocates Mr Lewis Skweyiya, Mr Gilbert Marcus and Ms B Mabandla, with an independent, Ms Elna Revelas. — Sapa

# WHY DO PEOPLE ORGANISE?

11A (10/17)  
New Nation  
(Learning Nation)  
13/3 - 19/3/92

Last week's introduction to this series explained why it is important to build our organisations. We recognised that without organisations, the working class is powerless and we will not achieve a truly democratic South Africa. This week we will look at why people organise, where organisations come from and the different kinds of organisations that exist.

## Why do People Organise?

From our daily experience, we know that there are constant struggles between the bosses with their state and the working class. These struggles are fought over a number of issues: from wages, to retrenchments, to housing, health and education. Through struggles the working class comes together and builds organisations. People know that it is only when they unite and organise, that they will be able to begin to resist the oppression of apartheid capitalism.

When the living standards of people are under attack they can either become demoralised or else struggle to resist these attacks. If conditions are favourable this will lead to heightened levels of struggle on the part of the working class. For instance, there were heightened struggles in the 1970s as a result of the effects of the world economic crisis on South African workers, and the fact that rapid monopolisation in the 1960's had brought the workers together in large factories and townships. Under these circumstances a number of working class organisations were built. Most of the mass organisations that exist today have their roots in struggles such as the Durban workers' strikes in 1973 and the student struggles of 1976.

## Organisations and Conditions of Struggle

In general there is a direct relationship between the level of struggle and the strength of organisation. During periods of higher levels of mass struggle all forms of popular organisation are boosted as the creative energy and interest of the masses is increased.

On the other hand, while organisations are products of various struggles, it is also

clear that organisations have an important effect on whether struggles succeed or not. Organisation also has an important effect on whether struggles are sustained for shorter or longer periods. Struggles cannot be fought without organisations to lead and guide those struggles, and organisations cannot arise without those struggles taking place. When we look at ways of building our organisations it is essential that we have a clear understanding of this relationship between organisations and struggle. For example, although the emergence of democratic trade unions in the early 1970s was the result of the Durban strikes, these unions became important in sustaining and broadening the workers' struggle.

All organisations, of whatever kind, need to be understood in terms of struggle. But, you might ask, "What about the sports club or the burial society or the Manyano that I belong to? What have these organisations got to do with struggle?"

A sports club might not immediately appear to be linked to struggle, but it reflects a struggle for leisure time and for the facilities needed to enjoy that leisure. Even a burial society reflects the harsh conditions of life in the city and the financial problems of burying our dead. Our participation in organisations such as burial societies has also taught us that there is more power in collective struggle than in struggling on our own.

## Different Kinds of Organisations

Let us now look at the variety of organisations that our struggles have produced. The range of organisations extends from social to economic to political forms of organisation.

Social forms of organisations can generally be seen as providing for the cultural needs of people. They are those in which people come together to support each other. Social organisations do not necessarily understand themselves as expressing direct opposition to anything. They do not necessarily aim to change conditions but

## Organisation in Russia

In the process of taking up different issues, an organisation may well assume a completely different form. An example of how organisations can change their form and role is that of the soviets in Russia. Soviets arose out of strike committees and government commissions, dealing with essentially economic issues. In the course of struggle, they rapidly became mass political organisations which included all layers of the working people. As the

struggle intensified, the soviets started taking over functions which were formerly done by the government. The soviets became so strong that the Czarist government could not do anything without getting their approval. So we see that organisations that may initially have been set up to serve the immediate social or economic interests of their members can, under certain circumstances, become organs of political struggle.

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Offset litho poster produced by NUM.

are more concerned with serving the immediate interests of their membership - to share and to enjoy and, at times, to escape the harsh reality of life under apartheid capitalism. Examples of social forms of organisation are sports clubs, drama or cultural groups.

In response to problems such as wages and working conditions, the working class has formed organisations to improve its material life. We can refer to these organisations as the economic organisations of the working class. Broadly speaking, we can say that they differ from the social organisation in that they tend to be opposed to other groups or classes. An example of an economic form of organisation is a trade union whose task it is to defend workers against the bosses.

Over many years, the conditions of life of the working class and the struggle to improve these conditions has taught the working class that its problems cannot be separated from the political system in the country. In order to ensure a lasting solution to its daily problems, the working class and other classes have struggled for political power. It is out of these struggles

that political parties have emerged. Unlike its economic and social organisations, the political organisations of the working class tend to address both the immediate questions of defending the workers' well-being and also put forward a vision of how these problems can be solved in a lasting manner.

It would be wrong to think that if an organisation was set up in response to an economic struggle that it cannot take on different social or political issues. A trade union federation may have been established to struggle over daily economic issues such as wages and retrenchments. At certain times, however, it can change from simply defending the rights of its membership and can actively challenge the state and raise specifically political issues. We can also see this process when we look at sports organisations. In South Africa, the apartheid system led to struggles in which sportspeople said that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society. This led to the expulsion of South Africa from many international sporting bodies.

We can see that under apartheid capitalism, the divisions between the social, economic and political issues and the forms of organisation which take up these issues are frequently blurred.

In conclusion, we can see that conditions under capitalism lead to a struggle for survival and this sometimes gives rise to organisations which can take these struggles further. In turn struggles give rise to different forms of organisation. These forms can be defensive or offensive, depending on the different conditions which exist. In the process of struggle, organisations can also be transformed and can play a completely different role.

# ANC to probe camp torture allegations

11A  
L/B

STAR 13/3/92

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The ANC yesterday revealed the terms of reference of a commission of inquiry appointed to probe allegations by former prisoners of torture in ANC detention camps outside South Africa.

Addressing a press conference at the ANC offices in Johannesburg, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the commission would be headed by three advocates: Lewis Skweiyaya, SC, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla. An independent lawyer, advocate Elna Revelas, had been appointed to interview witnesses, visit detention camps and lead evidence before the commission after her own investigations. She would, in effect, be acting as the former exiles' lawyers and act independently of the ANC and the commissioners, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The commissioners would probe complaints relating to:

- Detainees' conditions while they were held.

- Their allegations of maltreatment.

- Complaints about the loss or destruction of their property.

Mr Ramaphosa said the commission would compile a report to be presented to the ANC president and would be required to make recommendations consequent upon its findings.

He said the commissioners would be allowed to decide whether proceedings would be held in public or private. Their first sitting would be between March 23 and 25, and every month thereafter until June.

Mr Ramaphosa stated it was unreasonable to say the inquiry was "the ANC investigating itself", saying the independent investigator would see to the objectivity of the findings.

The findings of the commission would be by majority vote, he said, with each member carrying a vote of equal weight. Individual members would also be allowed to write separate reports.

Any ex-prisoner would be entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary of the commission and should contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.



# Germans host PAC

## group

11A  
Dowle  
13/3/92

A PAN Africanist Congress delegation led by general secretary Mr Benny Alexander left for Germany on Wednesday as guests of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

In a statement yesterday the PAC said the delegation would brief German political parties and organisations, and government officials on political developments in South Africa and the PAC's views on Codesa.

### Support

Other members of the delegation are health secretary Dr Selva Saman, environmental secretary Dr Solly Skosana and African Women's Organisation general secretary Ms Crestencia Mofokeng.

The delegation would also campaign for international support for the election of a constituent assembly. - Sapa.

# Sisters are doing it for themselves

W/Ment 13/3 - 19/3/92 11A  
W/Ment 13/3 - 19/3/92

By BEATHUR BAKER

FORTY women's groups, which merged to form the Women's National Coalition, plan to launch a campaign to ensure that women's rights are included in a Bill of Rights in the new constitution.

The coalition is a historical first: women, representative of cross cultural, political, apolitical and religious groups, will be united by a single cause.

The launch, on April 24 and 25 in Johannesburg, will be conducted as a workshop for debate and decision-making among the 560 women representing the 40 national women's groups.

"This is no cake and tea coalition," says Sheila Meintjies, of the Wits Gender Forum. "Unlike past alliances, it is an issue-based movement to bring together women from different backgrounds under a common cause — ensuring their rights are firmly fixed in a future constitution."

"South African women have been far too passive. We plan to stimulate them and ensure they have a say in the future," said Gill Noero, interim steering committee member and representative of the Democratic Party.

Mavivi Manzini, of the African National Congress Women's League says: "... we believe that although from different backgrounds, women at the launch — like rural women, for instance — can voice their own problems, yet also identify with the (general) oppression of women. That is why we feel we need a special charter in addition to a constitutional clause."

"We are determined to work for the inclusion of women in decision making on all levels, regional, local and national," says Doris Ravenhill, executive member of the Women's Lobby (WL), which is also affiliated to the coalition.

The WL wrote to Mr Justice I Mohamed and Mr Justice P Schabert requesting they recommend to all parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa to "include capable women on their negotiating teams".

Three women are members of the ANC delegation to Codesa.

The ANC Women's League says it sees the purpose of forming a coalition as "one from which women can draw an understanding, assessment and conclusion on issues that affect them.

"In this way, we feel women will have taken part in the shaping of the country."

Democratic Party MP Carol Charlewood, regional organiser for the Women's Alliance (WA), said they plan to look at the United Nations Convention document on the elimination of all discrimination against women. The WA has research units to look into the problems of rural women "because as urban women we cannot speak for or identify the needs of rural women".

Ellen Motopeng, speaking on behalf of the African Women's Organisation, a component of the Pan Africanist Congress, said: "Our greatest challenge in the 1990s remains that of uniting African women and communities around the cause of genuine liberation. Our primary objective is to rally African women around the issues of women's liberation and to strive to educate women socially, politically, morally and make them aware of social degradation, exploitation and male domination."

**T**HE Ciskei is bracing itself for the beginning this weekend of the African National Congress' "peace and democracy" campaign, which could easily spill into violence.

The ANC on Wednesday announced it was going ahead with the campaign, despite a truce reached with the Ciskei at South African-brokered talks in Pretoria the day before.

Tuesday's talks ended with the ANC agreeing to review its campaign, and the Ciskei agreeing to review controversial security legislation.

Announcing the launch of the campaign, however, the ANC said it was modifying its campaign by cancelling plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

It maintained the decision to go ahead was not in contravention of the Pretoria agreement. ANC Border president Silumko Sokupa said: "All we will be doing is picketing for a free political climate in the region."

The ANC also insisted Ciskei had been left in no doubt in Pretoria that the campaign would go ahead.

Pickets already took place this week, but the weekend will see polling booths being set up around the territory. People will be asked whether they support the establishment of an interim administration in the Ciskei.

Results are to be announced at a People's Assembly on April 6, where elections for an interim administration will be held. It is not clear whether the ANC will go ahead with its planned "symbolic" occupation of Bisho.

Despite the truce agreed in Pretoria, the campaign could easily escalate into confrontation. Already, there have been reports of the Ciskei police teargassing a demonstration in Whittlesea. The Ciskei claimed permission for the march had only been sought after it had begun.

ANC supporters concede there could easily be violence: there were reports before the Pretoria talks of senior Ciskei officers being instructed to "shoot to kill" during the campaign.

Indeed, the campaign could easily turn from a "symbolic" to an actual ousting of the Ciskei regime of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

There have been signs of mounting restlessness in the Ciskei forces. There were reports this week that junior officers in the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) protested against the presence of South African officers. The South African embassy confirmed it knew of the protest.

The presence of South African officers in senior positions in the CDF, and the activities of South African

# Ciskei braces for ANC protests

*W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92. (11A)*  
**The African National Congress and the Ciskei government clashed this week over ANC plans for a campaign in the territory. After South African government intervention the protest will go ahead — but the possibility of violence is still strong, reports FRANZ KRUGER**

Military Intelligence in the homeland, are among the issues raised by the ANC in its motivation for the campaign.

Given the tenuous nervousness in Bisho, and the difficulty of ensuring Ciskei forces adhere to the agreement to

allow political activity, almost any of the planned activities could lead to violence.

The Pretoria agreement came days after the Ciskei, backed by Inkatha, Gazankulu and QwaQwa, demanded the Convention for a Democratic

South African (Codesa) suspend its activities until the ANC had called off its campaign.

There should be an "unconditional undertaking from the ANC that the campaign would be withdrawn", the

homelands said.

With the exception of Inkatha, the four hardly constitute heavyweights at Codesa. They knew that if anyone called their bluff, they might be left out of the only show in town.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer described the row as an "unfortunate, non-vital sideshow".

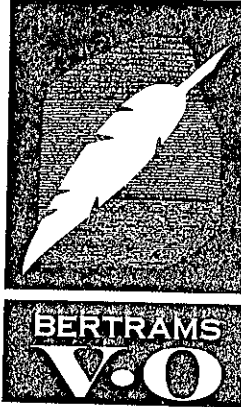
Nevertheless, the ANC has so far come out of the affair less than well. The episode provided the Ciskei with its first real

opportunity to make its presence felt on the national stage.

The ANC hasn't so far found much support for its argument that its campaign is merely legitimate political activity. The South African government said it was in contravention of the National Peace Accord.

While remaining carefully guarded in its responses, the National Peace Committee displayed little sympathy for the ANC's position.

Committee chairperson John Hall said in his personal capacity he thought the campaign was "a little too robust for normal political activity". — Ecna



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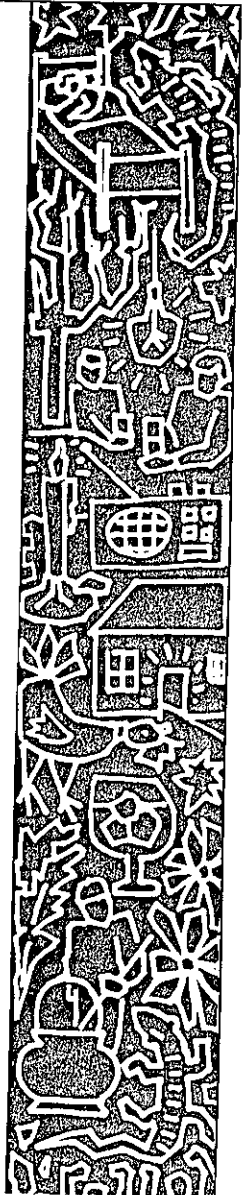
**C Novels** — not less than 100 double spaced typed pages.

**D Poetry** — a collection of not less than 20 pages.

**E Drama** — a single drama of 30-60 pages.

### HOW TO ENTER

*All manuscripts must be accompanied by an*



# Mandela warns of war

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday any attempt to reimpose apartheid would mean civil war and a massive international boycott of South Africa.

Mr Mandela said if the right-wing won the referendum, blacks would step up their resistance.

If the right-wing "comes to power and carries out its policies, war is unavoidable," he said.

He called for a conference of peace inside and outside the country, saying the forces of oppression are too strong to be overturned.

President F W de Klerk is expected to win, but Mr Mandela said government leaders had told him many white voters were undecided.

The ANC would talk to the Conservative Party if they came to power, but only as part of efforts to create a multi-racial democracy, Mr Mandela said.

Any attempt to return to apartheid would be resisted, and he added that the ANC could topple any government by mass action, including strikes, and international sanctions.

(11A)

"If the whites make a mistake and vote for repression the country is going to be in for a hard time. There's going to be unprecedented turmoil and chaos," he said.

Mr Mandela said the referendum was racist and whites had no right to decide the future of the black majority. But he urged whites to vote for Mr De Klerk and reform.

He said the ANC remained committed to some form of economic nationalisation. — Sapa-AP

(Report by Barry Renfrew, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg.)

CT 14/3/92

we called the right wing to power. A conference of peace inside and outside the country are too strong to be overturned.

# On the outside, looking in – for the last time?

"IT'S like watching a naughty little white boy busily setting fire to your house and not being able to do anything about it," is how one old man described his deep sense of helplessness about Tuesday's whites-only referendum.

Despite the fact that they have been completely sidelined in this week's poll, most blacks I spoke to were deeply concerned with its outcome.

The mood was generally one of "Let's wait and see", but at the same time it was characterised by an utter determination that nobody is prepared to return to the bad old days of apartheid or to re-submit to repression.

Most people felt a "no" vote would be a declaration

of civil war – in which many said they would willingly participate "to the bitter end".

"I will never carry a pass again," an elderly Johannesburg city driver told me. "They would have to kill me: I don't care, if they try to bring apartheid again we shall just have to fight them. Old as I am, I will go to the bush and join."

But not everybody I spoke to about their feelings on the referendum displayed such passionate militancy. An Eldorado Park couple, both Christians and with a large family of grown-up children, said they prayed every night that whites "do the right thing, for our country, for us, for themselves and for the

**As white society goes to the polls this week to once again unilaterally decide the fate of the nation, JOE LOUW went out to the nearly enfranchised masses to report how they felt to be once more on the sidelines.**

STAR 14/3/92

sake of our children."

"This country does not want war," the husband said.

A Soweto businessman said he had great admiration for President de Klerk and for what he did "to bring white people out of the darkness of apartheid." But he said he was confused and angry that

the State President let himself "get trapped in this thing. This is the politics of the past," he said.

It seemed the younger the interviewee, the more militant the point of view of what the referendum means to blacks. Many younger blacks seem to feel that those in

power "can never be trusted and that talks should never have been started in the first place".

Few seemed to be concerned about how the outcome might affect their future. "We have nothing to do with it – it's their affair if they want to destroy the country." For them, everything beyond Referendum Day was spelled out as a kind of doomsday scenario.

Most professional people such as nurses, teachers, doctors and business people expressed optimism that De Klerk would win and generally opted for peace and a continuation of the negotiation process that had begun with Codesa.

But at the same time, most

expressed resentment that they should not be part of such an important decision that would profoundly affect their future and the futures of their children – and the country as a whole.

Until ANC President Nelson Mandela spoke up this week asking whites to vote "Yes", many blacks had expressed satisfaction that the ANC was "keeping quiet" on the issue – "so that they don't blame us if they make a mess of the country," as one teacher put it.

"This referendum is polarising us into thinking in harsh racial terms again – a white referendum for whites only. It's hard to imagine that happening even as Codesa is still going on."

# Citrusdal's 'non-racialism' gets the ANC's back up

Soult 14/3-19/3/92

11A

By Mbuyiselo Mtsheketshe

CITRUSDAL went "non-racial" this week when the coloured management committee and the white municipality disbanded to forge a new non-racial municipality.

But the ANC was unimpressed by the move, slamming it as "opportunistic apartheid restructuring".

ANC regional executive member Mr Basil Davidson said the ANC did not believe the amalgamation would create a non-racial local structure as community representatives were not consulted.

In terms of the Interim Measures of Local Government Act white local authorities and management committees can amalgamate and form a single local authority structure.

An agreement to disband the two Citrusdal bodies and form the first non-racial municipality in the Cape was due to be signed on Thursday at a council meeting.

Scheduled to attend the meetin were Minister of Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers, and the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring.

Citrusdal town clerk Mr Jacques Carstens said the bodies signed an agreement in November last year to form one council.

An interim committee comprising 12 members will be established to manage the area until non-racial elections are held in October this year.

Carstens said there had been no problems with the disbandment "as the residents were in favour of it".

Davidson said the unilateral restructuring of the municipality by whites under the Interim Measures of Local Government Act "was opportunistic and would not be

supported by the majority of the people in the area".

"This amounts to an apartheid restructuring of the town where a minority holds onto their privileges."

Davidson said the ANC believed the creation of democratic city, restructured to equalise access and opportunities for all the people, would be created when there was a "natural phasing in" of non-racial local government.

The ANC rejected the Interim Measures Act and would not participate in the process initiated in terms of the Act, he said.

# ANC and Ciskei in uneasy truce

South 14/3-19/3/92

11A



By Franz Kruger

THE ANC is one word ahead in its dispute with the Ciskei, after South African-brokered talks in Pretoria on Tuesday led to an uneasy truce between the two.

The ANC promised to review its controversial campaign against the Ciskei government, while Ciskei promised to "urgently" review section 43 of its National Security Act, which has been used to curb ANC meetings in the area.

The parties agreed to meet again, to discuss issues including co-operation in the Border to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of expression and the headman system.

It was significant that the two do not plan to use the regional dispute resolution machinery set up in terms of the National Peace Accord.

Ciskei pulled out of the regional peace committee last week in protest at the ANC's campaign.

The settlement reached at the Pretoria meeting is fragile. Hostility between the ANC and Ciskei remains strong, and the ANC was planning on Wednesday evening to launch its "Peace and Democracy campaign" in Ciskei.

The Pretoria agreement came days after Ciskei, backed by Inkatha, Gazankulu and Qwaqwa, demanded Codesa suspend activities until the ANC had called off its campaign.

There was little muscle behind their demand, and the homelands knew it.

They were careful to point out they were not threatening to pull out and Gazankulu later dissociated itself from the Ciskei statement, on the grounds that it had only supported the call on condition it was not made public.

With the exception of Inkatha, the four hardly constitute heavyweights at Codesa.

They knew that if anyone called their bluff, they might be left out of

the only show in town.

Nevertheless, the ANC has come out of the affair less than well. The episode's main upshot is that it has provided Ciskei with its first real opportunity to make its presence felt on the national stage.

And the ANC did not find much support for its argument that its campaign was merely legitimate political activity.

The South African government said it was in contravention of the National Peace Accord.

While remaining carefully guarded in its responses, the National Peace Committee displayed little sympathy for the ANC's position.

The committee's chairperson, Mr John Hall, said in his personal capacity he thought the campaign was "a little too robust for normal political activity".

The original plan would have included pickets, "symbolic" elections and the "symbolic" installation of an interim administration in Ciskei. It would have seen ANC

supporters "symbolically" occupy the Ciskei capital, Bisho.

It was hoped the campaign would weaken both Ciskei and the South African government at Codesa.

To a regime as insecure as Ciskei, such plans were deeply alarming. ANC supporters concede there could have been violence, and there were reports of senior Ciskei officers being given the order to shoot to kill during the campaign.

Indeed, the campaign could easily have turned from symbolic to actual, particularly given the signs of mounting restlessness in Ciskei forces.

Notwithstanding its friends among the other homelands, the Ciskei government remains deeply isolated. And Brigadier Gqozo is increasingly unpopular among the people he claims to have been "called upon" to lead.

The tension which led the ANC to call its campaign has gone on for a long time, and it is unlikely to disappear now. — ECNA

# ANC called on to to open up camps

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

(11A) ANC 14/3/92

THE African National Congress's refusal to give the International Red Cross access to some of its camps in Africa raised suspicions that the movement had something to hide, Democratic Party MP Mr Robin Carlisle has said.

He said this was disturbing because even the National Party "opened its most notorious prisons to Red Cross inspection many years ago".

He said the ANC should recognise that the suspicion of unlawful and undemocratic treatment of its own supporters encouraged the perception that the movement might be fundamentally undemocratic.

The ANC had admitted to "unacceptable treatment of dissidents" in the past and had given the assurance this would not happen again.

"Until such time as the ANC is prepared to put those assurances to the test of public scrutiny, its integrity in the field of human rights is called into question."

He called on the ANC to come clean on the its African camps and the treatment of dissidents.



# Vote 'yes' - Hani

By SEKOLA SELLO

*CP News 15/3/92*  
*(S)* *(11A)*  
SACP chief Chris Hani has endorsed the 'yes' vote and added his voice to the growing list of those who predict dire consequences for the country should the Conservative Party win Tuesday's referendum.

Hani said if a CP win forced the government to resign and call for a whites-only general election, the SACP and the entire liberation movement would mount a massive campaign to stop such elections. The international community would also be asked to re-impose and intensify all sanctions.

Hani said there would be no point in Codesa continuing if De Klerk resigned or lost the elections. The ANC and SACP would then have to "review all agreements with the government", including those on the armed struggle.

Hani said SA would be ungovernable under a CP government, and it would not be possible to reintroduce apartheid.

Hani vowed that the SACP and ANC would not go into exile or underground.

"We are not prepared to run away from this country. We will remain here. We shall be waging an open, mass struggle."

■ Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that white voters faced a stark choice between democracy and repression, with turmoil in prospect if they rejected De Klerk's reforms.

"If whites make a mistake and vote for repression, the country is in for a hard time. There is going to be unprecedented turmoil and conflict," he said.

"The forces of peace inside and outside the country are too strong to allow the return of oppression," he added.

The ANC would talk to the CP if they came to power, but only as part of efforts to create a multiracial democracy.

Any attempt to return to apartheid would be resisted, Mandela said. He said the ANC could topple any government by mass action - including strikes, and international sanctions.

(Report by Sekola Sello, Media Centre, 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, and Michael Sanders and Barry Renfrew, both of 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.)

# Straight-talking Lion of Azania

C/News 15/3/92

114



**S**TRAIT talk and bold ideas are what one expects from a man dubbed "the Young Lion of Azania".

But this takes on new meaning when you meet PAC national organiser Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani - known by some as "Nemadzi-what-ever" because his Venda surname is difficult to pronounce.

Recently PAC leaders were battling around trying to respond to the shooting of policemen, allegedly by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Nemadzivhanani caused near-hysteria during a radio talkshow when he told its predominantly white listeners that "the armed struggle is the highest form of negotiations" and went on to support the shooting.

One caller suggested to the white rightwing that, instead of bombing empty multiracial schools, they should have waited for Nemadzivhanani outside the radio station and shot him dead.

That might sound rather harsh for an unassum-

**S'BU MNGADI talks to PAC national organiser Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani about his politics, his travels, and the bombing charges he faced in Australia.**

ing militant who switches between pin-striped suits and designer Afro-caftan dress. But wait until he opens his mouth. He pours out venom at everything that's opposed to PAC policies.

Surprisingly, he is married to a white Australian woman, Kerry, 34, with whom he faced charges of bombing vehicles belonging to American and South African diplomats in Australia in 1988.

**S**O fearful of the couple were the Australian police that their investigations involved about 350 policemen and agents from different squads, including the Americans and South Africans.

Surveillance log books and charts brought to subsequent court hearings showed the police recorded about 40 000 hours in audio tapes and transcripts to assist them in the case against the couple, he said.

And the Australian government spent about \$A12-million (about R26-million) on the case which it later lost.

Nemadzivhanani was born at Vhufui, Sibasa, in the Northern Transvaal on August 20, 1956. Sibasa served as a symbol of resistance during PAC/Poqo campaigns.

The PAC leader was initiated into active politics through the South African Student Movement, of which he was later elected branch organiser. He was also involved in the political campaigns of the Black People's Convention.

His mentor was late PAC stalwart Josiah Madzunya, who later recruited him into the then banned PAC underground.

Nemadzivhanani skipped the country in 1977 during his last year of a teaching diploma at the Venda Teachers' Training College.

"I was forced to leave

the country on the instructions of the PAC underground, following successive education campaigns in Soutpansberg," he recalled.

**H**E stayed in Botswana until February 1988 when he left to study in Australia.

However, on the instructions of his organisation, he disrupted his studies in 1983 to set up the organisation's first office in the country.

What began as a temporary departure from university trapped him in full-time political work.

As the PAC's chief representative in the region from 1983 to 1988, he shuttled between Canberra and the PAC observer mission at the United Nations in New York.

In 1988 the Australian police arrested him and Kerry, raided the PAC office, the couple's residence and his wife's workplace.

The two were charged

with bombing vehicles belonging to a US military attache and a SA military attache, Johannes Hough.

Charges against Nemadzivhanani were dismissed even before committal stage and Kerry was acquitted by the jury in July last year.

Though acquitted, the US declared him persona non grata. He could not assume his appointment as the PAC's chief representative at the UN that year.

In March 1990 he was appointed chief representative in Nigeria - a position he held until he was recalled to Johannesburg to work as full-time national organiser.

**N**OW he is a member of the PAC's national executive committee.

His wife and two children Muthundinne, 10, and seven-year-old Shalanga, are still in Canberra.

He has a 15-year-old son, Madzanga, from a previous relationship.

Nemadzivhanani's elderly parents Elias, a retired headmaster, and mother Selinah, a dietitian, still live in Sibasa.

**MILITANT MOUTH ... Maxwell Humbelani Nemadzivhanani had the predominantly white listeners to a radio station in a tizz when he went on air to defend the shooting of policemen.**

## ANC, Ciskei deadlock

*CIP 110 15/3/92*  
ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday came out in full support of the organisation's campaign for an interim administration in the Ciskei.

Ramaphosa made an urgent call yesterday to Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign. (11A) (123)

He said it was regrettable a meeting between the ANC and Ciskei government had ended in deadlock with Gqozo issuing threats against the ANC.

Ramaphosa said he regarded as particularly ominous the admission by Gqozo during the meeting that there was a presence of SADF Military Intelligence personnel in Ciskei. - Sapa

**ANC would win hands down** <sup>6/18/92</sup> 15/3/92

IF there was a general election in South Africa now, the ANC would score a 55 percent victory followed by the National Party at 25 percent and the Conservative Party at seven percent, according to Dr Jannie Hofmeyr of Research Surveys. He said both the ANC and the NP had gained five percent support in the past year. (11A)

## Do duty, says Sebokeng PAC (11A)

THE PAC Sebokeng branch has urged teachers and students to honour their day-to-day duties during the Programme of Action starting tomorrow. C/Pers 15/3/92

Branch secretary Bethuel Matsabo told City Press his organisation would not take part in the four-day campaign which includes work stayaways.

"But we must remind the racist minority regime that by not taking part in the programme of action this does not mean we are in collusion with it," he said.

# ANC <sup>(11A)</sup> calls off <sup>(100)</sup> vote on Ciskei

S/ Times 15/3/92  
By PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noticeably absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at Codesa and to isolate Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Mhlaba had decided on a meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.

# Political focus on Cape Town

SI Times (CM)  
By NORMAN WEST 15/3/92  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN is to be the political focal point this week with events both inside and outside Parliament vying for attention.

Between noon and 1pm on Wednesday chief referendum officer Mr P J Colyn will announce the results of Tuesday's whites-only referendum at an international press briefing in an auditorium of the Verwoerd Building opposite Parliament.

After a lunch break, Mr Barend Du Plessis, Minister of Finance, will deliver his 1992 Budget speech.

Both the referendum results and the contents of the budget will be broadcast on radio and TV and keenly analysed by stock market watchers.

At the same time as Mr Du Plessis' official speech, the ANC will hold its "alternative" budget debate on the Grand Parade. It will be a symbolic gesture, as was made

when the ANC held its "People's Parliament" simultaneously with Mr De Klerk's opening of this year's session of Parliament on January 24.

The ANC's "People's Budget" — a joint effort by the tripartite alliance of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu on the Parade will be addressed by ANC Secretary-General Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Other speakers will be ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, Chief of Staff of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, Welfare Department chief Mrs Winnie Mandela and Cosatu officials Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr John Gomomo.

As happened with the opening of Parliament, the Grand Parade activities will culminate in a march to Parliament.

Organisations and unions participating in the march will draw up demands in a symbolic "People's Budget" to be "presented" to Parliament as was the "People's Parliament Bill" on January 24.

# Armed struggle stays while whites have veto, says ANC

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had told government its armed struggle would not be abandoned until a white veto — like this week's referendum — no longer presented a threat to constitutional change, senior ANC sources said at the weekend.

The sources indicated that the armed struggle would not be abandoned until an interim government was in place and whites no longer had the ability to veto constitutional change. A shift in ANC policy in the military arena would only accompany an appropriate shift in the political arena. *B1 Day 16/3/92*

ANC spokesmen have said black South Africans would mount an unprecedented offensive should the "no" vote prevail.

Should there be a "yes" vote and should President F W de Klerk indicate his willingness to introduce rapid reforms "this should be an indication that we are going to move forward and quickly", a source in the ANC's legal department said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said at the weekend the ANC had been conducting

discussions on "the whole question of the referendum".

She said the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multiparty control of the security forces.

ANC sources said the movement would have been in a difficult position had it abandoned armed struggle only to find a whites-only referendum vetoing the reform process. However, a "yes" vote would lead to rapid constitutional change and a possible end to the armed struggle.

A source said discussions on the future of Umkhonto were "a sensitive matter especially with the referendum coming up".

He indicated that the outcome of the vote would determine progress made towards implementing the D F Malan Minute, which provides for joint government-ANC control of ANC arms caches.



# No tax hikes in ANC's budget

B/Day 16/3/92

(11A)

TIM COHEN

THE ANC was not calling for a significant increase in the overall tax rate, nor for an increase in the corporate tax rate, ANC department of economic planning members said at the weekend.

But they added that it did propose cutting public servants' salaries, halving the defence budget and fundamentally restructuring the scheme of tax incentives for business.

And tertiary education's share of the total education budget should be slashed from 28% to 10%.

The department members said the ANC also believed in food aid schemes, a drought relief scheme, equalisation of pensions, the zero-rating of basic foods and services and an investigation into public works programmes to improve the unemployment situation.

ANC department of economic planning head Trevor Manuel and budget specialist Viv McMenammin set out these proposals in an interview at the weekend in anticipation of the presentation of the Budget on Wednesday.

McMenamin said the ANC was not looking for an overall increase in the size of the health and education budgets, although the way the money was spent within these departments needed to be fundamentally restructured.

Manuel said the one department which needed significant increase in its allocation was housing, suggesting that current spending on housing — which amounts to about 2,6% of GDP — should be increased to about 3,5%.

The ANC was calling for the defence budget to be slashed from 4,3% of GDP to about 2%.

The ANC was critical of the "gross mismanagement" of public funds, and was investigating the establishment of a court of audit, as existed in Germany, to curb corruption.

While it was not possible to raise the overall tax burden significantly, SA's tax structure could and should be rearranged.

The ANC proposed a capital gains tax to be introduced at a "reasonable

level", which they said would produce about R500m in revenue.

The overall tax burden should be between 30% and 38% of GDP. With the current tax burden about 28% of GDP and the budget deficit estimated to be at about 4,5%, "we are within a very limited framework," McMenammin said.

"Raising revenues by increasing taxes would not be prudent and would probably be destructive in relation to growth," he said.

The budget deficit should be kept at a reasonable level, within the IMF's proposals of between 2% and 4% of GDP.

The ANC noted an increase in public servants' wages from about 7% of GDP in 1960 to about 12% now, with notable jumps in salaries before elections. McMenammin said President F W de Klerk should be commended for not doing the same thing before the referendum.

The income generated by the elimination of apartheid duplication of departments would amount to about R3,7bn. This saving would not require a decrease in the overall number of public servants.

The food aid campaign should be aimed at pre- and primary school children and mothers with newly born children. The ANC recognised the cost would be substantial.

The ANC was not proposing that more be spent on education, but there should be more emphasis on primary education, with expenditure on primary education being increased from 47% to 60% of the allocation, secondary decreasing from 33% to 30% and tertiary being slashed from 20% to 10%. This rearrangement ought to be coupled with a system of user charges.

Comparative figures with other countries showed that SA was not achieving the standards it should, given the expenditure in the fields of education and health. Consequently, there was a great deal of room for improvement.

**GOVERNMENT agents had supplied the Conservative Party with stolen secret ANC and SACP documents on Codesa, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said at the weekend.**

Speaking at a referendum meeting in Wellington in the Cape, he said participants in Codesa spied on one another and stole one another's documents. He was in possession of documents stolen from the ANC and SACP by "FW de Klerk's agents".

The documents said the SACP was the intellectual leader of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

"They say negotiations are a part of the struggle, that they will seize power at the negotiating table.

"They will not talk about socialism now because it has been discredited, but when they come into government, it will be full-on com-

# State agents 'pass ANC secrets to CP'

*Sowetan 16/3/92*

munism as formulated by Marx and Engels."

Hartzenberg also said that if the CP came to power, it would tell black leaders that it had a mandate to free its people, and that it would do precisely that. It would tell them, and other groups, that they could carry on with Codesa, but the new government would not pay the costs.

It would be then that one would discover what an impoverished party the lawless ANC was, he said.

Replying to a question from the floor, he said he could not accept that his party colleague, Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, had said Western Cape farmers would be left in the lurch if a CP government came to power.

The party was prepared to work with every farmer and producer to defeat sanctions, but not at the cost of the freedom of the white nation.

If SACP chief Chris Hani came to power, he would nationalise half of all the farming land. People said a "no" vote would mean fruit

sanctions and wine farmers would not be able to export any more.

"But a 'yes' vote will ensure you have nothing to export," he said.

The CP's "chief No-agent" at Wellington, Mr Nico Smit, told the meeting that as a member of the KWV co-op, he felt threatened by a pamphlet with a message from the KWV chairman urging him to vote "yes".

"We have firsthand evidence that you called for a 'yes' vote."

Even if there was a "yes" majority, there would still be Afrikaners and rightwingers. And if there was a "no" vote "we will sort you out just like Vlokkie (former Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok) was sorted out".

"The ANC sorted out Vlokkie. The true Afrikaner will sort you out... You will be sent to plant trees like General (Magnus) Malan, but in Siberia, not Knysna." - *Sapa*.

Report by Ben MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament.

## ANC asks Dutch premier to delay SA visit again

AMSTERDAM ANC president Nelson Mandela urged Dutch premier Ruud Lubbers yesterday to again postpone his on-off SA visit.

"August is not acceptable to the ANC," Mandela said in an interview with Veronica News Radio.

He called on Lubbers to delay his visit planned for August 10-12 until after the establishment of an interim administration. *8/Day 17/3/92*

Mandela did not say whether he would refuse to meet Lubbers if he went ahead with the August visit.

Mandela's remarks are sure to revive the controversy here over Lubbers' stated intention of making the trip as a gesture of support for President F W de Klerk's reform moves.

The visit was planned for last month, but cancelled after Mandela threatened to refuse to meet Lubbers, saying the visit would come too early in the democratisation process.

Earlier this month, the Dutch government rescheduled the trip, suggesting that Mandela had agreed to the new date. Mandela denied that.

"I have put the matter very clearly to the (Dutch) prime minister that we cannot just set a date. The date must be determined by the development of the political process," he said.

Members of the Dutch governing parties have also objected to Lubbers' planned visit as premature.

Meanwhile, the Netherlands announced yesterday it had lifted a ban on most sporting contacts with SA. But 14 sports remain blacklisted because teams are still segregated. — Sapa-AP.

# Mayekiso elected civics' president

<sup>17/3/92</sup>  
<sup>B (1) 2021</sup>  
VETERAN trade unionist and Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) chief Moses Mayekiso has been elected president of the new national federation of township civic organisations.

The SA National Civics Association was launched in Uitenhage at the weekend.

Mayekiso was elected in absentia. Sources said he scored a clear victory over ANC local and regional government department head Thozamile Botha. In an interview yesterday, Mayekiso said he missed the launch as he had to be in his home town Alexandra where violence has raged

17/3/92  
WILSON ZWANE

between hostel dwellers and residents since March 8. (11A)

He said the new federation would decide whether township civics should participate in Codesa. In an apparent reference to Cosatu's programme of action, he said the federation would support "actions by progressive organisations".

Cosatu has planned to hold nationwide marches and pickets tomorrow. Mayekiso said the new federation's focus would be bread and butter issues like housing, development, education and electricity.

# United front plans nationwide protests

CT17/6/92 Own Correspondent (11A)

DURBAN. — A united front of ANC/SACP/Cosatu aligned organisations is planning countrywide protests to highlight the "South African economic crisis".

The organisers said the national protests would take place tomorrow to coincide with the budget announcement in Parliament.

There will also be a march from the Roman Catholic Cathedral to the Receiver of Revenue in Durban on Friday.

The protests will involve political, trade union, civic, educational, health, professional and many other community bodies.

They will highlight "homelessness, hunger, health and human development".

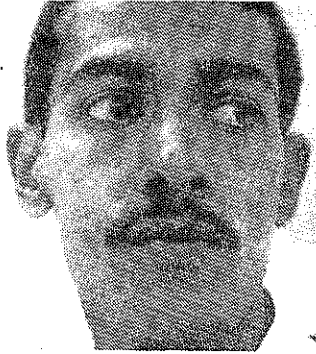
11A  
STAR 1/13/92

## Sisulu to lead Jo'burg march

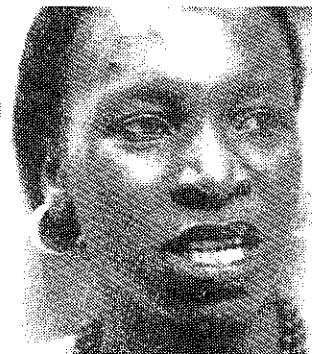
ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and national executive members Pallo Jordan and Elias Motsoaledi will lead a march to John Vorster Square tomorrow to demand an end to unilateral economic restructuring by the Government.

Marches have been arranged countrywide to coincide with the reading of the Budget in Parliament.

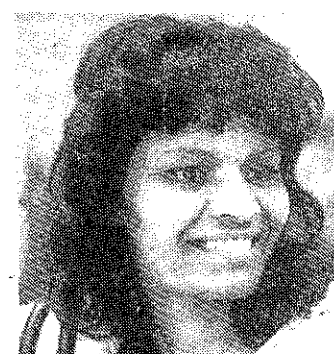
The demands will be presented to officials at John Vorster Square, the Union Buildings and Vereeniging police station.



MARK MANUEL



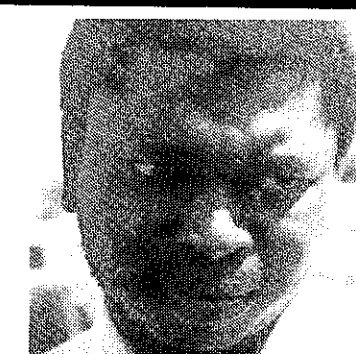
JUDITH MABUNDA



GAIL ISAACS



THAMI MBATHA



TSHEKO RABOANE

# Blacks keeping fingers crossed

*Sowetan 17/3/92*

By SONTI MASEKO

MILLIONS of blacks are hoping for a "yes" vote in today's whites-only referendum, according to a snap survey conducted by *Sowetan* yesterday.

Housewives, shop assistants, cashiers and teachers expressed trepidation and anxieties about the possible outcome of the referendum.

Many said they were hoping white voters to give State President Mr FW De Klerk a "yes" vote to enable him to continue with negotiations.

Mr Gabriel Khunou, one of the "non-voters" *Sowetan* interviewed, said he expected a marginal National

Party victory.

Khunou said in a sense a "yes" or "no" vote would not change the political situation in the country.

"Either way, we'll still have other people ruling us. It's white people fighting over who will be baas.

"But I would like De Klerk to win so that we continue with Codesa," he said.

Mr Tsheko Raboane said he was hoping for "yes" vote because De Klerk "is a moderate Boer, and easier to work with.

"The issue at hand is that the problems in the country have been identified and, whatever the outcome of the referendum, these problems will have to be sorted out," Raboane said.

Mr Thami Mbatha of Mofolo, Soweto, said he was hoping for a "yes" vote so that the Government's reforms were not reversed.

He said he was unhappy that black people won't be voting.

Miss Judith Mabunda, an unemployed Soweto mother, was annoyed at being unable to vote.

She said: "All I want is to speak for myself. I am not interested in a 'yes' or 'no' vote for as long as I cannot vote."

She said life under a rightwing government would be unbearable.

"If the rightwing should come to power, I would be prepared to fight until we are all dead rather than live like the living dead, without rights," she said.

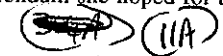
Most women approached were reluctant or too afraid to speak.

They said they were not interested and did not want to be involved in politics.

However, one of them, Mrs Charlotte Dippenaar, later said: "If we do not talk for ourselves, nothing is going to get better."

She said whatever the outcome of

the referendum she hoped for a better future.



"All we want is peace and human rights," said Mrs Gail Isaacs.

A security officer, Mr Mark Manuel, said he was anxious about the outcome of the referendum considering what rightwing leaders had said.

He said he would be keeping his fingers crossed for a "yes" vote.

"I think (Mr Eugene) Terre'blanche (AWB leader) will be more angry if white voters vote 'yes'. They might go underground and become aggressive and start bombings like terrorists," Manuel said.

# Mixed views on whites-only poll

*Sowetan 17/3/92*

A "YES" or "no" vote in today's whites-only referendum would make no difference in the lives of black people, the PAC and Azapo said yesterday.

Inkatha Freedom Party said, however, that a "yes" vote would speed up the process of change, even though Codesa's "weaknesses needed to be corrected".

The ANC said it was totally opposed to the idea that whites should decide the future of the country alone.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said: "But we accept the fact that whites are faced with a harsh decision in the referendum. They can either kill the prospects of a negotiated settlement or defend

them." (11A)  
PAC's deputy secretary-general, Mr Carter Seleke, said the referendum was meaningless to blacks.

"Both De Klerk and Terre'Blanche are fighting for the control of the oppressed black masses."

Azapo said a "yes" vote in the referendum would strengthen De Klerk's position at Codesa.



# A chance to allay both white and black fears

STAR 18/3/72



Allister Sparks

**F**OR the past three weeks South Africa has been living in a time warp, back in the days of exclusive white politics. Once again blacks have been thrust into the background, the people one talks about rather than with, while whites have immersed themselves in a massive preoccupation with their own fears, their own anxieties, their own future.

Even the language of the campaigning has sometimes reflected this recidivism. I heard President de Klerk talk on Radio Today on Monday about "these other 26 million more-or-less South Africans". And Kent Durr, our ambassador in London, claims that although there was only a 52 percent "yes" vote for a republic in 1961, "the whole country" accepted the result. Not counting, presumably, those more-or-less South Africans.

One benefit of the referendum is that it has forced the ANC to confront the right-wing problem. But now the focus must shift to the other side. The National Party, and indeed the whole of white South Africa, has yet to confront the upcoming left-wing problem.

It is not yet as serious or as immediate as the challenge from the Right, but it has ominous long-term potential as the inevitable crisis of expectations builds up.

Already one finds a good deal of disillusionment in the townships, where few people are able to see that the negotiating process has brought them any benefits. Indeed, for many things seem to be getting worse, not better.

For three weeks we have been hearing about white fears at the increase in crime and political violence, while in that time 277 black people — and not a single white — have been killed. We have heard about white anxiety at their 4 percent unemployment rate, while unemployment in the black community is 43 percent.

We have been hearing about white unhappiness at the rising cost of living, but it is blacks who are doing most of the starving.

Last week, I heard a black reporter say he knew of many people in the townships who were hoping for a "no" vote because they feared that if the "yesses" won the level of political violence instigated by the third force would

increase.

It is time to start addressing the level of black fears and black disillusionment with the negotiating process before it, too, becomes a serious political problem.

We must take note that as the process advances this disillusionment is likely to grow. The inclusion of black leaders in an interim government, and beyond that the first one-person-one-vote elections, are bound to cause black expectations to soar. And if that is not followed by a tangible improvement in the quality of life for black people, if things stay the same for them or continue to get worse, the backlash will be fierce.

That is when the extremist movements on the Left will be able to cash in on the black disillusionment, just as the right-wing has been exploiting white fears now. It is the moment the PAC is

already preparing for, refusing to participate in Codesa so that it can exploit its non-participation later and denounce the negotiators of the ANC as sell-outs who betrayed the revolutionary cause.

A course has to be steered between white fears and black disillusionment. It is not entirely a zero-sum game, but what always one may often exacerbate the other and what we need is a greater mutual awareness of these dangers. For example Mr de Klerk in making his frequent demands for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe should have a better awareness of the serious implications this would have for the ANC's support among black youth.

Likewise, whites who keep denouncing the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party should have an appreciation of the important role the SACP is playing in keeping thousands of young radicals locked in to the negotiating process. Without it they would fall into the hands of the PAC, turning them against Codesa and against nonracialism to the "One Settler One Bullel" campaign.

One thing that is not part of a

zero-sum game is to secure the country. Nothing is more crucial to allaying both white fears and black disillusionment than to bring the security forces under tighter control and improve their effectiveness. As Unisa's Professor Victor Nell noted in an article in the Sunday Star last weekend, effective policing has collapsed in South Africa so that political and common crime is now rampant and seemingly uncontrollable.

Robberies, rapes, random killings, muggings, burglaries, car hijackings, train massacres and political murders are taking place on an unprecedented scale, and our once efficient police force who used to pounce within hours on anything that looked like "ANC terrorism" are now curiously unable to catch any of those responsible.

There has, says Professor Nell, been "a subtle and untraceable relaxation of discipline and internal accountability".

"The Flying Squad lines are all engaged or remain unanswered, an intruder known to the occupants returns to the same house repeatedly, there is no response to

an emergency call, hijacking hot-spots are unpoliced, inquiries and complaints are politely fielded — and nothing happens, but somewhere a policy decision has been taken".

Whether or not Professor Nell is right in believing there has been the deliberate unleashing of a domestic Renamo campaign, it is clear that the country is being destabilised by the collapse of effective policing — and that if Mr de Klerk does not want the reform process to be derailed he is going to have to get the security forces into proper shape.

A total shake-up is needed, starting at the top. Fiddling with more Cabinet reshuffles is not enough. Mr de Klerk must do as he did when he brought Derek Keys into the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and go outside his own party to find the right kind of tough, straight, competent man for the job, someone with the ability and credibility to restore the confidence of the black community as well as the white. He could do worse than look to Van Zyl Slabbert. □

# OAU president to step up support for PAC

Staff Reporter and Sapa

STAR 18/3/92

Nigerian President Ebrahim Babangida has promised — in his capacity as chairman of the Organisation of African Unity — to step up material support for the Pan Africanist Congress.

President Babangida met with PAC leader Clarence Makwetu for three hours yesterday in Abuja, Nigeria.

The PAC said yesterday that Mr Makwetu fully briefed President Babangida on the PAC's position on Codesa, the Patriotic Front, the referendum and the ongoing and escalating violence in the country.

According to the organisation, President Babangida expressed his full support for the

PAC's position and promised to step up their material aid.

The organisation's publicity secretary Barney Desai said Mr Makwetu was visiting the country at the invitation of Nigeria.

Asked what kind of aid the organisation was hoping for, Mr Desai said he could not "expand on the issue at this stage."

He also said he was not in a position to comment on the organisation's stance on Codesa.

Mr Makwetu, who is accompanied by PAC Secretary for Political Affairs, Mahlubi Mbandazayo, returns on Friday.

The PAC is to hold a congressional meeting on April 3 and 6 which will be attended by delegates from "many parts of the world", Mr Desai said.



President Babangida . . . more support for PAC.



Clarence Makwetu . . . briefed Nigerians.

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# Mandela to meet Muslims

(1/18)

Political Staff *ARCT 8/3/92*

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in Cape Town tomorrow for a four-day visit culminating in a rally in Dal Josafat, Paarl, on Sunday.

During his whistle-stop tour he is to meet meet Muslim leaders, visit the historic Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street, plant a tree at Alexander Sinton Senior Secondary School and visit Cape Town's oldest black high school, Langa High.

# Sharpeville remembered

(11A)

TWO senior Azapo officials will address the 1960 Sharpeville commemora-

*Sowetan* 18/3/92  
tive service in Soweto on Saturday.  
Publicity secretary Mr

Strini will analyse the referendum results while Dr Gomolemo Mokae will speak on the need for black solidarity.

Azapo's media liason officer, Mr Khangale Makhado, last night said the service, to be held at Regina Mundi Church at noon, would also focus on "how (State President FW) de.Klerk's violence is forcing black people to accept peace at any cost."

"The best tribute to our fallen heroes is to close our ranks and make it impossible for the regime to agitate internecine violence," Makhado added.

# Dutch angry over yet another ANC veto

STAR 18/3/92

11/17  
11/17

THE HAGUE — The Dutch Government is to seek an explanation from ANC leader Nelson Mandela as to why he is trying to veto the planned visit to South Africa in August by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

The Government insists that the visit will go ahead because it believes that Mr Mandela in fact gave his approval during talks with Dutch ministers in Switzerland earlier this year.

Mr Mandela said in a television interview screened in Holland on Monday that Mr Lubbers, his deputy Wim Kok and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek would not be welcome because an interim government would not yet be in place.

The statement came as a total surprise to the Dutch leaders. It is the second time this year that such a visit has been rejected by the ANC leader. Mr Lubbers and Mr van den Broek were to have gone to South Africa in February, but that was called off because the ANC



Nelson Mandela . . . Dutch say he gave his approval.

said it had not been consulted by either party.

The dispute appeared to have been patched up by Socialist Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Wim Kok at a number of meetings with Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk during the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in January.

Foreign Ministry sources at The Hague said yesterday that the Dutch Embassy in South



Ruud Lubbers . . . rejected for the second time.

Africa had finally obtained the official green light for the visit from the External Relations section of the ANC.

Christian Democratic Party MPs and the opposition Liberal Party said they were against a postponement and urged the Government to press ahead regardless, but the socialists say they agree with Mr Mandela that there should be no visit until an interim government is in place. — Sapa-Reuter.

2/1/92  
19/1/92

# Mandela urges right wing to join Codesa

ADRIAN HADLAND  
and PETER DELMAR



ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the CP and SA's other right-wing groups should accept their referendum defeat with grace and join Codesa.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution".

Welcoming the decisive "yes" vote polled in Tuesday's referendum, Mandela told a news conference there were no alternatives to negotiations, and while rejecting in principle the whites-only poll, said President F W de Klerk now had the mandate he required to "act with all deliberate speed in the negotiation process in order to realise an interim government".

Mandela said the right wing would be free to put any issue on the agenda for negotiations, including self-determination. "No matter how reprehensible their views, they are entitled to put them on the table."

The threat of ultra right-wing violence in the wake of the referendum defeat meant the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would continue to function. It would be "political suicide" to abandon MK when the right wing was arming itself to attack.

Mandela dismissed suggestions of a rotating presidency in an interim government. "We are not going to accept that now because the NP thinks it may be in opposition under an interim government."

Until an interim government was instituted, the ANC would not recommend the lifting of international sanctions, an ANC statement said.

The SACP and the PAC yesterday described the referendum outcome as en-

couraging, but maintained their criticism of its exclusion of blacks.

An SACP statement said: "The referendum result confirms what we have said all along: the overwhelming majority of South Africans is in favour of negotiations for a new, non-racial and democratic SA. We now expect to see rapid and meaningful progress in the negotiations process."

Sapa reports PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said in a statement the organisation condemned the referendum.

"The all-white referendum is an obscenity and an insult to the dispossessed masses of our country. It is absurd that 3-million white voters can decide the future of 30-million Africans." Had there been a CP victory whites would have been set on confrontation with the black majority. However, "the majority for De Klerk's NP leaves us less than enthusiastic, but nevertheless hopeful that whites in this country desire to live in peace with blacks".

The SACP said the "yes" vote was a victory for negotiations, not De Klerk.

It appeared to try to take some credit for the result, saying it and the ANC had called on white members — whom it estimated numbered 50 000 — to vote "yes".

Inkatha said it was inordinately glad about the "yes" referendum result.

Buthelezi said his party rejected suggestions that there had been any alliance between itself and the CP.

# Marshals lose control at Cape Town rally

Blvd 19/3/92  
MARSHALS temporarily lost control of thousands of people taking part in an ANC-led march yesterday as the group approached the Roeland Street entrance to Parliament.

Sapa reports that a group of about 150 singing and chanting youths surged ahead of the front ranks and ran past policemen towards the entrance to Parliament, reports Sapa. Some of the group taunted policemen and waved placards in their faces.

Police reinforcements and a riot control vehicle with a water cannon were brought to the scene. Policemen with shotguns took up position.

A tense standoff ensued outside the entrance to the H F Verwoerd Building which houses the offices of most government offices and ministers. Chanting and singing supporters demanded to be let in, but were held back by a cordon of policemen. After about 20 minutes marshals shouting "move, move" managed to get the crowd moving and the tail end of the march proceeded slowly back towards the Grand Parade.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said the "people's Budget" march to Parliament marked the beginning of "an intensive campaign to force the government to redress the problems of our people".

He told the rally: "We have assembled in our thousands to begin an offensive against this government

11A  
which represents rich people.

"We will continue coming out in our thousands until all our demands are met."

The principle demands of the peoples' budget include the scrapping of VAT on all food and medical services, decent housing, proper health services, adequate pensions and a drought relief programme.

Cosatu president John Gomomo called on supporters to "eradicate this minority government and replace it with a nonracial, democratic government".

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that in Johannesburg, an estimated 7 000 people from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu marched to John Vorster Square to show their opposition to the Budget and to call for a stronger police presence to stop the violence sweeping the Reef.

In an open letter to President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, handed in at John Vorster Square, the alliance focused on the recent violence. Since the Peace Accord was signed six months ago, it said, the police had done nothing to quell the violence.

A large crowd took part in a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to hand over a memorandum protesting against the "arbitrary" Budget, among other things.

In Natal, Cosatu staged three mass pickets in Durban, Kokstad and Matatiele.

## ROUNDUP

# Rightwing threats 'laid to rest'

By JOE MDHLELA and Sapa

THE African National Congress fervently hoped that the landslide "yes" vote victory would finally lay to rest the threat of the ultra-rightwing, ANC executive Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

"The rightwing extremists demonstrably do not speak on behalf of the majority of white South Africans," Jordan said in Johannesburg.

"They are, however, a dangerous and desperate minority who stubbornly wish to cling to a discredited past. Their policies and the 'swart gevaar' propaganda they employed in this campaign were resoundingly rebuffed by the white voters," Jordan said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said a "no" vote in the short term would have created difficulties by the rightwing.

"But the forces of peace are too strong to be disrupted by any force," he said.

In principle, the referendum signalled the end of white privilege but apartheid was far from dead.

The South African Council of Churches, the South African Communist Party and Inkatha Freedom Party also welcomed the "yes" vote.

The Pan Africanist Congress, however, condemned the referendum and described it as an insult to the "dispossessed masses".

It said it was absurd that three million white voters should decide the future of 28 million blacks.

## Massive support

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SACC, however, warned that the victory should not be used as a support for National Party policies.

He said for him the victory marked a relief for "those who were prepared to go to the trenches."

In a statement, the SACP said: "Never again must there be a whites-only poll in our country."

The statement said the SACP and ANC had urged their white members to vote positively "even though we objected to the ethnic exclusivity of the poll."

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said: "I and the IFP are overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution."

Buthelezi said he was campaigning for the inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini in Codesa.

"It is wishful thinking to think that so important a body can continue much longer without us being represented," Buthelezi said.



try as a would be vigorously pursued.

### Insult to masses - PAC

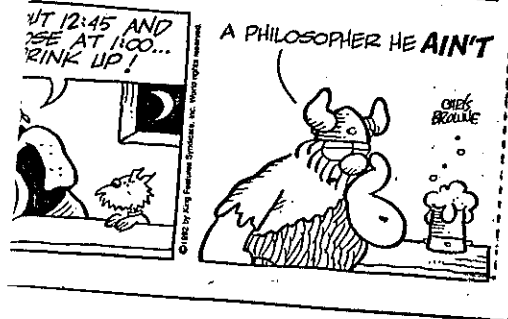
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The PAC yesterday condemned the poll. "The all-white referendum is an obscenity and an insult to the dispossessed masses. It is absurd that 3 million white voters can decide the future of 30 million Africans," publicity secretary Barney Desai said. (IA)

If there had been a CP victory, whites would have been set on confrontation with the black majority. "On the other hand, the majority for Mr de Klerk's NP leaves us less than enthusiastic, but nevertheless hopeful that whites desire to live in peace with blacks." The PAC remained committed to negotiations to establish a constituent assembly. - Sapa.

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By Dik Browne



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# Mandela - a Major role in Tory movie

STAR 19/3/92

By Alan Robinson  
Star Bureau (11A)

LONDON - Political changes are not unique to South Africa. Last night, millions of Britons saw on their television screens a sight that only 12 months ago would have turned the bluest Tory red with rage.

When the country last went to the polls five years ago, Nelson Mandela was serving a life sentence on Robben Island and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was refusing point-blank to talk to the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher's star has long since waned and last night successor John Major was presented to the nation in a film directed by John Schlesinger as a man of the people.

And who plays a starring role in the party political movie that is intended to help Mr Major



"Man of the people"  
... John Major.

sweep back into office on April 9? None other than Nelson Mandela...

Mr Mandela stars with President George Bush and the Prime Minister's friendly fishmonger in "The Journey - a Film of John Major". It lasts less than 10 minutes, but the Conservative Party hierarchy have high hopes that it will succeed in stopping the Labour charge that has taken it to a five-point lead in the latest opinion polls.

# ANC hails several <sup>(11A)</sup> allocations

By Duma Gqubule  
STAR 19/3/92

The ANC has welcomed the increased allocations to health, education and housing in the Budget.

Its Department of Economic Policy (DEP) said yesterday the allocations were broadly appropriate, but expressed doubts the money would be properly spent.

"The central issue is the way these allocations are spent and managed. We have no faith in the ability of the departments responsible to deliver the services in an effective and efficient way."

On social welfare expenditure, the ANC said it was outrageous that pensions were still allocated differentially on racial lines.

"We feel that the additional R2 billion it would have cost to reach parity at existing white levels would make a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty."

The DEP expressed concern that no attempt was made to exempt basic foodstuffs from VAT.

"We assume that his (Finance Minister Barend du Plessis) earlier announcement that the current exemption on eight basic foodstuffs due to be lifted at the end of March will therefore hold."

The DEP repeated the call made in an earlier 1992/93 Budget preview for an open and democratic budgetary process, proper public expenditure planning within the framework of a national development strategy and effective management of public spending.

"None of these were satisfactorily addressed in this year's budget," the ANC said.

# Hand of Keys seen in Barend's tax proposals

By Derek Tommey  
STAR 19/3/92

A stockbroker last night said yesterday's Budget was like a cheap currant bun. "It has some currants in it — but you had to look hard to find them."

One of the currants was the proposal to reduce from 10 years to five years the period in which mining houses and other investors have to hold shares in order to be exempt from paying tax on the proceeds from the sale of the shares.

A broker said this was a major concession. Its importance was that it would enable the mining houses and any other long-term investor to convert their shareholdings into cash without having to pay a penalty.

It would also result in a larger supply of shares to the stock exchange.

This should lead to a broader market and smaller price fluctuations from minor trades. It should also help reduce some of the upward pressure from institutional money on share prices.

Another currant was the proposal to speed up the rate of depreciation in terms of Section 37 E of the Income Tax Act on specific projects.

Taken together, these proposals suggest that the Government is going out of its way to help those mining houses and other organisations with large share portfolios and major investment programmes.

One company to benefit should be Gencor. It is planning to build a huge stainless steel plant and a large aluminium plant.

It also has major plans for investment in oil. These projects

will require large capital outlays.

Consequently, the generation of cash from the sale of shares plus the increased rate of depreciation will make the financing of these projects much easier.

Other mining houses and large institutions such as Anglo American, JCI, AECI and Sentrachem, which are contemplating major projects, also stand to benefit.

But one cannot help seeing in these proposals the hand of Derek Keys, the former chairman of Gencor, and now Minister of Trade and Industry.

Also helping to sweeten the Budget slightly were the reductions in the rate of tax on non-mining companies.

The surcharge is being lowered from five to three percent, which means the effective tax rate on these companies is now 49.44 percent.

Marius van Blerck, tax adviser to Anglo American, said last night these proposals indicated that the Government was doing all it could to protect its tax base and was granting concessions on a highly selective basis.

But he believed these tax concessions, together with the positive result of the referendum, could lead to a significant improvement in the investment climate in coming months.

One bright spot on the JSE in the coming months is likely to be the building and construction sector.

The announcement that R3.2 billion could be spent on low-cost housing in the next 12 months was a bull point for the sector, and should also help stimulate the economy.

# ANC to ban criminal 'comrades'

THE ANC eastern Transvaal region said yesterday it would disband the ANC Ogies branch next week and would impose a life-long membership ban on ANC members implicated in criminal activities in the Phola township near the town.

The measures follow the forced closure of shops in Phola by what the ANC called criminal elements and thugs who purported to be "comrades".

ANC publicity secretary for the region, Jackson Mthembu, said in a statement the conduct of the criminals at a meeting

called by the ANC eastern Transvaal region "left no doubt that the motive for closing the shops was mainly to force the local business community into giving money to the thugs".

There had been petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of business people in Phola after they had reopened their shops following the intervention of the ANC and police, Mthembu said.

"The ANC eastern Transvaal region strongly condemns the actions of the criminals in forcing shop owners to close their shops and in forcing the community not to buy from local shops."

The branch and the ANC Youth League would take "drastic constitutional measures to deal with both the ANC and the ANC Youth League branches in Ogies" and "members who have been implicated in this matter will be stripped of their ANC Youth League membership for life".

The ANC would also cooperate with police to ensure the safety and security of the business community and all other Ogies residents. It would not allow any community anywhere in SA to be subjected to criminal rule, Mthembu said. — Sapa.

# Woman punched in ANC march

THE ANC yesterday condemned violent incidents this week in which members were apparently involved.

During the "People's Budget" march on Wednesday, Mrs Joyce McPherson of Boston Estate was punched in the face by marchers when she stopped on the corner of Buitenkant and Roeland Streets.

Her glasses were broken and her car dented and scratched, police said.

On a train Constable Delia Roux of the Parow Business Watch was robbed of her handbag by a group wearing khaki clothing and ANC insignia.

One of the robbers threatened Constable Roux with a revolver, police said.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said that if any ANC members pointed firearms at people, as alleged by Constable Roux, "we would condemn that very much".

People who wore ANC colours were not necessarily ANC members.

(114) CT 20/53A2

## ANC 'to keep PLO ties' (11A)

THE ANC would not break its ties with the PLO, Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi or Cuba, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He was speaking during an address at the Schotsche Kloof Civic Centre to about 200 Western Cape Muslim community leaders.

Mr Mandela said the ANC went to many countries all around the world for support when they took up the armed struggle and that these three had been prepared to help the organisation. ET 20/3/92

## WHAT THE ALLIANCE WANTS

FM 20/3/92  
11A

**Budget-day** marches organised nationwide by the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance culminated in the presentation of the "economic demands of the people" to government on the steps of parliament.

The two-page memorandum to President F W de Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was handed to the President's legal adviser by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC western Cape organiser Allan Boesak.

It says the alliance will have no option but to intensify mass action unless its demands are met. Noting among other things that "the white minority regime continues to make unilateral decisions on crucial issues such as the use of our taxes," a list of demands is presented calling for a Budget that:

- Cuts military spending;
- Stops giving money to secret projects such as the CCB;
- Stops funding useless and duplicated apartheid structures;
- Introduces equal pensions; and
- Concentrates on solving housing, electricity, health and education problems.

It reiterates the demand for an end to

privatisation and unilateral restructuring of the economy. "Instead, government must participate in forums on the economy, education, housing and health to negotiate any major changes and bring immediate relief to the poor."

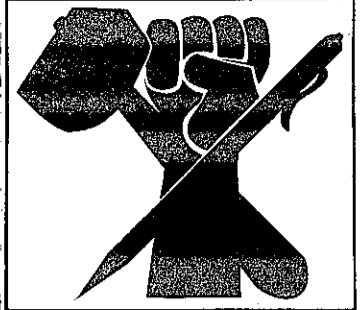
Cosatu's well-known demands on VAT are also included — adding that, at the very least, the zero-rating of eight foods must be extended beyond the end-March deadline, and that the rate must not rise.

"Special provisions" are called for for small business, though not spelt out, and a properly negotiated poverty relief programme as well as drought relief "aimed at all communities" effected.

Finally, the alliance says the price of food must be brought down. Just like that. "Government must guarantee that prices of basic foods are maintained or reduced until at least March 1993." Failing all this, stepped-up mass action is threatened.

What would be more interesting would be for the ANC to unveil its long-awaited economic policy document giving details of how it plans to restructure the economy and, indeed, bring down food prices.

# BUILD YOUR ORGANISATION



## Organisations and their role

New Nation (Learning Nation) 20/3-27/3/92

In our previous article we looked at why the working class organises itself into different kinds of organisation in its struggle against oppression and exploitation. In this article we will focus on the role that these organisations play in the life of working people.

### Defending and advancing the interests of membership

For as long as we live under apartheid-capitalism, the working class will be constantly faced with oppression and exploitation. It is for this reason that almost all kinds of organisations created by the working class play some kind of defensive role by protecting the interests of their members against the attacks of the ruling class. Trade unions struggle to ensure that their members get a living wage, safe working conditions and shorter working hours. Sport and social organisations may also struggle to increase the amount of leisure time workers and their families can enjoy. Students and youth organisations have struggled for a better standard of education and for a secure future. In all spheres of life the working class is threatened by attacks from the ruling class. Workers have come to the understanding that their only weapon against such attacks is their unity and organisation.

It is this organised strength that enables the working class not only to defend itself against attacks from the ruling class but also to advance its own interests. We can see from the lessons of the trade union struggles how organised workers began by defending their jobs and in time began to challenge the apartheid regime over "peoples' holidays" like May Day and June 16. This challenge extended up to the point where COSATU, NACTU and other independent unions jointly challenged the state over VAT and the state's imposing economic policies without consulting the organised workers. Likewise, it was the organised strength of students who, through the establishment of PTSA's in schools, began to lay the foundations for a more democratic system of education.

The opposite is also true. When the working class is disorganised, it is weak and unable to withstand the attacks of the ruling class. We experienced this disorganisation and weakness in 1987 for example, when the regime under the State of Emergency used the police and the army to destroy organisations. It was under these conditions of general disorganisation and weakness within the working class that the regime pushed through its Labour Rela-

tions Amendment Act (LRAA). It was also in this period of declining class struggle, combined with severe attacks by the state on our leadership and organisations, that led to democratic structures such as the Peoples' Courts turning into instruments of abuse by thugs. We can see then that without strong organisations the working class has no means for defending itself, nor does it have the ability to sustain its victories against the apartheid regime.

### Training the working class to lead

In South Africa, not only are the majority of people denied basic political rights, but the working class especially is also denied access to quality education, culture and other social activities. The working class

is forced to make do with gutter education, sport and other cultural activities of a poor quality when compared to what the ruling class enjoys. Under apartheid capitalism the working class cannot find the means which will enable it to educate itself and raise its level of culture so as to become the ruling class. Apartheid structures and organisation only serve to further enslave the working class.

It is only the organisations of the working class which are built and controlled by the working class which can act as the "school" which can educate and train the working class for its role as the new ruling class of society. All organisations of the working class contribute in one way or another to this important role. It is through participation in these organisations that

the working class begins to experience what it is like to be in control of its own destiny. It is also in the "school" of organisation that the working class experiments and through experience develops its own ideas, values and methods — by which it sees fit to run its own organisations. At all times the working class struggles against building its organisations in the same way in which the capitalist class builds organisation.

We can clearly see this in the different ways in which organisations of the working class and organisations of the ruling class approach the question of democracy. The organisations of the ruling class are designed to limit democracy to the minority capitalist class. For example, membership to the influential organisations of the capitalist class, such as business, sport and cultural clubs is based on how much wealth you own. In this way, ordinary workers and their families are denied access to these organisations. On the other hand, organisations of the working class struggle to expand democracy as widely as possible. Working class organisations try to draw in the broadest layers of the working class and other oppressed layers such as the intelligentsia and small shopkeepers on the basis that their own interests can only be realised through the working class becoming the new ruling class of our society.

### Uniting our experiences, knowledge and skills

When people unite in organisation to struggle against the apartheid system, they also bring with them their past experiences of struggle, their experience of organisation building and their skills. All these factors contribute towards ensuring that the organisation can draw on these valuable resources to the benefit of the organisation.

The ability of organisations to draw on past organisational experiences, the wisdom of its members, both new and experienced, helps them to avoid repeating past mistakes or having to start from scratch.

It is important for us to ensure that the way in which our organisations function, the valuable experiences, wisdom and skills which is to be found amongst the membership is unified for maximum enhancement of the organisation. It is equally important to ensure that these resources become the common property of the membership of the organisation. In this way the general awareness and level of skills of the membership is raised to a higher level.

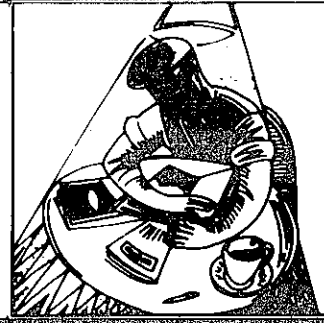
At all times organisations of the working class serve to defend and advance the interests of their members and the broader working class. Organisations contribute towards ensuring continuity in the struggle against oppression and exploitation through uniting our different organisational experiences, the knowledge we have gained through struggle and the individual skills of its membership.



Organisations defend the interests of their membership



# WORKERS' EDUCATION



## The Role of Trade Unions

New Nation [Learning Nation]  
20/3 - 27/3/92

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Over the last 2 weeks we looked at what a trade union is and why workers join unions. We said that most workers join unions to get better wages and working conditions. But we also said that the reason why most workers join unions for economic reasons only is because of the effectiveness of bourgeois ideology. This ideology prevents workers from seeing themselves as a class of people with common interests.

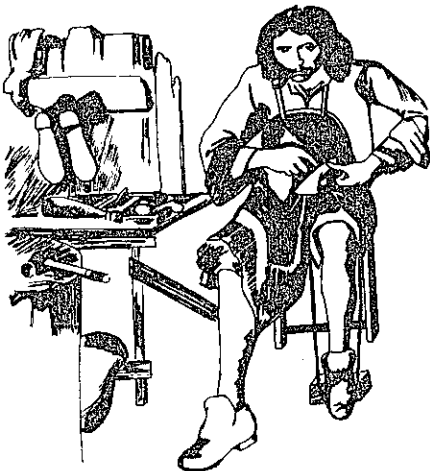
Last week we looked at how the capitalist class deliberately divides the working class through the use of racism, tribalism, religion. This week we will look at how capitalism on the other hand forcibly unites worker comrades. This looks like a contradiction, and indeed it is. But it is a contradiction on which the capitalist system rests.

You may remember we said last week that the capitalists own the means of production, and this gives them great power over the working class. The working class owns nothing but its ability to work. This ability to work is called labour power. Workers are forced to sell their labour power to capitalists for wages.

Under the capitalist system profit is made from the labour of the working class. In particular, this profit comes from workers who make things in production - in the factories, mines and on the farms.

### In the early days.....

In its early days, capitalists got their profit out of the labour of highly skilled workers working in small workshops.

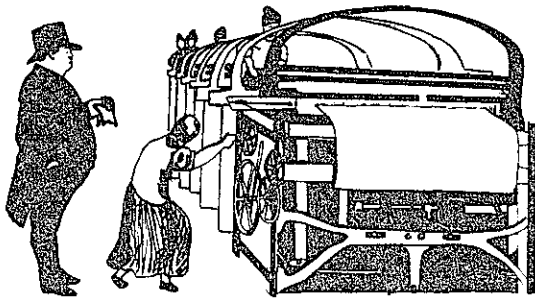


These workers made the things they produced from start to finish. If the worker was a cabinet-maker then he would make the whole cabinet, chair or table. So he would sand the wood, plane it, cut it and assemble the item he was making.

This process of highly skilled workers making things from start to finish was expensive for the capitalists, and slow. The skilled workers could demand high wages because they could not be replaced easily. The long time these workers took to make things also made the products expensive.

At the same time, capitalism was beginning to spread all over the world, opening up new markets for these commodities. The capitalists needed to speed up produc-

tion, and to break the skills of the workers at the same time. By speeding up production, the bosses forced workers to work faster. When workers work faster, they produce more commodities, more quickly. The less time workers spend making commodities, the cheaper these commodities became. And the cheaper the commodities became, the more competitive the capitalist could become against other capitalists. More and quicker production meant more profit.



### Speeding up production

How did the capitalists speed up production of the workers? They did this by introducing more and more machines. Over time, the system of factory production developed. Instead of a small workshop with a handful of craftsmen, massive new factories were developed with many machines and thousands of workers. Instead of highly skilled workers, we now have thousands of semi-skilled or unskilled workers. All these workers make only a part of the commodity, millions of times a week, year in and year out.

The factory system of production broke the skill of workers. Semi-skilled and unskilled workers have not spent many years being trained and are therefore more easily dismissed and replaced. In addition, the use of machinery also creates millions of unemployed, whose existence puts further pressure on the wages of workers with jobs.

With all these changes, the entire capitalist system still rests on the profit capitalists get from the labour of workers. But by forcibly bringing together thousands of workers in order to exploit them, capitalism also begins to unite these workers.

Inside the factory, workers see that it is useless fighting against the capitalists as individuals. Workers begin to see they have common problems and a common enemy - the capitalist class. They begin to see the importance of unity and collective action if they want to win anything from the capitalists. It is out of this need for unity and collective action that workers join the trade unions.

### The development of class consciousness

We see that joining the trade unions can be the beginning of the development of a class consciousness amongst workers. We must remember that the trade unions bring together thousands of workers, not only from one factory but whole branches of industry. Some of COSATU's affiliates have over 200 000 members each. So workers get more and more of a sense how their problems are common to other workers as well.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to think that workers automatically develop a class consciousness when they join trade unions. If workers continue to see

trade unions only as a way of getting better wages, the unions can then prevent workers from developing a class consciousness.

Let us look at some examples.

● Workers in a particular company may be well organised. It may also be that the company makes big profits. So the workers use their union once a year just to get big wage increases. At other times, they do not participate in the union. They do not believe that 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' They are concerned only with their own position. Is this what is happening in some of our unions today?

● We also have examples where workers in a particular branch of industry are earning very good wages and can buy houses, cars and TVs. Although they are in a union, they can easily see themselves as being better off than other workers. And maybe their union will not help to build their federation.

● We can go further. If we look at the trade union movement internationally, we will see many problems there. In the older and richer capitalist countries - in other words, the imperialist countries - we will see that the trade unions are often nothing but tools in the hands of the capitalists. The trade union leaders act as the economic policemen of the capitalists. They persuade workers to accept retrenchments, lay-offs and wage cuts and that their interests do not lie in solidarity action with workers in other sectors and other countries.

So we can see that there is no guarantee that workers will become class conscious when they join trade unions.

Let us summarise what we have discovered in this article. We have said that on the one hand, capitalist ideology always tries to divide workers. On the other hand, we saw that the capitalist production process brings thousands of workers together every day. This brings workers to see that they have common problems which they must solve through unity and collective action. Where workers fight only for their economic interests the trade unions, even in these instances, can begin to develop for workers an awareness of themselves as a class. But we went on to argue that this development of a class consciousness is by no means automatic. In fact, in our own experience, we can see how unions can entrench divisions. The international history of trade unions is also full of examples where the trade unions act as the tools of the capitalists.

Next week we will return to this question of the role of trade unions. We will look at the question of working class politics and working class leadership. We want to show that it is only when the trade unions have working class politics that they will lead workers to develop a revolutionary class consciousness.

# ANC set to act against thugs

(114)

CT 20/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The ANC is to act against  
some of its members who  
have been accused of  
thuggery.

The action will be tak-  
en next week in the  
Ogies branch, where  
some ANC members  
have been implicated in  
criminal activities in the  
Phola township. The  
ANC said it would ban  
those members for life.

The drastic measures  
follow the forced closure  
of shops in Phola by  
what the ANC called  
criminal elements and  
thugs who purported to  
be "comrades".

The ANC's publicity  
secretary for the region,  
Mr Jackson Mthembu,  
said in a statement the  
conduct of the criminals  
at a meeting called by  
the ANC Eastern Trans-  
vaal region "left no  
doubt that the motive for  
closing the shops was  
mainly to force the local  
business community into  
giving money to the  
thugs".

The ANC would co-op-  
erate with the police to  
ensure safety and secur-  
ity, he said. — Sapa

● ANC condemns violent  
incidents — Page 2

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# Intellectuals and Policy Makers

Non-Nation - Learning Nation  
20/3 - 27/3/92

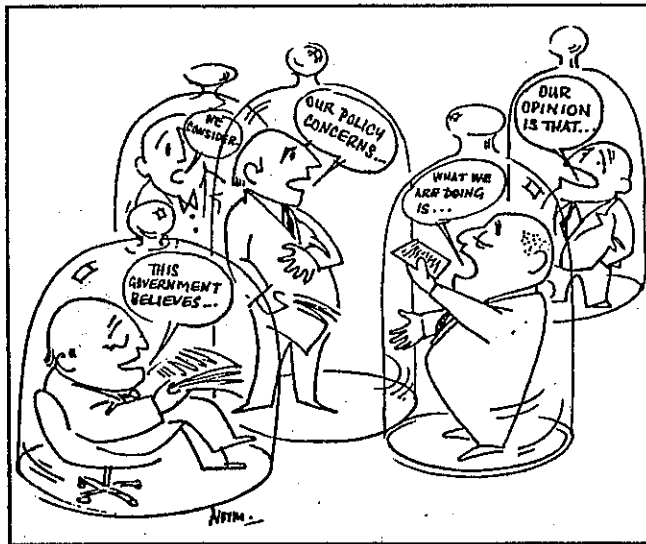
In South Africa today progressive intellectuals, especially academics and researchers, are beginning to play a powerful role in shaping the future. Rigorous intellectual work and research is of course crucial for policy-making. This is important to acknowledge since within sections of the liberation movement there has been an unfortunate tendency to oppose theory and intellectual debate. However there is also the real danger that under the pressures of negotiations, the masses and mass struggles that have been so crucial in bringing the ruling class to the negotiation table, could become sidelined as intellectuals and leaders formulate policy over the heads of the people.

Within the liberatory movement today many people argue that in the period of negotiations we must not forget our previous strategies of mass mobilisation, mass action and the building of democratic mass organisations. Real social change in South Africa is not a neutral, technical process that can be left to the experts and technocrats. At the end of the day change is essentially a political process. A truly democratic South Africa will only come about with the conscious participation of the masses of the people, particularly the organised workers. It is in this context that the role of intellectuals in policy-making for social transformation has to be addressed.

## Intellectuals and Policy-making

Jakes Gerwel, rector of the University of the Western Cape, argues that any "serious research project that desires to come to grips with investigating policy options for a new South Africa has to draw in the most creative and progressive intellectuals our country has. If a project fails to do this then inevitably it will flounder if not fail dismally." What Gerwel recognises is that progressive intellectuals possess valuable experiences and skills which need to be drawn on by mass organisations.

However to say that progressive intellectuals have an important contribution to make does not mean that policy-making must be left in their hands. This would be privileging intellectuals as people who supposedly know best about everything. Also this would be undemocratic since the masses and mass organisations would be turned into mere spectators - the very thing that we criticised the government for in previous articles. Instead, ways have to be found to bring mass organisations and intellectuals together in a structured and democratic relationship. Such an organised partnership is not a simple affair and various important issues have to be debated and resolved. Some of these issues have to do with:



- the autonomy of researchers being allowed to conduct research in a critical spirit;
- the accountability of researchers and intellectuals; and
- the responsibilities of intellectuals and mass organisations to each other.

### Autonomy

The relationship between progressive intellectuals and mass organisations is not a straightforward one. Let us explore some of this in some detail.

Firstly, there is the danger that the organisations could prefer to see progressive intellectuals as simply spokespeople of their existing political policies. That is, they may desire that the role of intellectuals simply be that of confirming the priorities and policies of mass organisations. This however sets up a tension. Because a feature of good intellectual work is, that despite commitment and support of social transformation, it continues to be critical in character. In other words it is not afraid to challenge the existing positions of organisations and pose uncomfortable yet necessary questions about priorities. To deny research its critical function and to try to reduce it to propaganda is not in the interests of mass organisations or social transformation. Ultimately, it is in the interests of transformation that the space for critical thought and work is guaranteed and that intellectuals not be expected to simply become apologists and ideological servants to mass organisations. This we call autonomy for the researchers.

An example relates to the Parent-Teacher-Student Associations which are regarded by the NECC as vital to democratic school administration and management. Policy research on this issue cannot tailor itself to confirming the NECC's position on PTSA's but would need to research them critically. This would involve examining the viability of the PTSA structure the NECC proposes; the performance of PTSA's in schools where they exist; and other options for democratic school management. At the end of the day, research may well show PTSA's to be the best means for democratic schooling; but equally, it may also well show they are

seriously flawed as vehicles for democratic administration and that other better options exist. The important point of this example is that although PTSA's have been taken as a starting point, research has not been reduced to a propaganda effort of merely uncritically supporting PTSA's. Instead PTSA's are critically examined and raised as one among a range of possible policy options for democratic schooling. Indeed, it is in this very spirit that NEPI is conducting research into education policy options.

### Accountability

A second problem area in a partnership of mass organisations and intellectuals may be around ideas of accountability. Often in the name of "accountability to the community" the critical work and autonomy of intellectuals is challenged by some members of mass organisations who are more comfortable with seeing intellectuals as ideological servants of mass organisations. Accountability however is not a simple issue. Depending on the relationship of a person to an organisation, the task/s a person carries out and so on, accountability can take various forms. In the NEPI for example, accountability of researchers is to the principles (for example non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy) guiding policy research. Furthermore, accountability is also accepting that the researchers cannot themselves make policy but must be guided by the decisions of the structures of the mass organisations.

In the case of policy research however, accountability cannot mean that intellectuals must sacrifice their right to produce work that is critical. This would do mass organisations more harm than good. For, as in the PTSA example, the NECC itself is best served not by insisting that intellectuals confirm its policies, but by intellectuals honestly researching policy options and presenting these, together with

their implications, to the NECC.

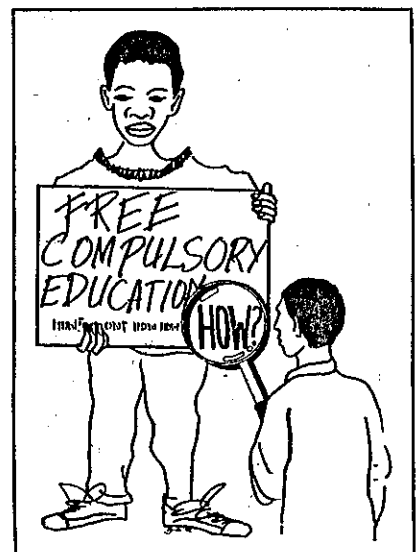
This then allows the NECC to formulate and adopt policies on a much more informed basis and with also greater awareness of the implications of the option it has chosen.

### Responsibilities

From the side of mass organisations the need to ensure space for critical intellectual work has been emphasised. However, progressive intellectuals also have certain responsibilities to mass organisations and their membership. Some of these are:

- to work collectively with organisations in identifying priority issues for policy research;
- to involve wherever possible representatives/members of organisations in the policy research process;
- to assist in setting up forums to consider and debate policy options and their implications;
- to present research and policy options in a manner and language that can easily be understood by members of organisations;
- to network with other intellectuals and work collaboratively in the interests of social transformation, and not simply for individual gain; and
- to be sensitive to the serious racial and gender inequalities created by apartheid with regard to trained academics and researchers, and to actively work to address these imbalances.

The role of progressive intellectuals is not to make policies for organisations. Instead it is to enable mass organisations to formulate policy on a more informed basis. While mass organisations need to respect the autonomy of intellectuals and ensure space for critical intellectual work, on their side intellectuals also have the responsibility to ensure that their skills are transferred to the mass organisations so that working people can decide for themselves



# SABC workers ask ANC, PAC for help

STAR 20/3/92

By Peter Wellman

SABC media workers yesterday asked the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress to lend extra muscle to their pay demands after rejecting an average 11 percent pay rise.

Both organisations have backed the workers, whose nine negotiators staged a brief sit-in at the Auckland Park headquarters on Wednesday night.

The administrative secretary of the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa), Themba Hlatshwayo, said the

offer, increased from 7 percent, was made during 15 hours of talks over two days, but "did not even match the inflation rate". Poor performers were now offered 7 percent, with a 13 percent limit, he said.

Mwasa had reduced its demand from R1 500 across the board to a 30 percent average increase, with the maximum increase of R1 200, and minimum wages up from R935 to R1 500.

A conciliation board hearing had been set for March 27, he said. There would be a meeting the day before, when a day's pay for an illegal strike by about 1 300 SABC workers on Tuesday would be negotiated, Mr Hlatshwayo said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "We have had discussions with Mwasa, and are meeting them again. We are obviously sympathetic to their position."

The PAC confirmed an approach from Mwasa, and spokesman Carter Seleka said: "We supported their strike earlier this week and will give them all necessary support."

11A

# ANC probe asks: Did we torture detainees?

W/M cut 20/3 - 26/3/92

**A** POWERFUL team of lawyers sits in Johannesburg next week to consider evidence that young men and women were beaten and abused by African National Congress officials while being held at detention centres run by the organisation outside South Africa.

The creation of the commission — which gives wide powers to advocates Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and Bridget Mabandla so that they can probe reports of torture in camps run by the ANC's security department — places ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk in a peculiarly similar position.

While the government is being confronted with evidence at the Goldstone commission of inquiry into public violence that its security forces have instigated internicine feuding in black townships, the ANC's investigation is likely to come up with similarly damning evidence about members of its security department.

And while the workings of the Goldstone commission has heightened tensions between De Klerk's cabinet and "securocrat" officials in his army and police, there are strong indications that the ANC probe is likely to arouse the ire of some ANC security department officials.

Mandela and his colleagues in the civilian structures of the ANC are known to be determined that the truth finally come out about the happenings in ANC detention camps.

*Like the government's Goldstone commission, the ANC has ordered an investigation into its security wing. But that's where similarities end, reports* **EDDIE KOCH**

Like the Goldstone probe, the ANC commission will have full access to witnesses, camps, reports of previous inquiries into the abuse of detainees and all internal records, documents, files and other materials relevant to the investigation.

But that's where the similarities end. Unlike the Goldstone commission, which allows the media and the public to attend its hearings, the ANC will conduct its proceedings in camera.

This has aroused criticism in some human rights quarters. "The ANC should do as the government has done and subject the behaviour of its security officials to public scrutiny. Otherwise its inquiry runs the risk of being seen as less rigorous

and impartial than that of the Goldstone commission," said a lawyer involved in collecting evidence about SADF involvement in violence.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa disagrees, saying there was no way the probe would amount to the "ANC investigating itself". Explaining the commission's powers at a press conference, Ramaphosa pointed out advocate Elna Revelas had been appointed to track down evidence of detainees being abused and that she had broad powers to do this independently of the ANC and its commissioners.

He added the commissioners were entitled to call public hearings if they chose to and that they would issue interim reports that will be made public. The commission's final report will also be a public document.

The organisation's decision to set up an independent commission of inquiry into persistent complaints by former inmates of its disciplinary camps comes in the wake of reports that the International Red Cross has recently been denied access to ANC detainees still being held outside

the country.

ANC representative Gill Marcus this week said the movement's security wing was in full support of the new commission and made it clear that any ANC member implicated in abuse of detainees, including security officials, would be "dealt with".

It is known that many hundreds of young South African were detained and held, sometimes under appalling conditions, in detention centres located in Angola, Uganda and Tanzania on suspicion of spying for Pretoria after fleeing the country.

"We are looking at the way in which detainees were treated by ANC officials regardless of the reasons for their being held. This is not to determine the culpability of the detainees but to determine whether there were breaches of the ANC's standards and ethics," said Marcus.

The commission's brief is to probe all complaints relating to detainees' conditions while they were held, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about the loss or destruction of property.

The first sittings take place in Johannesburg from Monday to Wednesday this week with subsequent hearings taking place every month until June.

Former detainees are entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary for the commission and can contact him care of Mashile, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

# Sharpeville Day remembered

11A

Soweto 20/3/92

By SONTI MASEKO

**THE 1960 Sharpeville massacre in which 69 people were killed during protests against the pass laws will be commemorated nationwide tomorrow.**

At Sharpeville, in the Vaal Triangle, the PAC and relatives of the 69 people who were killed, will clean the graves at 7am.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu will later address a service at Sharpeville Stadium.

Others services will be at:

● Bochabelo in Bloemfontein, at Pax Nova Hall,

to be addressed by PAC's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke;

● At Langa Stadium in Cape Town, to be addressed by Mr Carter Seleke. A rally will be held at noon at the stadium;

● In Shornville, King William's Town, a service will be addressed by Ms Patricia de Lille;

● Mr Maxwell Nema-dzivhanani will address a service in Cape Town;

● In Kimberley a service will be addressed by Mr Mike Matsobane; and

● In Durban at the Ex-

ecutive Hotel, a service will be addressed by Mr Mark Shinnars.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation's services will be at:

● Wits University, Senate House, Basement 5, at lunchtime, to be addressed by Dr Gomolemo Mokae;

● Regina Mundi Church in Soweto at noon to be addressed by Mokae and Mr Strini Moodley;

● Community Centre Hall in Wentworth, Durban, at 10am to be addressed by Dr Nchaube Mokoape, the deputy president, and Azayo president Mr Thami Mcerwa.

● GaMokaba village

near Mahwelereng, Potgietersrus, at 10am;

● University of the North and at Lebowa-kgomo;

Azapo, in conjunction with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, will hold services in Toronto, Canada, and in Amsterdam to be addressed by Mr Don Nkadimeng, and in London by Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

The ANC will hold a service at Miami Beach in Sharpeville at 10am to be addressed by Mr Chris Hani and deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu. It will feature Miriam Makeba and Sarafina.

**Blacks**  
STAT  
**feel sense**  
21/3/42  
**of relief**  
**over 'yes'**  
11A  
**JOE LOUW**

**BLACK** "stand-by voters" generally exchanged the nervous tension they felt about the outcome of this week's all-white referendum for some gallows humour.

With his eyes sparkling and exaggerated gestures, one old-timer at the Bree Street taxi rank said: "They (the Conservatives) just had to lose. Man, they were offering people horses and Voortrekker wagons when South Africa is driving BMWs. Their women dress in kappies when people want Christian Dior!"

A fellow black journalist quipped without batting an eyelid: "I never feared the Boers, whatever the result. Who I really fear are the Zulus!" I asked if I could quote him on that and he said: "I'm dead serious" and burst out laughing.

Up until referendum day, most blacks had been gloomy, fearing the worst. But after the result was heard in places where blacks gather to drink or be entertained, and on taxis and buses, there was a palpable sense of relief.

### Molested

"We want peace in the townships more than anything else — even more than political power," a Soweto businessman said.

"Whatever new deal comes out of this new situation will be useless unless we can be safe in our homes and on our streets and unless our children are not molested on their way to and in their schools."

The same hopes of a better deal were echoed by a well-educated city worker: "Now that FW has won," he commented, "and he used the option to consult white people only among themselves about the future of this country, black people too should get together and redirect these negotiations."

We should forget about the vote, that is non-negotiable anyway. It is a right of every citizen, not a favour. What we have to talk about is land. We want our land back. That is what we have to talk about."

At the corner of Fraser and Jeppe, a worker from a nearby building site was having his lunch — half a loaf of bread, chips and a soft drink — looking tired and staring into the distance.

### Better life

I didn't want to bother him but tried anyway. What did he think of this referendum business, I asked cautiously. He looked at me long before replying in Zulu: "These things of white people, I don't enter them. I don't know anything."

Many black women did not seem to have any opinions either way about the outcome of the referendum. "I think it's better for white people," was an average response among working women. "Maybe for our children it will be better too."

Most mothers I spoke to in and around Alexandra were much less concerned about the referendum than about the violence that had been racking their township.

A man I spoke to in Alex expressed the hope for a better life with a vivid demonstration. He pointed to a huge pile of garbage in an adjacent empty lot and said: "That is where they have to start and then they must give us jobs."

**U**NITY AMONG all civic organisations in the Western Cape seems unlikely to be achieved in the near future.

The Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa) has vowed to stay out of the unity process as long as the "long-standing issue of attacks on its members by the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) remains unresolved".

This stand and the related allegations follow Wecusa's absence from the launch of the Civic Organisation of the Western Cape (Cowec) two weeks ago.

Wecusa was a member of the regional interim civics committee, which was charged with bringing about a merger between the WCCA, the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA), Wecusa and the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) to form Cowec.

Wecusa regional vice-chairperson Mr Enoch Madywabe said: "Before the merger, the WCCA burnt down shacks of our members and a vehicle belonging to Wecusa at Green Point in Khayelitsha.

"When we reported the matter to the interim committee, a meeting attended by WCHDA, Cahac, Wecusa, the ANC, WCCA, Cosatu was convened.

"Wecusa members told the meeting they could not forfeit their right to operate among the shack

## Feud delays unity in Western Cape

South 21/3-26/3/92  
 dwellers as we had a long history of co-operation with them.

"We found that the WCCA was jealous that we were operating among the shack dwellers. They said they had a right to operate in the shacks."

Madywabe said the meeting decided that the WCCA should operate in the townships and not in the squatter settlements.

When Wecusa had demanded that the burnt vehicle be replaced, an ANC national official, said he would take the matter to his national executive committee, but had not reported back.

Madywabe said that after the shack dwellers had been allowed to return to their areas the shacks were burnt down again, resulting in the death of three people.

"We have been trying in vain on various occasions to get the WCCA to sit down and resolve the matter with us," Madywabe said.

"Since then we suspended our participation in the interim committee. We feel that we cannot engage ourselves in unity talks with WCCA until the matter of the harassment

of the shack dwellers has been addressed."

Madywabe said Wecusa found there was no trust between the organisations as one member was engaged in acts of violence against Wecusa.

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"How can an organising committee be formed without our knowledge?"

Despite SOUTH's attempts for two weeks to get comment on Wecusa's allegations, Cowec's secretary and chairperson refused to respond.



# Women in drive to influence negotiations

South 21/3-26/3/92

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THE BLACK SASH has called on Codesa to make its proceedings public by broadcasting them in full on radio and television.

The organisation raised concerns about the legitimacy and brief of Codesa at its national conference last week.

"Codesa is a positive step in the negotiation process but we believe only an elected body should have the right to decide on a Bill of Rights and constitution," the Black Sash resolved.

"These issues should not be debated in advance in secret meetings by parties at Codesa."

The organisation proposed a

Human Rights Review Committee be established — comprising all prominent human rights organisations — to review all resolutions tabled at Codesa.

The Black Sash called on Codesa to prevent the government from unilaterally restructuring or privatising the SABC.

"Impartial reporting is an essential component for free and fair elections and for many South Africans, particularly rural people, radio is the main source of contact with the events and concerns of this country," it said.

Meanwhile, the ANC Women's League will build a stronger pres-

ence for women during the negotiation and election process when it sets up its own negotiations forum.

This decision flows from the league's Western Cape regional conference last weekend.

"We will conduct an active education drive around these issues to ensure all women remain informed, specially in rural areas," a spokesperson for the league said.

The campaign for a women's charter will also be intensified and involve the Women's Alliance in the process.

"The campaign will focus on researching and compiling a charter that guarantees specific rights, pro-

tection and affirmative action for women in the future South Africa.

Elected on to the regional executive committee were: Ms Mildred Lesea (chairperson), Ms Nomatyala Hangana (secretary), Ms Rashieda Abdullah (vice-chairperson) and Mrs Rhoda Joemat.

The PAC's African Women's Organisation of Azania (AWO) held its second annual congress in Bloemfontein last weekend where it unanimously approved the PAC's decision to withdraw from Codesa.

Ms Ellen Mothopeng, daughter-in-law of the former PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, was elected chairperson of AWO.

# How the ANC would beat the budget blues

South 21/3 - 26/3/92

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**F**INANCE MINISTER Mr Barend du Plessis' Budget remains an apartheid budget, allocating resources to ethnically-defined departments and implemented with very little efficiency, the ANC said.

In its analysis of the 1992/3 Budget, the ANC department of economic policy said: "The central issue is the way these allocations are spent and managed. We have no faith in the ability of the departments responsible for these areas to be effective and efficient.

"The lack of mechanisms to ensure accountability means that government operations are riddled with inconsistency and waste," said the ANC.

"Much of the waste in the operations of the South African government results from sudden shifts in direction, accompanied by isolated increases or cuts in spending on programmes. In the past year alone, we have had a number of once-off, ad-hoc votes."

Expenditures resulting from last-minute decisions include the set-up fund for the Independent Development Trust, poverty relief to ameliorate the effects of VAT, and the special funding for white children attending Model C schools.

The ANC said the continued existence of secret funds further hindered assessment of the government's efficiency.

"They make a mockery of the budget exercise, since they ensure that the minister does not inform us of how the government plans to use substantial sums of money."

A performance audit of the public sector should take into account the effectiveness of expenditures in achieving stated goals with the automatic and immediate disclosure of reports.

This was best facilitated through an independent auditing authority.

Social welfare expenditure had not been a priority in the past, and there had been almost no planning and vision. Seventeen different welfare budgets have been formulated with no capacity being developed to try and determine regional and local needs.

Welfare spending has also been racist, the ANC said and deplored the manner

Allocations to health, education and housing in this year's Budget seem broadly appropriate, but the concern remains how the money will be managed and spent, says the ANC.

## Thoraya Pandey reports:

in which the government had neglected its responsibility with regard to poverty relief. Pensions should be equalised immediately. "An equalisation of pensions at current white levels will cost the government approximately R2-billion," the ANC said.

Food schemes that target children and breast-feeding mothers needed to be introduced, for which approximately R1,5-billion would be needed.

State intervention in unemployment was imperative because without an active employment creation programme, crime and violence could only escalate.

## Poor results

"A significant part of the budget is allocated to health and yet we have very poor results in terms of performance indicators.

"The ANC proposes that concrete targets be set in terms of health performance indicators."

The ANC said the crisis in education would not be solved overnight and ad hoc moves by the government to deal with the crisis were "irrational and inefficient". "We believe that in a five-year period with a more efficient use of existing resources we could achieve a substantial improvement in the survival ratios at the primary school level, the pupil-teacher ratio, the pupil-textbook

ratio and the matric pass rate.

"We do not support the current government moves to lay off competent teachers in the white education department when there is a desperate shortage of teachers."

The ANC said housing was an area where a sizeable increase in state expenditure would be necessary. At the moment only 2,5 percent of GDP was allocated to housing, compared to the approximately five percent that was allocated in other middle-income countries.

The main thrust of tax policy at present should be to review the overall tax structure in the light of a development strategy.

"For this task the ANC proposes the constitution of a representative Fiscal Commission to bring expert investigation to bear on all the major issues of fiscal policy," the ANC said.

"Another likely area where further financing for expenditure changes can be generated is in the redirection of public expenditure. In particular, a reduction in defence expenditure and an elimination of apartheid duplication and mismanagement will be pursued."

## Tax

In the longer term, the introduction of social security taxes would have to receive serious attention.

The ANC said in the medium term, issues which would have to be addressed include the broadening of the company tax base; particularly if the tax rate is to be further reduced; the introduction of an appropriate land or property tax; the treatment of luxury imported goods and the more efficient collection of taxes.

"We are deeply concerned that the minister made no mention in the Budget speech of plans to exempt basic foodstuffs from VAT. We assume then that his earlier pronouncement that the current exemption on eight basic foodstuffs, due to be lifted at the end of March, will therefore hold.

"The ANC rejects the fact that the government is still unilaterally making fiscal policy without more representative involvement in the process."

# Muslims give ANC 'millions'

lifa  
ARG 21/3/92.

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

**OIL-RICH** Arab nations and other Muslim countries have poured millions of US dollars into the African National Congress, according to Mr Nelson Mandela.

He disclosed the full measure of financial support from these quarters at a meeting with Muslim leaders and opinion-shapers in the historic Bo-Kaap this week.

Mr Mandela is on a four-day trip to the Western Cape, seen as a drive to boost ANC membership.

He has visited the Bo-Kaap, Athlone, Langa and Saldanha Bay and will end his visit with a rally in Paarl tomorrow.

Today, he will speak in Khayelitsha at the 32nd anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings.

He said in the Bo-Kaap that since the ANC was unbanned two years ago, he had travelled abroad extensively, asking for support because no battle for freedom could be waged without resources.

"These countries have asked us to tell you they support us. The support we've got from the Muslim world after we were un-

banned has been tremendous. Our connections with Muslim countries are very close."

And the dollars earned from petrol sales in countries such as Libya and Nigeria have simply poured into the cash-strapped ANC.

"Most of the \$44 million (R127 m) we have raised in foreign aid has come from Muslim countries."

The big three among the ANC's Muslim benefactors were Nigeria, India and Malaysia who each donated \$5 million (R14,45 m) to the movement.

"We asked Nigeria for \$5 million and got it on the spot. We went to our friend, our brother leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya and asked for \$10 million (R28,9 m), he gave us \$2 million (R5,78 m)."

Tunisia handed the ANC \$500 000 (R1,4 m), King Hassan of Morocco "gave us \$2 million (R5,78 m) in cash" and Senegal gave the ANC the \$1 million (R2,89 m) it asked for.

"We asked India for \$10 million (R28,9 m). They gave us \$5 million (R14,45 m). We arrived in Indonesia late on a Saturday afternoon and asked them for \$10 million. The next day they

gave us a cheque for \$10 million."

Disappointing, he said amid some laughter, was the \$100 000 (R289 000) he got from Brunei, whose "ruler Sultan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkuiah Mu'izzadin Waddaulah is said to be the world's richest man".

He said Palestinian Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat was one of the ANC's closest friends.

"When I was released, I went to Lusaka where I met him. Naturally we embraced. There was a storm afterwards and it has not subsided. My reply is that your enemies are not our enemies. We choose our friends and the warm relationship and friendship between the ANC and PLO will last forever."

Mr Mandela said the ANC had recognised the State of Israel and he was mindful of the contributions made by members of the Jewish community to the struggle.

Of his relationship with Colonel Gaddafi and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, he said: "No freedom fighter of principle will forsake his friends, especially, as in our case, if we are walking the last mile towards freedom."

# Civics aim for end to violence

South 21/3-26/3/92

The recently-launched national civic organisation is evidence of a trend of unity among black communities, reports Sechaba ka Nkosi:



Moses Mayekiso

**W**HITE SOUTH Africans may be divided into "Yes" and "No" camps as seen in this week's referendum on reform, but black communities are uniting at grassroots level.

Evidence of this trend is the launch of the national civic organisation in Uitenhage last weekend.

The event was the culmination of years of work by the National Interim Civics Committee (NICC) to bring local branches from 14 regions into one national body — the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco).

Almost all the community organisations and liberation movements, including the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), are represented in the regional committees of Sanco.

In other branches, like the one in

Alexandra township near Johannesburg, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is also represented.

Sanco secretary-general Mr Dan Sandi says the civic movement is a representative forum where non-racial unity can be attained.

"One becomes a member of the community organisation because one is a resident, thus the whole movement takes the nature of every resident being a civic member and every civic member a resident," says Sandi.

Sanco sees itself playing an important role in ending the violence and in working towards and participating in an interim government.

Its president, Mr Moses Mayekiso, says: "We know the feeling of the people on the ground, and everyone has to swallow political affiliations for the sake of the socio-political empowerment of our people."

Mayekiso beat ANC expert on local government Mr Thozamile

**U**NITY AMONG all civic organisations in the Western Cape seems unlikely to be achieved in the near future.

The Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa) has vowed to stay out of the unity process as long as the "long-standing issue of attacks on its members by the Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) remains unresolved".

This stand and the related allegations follow Wecusa's absence from the launch of the Civic Organisation of the Western Cape (Cowec) two weeks ago.

Wecusa was a member of the regional interim civics committee, which was charged with bringing about a merger between the WCCA, the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA), Wecusa and the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac) to form Cowec.

Wecusa regional vice-chairperson Mr Enoch Madywabe said: "Before the merger, the WCCA burnt down shacks of our members and a vehicle belonging to Wecusa at Green Point in Khayelitsha.

"When we reported the matter to the interim committee, a meeting attended by WCHDA, Cahac, Wecusa, the ANC, WCCA, Cosatu was convened.

"Wecusa members told the meeting they could not forfeit their right to operate among the shack

## Feud delays unity in Western Cape

South 21/3-26/3/92

dwellers as we had a long history of co-operation with them.

"We found that the WCCA was jealous that we were operating among the shack dwellers. They said they had a right to operate in the shacks."

Madywabe said the meeting decided that the WCCA should operate in the townships and not in the squatter settlements.

When Wecusa had demanded that the burnt vehicle be replaced, an ANC national official, said he would take the matter to his national executive committee, but had not reported back.

Madywabe said that after the shack dwellers had been allowed to return to their areas the shacks were burnt down again, resulting in the death of three people.

"We have been trying in vain on various occasions to get the WCCA to sit down and resolve the matter with us," Madywabe said.

"Since then we suspended our participation in the interim committee. We feel that we cannot engage ourselves in unity talks with WCCA until the matter of the harassment

of the shack dwellers has been addressed."

Madywabe said Wecusa found there was no trust between the organisations as one member was engaged in acts of violence against Wecusa.

He said that a week before the launch of Cowec, two men from the WCHDA and two men from the WCCA approached Wecusa and said there would be a launch of a united civic the following week.

The men said they represented an "organising committee" for the launch. This kind of behaviour further bore testimony to the fact that the regional interim civic committee cannot be trusted," he said.

"How can Wecusa, being a member organisation, be told that there would be a launch without being involved in the decision-making?"

"How can an organising committee be formed without our knowledge?"

Despite SOUTH's attempts for two weeks to get comment on Wecusa's allegations, Cowec's secretary and chairperson refused to respond.

Botha by 48 votes to become the president of the organisation.

The civic movement has been at the forefront of the anti-apartheid opposition.

Civic organisations were key players in the anti-apartheid struggle of the mid-eighties and helped bring about the collapse of many racially divided structures like the Black Local Authorities (BLAs).

But they are still paying a price for the gains they have made. Many of the BLAs joined the IFP and civic leaders have been targeted for assassinations.

Mr Sam Ntuli, Mr Michael Mapongwana, Mr Siphon Hashe and Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi are some of the civic leaders who have been brutally murdered by hit

squads.

Whether the new national civic organisation can play a meaningful role in the transition remains to be seen.

But the very launch of Sanco is a huge step towards unity among blacks.

"We will do everything in our power to defend all the gains made so far and we will not rest until BLAs are gone and replaced by non-racial local governments," says Sandi.

Sanco had an important role to play in the One-City debate, another executive member Mr Henry Fazzie said.

"They are in the position of informing authorities about the needs of the people and how they

see development, their role is not to replace elected local authorities but to inform them," Fazzie said.

He warned, however, that civics should not sign any agreements at a local level as this may have "implications for national negotiations".

Other members elected to top positions in Sanco are:

vice-president: Mr Lechesa Tsenondi, of the Transvaal;  
assistant secretary: Mr Penrose Ntonti, from the Border;  
treasurer: Mr Thobile Gidigidi, of the Transkei Civic Association;

publicity secretary: Mr Maxwell Mamase, of the Port Elizabeth People's Civic Association and regional director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa—*AIA and Pen*

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# Mandela's tree in school's garden . . .

**JOHN YELD**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

(11A) ARGUS 21/3/92

THERE was a special poignancy when ANC president Nelson Mandela addressed the Alexander Sinton High School community during his whirlwind tour through the Peninsula this week.

Before planting a Cape ash tree in the school's newly established indigenous garden, Mr Mandela praised the part played by students and staff in the struggle for democratic changes in the country.

There were many in the crowd of about 2 000 listening to him who had reason to remember that struggle only too well.

Not only were several of them jailed without tri-

al during successive states of emergency — including staff members — but one of the most notorious incidents of the repressive PW Botha-era took place just a few hundred metres from the school gates in Thornton Road.

On October 15 1985 a railways truck drove slowly up and down the road. On the back were several large crates.

Stones flew from the crowd on the pavement; the truck slewed to a halt and a task force of army, police and railway police personnel jumped from their hiding places in the crates and opened fire on the unsuspecting crowd with shotguns.

When the shooting was over three people lay dead — 16-year-old Shaun Magmoed, 11-year-old Michael Miranda and 21-year-old Jonathan Claasens — and at least 15 others were injured.

The "Trojan Horse" shooting, as it became known, took place in full view of the media and was filmed by a foreign television crew.

The deaths provoked an international outcry and the coverage was one of the main reasons for the subsequent tight Press censorship as part of the emergency regulations.

Eventually 13 members of the security forces involved in the operation appeared in the Supreme Court on charges of murder, in a private prosecution brought by the parents of one of the victims after the Attorney-General had declined to prosecute.

The men were acquitted in December 1989, although the judge, Mr Justice D M Williamson, warned those in authority never again to plan a similar operation.

# Sharpeville Day will be commemorated by ANC and PAC today

**ESTHER WAUGH**  
Political Reporter



**JOHANNESBURG.** — The ANC and PAC commemorate the 32nd anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings today.

A PWV regional rally, organised by the ANC, will start with a march from the Sharpeville police station to Miami Beach at the entrance of the township where the meeting will be held.

Speakers at the rally include ANC chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and SACP chief Mr Chris Hani.

ANC regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said more than 250 000 pamphlets and 10 000 posters advertising the rally had been distributed in a house-to-house campaign in the region.

The crowd would also be entertained by musicians Sipho Mabuse, Blonde Makhene and

*11/11/92*  
the Sarafina cast, he said.

A PAC commemoration service at the Sharpeville stadium will be addressed by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

The service also includes the cleaning of the graves of the 69 victims of the Sharpeville shootings on March 21 1960 and a march to the stadium.

Rallies are also scheduled to take place in other parts of the country.

In Cape Town commemorations start at 10am when PAC members gather at the Langa taxi rank and proceed to the cemetery for a cleaning of the graves of the victims of the Langa shootings 32 years ago.

At noon there will be a rally at Langa stadium which will be addressed by Mr Carter Seleke, assistant general secretary of the PAC.

PAC secretary-general Mr Bennie Alexander will address a rally in Germany.

#### 4 SOUTH REFERENDUM FO

## Never again a racist poll, says the ANC

South 21/3-26/3/92  
THE ANC has questioned the De Klerk government's commitment to democratic values following the way in which it chose to conduct the referendum.

"It is one of those ironies of the history of our country that a referendum to test support for the democratisation process should itself have been conducted in such an undemocratic manner," the ANC said in a statement on Wednesday.

"The future of our country is not a matter 'for whites only'. It is the concern of all South Africans. The appeals to racial chauvinism and the ethnic passions around this referendum campaign illustrate the dangers inherent in racial and ethnic exercises of this nature."

The ANC welcomed the "landslide victory" for the yes voters, but it demanded that a racist poll never be repeated. "This must be the absolute last occasion on which South Africa is subjected to the indignity of a racial or ethnic referendum," the ANC said.

The ANC called on all those who voted "no" to accept their defeat with grace and join Codesa.

"There is no other alternative to negotiations.

"The ANC stands ready and willing to work together with all for a better life for all South Africans."

The ANC called upon the international community to assist the process of change in South Africa.

**Justin Pearce**



**NEGOTIATIONS:** JOHN PERLMAN and ESTHER WAUGH spell out how the referendum qualifying round has changed the national finals at Codesa

# Back to the main match

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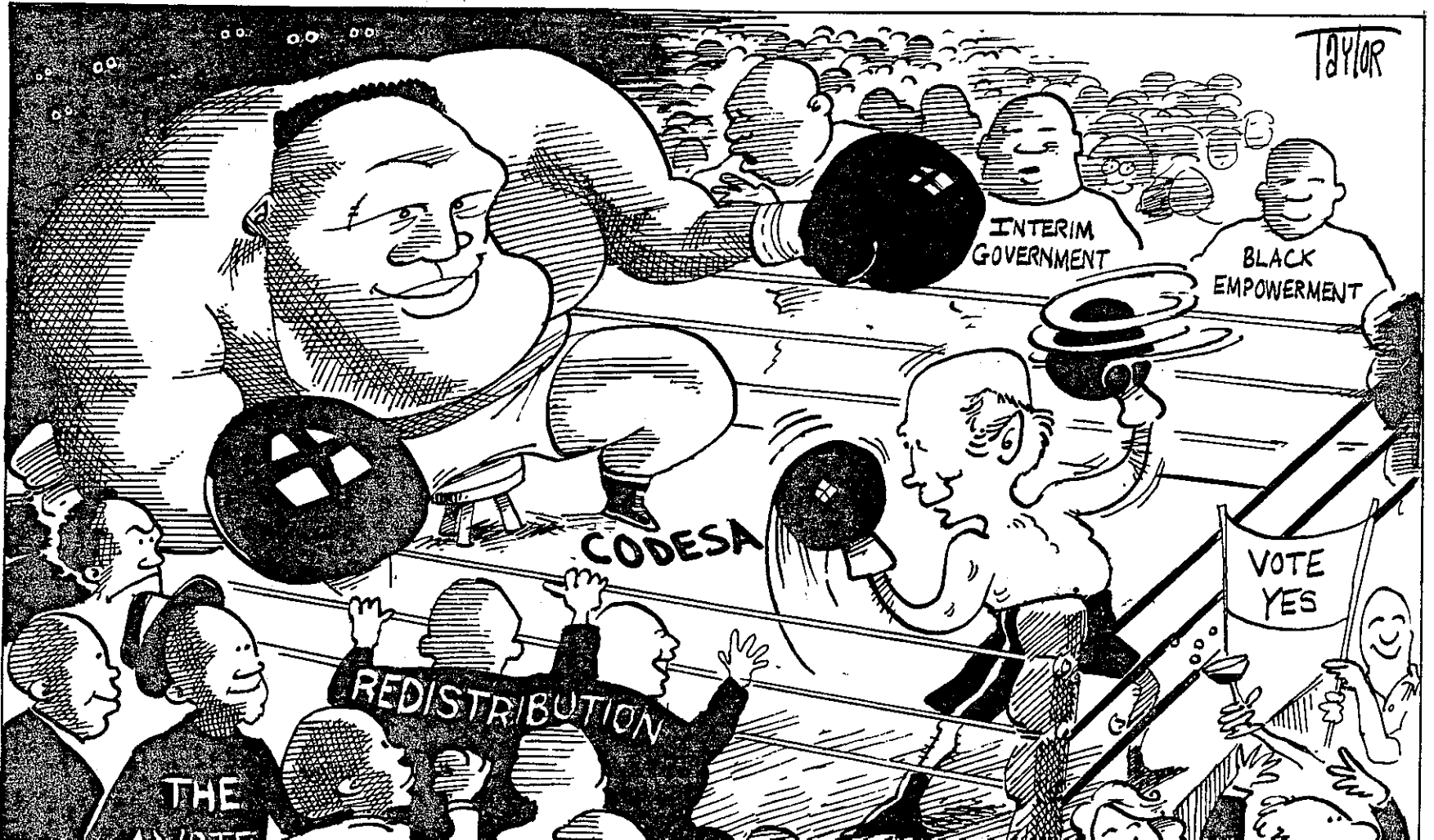
ONE more glass of champagne, and then let's put the rest of the case on ice. That, one imagines, will be the word from the De Klerk camp this weekend.

The referendum campaign was the closest the Nats have come in a while to some "mass action" of their own. But for now at least, white South Africa's impact on the political process is very much back in the hands of the politicians.

The referendum result has clearly strengthened the Nats' hand in crucial ways. The Potchefstroom by-election, which was less than a month ago, seems like a distant memory. This week's National Party scarcely resembles the bunch of worried men, desperately trying to dampen talk of division and dissent in their own ranks. The referendum gamble — and it was a gamble — confirmed De Klerk's standing as a politician who plays best when he plays boldly.

He has now laid to rest any doubts that the negotiation road is the one the majority of whites would choose. But after that, what?

Most of the cards the referendum has thrust into the State President's hand are trumps only in the game of white politics — apart from his enhanced international status which will again limit the ANC's room to



whites choose. But after that, what?

Most of the cards the referendum has thrust into the State President's hand are trumps only in the game of white politics — apart from his enhanced international status which will again limit the ANC's room to mount pressure.

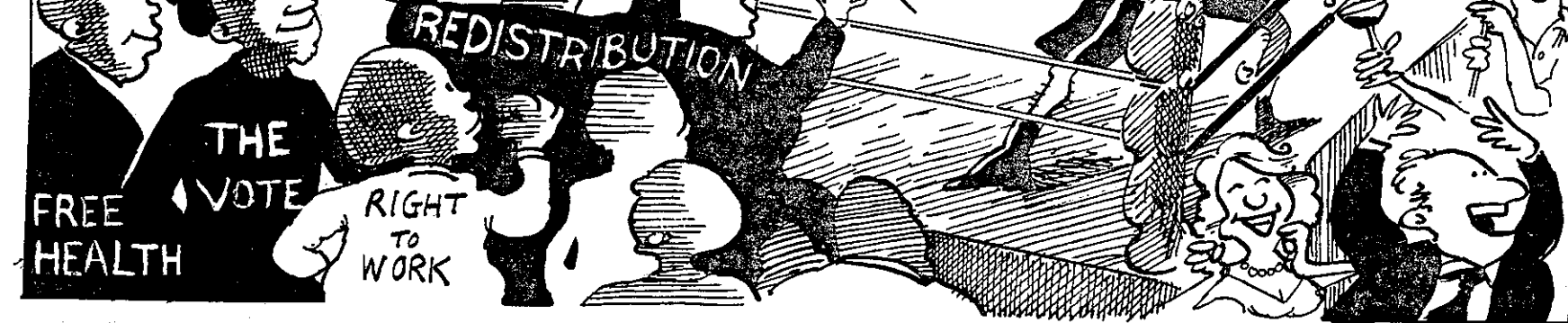
Is De Klerk going to go into Codesa interpreting his mandate as a "yes" for NP principles — despite the fact that many whites who voted "yes" would rather die than vote Nat? Or will he see his role now as endorsing a much broader New South Africanism?

That is what Mandela called on him to do soon after Wednesday's result was announced. "We now expect Mr De Klerk has been freed from all the political dilemmas of the National Party, political dilemmas of their own making. We hope National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group but that they will regard themselves now as part of the leadership of the total population."

Top Nats are rather vague on this point. NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe says: "The NP and the Government can now negotiate on the same basis as before their defeat in the Potchefstroom by-election. The size of the majority in Tuesday's referendum has strengthened the hand and confidence of the Government in negotiation."

Commentators have noted that in securing his solid "yes", De Klerk committed himself to positions on the constitution that looked dangerously like non-negotiables. Van der Merwe said this was not the case. "The bottom lines were there all along".

He acknowledged that negotiations have proceeded smoothly thus far because these non-negotiables have been avoided by concentrating first on the common areas between the different parties. "The NP knows that certain points will be difficult to nego-



tiated," Van der Merwe said. He stopped short of spelling out what they were, but said the nature of a future economic system could prove difficult in negotiations.

So could a number of other things. But for now at least South Africans won't mind a bit of banging on the negotiating table. The "yes" vote renewed hope of reaching a negotiated settlement.

The immediate gains of the referendum victory are in the blow delivered to the Right. Some within the CP will argue that the party should take its voting strength and take up a seat at the negotiating table.

**T**he far Right's threats of rebellion and war might test the resolve of sections of the security forces to act against their kin, and the ability of De Klerk to control armed forces, but where Eugene TerreBlanche and others have been hit is not so much in the rout of the "no" vote, but in the fact that charges of Nat betrayal now ring somewhat hollow.

Monday is the start of a new week in many ways — meetings of all working committees at Codesa and the start of a crucial period in which the President must turn the points he scored in this week's qualifying match into material advantage in the national finals.

The referendum was the last time politics would be played as a whites-only game. In the resumption of the main match,

**'We hope now that National Party leaders will stop regarding themselves as leaders of an ethnic group and regard themselves as part of the leadership of the total population.' — Nelson Mandela after the referendum.**

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some of the players who were temporarily sidelined will be making up for lost time. With the "yes" vote safely banked, the ANC and the SACP pointed out that they had accepted a whites-only poll very grudgingly indeed.

"Many of us considered it a bit of an outrage, an insult, that the decisive voice will be that of the whites," said Pallo Jordan, ANC director of publicity. "Whites must now accept the inevitability of one person one vote elections," said SACP chief Chris Hani. He cautioned that the euphoria generated by the landslide victory would have to give way to hard realism. "The fact is, millions of blacks are still without a say in government," he said.

Hani said De Klerk was "caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. He has to deal with whites who are nervous about the political empowerment of blacks. On the other hand, blacks say their political participation in government is long overdue.

"Now that the decks have been cleared and De Klerk has been given an endorsement, there can be no excuse in delaying the Codesa programme. We must make a drive for the

acceleration of Codesa. The outcome of Codesa is crucial to all of us. The referendum was for whites only. We must now prepare for Codesa II".

De Klerk this week agreed that Wednesday's landslide victory had indeed given impetus to the negotiations process. "We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time," he said. ANC president Nelson Mandela was even more specific. "Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992," he said. "We think this is possible. We sincerely hope, now that Mr De Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed."

The 19 participants at Codesa have already agreed on the need for transitional structures and that a "transitional executive authority" should be agreed upon and appointed by Codesa. But moving with speed is one thing, moving smoothly is another.

Jordan and Hani outlined areas of difference that would test Codesa's ability to find common ground. "What is plain is that the overwhelming majority of people in the country

want to see change, and now that majority includes whites as well. In this sense that makes the negotiations easier," Jordan said.

"At the same time we shouldn't deceive ourselves that because an area of commonality has been clearly established that the details are going to be easy to negotiate. I believe that the distance between white and black in South Africa has been narrowed on certain issues — votes for all, civil liberties, freedom of speech, the issue of checks and balances on government."

**U**P until now, the Government has had complete license and white voters have accepted that. Now the majority of whites realises that this could be very dangerous, Jordan says.

"But then there are other very significant differences. Newspaper editors and other white opinion makers refer mockingly to the ANC's concern for such things as the right to work, to health and education. There is a real gulf between black and white here. It comes out in the cavalier way

opinion makers dismiss our concerns about the inequitable distribution of wealth and resources. Those are going to be the most thorny areas of constitutional negotiation because they will require a sensitisation of whites to the poverty among blacks," Jordan says.

The other thorny patch, he says, is the ongoing violence, which was probably a more immediate concern in many townships than the referendum. "We have always been faced with this riddle: we have compelling evidence that military intelligence is deeply implicated in this violence. And if one understands the lines of command in SA they report directly to the President. If De Klerk knows about it, why does he do nothing about it? Either they are acting out his agenda, or they are so well entrenched he can't touch them. As long as these questions remain unanswered, it could mean that Codesa and other forces become irrelevant.

"You go to great lengths to reach agreement and some wild card outside does what he likes and gets away with it."

The ANC and the SACP have indicated clearly that they will not just be using Codesa to push demands. "The pressure has to be kept up, inside and outside," Jordan said. "We have already reiterated that various forms of sanctions need to be maintained and their lifting tied to the political process. And marches and demonstrations are still very much part of our thinking while the institutions of apartheid remain in place."

# ANC neglected coloured and Indians: Mandela

ANC 2/3/92  
1/28  
11A

**JOHN YELD**

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE ANC had been preoccupied with Africans and had neglected coloured people and Indians, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela was guest of honour at the inauguration of an ecology project at the Alexander Sinton High School in Thornton Road, Athlone.

Addressing a crowd of about 2 000, Mr Mandela said the ANC had to be ready to govern South Africa in its totality.

He said there had been a number of disturbing surveys indicating that coloured people and Indians supported the National Party in preference to the ANC.

The ANC had to bear part of the responsibility for this.

"In spite of decades of preaching nonracialism as a policy, in actual fact we've been preoccupied with the belief that we (Africans) are the dominant majority and other black minorities should take instructions from us.

"That is a serious mistake... there is no justification for us to conduct our struggle on the basis that it is the values of the African that are important."

A new thinking had to be developed, Mr Mandela said.

"Unless we are able to accept one another on the basis of equality, we are not going to be able to achieve the unity desirable for us to win a majority on a one-person, one-vote common voters' roll."

He said the first nonracial elections in South Africa should be held within the next few months.

Before planting a Cape ash in the school's new indigenous garden, Mr Mandela said one of the main concerns was the preservation of the natural heritage for future generations.

"This message has come a bit too late for our country."

Referring to environmental problems in Africa, such as the dumping of toxic waste and the pollution of rivers, Mr Mandela said environmental concerns had "unfortunately become the preserve of the rich."

"This indigenous garden is part of reclaiming our heritage."

After planting the tree Mr Mandela was mobbed by excited pupils.

His tight programme in the Peninsula ran more than an hour late.

## ANC shuts Ogies branch

<sup>C/PRESS 22/3/92</sup>  
THE ANC Eastern Transvaal region this week said it would disband its Ogies branch and impose a life-long membership ban on those implicated in criminal activities in Phola township. This follows the forced closure of shops in Phola by "criminal elements and thugs" who purported to be "comrades" (IA) (18)

ANC publicity secretary for the region, Jackson Mthembu, said: "The motive for closing the shops was mainly to force the local business community into giving money to the thugs." - Sapa

Membership not enough; now they have to answer questions

# INKATHA vs INKATHA

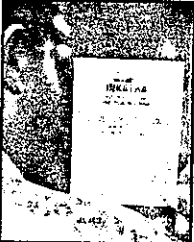
CP Reporters C/PRESS 22/3/92

THE fighting in Alexandra took a new turn this week - Inkatha was fighting Inkatha.

Scores of card-carrying Inkatha members were among those forced to flee their homes after an attack by Zulu-speaking hostel inmates who questioned their credentials and loyalty to the Inkatha Freedom Party. (115 288)

These Inkatha people have now fled their homes which border the notorious KwaMadaia Hostel, an Inkatha stronghold, for the safety of the local council offices.

As attacks on residents continued unabated yesterday morning, a well-known local businessman, Edward "Edoms" Bhengu, was shot dead outside his house.



Eyewitnesses claim he was loading his possessions trying to take his family to safety when he was shot at close range by attackers who wanted to know why he was leaving the area.

**USELESS ... Cards** The displaced families of the hostel said they wanted to occupy the area between First and Sixth Avenues. Since they fled their homes, this strip of land has now become a "no-go" area and an IFP stronghold.

Most families whose houses border the Madala Hostel fled after imps allegedly raided their homes and assaulted them this week for failing to answer certain questions regarding the IFP.

The questions, it is claimed, distinguish between true Inkatha members and those who have taken out membership for protection. Wrong answers could mean serious assault or even death.

Some families conceded they took out IFP membership for protection against being killed by the organisation's supporters.

Most of the "members" expressed fear at being identified by their attackers and refused to have their names published.

They were even scared to produce their membership cards and said they had left them behind when they fled after realising they served no purpose.

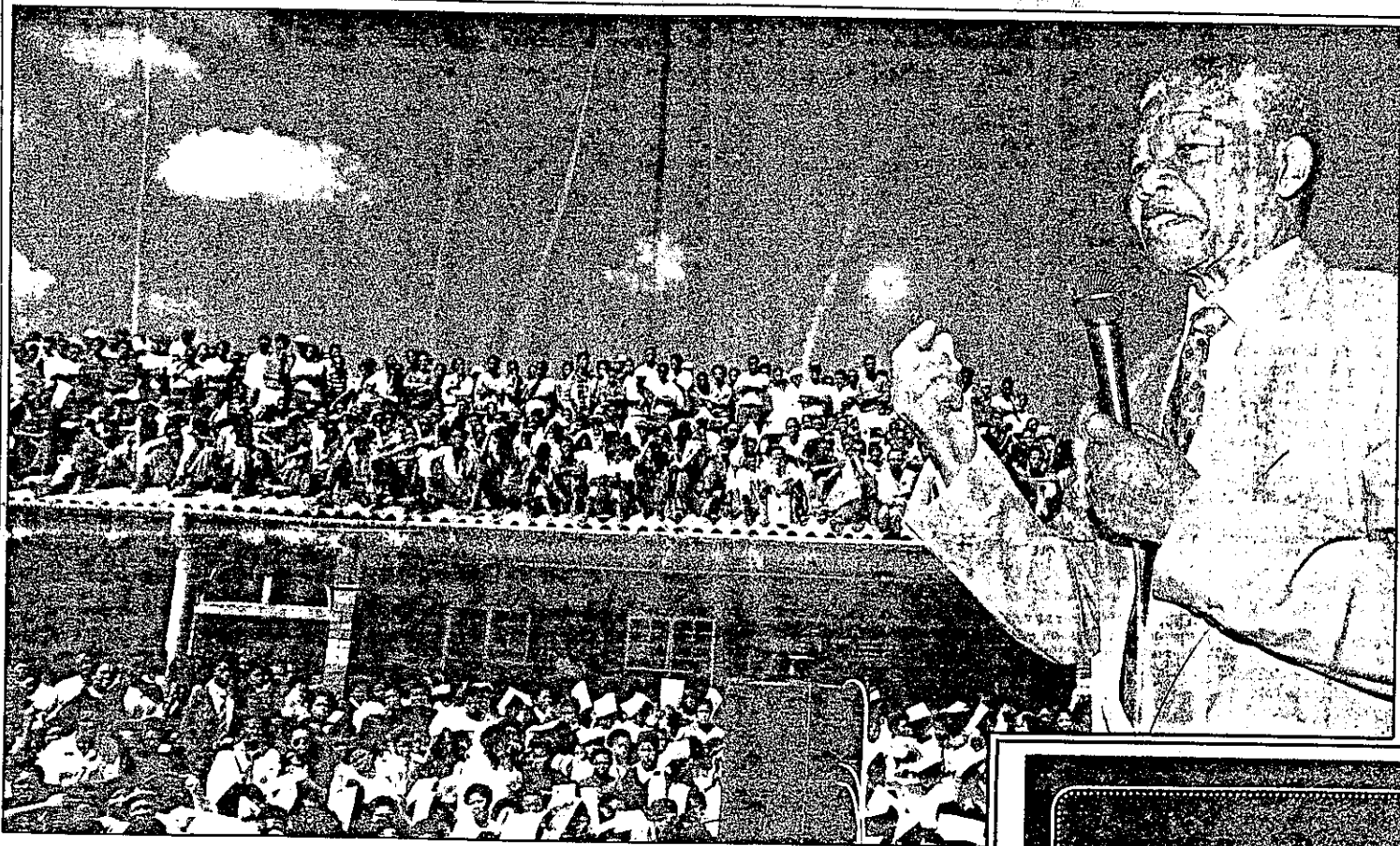
Residents told City Press adults had to pay R5 a month for membership. They also had to pay R3 for every child in the household.

Displaced families said they were told by their assailants that attacks were no longer directed at the ANC and Xhosa-speaking people only but at all non-Zulus.

Families said they were attacked after IFP members accused them of harbouring ANC members in their homes.

Most took only what they could carry. By Friday all their houses had been occupied by new tenants - members of the IFP proper.

The IFP chairman in the area, Simon Nxumalo, an employee of the township's town council, denied IFP supporters occupied an individual house.



**A LEADER SPEAKS ...** Nelson Mandela addressing a rally in Langa on Friday. The ANC yesterday denied rumours that their leader was not well. C/PRESS 22/3/92

Photo: FANIE JASON

## Taunts as rivals recall Sharpeville

By THEMBA KHUMALO (111)

THE ANC and PAC held huge rallies within shouting distance of each other at Sharpeville yesterday to remember the killing of 69 blacks by police 32 years ago.

The rallies, which were clearly aimed at proving support for each organisation, became tense

But the ANC, whose members gathered at Miami Beach, an open space on the outskirts of Sharpeville, displayed their massive support with about 30 000 party faithful attending their rally.

The PAC however, whose members were led by Clarence Makwethu, had no more than 1 000 supporters at their rally at

pressed were being sold out by certain organisations at Codesa.

ANC supporters on the other hand, responded by shouting anti-PAC slogans such as "One settler, one bullet after 10 years".

However, recrimination between the parties passed without any incident.

of Codesa at the instruction of their supporters.

The ANC and all those who participated in Codesa were then roundly condemned as sell-outs who would not achieve genuine liberation for the masses.

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo received the free-

### 'Mandela in good health'

ANC leader Nelson Mandela was in good health, a Western Cape spokesman for the ANC said in Cape Town yesterday.

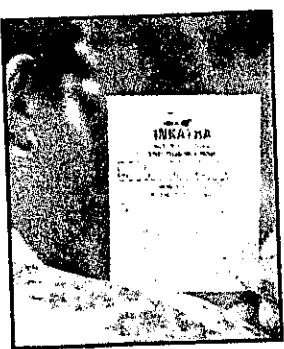
An ANC marshal told a Sapa representative at a Sharpeville memorial service in Nyanga township that Mandela was resting on doctor's orders and would not attend the service.

ANC spokesman Willie Hofmeyr said Mandela was in good health and that he missed the service because of a misunderstanding.

He said no other meetings set for Mandela had been cancelled, and that he would address a rally in Khayelitsha.

"Mandela is in excellent health. There was a misunderstanding with arrangements made and that is why he missed the Nyanga service," Hofmeyr said. - Sapa

Mills  
SPECIAL



day morning, a well-known local businessman, Edward "Edoms" Bhengu, was shot dead outside his house.

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### USELESS ... Cards

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Families said they were attacked after IFP members accused them of harbouring ANC members in their homes.

Most took only what they could carry. By Friday all their houses had been occupied by new tenants - members of the IFP proper.

The IFP chairman in the area, Simon Nxumalo, an employee of the township's town council, denied IFP supporters assaulted or intimidated any of the displaced families.

He demanded that the threatened families prove their assailants were IFP supporters.

He said: "Anyone who is not our member can threaten people in the name of the IFP and we can't just take the blame. There are scores of hostel dwellers who are not necessarily our members."

Nxumalo said there were also displaced families in the hostel complex who were kicked out of the township by ANC supporters last year. Although they were Zulu-speaking, the families were not necessarily IFP supporters. They were harassed simply because they were Zulus.

### March

Families rejected his explanation, saying it did not happen anywhere in the world that criminals expected their victims to produce party-political membership cards.

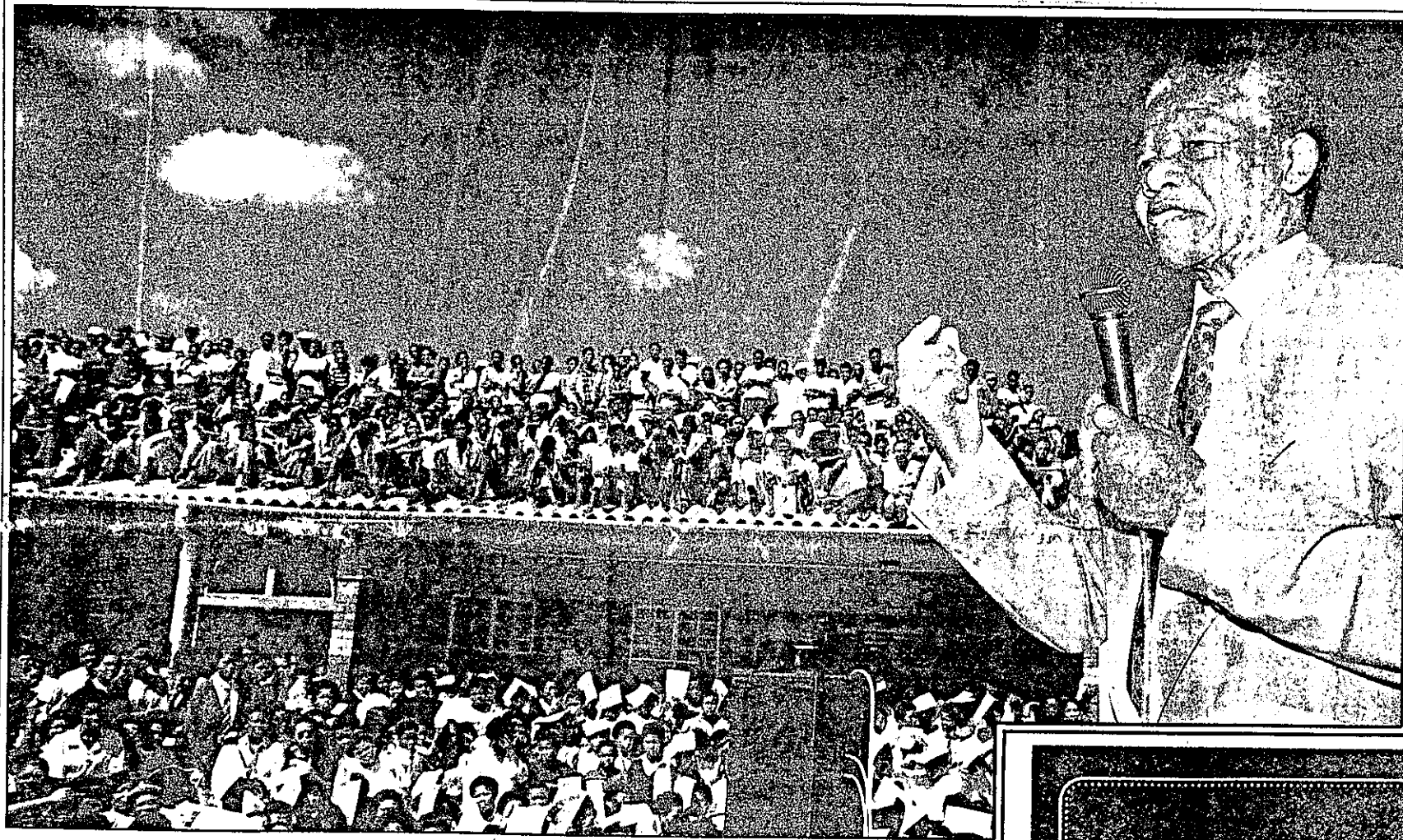
A march is being planned for Thursday for residents to demand the immediate removal of the hostel and the shacks occupied by IFP members in the township.

The angry families want the hostel, probably the largest on the Reef, either demolished or converted into family units.

The families were initially housed in churches, halls and a recreation centre.

They said when the council did not respond to their request for protection or alternative accommodation, they besieged the council premises.





# 'Mandela in good health'

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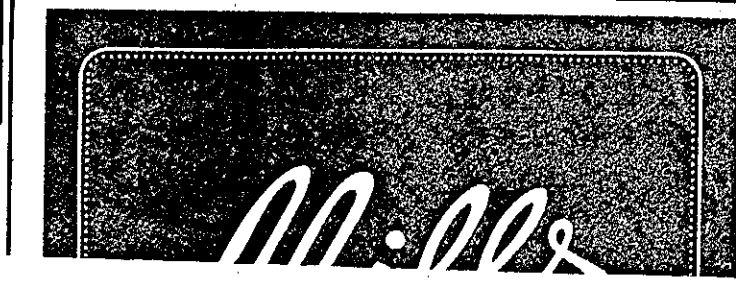
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A LEADER SPEAKS . . . Nelson Mandela addressing a rally in Langa on Friday. The ANC yesterday denied rumours that their leader was not well.

(11A) CIPRESS 22/3/92

PICT: FANIE JASON



# Taunts as rivals recall Sharpeville

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE ANC and PAC held huge rallies within shouting distance of each other at Sharpeville yesterday to remember the killing of 69 blacks by police 32 years ago.

The rallies, which were clearly aimed at proving support for each organisation, became tense as rival supporters taunted each other during the march through the township's main street.

But the ANC, whose members gathered at Miami Beach, an open space on the outskirts of Sharpeville, displayed their massive support with about 30 000 party faithful attending their rally.

The PAC however, whose members were led by Clarence Makwethu, had no more than 1 000 supporters at their rally at Sharpeville stadium.

PAC faithfuls chanted anti-Codesa slogans, saying the op-

pressed were being sold out by certain organisations at Codesa.

ANC supporters on the other hand, responded by shouting anti-PAC slogans such as "One settler, one bullet after 10 years".

However, recrimination between the parties passed without any incident.

Renewed tension between the ANC and PAC started late last year when the PAC pulled out

of Codesa at the instruction of their supporters.

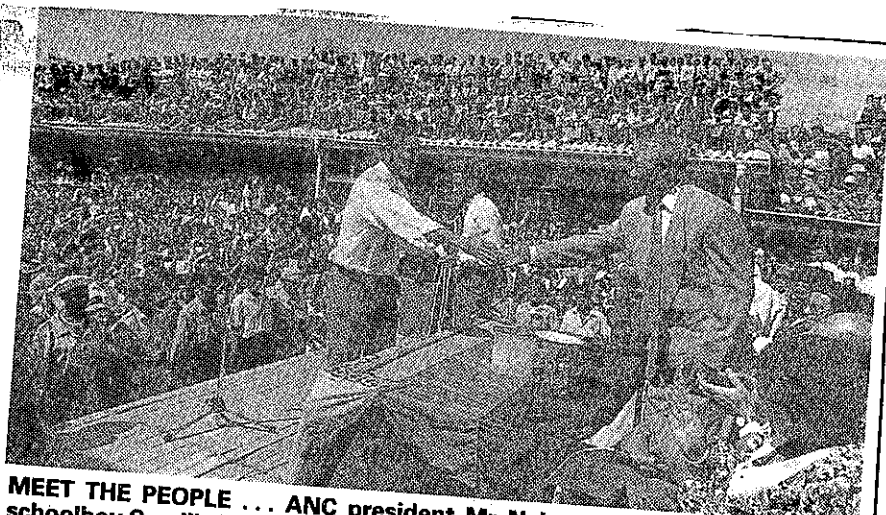
The ANC and all those who participated in Codesa were then roundly condemned as sellouts who would not achieve genuine liberation for the masses.

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo received the freedom of Vereeniging at the rally which was addressed by SACP general secretary Chris Hani,

IED march

Thandi





**MEET THE PEOPLE ...** ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela congratulates schoolboy Sandile Dikeni after he performed a poetry reading at Langa High School on Friday  
Picture: JACK LESTRADE

## Mandela's tough tour of W. Cape to boost support

By KURT SWART

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela this week undertook a gruelling, presidential-style "meet the people" campaign through the Western Cape, aimed at boosting support for the ANC in the region.

Mr Mandela's tour, although planned before the announcement of the referendum of white voters, fell in the same week as the State President's triumph. The Cape Town region posted a massive 85 percent "yes" vote in the referendum.

The ANC is known to be concerned with its lack of support in communities outside the black townships in the Western Cape and particularly its failure to make serious inroads into the "coloured" community, which is in a majority in the region.

With a new constitution now closer than ever, and

the elections that would follow, one of the major battles in the region for voters' support will be between the ANC and the National Party. And, with "coloureds" making up more than 50 percent of the area's population, the party that captures the "coloured" vote should come out on top.

The National Party has moved fast to capitalise on the opening of its ranks and NP branches have been opened in many predominantly "coloured" areas.

Mr Mandela charmed the Muslim community of Cape Town by beginning an address with the traditional Muslim greeting "Assalamu Alaykoem" at the Schotsche Kloof civic centre on Thursday — and received another standing ovation when he announced that an ANC

□ To Page 3

# US aid money not for Winnie, ANC is told

11A

By SIMON BARBER  
Washington

THE US government has told the ANC that millions of rands in congressional aid must not be used to pay salaries of top officials, including Mrs Winnie Mándela.

The ANC agreed to the demand, ending months of delay in handing out the funds to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The US will now start dispensing the money by the end of the month after an undertaking by the ANC that it will be used only to pay salaries for "clerical staff".

This has been confirmed by US administration officials and congressional staff.

The money is part of a \$10-million pot appropriated by Congress in 1990 "to support programmes and activities of organisations to encourage negotiations" on a new South African constitution.

## Violence

After more than a year of wrangling with pro-ANC and pro-IFP factions in Congress, the State Department and the US Agency for International Development determined last August that the ANC would receive \$4.5-million and the IFP \$2.5-million.

The remainder was to be channelled to the National Endowment for Democracy and the US Information Agency to run a variety of negotiations-related programmes.

The PAC and Azapo were not included because of a provision in the original congressional appropriation limiting assistance to groups "committed to a suspension of violence".

The task of distributing the funds to the ANC and IFP was given to the US-South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), a highly regarded, non-partisan group with offices in Washington and Johannesburg.

## Warning

Ussalep must also ensure that the organisations spent the money within guidelines established by the State Department and USAID to prevent it being used for overtly party political purposes.

The money must go towards helping the organisations set up secretariats to assist them in negotiations. Envisaged expenditures included office rental and the purchase of computers, fax machines and furniture.

This represents an attempt to heed the recommendations of a South African consulting firm, Zille Shandler Associates, which USAID retained last year to assess the ANC's and IFP's needs.

"It could be highly controversial inside South Africa," the consultants warned in May, "if funds allocated by Congress were used to build the support base of any political organisation in the contest for political power."

## Accept

The latest delay came last month over what US officials politely termed a "misunderstanding" on the part of the ANC that it could use its share to pay salaries of senior officials.

According to congressional sources, these at one point included ANC president Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie.

The US administration was not prepared to accept this use of the funds. "It was a non-starter," an official said.

# PAC set to review line on Codesa

STimes (cm) 22/3/92

11A



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**CH TRUMS**

**THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is preparing for a watershed congress in Umtata from April 3 to 6 where its future role in South African politics will be decided.**

PAC's information and publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, said in Cape Town this week that the conference would review "the way forward for PAC in the new South Africa".

It would consider and analyse the agreements already reached at Codesa and its implications on PAC's own strategy in relation to those decisions.

He said PAC had a mandate to negotiate with the Government on a bilateral basis although, he believed, that agreements already reached at Codesa postulated a possible ANC/NP government.

He said PAC anticipated an interim government by June this year and a one-man-one-vote election by March-June next year.

The Umtata congress will have to decide whether PAC should ignore those elections or participate, he said.

It would also have to decide whether to call another gathering like the Patriotic Front Conference to pursue "a genuine Constituent Assembly".

### Crucial

Mr Desai said PAC did not believe that not being part of Codesa "excluded it from unilaterally taking part in the shaping of South Africa through bilateral discussions with the regime to achieve a genuine democratic South Africa".

Observers believe, however, that unless certain PAC resolutions of the past are rescinded and it adopts a more reasonable and realistic approach to transition, it might have no alternative but to go underground, making the Umtata deliberations crucial for PAC's future political role.

PAC was a main player in the October 1991 Patriotic Front Conference where joint strategy among extra-parliamentary liberation bodies were planned for achieving the goal of a democratic new South Africa.

But while PAC had withdrawn from the Codesa talks, most of the other Patriotic Front players who applied to be part of Codesa are presently represented among the 19 Codesa constituent components.

After walking out of the

**By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter**

Codesa preparatory meeting in Johannesburg on November 29-30 last year, PAC held a "consultative" conference in Cape Town in December where the organisation's leadership failed to convince its rank-and-file of the wisdom of participatory politics.

It is understood leadership had hoped the consultative conference would give it a fresh mandate to state PAC's case at Codesa but instead, to chants of "Down With Codesa", a resolution was adopted that PAC should withdraw — unless its bottom-line demand for an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution was met.

### Neutral

PAC is still bound by hard-line resolutions that it would not negotiate with the government "unless negotiations are preceded by an election for a Constituent Assembly on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a common voters roll in a unitary state".

PAC is prepared to pre-negotiate only the modalities of creating the Constituent Assembly and that talks should take place at a neutral venue.

PAC further remains committed to continue the armed struggle and to the Pan Africanist policy on the return of the land and all other resources "to the toiling and dispossessed African masses".

# Blacks pray Pietersburg doesn't drown its sorrow in blood

# TOWN WITH NO

## CP Correspondent

BLACK reaction to the 'no' vote win in the Pietersburg region varied from a dismissive "So what?" to concern and apprehension that rightwingers may go on the offensive against blacks.

But liberals in the town, including journalists, said the town was bearing the brunt of a 'no' vote which included areas such as Nylstroom, Naboomspruit and Potgietersrus - known citadels of the far right.

CIPRESS 22/3/92

Liberals and the local chamber of commerce in Pietersburg insist that the town itself, where the National Party currently holds a slim majority, voted 'yes', but was overwhelmed by the other areas.

### Bark in the bush

Working-class black apathy to the referendum was clear on voting day when two gardeners who were cleaning a municipality parking lot remarked that "now that we have cleaned the yard and the hall, they can go in and decide our fate".

The two men said they did not

see how the result would directly affect their lives.

"Whoever wins, I will still be here working for very little money," one of them said.

After the results were announced and the area was shown to be the only region in the country to have shunned De Klerk's reform initiative, many blacks shrugged off the results and said the rightwing did not have the capacity to stop the reform tide.

"They can continue to bark in the bush and farms where they stay, but the process of changing

this country will go on. Codesa must move ahead and bring in a more representative government and deal with the fascists more sternly," said a chemist scooter driver who asked not to be named.

Others, such as Lawrence Moroasui of Mashite in Ga-Mphahlele, said he was not surprised by the results.

"This is a genuine reflection of the attitude of whites in this region. I do not believe the story that whites in Pietersburg voted 'yes' in the majority because the day-to-day interaction of blacks with whites in the town itself is in line

with the outcome," he said.

Moroasui said the likelihood of rightwing attacks was greater now, but said this was not only attributable to the referendum but also to the growing momentum of attacks by far rightists all over the country.

### Wounded tigers

"Now they are going to come full force like wounded tigers. Blacks have to brace themselves for this," he said.

Journalist Russel Molefe, who stays in the far rightwing strong-

old of Louis Trichardt, said he had known the result in the region could only be 'no'.

"They were honest and it means blacks in the region have to realise the resistance among these people against even the dismissable reforms of the National Party. This calls for more unity among blacks to protect themselves against the coming backlash of the far right," Molefe said.

So far no incident has been reported resulting from the obvious anger of the right in losing the referendum.

# SHAME

**ANC warned: Disband MK or there will be no Codesa 2**

# NOW FOR THE SHOWDOWN

S/Times 22/3/92

~~22/3~~ 11A



By **MIKE ROBERTSON,**  
**EDYTH BULBRING** and  
**CHARLENE SMITH**

**THE government and the ANC are locked in a test of strength — only days after President FW De Klerk's resounding referendum win.**

Cabinet ministers said this weekend there would be no Codesa 2 unless the ANC finally abandoned the armed struggle and dismantled its military wing.

But Chris Hani, SA Communist Party leader and head of MK, yesterday told a Sharpeville Day gathering that the ANC's private army would not be disbanded. He said a new army would be created for South Africa — and it would not be the SA Defence Force.

At the same rally ANC, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, told an applauding crowd that Mr De Klerk would have to face a real election in December — "and then we will know what a landslide is".

## Strike

Meanwhile, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that his organisation would destroy South Africa's economy unless the government agreed to



**KEPLER WESSELS ... top of the pops**

# Why Imran doesn't want to face SA in final

**PAKISTAN** captain Imran Khan will be rooting for England in today's World Cup cricket semi-final at

By **COLIN BRYDEN**  
Sydney

duce another outstanding performance.

"The youngsters have grabbed these opportuni-

and then we will know what a tax-  
is".

# Strike

Meanwhile, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned on Friday that his organisation would destroy South Africa's economy — unless the government reversed its decision to impose VAT on eight basic foodstuffs in 10 days' time.

And Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, also at Sharpeville yesterday, threatened that unless an interim government was established by July there would be a general strike the likes of which had never been experienced in South Africa.

The sudden sabre-rattling spells the end of the tacit truce called by the parties during the referendum campaign and marks the beginning of tough negotiations for a political settlement.

Outlining first details of the "Super Cabinet" they envisage will be ruling South Africa within months, top government negotiators Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer this week bluntly warned that any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle.

They also said there would be no Codesa 2 — the plenary session scheduled for the end of April — unless the dispute over participation by the Zulu king was resolved.

Anticipating tough negotiations in forthcoming weeks, Dr Viljoen said: "We will enter a new phase of debate where what has been avoided will become the central focus."



THREAT: Mandela

He said the government would require a comprehensive agreement on all aspects of the DF Malan Accord, which dealt with the suspension of the armed struggle, a transitional executive and the role to be played by security forces in the transitional period.

Mr Meyer said there would have to be agreement on the scrapping of private armies before South Africa could enter the transitional period.

At the heart of Codesa's work in the weeks immediately ahead is the creation of an appointed "Super Cabinet" which will run the country, and in particular the security forces, until an elected interim government is in place.

Both government and ANC negotiators are confident that agreement will be reached before the end of April, in time for Codesa 2, and that the interim executive will be in place before the end of July.

The government wants the ANC to share power and have full responsibility for decisions taken by the interim executive. The ANC wants an interim executive, comprising all the Codesa political parties, which will oversee four multi-party committees — budget, local government, security and foreign affairs — and two non-partisan commissions, the media and the electoral process.

Dr Viljoen this week proposed a formula whereby other Codesa members could be drawn into cabinet-level responsibility while still having the right to opt out if they wish — rather like the position of Amichand Rajbansi and Alan Hendrickse in the tripartite government of President PW Botha.

One of the options the government will propose

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# Showdown looms

From Page 1

to Codesa is the appointment of multi-party committees to advise the "Super Cabinet" on issues such as the security forces. The committees would be "consultative", but it would be difficult for the cabinet minister concerned to ignore their demands.

Some senior NP members appear to favour limiting participation in an interim executive comprising 20 to 24 members to five major parties, while others believed the "Super Cabinet" should be as widely representative as possible. *Si Times 22/3/92*

Dr Viljoen added that the government would not accept the ANC's idea of creating a structure that would be above the present cabinet and Parliament.

Despite Mr Hani's public rhetoric, however, government negotiators believe there are signs of compromise.

Mr Meyer said he believed there was general acceptance on the side of the ANC that the setting up of an appointed interim executive needed to be linked to abandoning the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

ANC negotiators, meanwhile, dismissed suggestions that the existence of MK and the demand that it renounce the armed struggle constituted a major obstacle. *11A*

This matter would be dealt with in setting up mechanisms to control all security forces and private armies that would form part of the agreement on the interim executive.

The row between the government and the ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance over joint decision-making in the economy has, meanwhile, resurrected itself in the wake of the referendum.

Mr Mandela — on three occasions in Cape Town on Friday — attacked the reimposition of VAT on eight basic foodstuffs exempted last year to assist the poor — and threatened to destroy the economy with mass action to stop the extended tax being imposed on March 31.

Finance Minister Bar-end du Plessis declined to comment. National Party chief finance spokesman Dr Francois Jacobsz said Mr Mandela's comments were highly irresponsible and lacked insight.

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RY SHEAN  
To Page 2

# ANC: Delay deals with neighbours

11A  
S/Times (Buss) 22/3/92

THE ANC believes there should be a moratorium on the government's attempts to draw neighbouring states into bilateral negotiations with long-term implications for future economic co-operation.

Professor Robert Davies, a researcher working with the ANC's economic policy department, says agreements under discussion should be subject to greater scrutiny by a broader range of forces in SA and by regional organisations.

This is because they could hamper the development of an "equitable, mutually beneficial and non-hegemonic" pattern of regional co-operation after apartheid.

**By ZILLA EFRAT**

An ANC working group is examining options for SA's future dealings with southern African countries. While its policies are not yet rounded off, the ANC has repeatedly expressed support for closer regional co-operation in southern Africa.

This support comes against the background of increasingly competitive international markets and concern that other regional trade blocs may become more protectionist.

The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference says it will allow a future democratic SA to become a member. Until then, liberation movements such as the ANC and PAC will represent SA through a joint working committee.

But the ANC expects regional co-operation to begin to take off more openly and systematically once an interim government is in place.

Professor Davies, a co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says the ANC believes co-operation must be rooted in ending existing regional disparities.

"We cannot ignore the gap of more than 5:1 between exports and imports to Africa, or the appalling damage and distortions caused by the policies of destabilisation."

He says there is no chance of promoting growth and development in SA while the rest of southern Africa stagnates.

Clandestine migration from crisis-ridden neighbouring countries is already swelling the ranks of SA's unemployed and homeless.

## Balanced

Also, it is well known that the smuggling of arms and drugs to SA is among the most lucrative forms of "unrecorded trade" in the region.

Professor Davies says these trends will continue, and may worsen, unless there is balanced growth throughout the region after apartheid.

SA would have to boost the income-earning capacity of its neighbours while improving the productivity and competitiveness of its own industries. And the only way to do this was through closer regional co-operation.

## Plans for PAC/BCM Patriotic Front

THE PAC has revealed plans are underway to form a Patriotic Front with the Black Consciousness Movement, signalling the end of an alliance with the ANC. *CIPRESS 22/3/92*

PAC spokesman Raymond Fihla said in Harare on Friday that the first Patriotic Front – which included the ANC – had broken up because the ANC was negotiating with Pretoria. *(HA)*

Codesa was being used as a platform to expose agreements which had already been reached between the ANC and the government, Fihla said.

“We know there have been a lot of secret meetings in Harare, and that is where all the agreements were reached,” Fihla said.



## ANC renews the Ciskei fight

S/Times 22/3/92  
AN accord between Ciskei and the ANC is in tatters, and the latter has vowed to intensify its campaign for "peace and democracy". (JA)

Three weeks after the ANC dropped plans to oust the military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, it has announced it will "intensify its campaign" of mass action. (AS)

# More blacks pessimistic study

THEO RAWANA

8/10 a/j 23/3/92  
FEWER blacks saw a brighter future for SA than six months before, and more saw a possibility of things getting worse, the latest Markinor study has found.

In a report titled Socio-Political Trends — December 1991, Markinor said the outlook of the future was affected by the dismal present situation. In spite of a deepening sense of gloom, blacks continued to be more optimistic than whites, "but the euphoria is over".

Markinor interviewed 800 white men and women (urban and rural), and 1 300 blacks, male and female (living in metropolitan areas).

Markinor said the economic situation, already grim in the last survey, was deteriorating and only a few whites and blacks experienced an improvement in their financial situation, whereas increasing proportions (36% blacks and 52% whites) saw their position worsen.

In line with the depressed picture among blacks, their confidence in a happy future has also taken a knock. "The positive score (very or fairly confident) dropped from

73% to 59%, or by 14 points; those not very or not at all confident increased from 27% to 40%." The outlook of whites, according to Markinor, showed less variation, but even here optimism decreased.

"The two racial groups have thus become very similar in their assessment of the future — different to earlier surveys in which blacks had shown (unrealistic) hopes and expectations," the researchers said.

In white-black relationships, the survey found that whereas in the past blacks assessed these positively, now a third of either race described the relationship positively and another third, average.

"Smaller proportions of blacks feel the racial situation is improving: from a high 53% in May 1990 the score declined continuously to the present 38%.

"Among whites the attitude remained fairly stable with roughly half of whites confirming a positive racial development, with only one in four whites seeing a deterioration," said Markinor.

# ANC to decide on Dutch visit

ANC leaders would meet this week to make a final decision on the proposed visit later this year of Dutch premier Ruud Lubbers. *B/xy 23/3/92*.

ANC international relations department official Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday that no final decision had yet been made about the Dutch politicians' visit.

Saloojee denied that approval had been given by the ANC, saying ANC president Nelson Mandela and Lubbers agreed at the recent World Economic Forum in Davos that no visit would take place until an interim government was installed.

ANC leaders would inform the Dutch government of their decision after their meeting this week, Saloojee said.

CHRIS BATEMAN reports from London that the Dutch government said last week

DARIUS SANAI

it was as confused as ever over about whether the ANC had approved or vetoed its planned August visit to SA.

Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers told his parliament on Thursday, hours after it finally approved the dates, that it was however "too early" to lift economic sanctions against SA. *(11/19)*

However, a spokesman for Lubbers in The Hague said yesterday approval for the visit by Lubbers, his finance minister Wim Kok and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek had been given "at least twice" by the ANC.

Dutch presidential spokesman Jaap van der Ploeg said that at the Davos summit Mandela had agreed to August as the month for the visit.

(11A) CT 23/3/92

# Mandela appeals to PAC, Azapo

Staff Reporter

THE ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, speaking at Paarl yesterday, appealed to the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) to join the Patriotic Front and Codesa.

Mr Mandela addressed an estimated 15 000 people.

The ANC had asked the PAC and Azapo to join the ANC in a united front and to join Codesa.

"We ask them now to come back to Codesa. If we can speak to the

National Party we would like to speak to our flesh and blood. There's room for them in the Patriotic Front and Codesa," he said to applause.

However, in Johannes-

burg on Saturday, the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, accused Codesa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium, Mr Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front.

● Speaking at a Sharpeville Day rally, Cosatu secretary-general Mr Jay Naidoo threatened a mass general strike if an interim government was not in place by July, Sapa reports.

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

# Govt proposals on interim body expected

STAR 23/3/92

The Government is expected today to make proposals for a multiparty interim body to give blacks advisory powers in central Government during the transition to a new constitution.

Government sources disclosed at the weekend that the plans would be submitted to Codesa's working group three today.

They indicated that the proposed mechanism was intended to function during the first phase of interim government —

until elections for a transitional legislature.

If, as sources suggest, the Government plans to only give blacks powers in the run-up to elections, it could run into stiff opposition from the ANC and other parties at Codesa.

The plan would not entail an extension of the present Cabinet, the sources said.

The idea of creating an interim government executive by extending the Cabinet was mooted by the Government a few weeks ago.

The plan submitted today will

be a response to an ANC plan for interim government published last month.

This proposed an interim government council appointed by Codesa to "supervise" the present Cabinet and trilateral Parliament during the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly. The interim council would also supervise specialist commissions overseeing vital areas of government.

But the council would not take full responsibility for government — because of ANC fears that it would then be

blamed for administering the remnants of apartheid while not wielding enough power to eradicate them.

The ANC plan clashed with the Government's insistence that any interim Government partners would have to share joint responsibility as well as joint control.

Government sources said last night that if the ANC refused to accept full responsibility for an interim government, then the only alternative was some form of advisory powers during the

transition for those outside Parliament.

This would form the basis of the Government's proposals at Codesa today. The Government sources stressed that today's proposals would have to be seen as only a first phase of transition. Earlier this month the Government agreed in principle with other Codesa parties that Codesa should appoint a "transitional executive structure".

It is not clear how today's proposals would tally with this idea. The proposals were finalised

this weekend at a meeting of President de Klerk and the heads of the Government and National Party delegations to Codesa's five working groups.

Although all Codesa delegates now expect Codesa to get into top gear after the referendum, several large problems loom.

Apart from possible disagreements over today's Government plan, one of the major obstacles to agreement on interim government — from the Government's point of view — is the ANC's military wing unknown to

we Sizwe.

Throughout the referendum campaign, Cabinet ministers insisted that they would not enter into any agreement on interim government, until the ANC finally renounced the armed struggle and fulfilled its various undertakings about controlling MK arms and activities.

Although this could cause problems, some Government and other Codesa sources believe the ANC will agree to joint control and monitoring of MK once some form of interim government has begun.

At the weekend Mr Mandela said the ANC would not disband its armed wing before the Government had phased out the South African Defence Force.

# Mandela seeks to allay white job fears

Staff Reporter and Sapa

STAR 23/3/92 (114)

The ANC would have to retire some senior civil servants, but would ensure they received their pensions, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Addressing about 18 000 people at the Khayelisha rugby stadium in commemoration of the fatal shooting of 69 Sharpeville residents on March 21 1960, Mr Mandela said there was a fear, particularly among whites, that if the ANC came to power it would "throw everybody into the streets" and that people would lose their jobs.

"There is that fear. There is no such intention. The ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner."

The ANC would certainly demoralise the security and civil services, as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid.

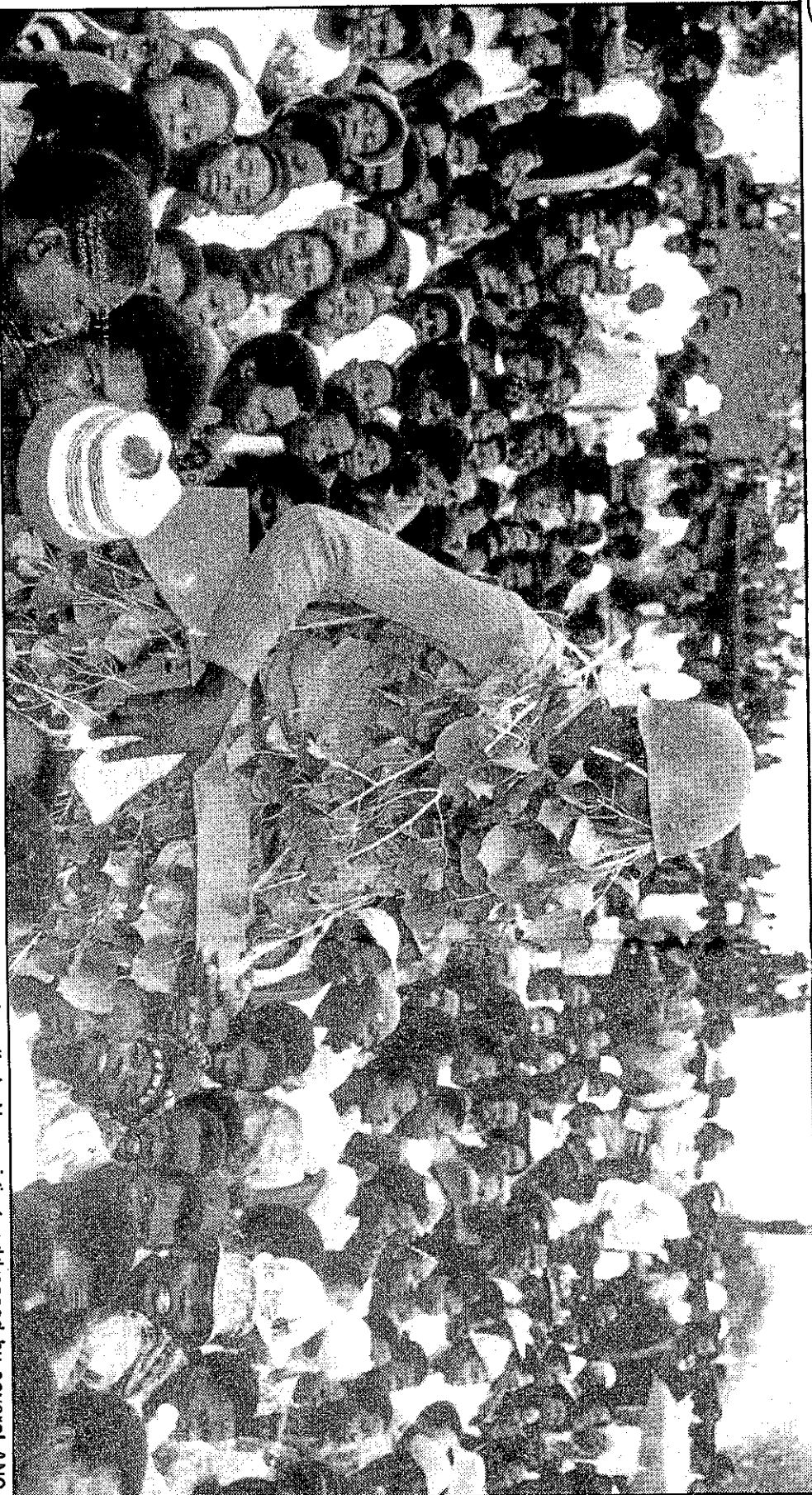
"But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension as a result of having to retire early."

ANC people were being trained overseas for senior positions, Mr Mandela said.

"We will have to retire people in the top structures of these services and bring in people who are committed to democracy. But we will do this in a humane manner."

Later, at a rally at Dal Josafat Stadium in Paarl yesterday, Mr Mandela made a plea for black unity, urging the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codessa.

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the ANC and warned the Government of strong ANC reaction if it went ahead to lift the VAT exemption on basic foods. The ANC president also came



Toy soldier . . . a spectator dressed in mock camouflage uniform caused amusement at Saturday's rally in Vereeniging, addressed by several ANC leaders and held in commemoration of the Sharpeville shootings in 1960. Picture: Abdul Shariff

out strongly in defence of Afrikaans, beginning and ending his speech in that language. He said the ANC wanted to transform Afrikaans from being the language of the oppressor, the police and the jails into the language of the people and democracy.

"Our main demand is one people, one nation."

He said the Government had set March 31 as the date when basic food previously exempted from VAT would be subjected to tax.

"Let them know we regard that as a challenge and that there is going to be a lot of tur-

moll in this country if they go ahead. We are going to fight. If business does not come forward to induce the Government to change this decision, there will be problems in this country."

He interrupted his address, when informed that a bus-load of ANC supporters had been arrested while on their way to the rally, to accuse the Government of talking peace with the ANC on the one hand and waging war on the organisation on the other.

Several ANC leaders spoke at a rally in Vereeniging attended by about 10 000 people. ANC national chairman

Oliver Tambo said the Sharpeville shootings had given force to the fight against apartheid.

"It inflamed the hearts of South Africans throughout the country," he said.

ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu appealed for all political groups who had not joined Codessa to do so. The referendum result had removed barriers to the speedy progress of negotiations, he said.

There was no reason why an interim government should not be in place by June and a legitimately elected constituent assembly by the end of the year. Cosatu secretary-general Jay

Naidoo told the rally that an unprecedented general strike was possible if an interim government was not in place by July.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the book of apartheid would only be closed when a legitimate government was in power.

Mr Ramaphosa said President de Klerk should deal with the right-wing element in the security forces as "devastatingly" as he had dealt with it politically.

SACP general-secretary and MK chief of staff Chris Hani said the ANC's military wing would not be abandoned.

Speaking at a PAC rally in Sharpeville, PAC president Clarence Makwetu accused Codessa of undermining the decisions of the Patriotic Front. He said the PF had agreed that no single party would confront the Government unilaterally.

Transkei leader Mayor-General Bantu Holomisa said at a commemoration rally in Uitenhage that Codessa 2 must be followed by the process of restoring South African citizenship to TBVC residents to enable them to vote in an election in SA.

He asked for tough action against the military activities of right-wing groups.

# ANC vows not to disband MK

11A  
23/3/92

THE ANC is adamant it will not disband its armed wing despite reports of a threat by the government to cancel Codesa Two if it does not.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said yesterday the Government was playing a dangerous game which was not in the interests of peace, progress and the country.

A Sunday weekly reported the ministers of Defence and Constitutional Development as saying: "... any deal depended on the ANC abandoning its armed struggle".

Marcus said MK would never be disbanded as it would eventually be integrated into a single democratised army. She said there were only private armies in South Africa at the moment. - Sapa



mandela Mandela, making a strong plea for black unity, has urged the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation to join forces with the ANC at Codesa.

He also urged the PAC and Azapo to form a united front with the ANC, asked the church to walk the last mile to liberation with the ANC, and warned Government of strong ANC reaction if it went ahead to lift the VAT exemption on basic foods.

He was given a hero's welcome, and surprised his bodyguards by going on an impromptu walk around the cycle track and waving a clenched fist salute which was returned by thousands of raised fists.

He said he had come to Paarl to thank the people of the area for the support they had given him while he had been held at Victor Verster prison.

### Afrikaans

The ANC president also came out strongly in defence of Afrikaans at Dal Josafat Stadium, Paarl, where he yesterday not only began his address in Afrikaans but concluded it in that language as well.

He said there were certain people going around the country saying they would abolish Afrikaans once they came to power.

"You must remember that Afrikaans is spoken by more than 80 percent of blacks in this country.

"How can you ban a language? We have no intention of banning Afrikaans."

He said the ANC wanted to transform Afrikaans from being the language of the oppressor, police and of jails into the language of the people and democracy.

### Volk

"Our main demand is one people (volk) one nation."

He said the ANC wanted black liberation movements to speak with one voice.

"We want to the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation."

He said the ANC would like to respect PAC heroes such as the movement's founder Mr Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and former president Mr Zeph Mothopeng.

### Attacking

"The fact that the PAC spends most of its time attacking the ANC is not only keeping us apart, but preventing us from honouring men who have sacrificed."

He said Government had set March 31 as the date when basic food previously exempted from VAT would be subjected to tax.

"Let them know we regard that as a challenge and that there is going to be a lot of turmoil in this country if they go ahead."

# Mandela wants unity with PAC and Azapo

Sowetan 23/3/92

11A

**Sowetan Correspondent**

"We are going to fight. If business does not come forward to induce Government to change this decision there will be problems in this country."

He interrupted his address when informed that a bus-load of ANC supporters had been arrested while on their way to the rally, to accuse the Government of talking peace with the African National Congress on the one hand and waging war on the organisation on

the other. "To arrest people coming to a meeting to listen to their leaders is a serious provocation."

"It is something we cannot tolerate. We want the National Party to remove all obstacles in the way of co-operation."

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# Sharpeville recalls massacre of 1960

Sweetan 23/3/92

11A

AFRICAN National Congress national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo on Saturday received the "freedom of Vereeniging" from about 10 000 ANC supporters gathered to commemorate the killing of 69 people by police in 1960.

Supporters were earlier bused in from areas in the PWV region and by noon a festive spirit had taken hold of the township, giving it a short respite from the violence sweeping Reef townships.

A bandstand was erected at Miami Beach - a dam on the outskirts of the township - and as people continued to pour into the area, musicians entertained the crowd.

Groups of ANC and SACP supporters were continually marching to the police station about 2km away, where, with clenched fists, they sang freedom songs as they moved past the scene of the 1960 shootings.

Police kept a low profile and no incidents were reported.

Apart from Tambo, several high-ranking ANC office-bearers attended the commemoration service, which later in the afternoon had developed into a political rally.

Speakers included the ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, his Cosatu counterpart Mr Jay Naidoo and SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

In his acceptance speech, Tambo said

bestowing the "freedom of Vereeniging" on him was an honour.

Speaking in a frail voice, Tambo said the 1960 incident had brought about a legacy to fight apartheid and oppression - "It inflamed the hearts of South African throughout the country".

However it was "sad that many comrades still fall victim to those who spread death and destruction".

A plaque bestowing the "freedom of Vereeniging" on him was handed to him by a victim of the 1960 shooting, Mrs Louisa Ntho.

Sisulu also referred in his address to the role that the Sharpeville shootings had played in the struggle for freedom.

"Sharpeville triggered the conscience of the people, it precipitated international attention on apartheid and oppression and it propelled the national liberation struggle to where it is today."

He also said the real struggle had now begun in earnest. No other forum was better suited for negotiation than Codesa and he appealed to those who have not yet joined it to do so immediately.

Commenting on the referendum result, Sisulu said there was no reason anymore why an interim government should not be in place by the end of June and a legitimately elected constituent assembly by the end of 1992. - Sapa

# Makwetu lashes out at Codesa

*Sowetan 23/3/92*  
IN A scathing attack on Saturday, the Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu accused the Convention for a Democratic South Africa of entrenching grand apartheid.

Addressing a PAC rally at the Sharpeville stadium to commemorate the 32nd anniversary of Sharpeville massacre, Makwetu said Codesa was intended to undermine the decisions of the Patriotic Front.

"What is happening now in Codesa is not what was agreed upon by the PF participants in October last year," he added.

Makwetu said the PF had agreed that no single party should enter into any talks with

the "regime". He said instead, that the front should have been used to confront the regime.

The rally was dominated by anti-Codesa's slogans: "One Codesa member, one bullet. Down with Codesa, down. Trample on Codesa, trample."

Makwetu said white South Africans were responsible for the ongoing violence in the townships.

"De Klerk is not prepared to stop the violence because it is in his interest," Makwetu added.

He said the PAC would, in the Transkei within two weeks, map out plans to stop violence. - *Sapa*

11A

# PAC wants transitional government

*Sowetan 23/3/92 (11A)*  
THE Pan Africanist Congress wants a transitional authority in South Africa, but not a transitional government, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzevanani said on Saturday.

Addressing University of Transkei students in Umtata, he said Namibian president Sam Nujoma had recently warned the PAC they should not opt for a Namibian-style transitional authority in which there had been "certain glaring irregularities".

Nujoma had also emphasised that South Africa's blacks should make sure there are foreign observers present during the transitional period. It should be the duty of the transitional authority to define the role of such observers.

Nmadzevanani said the PAC would meanwhile have to strengthen its liberation army to enable it to play an important role during the transitional period.

"An undemocratic constitution cannot usher in genuine changes. The new dispensation should be done by a democratic assembly under the banner of free and fair elections, while at the same time guarding against imperialist manipulation," he said.

He told a cheering crowd that Codesa was a political jamboree whose decisions had to be endorsed by the white Parliament. President F W de Klerk's referendum victory only meant that white power was still intact.

The PAC was against Codesa because of the undemocratic role it was playing and was "confused by De Klerk's role in the whole exercise in his capacity as head of state."

"He is the man who sits and debates at Codesa where a number of issues will be adopted. Immediately afterwards he runs to Parliament to decide whether to endorse or not to endorse certain resolutions," Nmadzevanani said.

The PAC was "all-out" to destroy Codesa.

The "yes" victory in the referendum would see to the implementation of an interim government which would be endorsed by Codesa and imposed on the people.

"We are heading for a worse government which will, among others, see to the banning of the PAC as an organisation." - *Sapa*

# PAC plans PF with BCM

11A

Sowetan 23/3/92

HARARE - The Pan Africanist Congress has revealed plans are underway to form a Patriotic Front with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), signalling the end of the alliance with the African National Congress, the national news agency *Ziana* reports.

"We have decided to have a proper Patriotic Front with BCM but, until it is constituted, each party would continue with its programmes," PAC Foreign Affairs representative in Zimbabwe Mr Raymond Fihla told student journalists at Harare Polytechnic on Friday.

He said the first Patriotic Front, which included the ANC, had broken up because the organisation was negotiating with Pretoria.

Fihla said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was being used as a platform to expose agreements which had already been reached between the ANC and the South African Government.

PAC was not against negotiations but was only demanding a fair deal for the people of South Africa, Fihla said.

BCM representative Mr Mbuzeli Dukumbana told the students Codesa would not solve the economic needs of black South Africans. - *Sapa*

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

## Today's talkback topic

*11A*  
*Sowetan 23/3/92*  
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has threatened the Government with mass action unless it backs down on its plans to impose VAT on basic foodstuffs.

He has threatened to destroy the country's economy if necessary.

The Government is withdrawing the temporary exemption it granted the anti-Vat lobby after a two-day stayaway last November.

Do you think that negotiations, which are taking place in Codesa, and mass action as threatened by the ANC can go hand-in-hand?

Should negotiation replace mass action in the political process?

Share your opinion with DJ Tim Modise and the nation by phoning the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

The number is (011) 714-8063.

You can tune in to the programme on FM 96,4 MHz at that time.

# ANC has to observe standards - Mandela

*Sowetan 23/3/92* (11A)

NO civil servants should lose their pensions as a result of being forced to retire early when the ANC took over, the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said at the weekend.

He was speaking to about 18 000 people at a Sharpeville Day rally at Khayelitsha rugby stadium on Saturday. The rally was marred by repeated incidents of stone-throwing in the restive crowd.

At one point a 13-year-old girl was rushed to a first aid point, bleeding profusely from a gash on her forehead, which, marshals said, was caused by a stone.

Mandela said there were certain standards the ANC would have to observe, even under very difficult conditions. There was a fear, particularly among whites, that if the movement came to power, it would "throw everybody into the streets" and that people would lose their jobs.

"There is that fear. There is no such intention. The ANC will handle all problems in a responsible and humane manner."

The ANC would certainly democratise the security and civil services as it could not tolerate a situation in which they were controlled by a minority that had been trained to defend apartheid.

"But there should be no injustice. Nobody should lose the privileges and advantages of the job he occupies. Nobody should lose his pension as a result of having to retire early."

ANC people were being trained overseas for senior positions, he said.

"We will have to retire people in the top structures of these services and bring in people who are committed to democracy. But we will do this in a humane manner."

Mandela also repeated a statement he made on Friday threatening mass action if the Government brought in

Value Added Tax on hitherto exempt basic foods. The last time there had been a VAT protest the ANC had drawn 3 million people on to the streets.

"This time we will pull out even more than that, not for two days but for long enough for the Government to listen to us," he said.

Referring to the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, he said one of the reasons for the present violence was that the police and SA Defence Force had been taught to regard a demonstration against the "regime" as a declaration of war on white supremacy.

Marshals at the rally battled to control the crowd, which grew increasingly restive as the rally, advertised for 1pm, dragged on.

Mandela only started speaking shortly before 5pm.

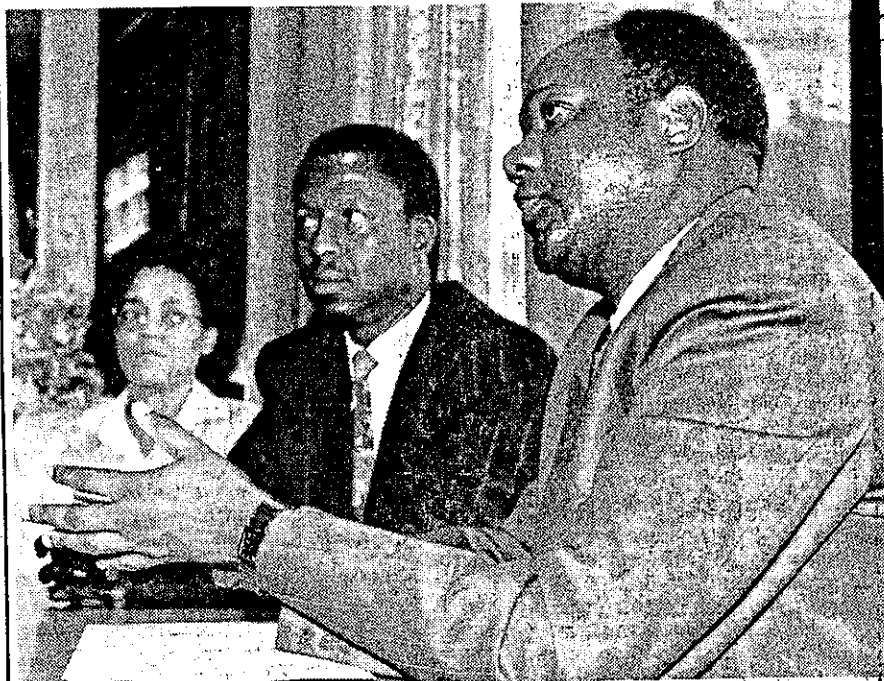
At one point the technicians controlling the public address system pleaded with marshals not to hit members of the crowd for fear they would damage the equipment as they ran away.

Earlier in the day Mandela spoke to educationists and churchmen at separate meetings in Cape Town, then visited the spot in Langa where a number of people were killed by police on the same day as the Sharpeville shootings.

Mandela did not attend a mid-morning memorial service for an ANC member killed in the taxi war or take part in a planned cavalcade. A senior ANC marshal said he was under doctor's orders to rest.

However, the ANC's Western Cape publicity secretary, Mr Whitey Jacobs, said later that suggestions that the cancellations were because of ill-health were unfounded.

Mandela's early-morning meetings had simply gone on longer than expected, he said. The ANC leader yesterday toured the Boland. - *Sapa*



Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, right, and PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Wary PAC might still re-enter Codesa

THE PAC hinted yesterday that it could re-enter constitutional talks at Codesa, but said the pro-reform referendum vote did not guarantee their success.

"As to Codesa... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people," PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga.

"It takes more than the excitement and fanfare... in the post-referendum era.

"We are very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States, and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country," Moseneke said.

<sup>81 day 24/3/92</sup>  
(11A) The PAC has threatened to conduct a campaign to undermine Codesa since withdrawing from its plenary session citing charges of collusion between the ANC and government.

Moseneke called on the Frontline States to play a more active and visible role in the peace process in SA.

Mwaanga said he had exchanged views with the PAC vice-president on a number of wide-ranging issues concerning developments in SA.

"We consider it very important that the (political) playing field should be as level as possible (and that) the main players... participate in an equal, equitable manner."

During his visit, he met Foreign Minister Pik Botha, the ANC, Inkatha and other political leaders. — Sapa.

# Govt and ANC discussing MK

DEFENCE Minister Roelf Meyer was confident yesterday that the apparent deadlock over the disbanding of the ANC's military wing could be resolved.

Speaking at Codesa, Meyer said Umkhonto we Sizwe's (MK's) continued existence was being discussed bilaterally by government and the ANC. *Bi Day 24/3/92*

General discussion on private armies was on the agenda of working group one dealing with free political participation, but the MK issue would continue on a bilateral basis before it came to Codesa.

Meyer told Sapa he had never referred to Codesa II being suspended if MK was not disbanded, but had emphasised government's principles.

Throughout the recent referendum, Cabinet Ministers said they would not enter into any agreement on interim government until MK was disbanded — and Meyer was quoted at the weekend as saying Codesa II would not go ahead if this did not happen.

The ANC yesterday morning confirmed its statement that it would not disband MK until an interim government was in place. — Sapa.

## Films get R6,4m

*Bi Day 24/3/92* Political Staff *(242)*  
CAPE TOWN — Government paid R6,4m in subsidies to film producers during the 1991/2 financial year for 29 films, Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw said yesterday.

The lion's share of the subsidies went on five films, four of which were produced by Toron Screen Corporation, Louw disclosed in Parliament.

"Oh Shucks ... Untag", produced by Koukus Troika, received the largest subsidy of R1 055 047,97.

The four Toron films were granted a total of R3,9m and the other 24 were granted R1,3m altogether.





# Transitional plan unveiled

STAR 24/3/92

● From Page 1

Malan Accord — to control MK. The Government also made it clear no transitional councils dealing with the police or defence force could be established until disagreement over MK was resolved.

Legislation to implement the councils would be introduced once agreement had been reached at Codesa. This would not entail changes to the constitution.

The councils would help prepare for a transitional government and would not themselves be part of the transitional government.

Yesterday's proposals also included the broad outlines of the Government's plans for transitional government itself.

Draft legislation to amend the constitution would be submitted to Codesa before the end of next month.

The Government's proposed transitional constitution has these basic elements:

- Two Houses of Parliament, a national assembly and a senate.
- The national assembly to be elected by proportional representation.

● If enough progress had been made in negotiations on a system of regional government, the senate would consist of regional representatives.

● If not, the senate could initially consist of members of existing legislative bodies — the tricameral Parliament and homeland legislatures.

● Both Houses to agree before legislation could be passed.

● The head of state would be a presidency formed by the leaders of the strongest political parties.

● The presidency would take decisions by consensus and its chairmanship would rotate.

● The constitution would be the supreme law and would be justiciable by the Supreme Court.

Other features of the proposed transitional councils are:

- Each to have seven members, six designated by Codesa's management committee; one appointed by the State President.
- Members to receive pay determined by the President after consulting Codesa's management committee.
- The President may fire any member on the recommendation of the committee.

# Media should serve people – Desai

STAR 24/3/92

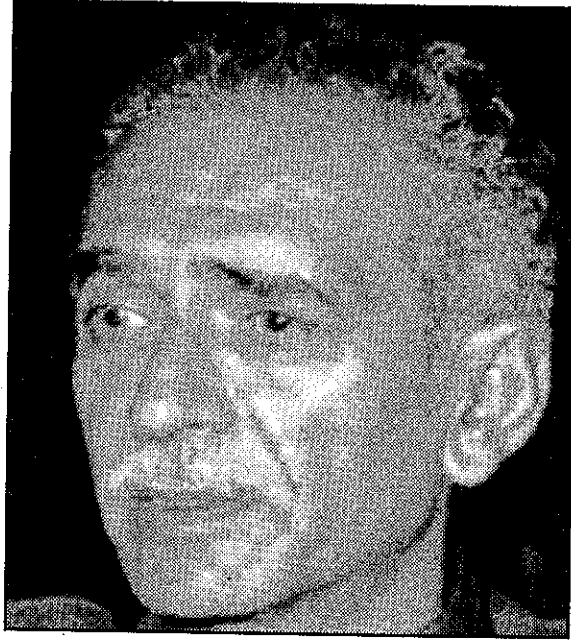
Independent media trusts, subsidies for the alternative press and the creation of an independent broadcasting authority are among the proposals to be presented to the third national congress of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei from April 3 to 6.

Drafted by PAC secretary for publicity and information Barney Desai, the proposals mark the organisation's entry to the media policy debate and, if adopted, would form the PAC's media policy.

The PAC believes that freedom of the press and electronic media should be enshrined in a bill of rights.

Mr Desai, a former journalist and advocate, said the dominance of the print media by four major press groups "is the very antithesis of freedom of expression".

Press monopolies should be broken up and the ownership of newspapers by one company limited. In their place, independent trusts should be created to "ensure the influence of the people in the co-owner-



Barney Desai . . . opposes dominance of the print media by four major press groups.

ship of these enterprises".

A press council should be established to ensure the maintenance of standards in news dissemination and to safeguard the privacy of the individual. The council would have the power to take action

against anyone inciting harassment of journalists.

To ensure the survival of alternative newspapers, Mr Desai proposed State subsidies based on circulation.

The PAC further advocated an independent

public service broadcaster financed primarily from licence revenue. The service could decide itself whether to augment its income from advertising.

Regulation of the electronic media and access by new radio stations would be exercised through a national, independent broadcasting authority.

The monopoly of M-Net by the "big four" press groups was "undesirable". Ownership of commercial television by newspapers should be restricted to a minority shareholding. Public shareholding should be permitted.

About 12 million blacks listened to vernacular radio, and the PAC would "encourage the use of the electronic media to educate and mobilise our people to play an active role in the creation of a just society free of racism and oppression".

To make the electronic media accessible to all, the electrification of townships and rural areas was a priority. — Sapa.

# ANC, SACP turn down Govt proposals

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

11A  
STAR  
24/3/92

The Government's proposals for transitional arrangements have been rejected by the ANC and the SACP.

"We are alarmed that the NP/Government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the working group a fortnight ago that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is 'the creation of a transitional executive structure' which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa," the ANC said.

Welcoming the Government's acceptance of the principle of an elected constitution-making body, the ANC said the proposals were "objectionable in many fundamental aspects".

The SACP said the proposals were met with a "resounding rejection by virtually all delegations".

"Progress in this crucial working group has been delayed until now by the unwillingness of the SA Government and NP

delegations to table any substantive proposals on transitional arrangements.

"Unfortunately ... the message that Codesa is sending to the SA Government and NP is that they must go back to the drawing board once more," said the SACP.

The ANC said the proposed Transitional Councils were unacceptable because their functions had nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of the first phase of transition — levelling the political playing field to ensure free and fair elections.

The Government would be able to veto recommendations by the councils, control and run all aspects of the executive including security and State-run media, and formulate and implement legislation on all matters, the ANC said.

"It is particularly outrageous that in making their proposals, the NP/Government has elected to retreat to the old and discredited approach of consultative and advisory 'toy telephones'."

# PAC evaluates possibility of taking part in Codesa

Political Staff

STAR 24/3/92

As pressure mounts on the Pan Africanist Congress to become involved in Codesa, the organisation's vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday it would consider joining the negotiations forum "when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people".

Sapa reports that Mr Moseneke, speaking in Johannesburg after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, said: "We are very, very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline states and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

African countries have been reported as exerting pressure on the PAC to join Codesa.

The PAC's stance on negotiations is expected to top the agenda at the organisation's annual congress at the University of Transkei in Umtata early next month.

The PAC walked out of the first plenary session of Codesa after accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

● The PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday dismissed as incorrect a weekend report from Zimbabwe's national news agency Ziana which said the PAC planned to form a Patriotic Front (PF) with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Ziana reported that the PAC's foreign affairs representative in Harare, Raymond Fihla, said the new alliance would replace the Patriotic Front formed between a range of organisations — including the PAC and the ANC — last year.

"We know nothing about the plan attributed

to the PAC," Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhado said.

PAC publicity spokesman Barney Desai said the PF with the ANC and other organisations still existed even though some front partners had joined Codesa.

Both organisations refused to respond to ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend invitation to them to join the ANC in a "united front" at Codesa. Mr Mandela made the invitation at a public meeting in Paarl.

Mr Desai said the PAC would wait for "formal contact" from the ANC leader in this regard.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said she doubted whether such a letter would be forthcoming.

"Azapo and the PAC do not need a letter from the ANC to join Codesa. Mr Mandela was only making a political statement showing the way forward and that we need all resources to get there," said Miss Marcus.

## Azapo, PAC deny PF plan

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo and the PAC have denied weekend reports that they were planning to launch a new Patriotic Front (PF).

"We know nothing about the plan attributed to the PAC," Azapo media liaison officer Mr Khangale Makhado said yesterday.

ARG 24/3/92

# PAC could go back to Codesa

Sowetan 24/3/92

11A



THE Pan Africanist Congress hinted yesterday it could re-enter constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

But the PAC said the overwhelming pro-reform referendum vote did not guarantee the success of the important democracy talks.

"As to Codesa ... those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people," PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday after meeting Zambian Foreign Minister Mr Vernon Mwaanga in Johannesburg.

"It takes more than the excitement and fanfare that might go along in the post-referendum era.

"We are very, very carefully evaluating the situa-

tion and listening to our neighbours and friends within the OAU and Frontline States, and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country," Moseneke added.

The PAC has threatened to conduct a campaign to undermine Codesa since pulling out of the plenary session on charges of collusion between the African National Congress and the De Klerk Government.

Moseneke called on the Frontline States to play a more active role in the peace process in South Africa.

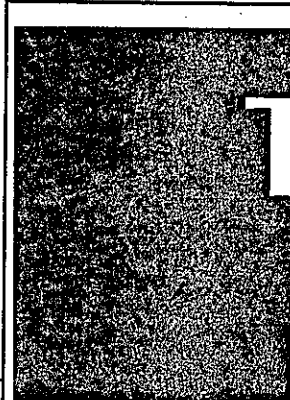
"The Frontline States should play a more visible and important role than what has been happening up to now," he said.

Mwaanga said he and the

PAC vice-president had exchanged views on a number of wide-ranging issues concerning developments in South Africa.

He met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party, among other political leaders in the country. He was scheduled to leave for Zambia yesterday after-noon.

Sapa



# Ciskei police teargassed me - Sparg

STAR 24/3/92

EAST LONDON — ANC national executive committee member Marion Sparg was teargassed and threatened at gunpoint by members of the Ciskei police and defence force at Tentergate in the Whittlesea district at the weekend, the ANC has alleged.

The incident occurred on Saturday when the ANC attempted to hold a meeting to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC said Ciskeian security police had arrived at the venue before the meeting and asked if they had permission for the meeting in terms of section 43 of the National Security Act.

After Miss Sparg arrived, three members of the security police returned and identified themselves as Warrant-Officer M M Mrubata, Sergeant S Duda and Sergeant N T Mntu. Miss Sparg said they told her the meeting could not take place.

She then went with members of the ANC sub-regional executive to the house of one of their members for a meal.

"While we were eating, the security forces arrived and told us that our meal in fact constituted an illegal gathering in terms of section 43," Miss Sparg said.

"Police and soldiers deployed themselves around the house. We explained to Warrant Officer Mrubata that the people who were at the house ... were simply going to eat a meal and then leave for home.

"One of the soldiers walked up as we spoke and threw three teargas canisters directly at us.

"When we moved a few steps forward to ask him to refrain, a line of soldiers walked towards us and cocked their guns."

Miss Sparg said the ANC delegation then left the house.

A Ciskei police spokesman said he had no comment on the allegations. — Sapa.

# ANC used whips 'to stop mob crushing Mandela'

Staff Reporter

11A

THE African National Congress yesterday said its marshals had lashed out with whips into the 20 000-strong crowd at a rally in Khayelitsha on Saturday to protect ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's life.

"It was a very dangerous situation and the marshals were only trying to defend the president's life," said Mr Tony Yengeni, secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape.

The marshals had feared Mr Mandela

CT 24/3/92  
would be crushed by the excited crowd and had lashed out to clear the way for him to get through the mob, he said.

He said the marshals were not armed with whips but had grabbed them from members of the crowd.

Mr Yengeni said he had grabbed a stick from someone in the crowd to keep the mob at bay when the kombi in which he was travelling in front of Mr Mandela was almost overturned as people tried to get a view of their leader.



# ANC moots interim authority for media

STAR 25/3/92

11A

Own Correspondent

The ANC has proposed the creation of an independent communications authority (ICA) and a restructured Media Council to oversee the broadcast and print media during the interim phase leading to the adoption of a new constitution.

The proposals were tabled at Codesa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

As a general principle the ANC accepts that all citizens should have the right of unrestricted access to information and opinion as well as the freedom to publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion, the ANC said.

The public media should serve society as a whole and be independent of political parties. They should be supervised by independent structures broadly representative of society.

All media, including privately owned media, should subscribe to a standard of practice agreed



upon by the various media.

To attain these ends, the ANC proposed that Codesa appoint a media commission consisting of "South Africans of high standing representative of the widest possible spectrum of forces".

The commission would be responsible for monitoring and overseeing government departments and institutions dealing with the media, monitoring the election campaign in co-ordination with the Electoral Commission, and appointing an ICA for broadcast media.

The ICA would ensure impartial control of all broadcasting by regulating the allocation of frequencies, ensuring adherence to defined standards and norms, regulating licensing and re-regulating broadcasting "in a limited way in favour of communities and deprived sectors".

In respect of the print media, the ANC proposed that the

Media Council be restructured to make it more representative of society as a whole.

The council's tasks should include addressing complaints.

Responding to the ANC proposals yesterday, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the Government did not regard the restructuring of the SABC board or its management as practical or necessary to ensure neutral broadcasting.

Mr Coetsee said the term of office of the present board — until March 1993 — was relatively short and that a negotiated method of appointing a new board as part of the negotiations process seemed to be the advisable route to take.

The Government supported the view that the SABC should be independent and neutral and believed that the SABC was already as independent and neutral as any public broadcaster could be.

Mr Coetsee supported the idea of a complaints tribunal, saying this appeared to be a suitable body to deal with problems.

# PAC welcomes Mandela call for unity

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

11A  
STAR 25/3/92

The PAC yesterday welcomed ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for unity between the two liberation movements, but quashed media speculation that the organisation intended re-joining Codesa.

"The PAC was always committed to unity of the oppressed

since its inception in 1959," PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said in a statement read by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Mr Moseneke said the PAC was taking concrete steps and had decided to write to the ANC proposing a preparatory meeting of the Patriotic Front conference within days to arrange a full conference.

Mr Alexander said it was im-

portant that the conference be held before Codesa 2, scheduled for the end of April, because "the issues are of the nature that they will seriously have a bearing on what Codesa can or cannot do".

Azapo media spokesman Khangale Makhado said Azapo's objections to the undemocratic process of Codesa and opposition to the ANC/PAC-led PF were well known.

# Now for the real nitty-gritty

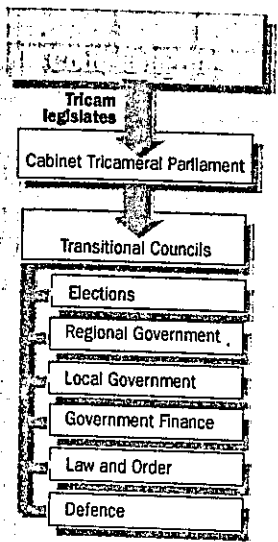
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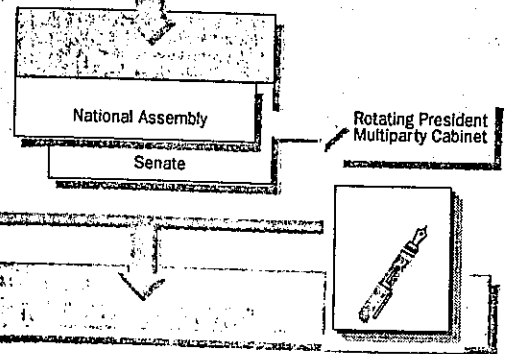
STATE

## The NP proposals

### PHASE I: Preparatory steps



### Phase II: Transitional structures



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN and LIZ WARDER

As the Government and the ANC get closer to general agreement on interim rule, the remaining points of detailed difference stand out more clearly — and appear more intractable. The Star's Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON puts the latest Government proposals in context.

**W**ALK UP to a Codesa delegate at the World Trade Centre and ask him or her to summarise the key differences between the Government and ANC plans for transitional structures in South Africa.

The chances are very good that — assuming you have not run fortuitously into Dr Gerrit Viljoen or the ANC's Professor Kader Asmal — the delegate's eyes will glaze over, and a smile will be replaced by a look of frank panic.

The reason is that this stage of negotiations, which President de Klerk correctly characterises as "urgent and historic", is also unprecedentedly complicated.

There was a time, at the beginning of the year, when delegates used to express concern that Codesa was losing the "public out there" — that ordinary people were suffocating under a mass of detail. Now it is the delegates themselves who are gasping for breath.

As the negotiations process proceeds, broad principle has necessarily to give way to narrow detail. Proposals and counter-proposals are submitted in innumerable sub-committees each and every week — and not only by the major negotiating partners, but by no less than 19 participating organisations of varying influence and clarity of thought.

If one is to retain any level of comprehension, it is necessary to select from the competing messages those that matter.

What matters most at the moment is the achievement of agreement on a "package" of proposals for how the country's administration will be structured in the vital period running up to the first all-in elections for a new parliament which will

eventually draft a new constitution.

On the principle of "sufficient consensus" which has developed in Codesa, such agreement will therefore require — at the very least — a bargain struck between the Government and the ANC, and preferably with the enthusiastic concurrence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the more substantial homelands.

The Star publishes a graphic illustration of the latest state of play in terms of the ANC and Government proposals. Both, in their present forms, are products of considerable bargaining over the past few months.

A key point of difference between the two should be clear from the diagrams, and it is on this terrain that much of the political battle in Codesa will be fought in coming weeks.

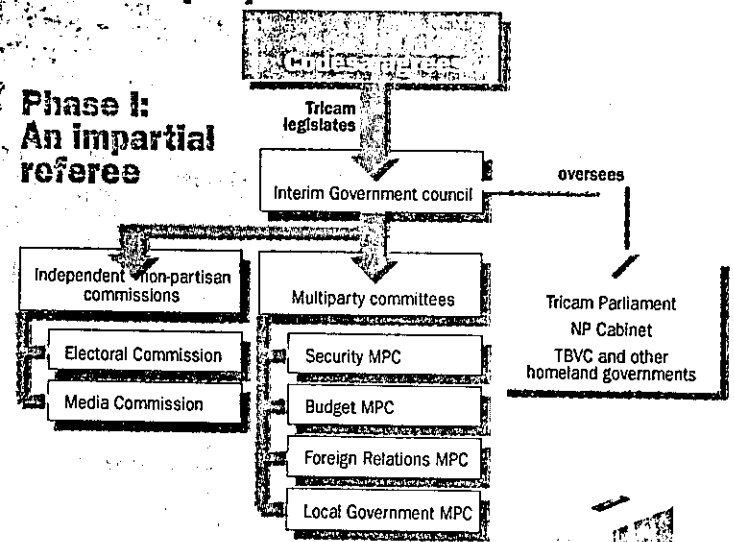
In Phase One of the ANC's proposal, an interim structure assumes supervisory powers over existing institutions including the cabinet, the tricameral Parliament, and homeland administrations. The Government plan inverts these lines of authority, leaving the existing cabinet with the final say, subject to advice from "transitional councils".

Debates over Phase Two — which will, when the time comes, be even more difficult than those under way now — can proceed only once the initial hurdles have already been negotiated.

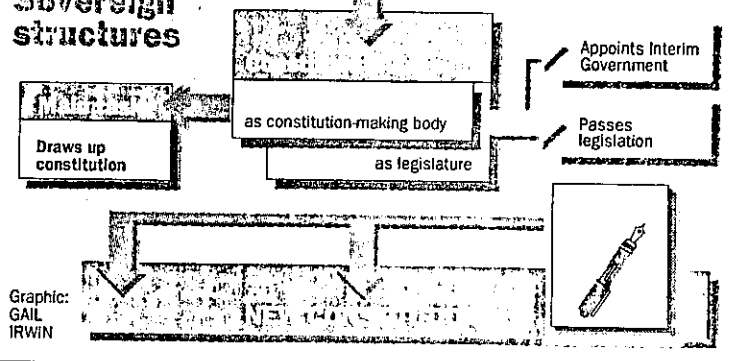
If, as many hope, South Africa is to enter into the first phase of transitional, nonracial government within weeks or months, it seems a path will have to be cleared between a position that leaves all executive power in the hands of the Government until elections are held, and one which takes most of it away, straight away. □

## The ANC proposals

### Phase I: An impartial referee



### Phase II: Sovereign structures



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

# Mandela mania rocks Cape Town



HEAR THIS: Addressing over 2000 students, teachers and parents at Langa High School

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

**W**ITH HORNS blaring, busloads of folk riding around Khayelitsha, Langa, Nyanga and Athlone with ANC flags and clenched fists protruding through windows, shouting "Viva Mandela" and "Viva ANC", Cape Town was paying homage to a man who will go down in history as one of South Africa's greatest sons.

Not even the peace declaration after World War II could compare to the excitement generated by the announcement of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's visit to the Western Cape.

If the election for a new government were held in the Western Cape this week, the ANC would get a landslide victory. Crowds of people of all races mobbed Mandela wherever he went and jostled to shake his hand.

During his extensive tour Mandela briefed religious groups, including members of the Muslim community, about the real prospects for a political settlement in South Africa.

In the Bo-Kaap Mandela impressed the Muslim community when he joined of Muslim leaders in the Schotsche Kloof Civic Centre for traditional Muslim prayers. He won smiles of admiration throughout his speech and a standing ovation.

When he told the story of the long relationship between the ANC and the Muslim community and the military and financial assistance the ANC had received from Muslim countries, he received deafening applause.

Mandela said the ANC would not break its ties with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yasser Arafat and Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

"When the ANC took up the armed struggle, Arafat and Gaddafi were prepared to help the organisation," he said.

As he left, the hall was almost emptied as everyone rushed to shake Mandela's hand and hug him before he got into his car. Young children opened their hands to the shake of a loving grandfather.

The broadly-smiling, humble statesman

Cape townships celebrated the visit by Mr Nelson Mandela in spectacular style this week. The ANC president was praised in song, showered with gifts and confirmed in his popularity as a leader, notably in coloured areas. **Mbuyiselo Mtsheketshe** gives a personal view of the visit.

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MIA

As teachers queued to shake Mandela's hand, one of them remarked: "It's a blessing, I expect sweet dreams tonight."

Mandela went on to address an anti-VAI meeting at the Methodist Church in Cape Town, mainly attended by black pensioners and religious people. He said it was inconceivable that a minister of finance should impose a tax on basic foodstuffs when there is much poverty and unemployment.

"To tax basic foodstuffs like bread and miele meal is a degree of insensitivity which is beyond words," he said.

Mandela said it was the ANC's duty to protect the poor and the organisation would use any action to stop the implementation of the tax "even if we have to destroy the economy".

After his speech Mandela left for Saldanha where he addressed a capacity crowd of 3 000. He was introduced to the rally by the Western Cape ANC chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak.

Boesak had the audience roaring with laughter when he said he had brought Mandela for them to see so they would recognise him when he sat in Tuynhuys as their state president.

In Khayelitsha later in the visit the crowd ran wild as Mandela, with his disarming smile, tall and dignified with a clenched fist, walked towards the stage.

He stood out as a pragmatic and moderate leader who, despite a life of immeasurable suffering under apartheid, was willing to put the past behind him and work with the government to fulfil the dream for which he spent 27 years in jail.

"We don't want you, De Kloof, we want

Madiba" was sung loudly and often by the thousands of people who welcomed Mandela at the stadium.

When Mrs Winnie Mandela and her entourage arrived at the rally, the singing became louder, the slogans became stronger and the excitement reached fever-pitch.

The marshalls had trouble controlling the frenzied crowd, all trying to push forward to get closer to see their leader.

In a short but rousing address Mrs Mandela had the audience roaring when she said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche "should not dare interfere with the peace process, as they are making threats of war. They should know that we have long waited for them".

Mr Mandela said there was fear among whites that if the ANC came to power, they would be thrown into the streets and lose their jobs. He assured them there was no such intention as the movement would handle all problems in a responsible, humane manner.

Mandela said the ANC would create the civil service which is going to defend the democratic gains which "we intend to introduce".

"It will be foolhardy for any democratic government to leave the present civil service to continue as it is, so reforms must be introduced," he said.

Mandela said the ANC had started training people to be civil servants with the help of England and other countries.

He said one of the reasons for the Sharpeville violence was that the police and SADF had been taught to regard demonstrations against the government as a declaration of war on white supremacy.

"We cannot allow the present security forces to continue with their duties to defend democracy, because they don't know anything about democracy," he said.

Mandela left the Western Cape after the biggest ever political rally in Paarl, but the memory of his visit is still fresh in the minds of many.

# Mandela's call to revive <sup>(11A)</sup> united front

Sowetan 25/3/92

## FOCUS

**NEWSWORTHY**, but not new, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's call on the PAC and Azapo to join him at Codesa in a common front is an echo of a long-cherished, though unrealised, ideal. **Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.**

**FANFARE** accompanied the formation of the Patriotic Front last year as the left and far left of black politics edged gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 — by virtue of a break-away of hardliners from the ANC — rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotiations intensify, risks mount for both parties who are absent from the table, and for parties who face strident opposition from the absentees.

It is against this background that Mandela made his appeal in Paarl on Sunday.



**Nelson Mandela of the ANC**

Black liberation movements, he said, should speak with one voice. "We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation."

Mandela's appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC arose at the time of the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council — which, in fact, included the PAC — the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the campaign.

But in February the PAC unexpectedly announced a campaign of its own, and declared March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time is reflected in a piece written by Mandela himself in which he warns the PAC: "The three-year-old



**Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of Azapo**

breakaway from the African National Congress will find further survival very difficult if it persists in wrecking what it cannot build."

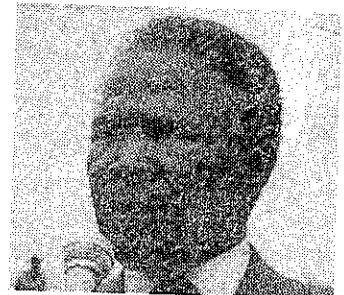
But it was in January 1962 that the young Mandela rose above this internecine strife and, in an address to the conference of the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all "struggling peoples . . . to close ranks, to stand firm as a rock and not allow themselves to be divided by petty political rivalries while their countries burn.

"At this critical moment in the history of struggle," he told delegates, "unity among our people in South Africa and in the other territories has become as vital as the air we breathe, and it should be preserved at all costs."

More than 10 years later, in a statement from Robben Island at the time of the Soweto uprising in the mid-1970s, Mandela put the case for a common black Front somewhat more bluntly when he said: "The first condition for victory is black unity.

"Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed.

"Our people . . . must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action.



**Clarence Makwetu of the PAC**

This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity."

Political observers have, for the most part, shed any illusions they may have had about the prospects for a complete reconciliation between the ANC and the PAC, the possibility of a working arrangement in negotiations, founded on a unity over what they are against, rather than what they are for, is not necessarily remote.

Significantly, there was a hint yesterday, of the PAC's continuing interest in Codesa as a feasible vehicle for negotiations when PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke remarked: "As to Codesa . . . those decisions we will make when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people."

He added: "We are very carefully evaluating the situation and listening to our neighbours and friends within the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and Frontline States and we shall be making decisions in accordance with what we think is in the interests of all the people in our country."

There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it.

# Massive 'yes' was not an endorsement of the NP

STAR 25/3/92

~~STAR~~ 11A

**T**HERE are disturbing signs that the Government is abusing the big "yes" vote in the referendum, using it not as an opportunity to build goodwill and national unity, but taking it as a mandate to ram through National Party policy.

The "yes" vote was achieved thanks to the support of thousands of non-Nats, liberals who have spent their lives opposing apartheid, who despise everything the Nats have done and are still deeply suspicious of their motives.

They turned out in unprecedented numbers to vote not for the National Party or for President de Klerk, but for the process of negotiation. It was their final act of self-vindication after years of frustration and abuse, and their massive turn-out saved FW from possible defeat at the hands of his own erstwhile followers.

Mr de Klerk acknowledged this in his acceptance speech. Now he is misusing it, claiming it as a mandate for his party's position.

The first inkling of this came within days of the referendum, with reports that the Government



Allister Sparks

was now going to get tough with the ANC and demand that if it did not disband its military wing immediately there would be no Codesa 2.

Then we had the Justice Department's peremptory announcement that executions are to be resumed. This displayed total contempt for Codesa, where the issue of capital punishment is on the agenda to be negotiated.

There are proposals before that body to abolish the death penalty.

Yet the Government has decided unilaterally to resume hangings after after their suspension two years ago to allow the whole issue of capital punishment to be reassessed.

One day later we have the Government tabling proposals for interim rule that virtually negate the progress made in negotiations

before the referendum.

A fortnight ago South Africa appeared to be on the edge of a breakthrough. The Government and the ANC had reached tacit agreement on the basic form the interim arrangements should take — an elected government and legislature with a transitional executive appointed by Codesa.

Now the Government has backed right away from that, putting forward a totally different proposal for a series of "transitional councils" that will have no executive authority at all and leaves full power in the hands of the present Cabinet.

The transitional councils will be powerless. The Government can veto any of their recommendations and continue running the country and the security forces and the SABC and everything else exactly as it does now. All the negotiations that have taken place about "levelling the political playing field" and ensuring free and fair elections seem to count for naught.

The cherry on the top is a proposal that the members of the present despised tricameral Par-

liament and the discredited "homeland" legislatures could form a Senate which would also have veto powers over the transitional councils' recommendations.

It is not only the substance of these proposals that rankle; the tone in which they have been presented is arrogant. Thus it is stated peremptorily that there will be no transitional government until the ANC has disbanded its military wing and all violence has stopped — as though poor policing, for which the regime is responsible, has nothing to do with the violence.

Thus, too, we are told that this is only a framework; the full proposals of what the Government has in mind for a transitional constitution will be presented to Codesa towards the end of April in the form of draft legislation.

Not an ordinary document, like all the other Codesa parties have presented, but *draft legislation* to emphasise who has the power, who's the boss.

It is quite clear that this high-handed approach, after months of reasonableness, is because the Government feels strengthened by

the referendum result. It has taken the "yes" vote as endorsement of its own party political line.

This was always a danger, of course, and many of us who voted "yes" were worried at the time that our votes would be abused in this way. It was epitomised by that doughty old warrior, Helen Joseph, who was harassed and silenced and house-arrested for nine years by this "reformist" Government and who went to vote in her wheelchair with a sign around her neck saying "I am voting for negotiation, not FW de Klerk."

It is the Democratic Party that now faces the biggest problem, for it was conned worst of all. It went fully into the "yes" vote campaign, even to the point of having its leaders appear on joint platforms with the Government, and now its votes are being taken as support for Nat policy.

The moment of decision for the DP is fast approaching. Its identity was badly blurred by the campaign, and now its support has been appropriated.

The party in any event faces a crisis of survival as the non-racial

South Africa for which it has striven so long is born. At its best, in the 1989 election, its 452 000 votes were about 20 percent of the country's electorate. When the electorate swells to include the whole population it will be less than 2.5 percent.

At that level it will fail to make the cut — probably five percent — in a general election run on a proportional representation list system. Even if it is extraordinarily successful in recruiting Indian and other members who are not white, it will only just make it with one or two MPs.

Spurred by the way the NP is abusing its referendum support, the long-awaited split in the DP cannot now be far off. A number of members, perhaps as many as a dozen MPs, will join the ANC. Others will linger a while, then join the Nats.

But its ideas and influence will live on, in other political groupings. Those who join the ANC will perform the immensely important task of giving substance to the ideal of non-racialism. Those who join the Nats will, hopefully, give it a sense of decency. □

Nelson Mandela's call on the PAC to join Codesa is nothing new, writes Michael

Morris

# Still hesitating on the doorstep

STAR 25/3/92

STAR 25/3/92 (11A) ~~11A~~

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**F**ANFARE accompanied the formation of the Patriotic Front last year as the Left and Further Left of black politics edged themselves gingerly behind a common goal.

A unanimous thrust for a constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution seemed sufficient motivation for a working unity between the mighty ANC and its chief rival, the vociferous PAC.

But this common stand was short-lived.

Within a few months, the ANC had bobbed back into the PAC's sights and the Pan Africanists were having another go.

In fact, ever since the formation of the PAC in 1959 — by virtue of a breakaway of hardliners from the ANC — rivalries have proved intractable.

Now, as constitutional negotia-

tions intensify, risks mount both for those parties who are absent from the table, and for the parties who face strident opposition from absentees.

It is against this background that Mr Mandela made his appeal in Paarl on Sunday.

Black liberation movements, he said, should speak with one voice.

"We want the PAC and Azapo to join us in a united front and at Codesa. Even now we still want them to return to the Patriotic Front."

There was no reason for the ANC, which was discussing peace with the National Party, not to talk to Azapo and the PAC, he said.

"I appeal to them to change because sectarianism can never advance the cause of liberation."

Mr Mandela's appeal is an echo of a similar appeal three decades

ago when a lack of unity between rival liberation movements was seen to be hampering the struggle.

Fierce criticism by the ANC of the PAC arose at the time of the mass disobedience campaign of 1961.

Along with other members of the All-in African National Action Council — which, in fact, included the PAC — the ANC set March 30 as the date for the launch of the campaign.

But, in February, the PAC unexpectedly announced a campaign of its own, and declared March 21 as the launch date. (The Sharpeville massacre occurred at this time.)

The anger of the ANC at the time is reflected in a piece written by Mr Mandela himself in which he warns the PAC: "The three-year-old breakaway from the African National Congress

will find further survival very difficult if it persists in wrecking what it cannot build."

But it was in January 1962 that the young Mr Mandela rose above this internecine strife and, in an address to the conference of the Pan Africanist Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in Addis Ababa, called on all "struggling peoples ... to close ranks, to stand firm as a rock and not allow themselves to be divided by petty political rivalries while their countries burn."

"At this critical moment in the history of struggle," he told delegates, "unity among our people in South Africa and in the other territories has become as vital as the air we breathe, and it should be preserved at all costs."

More than 10 years later, in a statement from Robben Island at the time of the Soweto uprising in

the mid-1970s, Mr Mandela put the case for a common black Front somewhat more bluntly when he said: "The first condition for victory is black unity."

"Every effort to divide the blacks, to woo and pit one black group against another, must be vigorously repulsed."

"Our people ... must be united into a single, massive and solid wall of resistance, of united mass action. This is not the time for the luxury of division and disunity."

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There is no doubt that the PAC is anxious to keep the Codesa door open. The unanswered question so far is whether, or when, it will be prepared to go through it. □



# Accord on armed forces in the offing

*Biday 26/3/92*

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were nearing agreement on the future of SA's armed forces — including Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — and their control by an interim multiparty committee drawn from Codesa, senior ANC sources said yesterday.

"We seem to agree on this approach," said an ANC source close to the bilateral ANC-government negotiations on the armed struggle.

The talks have focused on issues outstanding in the implementation of the Pretoria Minute and the D F Malan Accord, in terms of which the armed struggle was suspended and government agreed to release political prisoners and allow the return of exiles.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday repeated government's insistence that the level of political violence be reduced and that the ANC finally renounce the armed struggle and mass action before an interim government came into being. They would not comment on progress in bilateral talks.

However, the bilateral agreement now being worked on — the ANC source said "we only need to iron out the finer details" — would pave the way for integration of the armed forces of SA and the TBVC states. The multiparty committee would help decide the future of Umkhonto and, by placing the armed forces under joint control, remove the threat of the SADF which the ANC argues is the reason for Umkhonto's existence. Under such an agreement the ANC would be prepared to end the armed struggle, the ANC sources said.

Government, in its proposals on interim rule tabled at Codesa on Monday, made provision for a transitional council on defence matters which would determine the role of the security forces under a new constitution.

While such a council at present has no specific executive capacity, government has indicated that its duties and powers are open to negotiation.

At the same time ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the bilateral talks were proceeding well and he was confident the Umkhonto issue could be resolved soon.

Senior government sources have indicated they regard the principle of renouncing the armed struggle as being as important as the actual demobilisation and disbandment of Umkhonto.

The ANC source said other aspects of the talks were an agreement that Umkhonto remain intact outside SA's borders but that it return only once a new democratic constitution was in place.

Related to the Umkhonto issue are the fate of the remaining political prisoners and those exiles who have not been able to return in terms of the agreement between the SA government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Although the prisoner and exile problem was tabled at Codesa, it was referred to bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government.

BILLY PADDOCK reports from Cape Town that government's Codesa negotiators yesterday sent a blunt and urgent

□ To Page 2

## Armed forces

*Biday 26/3/92*

*(25/3/92) (11A)*

□ From Page 1

warning to the ANC and Inkatha to start talking to each other and stop using violence as a political tool.

Security Ministers also made it clear that mass action "was definitely not desirable in a society in transition".

Kriel warned that black leaders should stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order and stability.

"When it comes to violence, the police, with the assistance of the SADF, have the responsibility to handle the situation but there is a duty on black leaders to go to grassroots level and tell their supporters to stop fighting," Kriel said.

Referring to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statement that his party would

be embarking on mass action, Kriel said government was having discussions with Buthelezi over this issue because it was highly undesirable.

"Government accepts that peaceful demonstrations and action are an inherent part of democracy but we stress that this has to be peaceful and very often these mass actions lead to violence," he said.

Coetsee said there was clear evidence that parties to the peace accord had violated the terms of the agreement regularly. Even the peace committee had referred cases to the Goldstone commission, which had found these parties were responsible for causing violence and intimidation for political ends.

Kriel said 30% of the police had been removed from combating crime in order to contain political violence.



# Government may back down from hardline stance

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government is showing signs of backing off the surprisingly tough stance it took this week on negotiations and the disbandment of the ANC's military wing.

Political observers were taken off guard by the hard positions the Government took after last week's highly successful referendum.

Most expected that the Government would emerge from the referendum with renewed confidence to negotiate a non-racial interim government.

But instead the Government submitted proposals to Codesa this week that would grant blacks no more than advisory powers in the first phase of transition.

In addition, the Government laid down a series of tough conditions that would have to be met before it entered into any binding transitional arrangements.

These included the final termination of the ANC's armed struggle, the disbandment of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, a return to political stability and — it emerged yesterday — the abandonment by parties of any policies aimed at sanctions or isolation of South Africa. Also, a termination of mass action.

The tough line was contin-

ued by three Cabinet Ministers at a briefing in Cape Town where a blunt message was sent out to black leaders to make peace with one another.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel warned black leaders to stop using violence to improve their political leverage, insisting that no progress could be made in negotiating an acceptable transitional government in the absence of order.

But in spite of these tough public signals, ANC and other sources believe the Government's position might be largely tactical — and that it had already begun to back off some of them by mid-week.

They said the Government's transitional proposals were roundly condemned by all or virtually all other parties at Codesa this week. Codesa working group three on interim or transitional arrangements adjourned for two weeks.

Codesa sources said that, when confronted with the fact that this week's transitional proposals contradicted the Government's earlier agreement to a Codesa-appointed "transitional executive structure", the Government backed off and agreed transitional bodies would have more than just advisory powers in the first phase.

STAR 26/3/92

(11A)

**Single-city rule set to be hastened**  
STAR 26/3/92

The Government had no objection to amending last year's Interim Measures for Local Government Act to speed up the process of implementing single-city authorities, Minister of Local Government Leon Wesels said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said the implementation of single-city local authorities was linked by the national negotiations taking place at Codesa.

Local government should not wait until it was overtaken by Codesa decisions. Already 127 towns had indicated they were negotiating single-city status. All had said separate local structures were not economically acceptable. — Sapa.

**'No' advert was legal, says Nigel**  
STAR 26/3/92

By Anna Louw  
 East Rand Bureau

The Conservative Party-controlled Nigel town council's decision to place an advertisement in a local newspaper advocating a "no" vote in last week's referendum was perfectly legal, management committee chairman Rudi Pretorius (CP) said yesterday.

Two National Party councillors have objected to the advertisement in the Nigel and Heidelberg Herald a week before the referendum.

Mr Pretorius said he reserved the space for the quarter-page advertisement, which stated "compiled and issued by the town clerk of Nigel".

The NP objected that the space for the advertisement had

been reserved before the matter had been discussed by the council.

Town Clerk Johan van Rensburg refused to get "embroiled in politics" and directed inquiries to Mr Pretorius.

Mr Pretorius said: "Just as Johannesburg council advocated a 'yes' vote in an advertisement, Nigel was entitled to support a 'no' vote."

**ANC 'prepared for worst' before referendum**  
STAR 26/3/92

By Esther Waugh  
 Political Reporter

The ANC apparently prepared two statements in response to the referendum results — in envelopes marked "no" and "yes".

When rumours about a massive swing to the Right spread,

"the spectre of another white betrayal started to loom", reports the latest edition of the ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

"ANC leaders refused to be drawn on contingency measures. But so real was the concern, it is rumoured, that two statements — in case of a "yes"

and "no" — were prepared.

"The envelopes were marked with bold letters so that speakers in the March 18 demonstrations would not produce the wrong statement," the report said.

However, as it turned out, there was no need to worry.

NEWS PAGE

# ANC preparing for first one man, one vote polls

Political Reporter

The ANC has begun campaigning for the first one man, one vote elections with the establishment of its national elections commission.

The commission's first task will be to overcome the advantage enjoyed by parties that have taken part in elections before, said commission chairman Hermanus Loots.

Organisational and communications structures would be formed in the regions and branches to persuade people to go to the polls and vote for the ANC, he said in the latest issue of the ANC mouthpiece Mayibuye.

Mr Loots noted that about

17 million South Africans had no experience in preparing for elections.

Asked whether the newly established electoral commission could challenge a well-oiled machine such as that of the National Party, Mr Loots said: "At an organisational level, the ANC's inexperience puts it at a disadvantage compared to the NP. But on the other hand, the ANC represents the overwhelming majority. This means that it could, at short notice, appeal to many people to vote in its favour."

Mr Loots said he did not expect the present Government to fund or organise voter education for blacks, but that an interim government would do so.

SAINI TOP

## ANC 'still firm on sanctions'

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

STAR  
26/3/92

The ANC is committed to the maintenance of sanctions until a transitional government has been established, says ANC spokesman Gill Marcus.

However, the ANC is continuously discussing its sanctions policy, particularly in the light of the international community lifting sanctions.

Ms Marcus was reacting to indications from ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu that the movement might have to call for a lifting of sanctions before the creation of a transitional government.

In an interview, Mr Sisulu said: "We are going to be bound to examine the question of sanctions properly in the light of

... countries lifting sanctions.

"We are mindful that if we allow sanctions to die by themselves, we are the losers. Therefore we should take the initiative."

Miss Marcus told The Star that Mr Sisulu's statement was not in conflict with the official ANC position.

He was merely raising the question of how the ANC should respond to foreign governments lifting sanctions, she said.

Miss Marcus said the ANC thought the international community would have learnt a lesson from the referendum — that the negotiations process was fragile.

It should have sent a signal that lifting sanctions at this stage would be very premature.

# PF committee soon to reconvene

THE liaison committee of the Patriotic Front is set to reconvene soon at the request of the Pan Africanist Congress to discuss progress on its demand for a constituent assembly.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai said a favourable response had been received from the African National Congress and a meeting may take place as early as next week.

It was decided last year to reconvene the PF within six months of its December consultative conference, at which the organisation rejected participation in Codesa.

*Sowetan 26/3/92* (11A)  
The demand for a constituent assembly, which was adopted by the PF at its Durban summit last year, will also be a key issue on the agenda at the PAC's third national congress in Umtata, Transkei, between April 3 and April 6.

"The conference theme is 'The Way Forward' and discussion will therefore centre on how we should continue pursuing our goal of a democratically-elected constituent assembly," Desai said.

He also reiterated the PAC's refusal to enter Codesa "because we do not believe Codesa can deliver a constituent assembly".

"The regime is obviously not interested in the

transition to a genuine democracy. Its proposals for a transitional government take us back 40 years to the old discredited Native Representative Councils or Bungas. It is quite clear that the regime intends remaining in control."

Another key issue to be debated at the conference include plans for a national stayaway to protest against the violence sweeping the country. The PAC has repeatedly called on all parties to end the violence.

The PAC's draft media policy will be presented. It will call for an end to media monopolies, independent media trusts, subsidies for the alternative

Press and the creation of an independent authority to regulate broadcasting.

Several African, Asian and European countries will be represented at the conference, which is being held on the campus of the University of Transkei.

The six African frontline states meet in Harare, Zimbabwe on Saturday to discuss recent developments in South Africa.

The PAC will be represented by deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and secretary for foreign affairs Mrs Patricia de Lille. - SA Press Association.

# HOW ORGANISATIONS WORK

New Nation  
(Learning Nation)  
27/3-2/4/92

11A



Membership put their views

Our previous article looked at the role of organisations. We saw that organisations play a role in defending the interests of their members. Organisations also help to preserve the lessons of previous struggles. We further noted that organisations help in preparing the working class to rule in future society. In this article we will look at how organisations work.

We will look at:

- The significance of democracy
- Organisational structures
- The role of leadership

## The Significance of Democracy in Working Class Organisations

Change cannot be accomplished without the active participation of the masses. The task of working class organisations is to encourage the active involvement of the masses in the process of their own liberation. This is why working class organisations must be democratic.

Only if working class organisations are democratic will they reflect the aspirations of their membership. In order to ensure this, the membership must be actively involved in making and implementing decisions. Space must be there for members to be involved in these processes.

For the membership to be actively involved in the decision making process, there must be proper consultation. This process affords the membership the opportunity to shape the direction of the organisation. In the process of making decisions the membership will be able to discuss and debate their points of view.

Consultation also ensures that the membership is able to exercise control over the organisation. This ensures that the organisation reflects the aspirations of its membership at all times. This process exposes those leaders who are no longer acting in the interests of the organisation. The membership has the right to recall such leaders, that is, remove them from office even if their term of office has not expired yet.

The process of democratic debates helps the membership to learn from each other. This is also important in the sense that it gives the membership an opportunity to reflect, collectively, on their experiences and in that process learn from those experiences. In working class organisations, decisions are made to be implemented. Members must have a thorough understanding of decisions that have been taken so that they can implement them to the best of their ability.

In the process of arriving at a position members have the right to put forward different points of view. They also have a right to belong to different factions that are bound by the discipline of the organisation. A faction is a group of members who share common views within an organisation. Factions have a right to openly propagate their views whilst bound by the discipline of the organisation. Whilst the organisation is in the process of making decisions there must be the fullest debate, but once a decision is taken there must be complete unity in

its implementation. Those who had been a minority in the process of debates must be bound by majority positions.

Individual members must be accountable to the organisation. Whenever tasks are allocated they must be implemented vigorously. There must be regular report backs on the progress of implementing decisions. This ensures that members are able to follow developments closely.

Through debates and discussions, members are able to give proper mandates to their leadership and to those who have to perform specific tasks. Mandates give clear guidelines on how the leadership must take forward the tasks facing the organisation. They also help the membership to test the ability of the leadership to lead the organisation. These mandates also reinforce the control of the membership over the organisation.

## Organisational Structures

An organisation must be structured in such a way that it ensures the involvement of the widest layer of its membership. At all times the membership must have total control over the organisation through its structures.

For an organisation to operate effectively and efficiently, the role and decision making powers of different structures must be clearly defined. These structures must give the membership the opportunity to exercise control over the organisation. Structures are not fixed for all times but change in order to meet new challenges. In most organisations, guidelines on what structures to establish are usually outlined in the constitution.

Decision-making powers of various structures must be clear to members. This must be aimed at ensuring democratic practices within an organisation. So the membership must have ultimate powers to decide on everything that affects the organisation. For example the executive committee must be accountable to the general members.

## The Role of Leadership in an Organisation

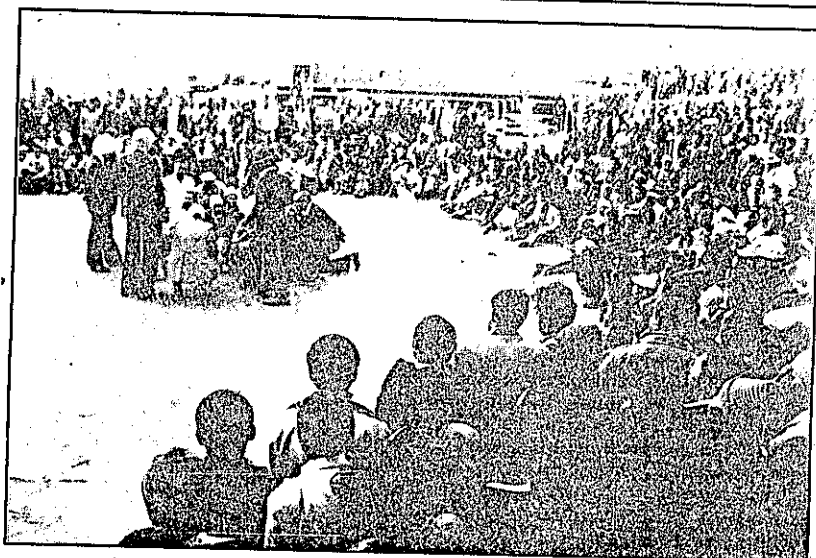
In any organisation, not all members are at the same level of understanding. This is due to the experiences that

individual members bring with them to the organisation. Some members, because of their past experiences in struggle, find it much easier to adapt to the internal life of an organisation, whereas others take time to get used to how an organisation operates.

The leadership is the most advanced layer in an organisation. This is demonstrated by its ability to analyse the situation and give clear direction and co-ordination to the organisation. This does not mean that those who have not been elected into leadership positions do not have the responsibility to ensure that the organisation executes its tasks.

A democratic leadership does not impose its right to lead on the membership. The leadership must win its positions through persuasion. The leadership must explain patiently to the membership. They must always struggle to ensure that the entire membership understands all positions that have been adopted. At times the membership will reject positions that have been put forward by the leadership. The leadership must ensure that such positions are implemented as well. The correctness of these positions will be determined through practice.

In this article we have looked at the significance of democratic practices in working class organisations. We have also looked at why organisations need structures. In addition to this, we have looked at the role of leadership in an organisation. In this process we looked at how organisations operate. In our next article we will look at how organisations are built.



Accountability is important

CODESA

# Deep in the second half

FM 27/3/92

11A

Despite the objections raised by the ANC and others over the government-NP proposals for transitional arrangements, the impasse is not intractable.

The proposals are substantially those adopted by the Nat federal congress months ago — except for the idea of creating “transitional councils.” These have been derided by the ANC as “toy telephones” because, though they would be broadly representative, they are envisaged as purely advisory bodies. They would make recommendations on important policy areas, in advance of elections for an interim government.

It should be remembered, however, that the ANC's transitional proposals also call for the creation of such structures, called “multiparty committees,” to take charge of the most important areas like the Budget.

The difference, however, is that the ANC proposes that these committees will have complete control over those areas, and fall under an “interim government council” made up of parties in Codesa which would oversee parliament and the Cabinet.

Such differences would seem amenable to some kind of consensus being hammered out.

The same may be said for what now appear to have become government's preconditions for agreeing to set up a transitional government. It wants solved “decisively” the question of political violence and the “suspension” of the ANC's armed struggle.

This, of course, refers more specifically to the disbandment of the ANC's armed wing, the relatively small Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The issue, always sensitive, now moves up the agenda.

The ANC refuses to deal with the question until an interim government is in place, whereupon it envisages MK and the SADF being merged. In any event, the ANC says the matter also involves the armies of the homeland governments.

ANC spokesmen also claim that the issue is being sensationalised through the press, and point out that it is being dealt with in continuing bilateral talks with government.

Clearly, a large measure of mutual suspicion still exists between the major players. While the Democratic Party in principle supports President F W de Klerk's stance on private armies — and it is difficult to conceive of any other approach — the DP does not believe this matter will hold up the negotiation process. The irony is that MK, judging by all the evidence available, hardly exists — its existence is a matter of symbolism, not military confrontation.

While the ANC welcomes government's acceptance of an elected constitution-making body, it says the proposals for two phases of the transition are objectionable in many

fundamental respects.

Firstly, the transitional councils would in effect leave all powers in the hands of the present government, thereby allowing it to act both as referee and player. “We are alarmed that the NP-government proposals ignore altogether the agreement reached in the Working Group a fortnight ago, that one of the most important elements of transitional arrangements is ‘the creation of a transi-



tional executive structure,’ which will be appointed according to procedures agreed upon by Codesa.”

The government's proposal implies that the present constitution will stay unamended until an elected constitution-making body is in place. This is apparently at variance with an earlier agreement that Codesa decisions will be given legal effect “through amendments to the existing constitution.”

The proposed transitional councils are unacceptable to the ANC because “their functions have nothing or very little to do with the basic objectives of Phase One of the transition, which is to level the political playing field and ensure free and fair elections under conditions of free political activity.”

The ANC suspects that the mooted transitional councils could investigate matters that should be the domain of a constitution-making body. Nor will these councils have any executive powers to carry out the Codesa mandate, says the ANC. Rather, the present government will retain powers to veto recommendations of the councils.

As far as Phase Two is concerned, the ANC finds it “strange in the extreme that the government should even entertain the view that the present racist parliament

should co-exist with a democratically elected constitution-making body, and have powers of veto over decisions of such a body.”

Despite its problems, the ANC says “we will ensure that nothing derails this process and that negotiations continue.”

There is no doubt that both sides have the will, the resources and the flexibility to overcome obstacles. The main problem appears to be one of sovereignty: which institutions will possess it, and at what stage? There is a danger that parliament will be undermined, thus affecting its future legitimacy.

It is to be hoped that the correct decisions are made now. Constitutionally, the point of no return is approaching and after that De Klerk's bargaining power will also diminish. ■

## CONSERVATIVE PARTY

### After the fall

FM 27/3/92

The Conservative Party was ready to split this week unless a compromise could be worked out to satisfy both the moderate and hardline factions in the party who are squabbling over whether or not to participate in Codesa.

It has also emerged that Andries Treurnicht is almost certain to resign as leader and possibly retire from politics. He is 71, has been MP for Waterberg in the northern Transvaal for 20 years and has headed the CP since its formation in 1982. The CP would retain the seat in a by-election.

As the FM went to press, the 42-member CP caucus was meeting in Cape Town to continue discussions on the party's future that started after last week's referendum.

Further meetings were scheduled for the rest of the week culminating in a “hoofraad” (head council) indaba in Bloemfontein on Saturday at which a final decision is expected.

The CP and its rightwing allies were so soundly thrashed in the referendum that nearly all its MPs believe there is no point in the party continuing in its present form.

Some caucus members now acknowledge that the party's biggest mistake was to participate in the referendum. “F W de Klerk set a trap. He took a big chance, but we walked right into it. We should have seen what was coming,” says one MP.

They also blame the alliance with the AWB which, under Eugene Terre'Blanche's embarrassing leadership, was allowed to dominate the rightwing campaign. They believe the link with the AWB lost the CP thousands of votes.

The resignation this week of AWB secre-

## 'No agreement on SADF and MK'

CAPE TOWN — Government and the ANC had no agreement whatsoever on the future of the SADF or Umkhonto we Sizwe, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he responded to points made earlier in the debate by the CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

"Thus far there has been no negotiations whatsoever over the control of the SADF for the interim or long term," he said.

This also applied to MK.

"To claim there is an agreement is totally untrue."

Government's viewpoint was that there could be only one defence force

established and operating under a constitutional dispensation.

Private armies had to be disbanded before any progress could be made with the broadening of democracy.

He reproached Treurnicht for hiding away for almost a week since the referendum before speaking in Parliament.

There were democratic demands that a man who had set himself up as the leader of most whites before the referendum should also deal with the results of that referendum.

"But he has once more shown that he is not someone who is able to take on the challenges facing SA." — Sapa.



# Voortrekker Monument stays, says ANC

B/Dam 27/3/92

PATRICK BULGER

WHAT a relief. The ANC does not intend dismantling the Voortrekker Monument should it come to power.

However, the co-ordinator of the ANC's commission on museums, monuments and heraldry, Themba Sirayi, said yesterday the upkeep of "own affairs" monuments would not be the responsibility of a future central government.

Sirayi, director of the cultural centre at Fort Hare University, said in Johannesburg yesterday: "There is a notion that the Voortrekker Monument is a national monument but I want to stress it is not."

Different groups were free to declare their own monuments "as long as that will not require the state to inject funds".

He said the commission would be re-examining the role of monuments, symbols and museums in the new SA and wanted to extend the right to social identity, peace and beauty to Africans who had been denied these rights by apartheid. He said 97% of the declared monuments "commemorate the white culture of dominance".

He said a preliminary workshop held by

(11A) the commission had recommended that SA's national postage stamps be changed to reflect a Codesa theme. The commission also believed there should be a moratorium on developing Robben Island and on the proclamation of new monuments.

Sirayi said the commission wanted volumes of archives confiscated by the state returned so that a comprehensive history of the ANC could be compiled.

The commission's work would be guided by sensitivity for the symbols of others and would seek to build a culture of tolerance.

● Picture: Page 3

# ANC officials to learn from British elections

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6/10/89 27/3/92

PATRICK BULGER

TWO high-ranking ANC officials are in the UK to observe next month's elections as part of the organisation's preparations for democratic elections in SA early next year.

The officials are the head of the ANC's constitutional committee Zola Skweyiya and ANC national election commission member Josiah Jele. An election commission spokesman said Jele and Skweyiya were acquainting themselves with modern elections and tactics used to win them.

The spokesman said the ANC was gearing up for elections to a constituent assembly early next year. He said preparations for the elections were well advanced.

The national election commission consists of chairman James Stuart, Jele, Skweyiya, Simon Makana, an ANC member who spent time in exile in Russia, former Hillbrow NP chairman Johan du Preez and advocate George Bizos in an advisory capacity.

The spokesman said regional election commissions in the 14 regions had already been appointed and regional task forces were preparing people for SA's first democratic poll.

In an interview in the latest edition of

ANC mouthpiece *Mayibuye*, Stuart said the election commission's task was to overcome the advantage enjoyed by the NP and other parties. The commission would be responsible also for identifying possible electoral alliances and for educating people for democracy. The ANC was preparing a central register of members.

In a submission to Codesa this week, the ANC suggested the formation of an independent election commission which, it said, should supervise the elections. It said this would be a radical departure from present practice of the government of the day supervising elections.

Another *Mayibuye* article says ANC members fear that government spying on them when the ANC was banned could lead to red faces. "With many years of spying against activists in SA, a fear is growing among activists that the American personalisation of the elections will be used more than it is now. Petty information about an individual's past sexual, medical or financial history may have to cause him or her to drop out of an election race," *Mayibuye* notes.

THE daggers will be drawn between pro-negotiations and hardline protest politicians at the Azanian People's Organisation weekend indaba to consider the party's future options and strategies.

Publicity secretary Strini Moodley said on yesterday: "We consider this our most important meeting to be held this year... to discuss future strategies of Azapo in the light of the changing political climate."

The Johannesburg meeting will be attended by the central committee, secre-

# Daggers drawn as Azapo plots future

*Sowetan 27/3/92*

*(11A)*

tariats, regional heads and leaders of all Black Consciousness Movement formations, Moodley said.

An Azapo source said the daggers were drawn between a pro-negotiations group calling for the organisation to join Codesa

and the Patriotic Front and a radical section clinging to protest politics.

The militant organisation has remained outside the Codesa constitutional talks and has refused a government invitation to hold exploratory discussions,

demanding nothing short of an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Azapo caused controversy in the run-up to the formation of the Patriotic Front in October last year, when it objected to the in-

clusion of the Democratic Party and other organisations participating in government-created structures.

The organisation eventually walked out of the PF when it was stripped of its status as a member of the

convening committee of the PF entitled to equal representation alongside the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

The PAC later walked out of the first Codesa meeting, charging the ANC was colluding with the National Party government. Azapo has similarly criticised the ANC for its collaboration with the NP, in what it called a new alliance between "the old bosses and a new Induna class".

ANC president Nelson Mandela during a Sharpeville commemoration rally in Cape Town on

Saturday appealed to Azapo and the PAC to put their differences aside and join the ANC in the PF and Codesa "so we can speak with one voice". This was rejected by Azapo, which added that if Mandela was serious about any discussions he should approach them directly.

## Talks

Azapo has also distanced itself from reports emerging from Harare that it was to form an independent Patriotic Front with the PAC.

Although there were earlier talks of Azapo forming anti-collaboration alliance with the New Unity Movement and the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, numerous consultations among the groups have failed to produce any results.

Despite the official stance, a pro-negotiations lobby has emerged within the organisation. Its supporters argue that Azapo must change its views on Codesa or remain in political limbo.

Moodley refused to confirm the organisation was torn between the negotiations lobbyists and militants who maintain that constitutional talks are a farce which cannot deliver genuine change for the oppressed black people. Instead he stressed the importance of an exchange of views at the weekend meeting. - Sapa

STAR 27/3/92

# ANC/PAC PF to meet on unity

Political Staff (11A)

The African National Congress has accepted a request from the Pan Africanist Congress for a meeting of the liaison committee of the ANC/PAC-led 92-member Patriotic Front (PF), PAC spokesman Barney Desai said yesterday.

The consultative conference would discuss progress on the PF demand for a Constituent Assembly.

The meeting was supposed to be held within six months of the PF conference held in Durban in December.

The PAC request came

after ANC president Nelson Mandela called on the PAC and Azapo to join the ANC in a united front and at Codesa.

The PAC has, however, rejected the call to join Codesa because the forum was incapable of delivering a constituent assembly.

10

STAR 27/3/92

# Azapo to make 'radical decisions'

Political Staff (11A)

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold a consultative meeting at the weekend which could be a major turning point in the history of the radical Black Consciousness Movement, publicity secretary Strini Moodley

said yesterday.

He said the two-day meeting would "specifically evaluate the whole question of Codesa and examine the organisation". "Radical decisions" would be taken.

The conference would be attended by the entire 10-person central com-

mittee, regional heads and heads of formations — including several trade unions.

Mr Moodley would not say whether Azapo could decide to join Codesa.

A press conference would be held after the meeting on Sunday afternoon.

# MK: A problem of give and take

Sowetan 27/3/92

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CODESA'S work is seriously dependent on agreements reached in Working Group One, where negotiators are trying to reach agreement on "the creation of a climate for free political participation".

The big question in this working group is one that has until now been on the back burner in the general political scenario - the future of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

And the Government this past week dug in its heels on the issue, saying that no settlement can be reached on an interim government unless the ANC disbanded its army and called off the armed struggle.

Defence Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town on Wednesday that there was no longer any need for an armed struggle and suggested the time for the armed struggle was over, especially in terms of internal political developments.

"Political normalisation in this country, especially after the referendum, has long passed the point of reversibility," Meyer said.

But be that as it may, to disband MK and to hand over all its arms caches is perhaps for the ANC a more difficult task than it was for the movement to "suspend" the armed struggle, as it did on August 6 1990 during the meeting from which the Pretoria Minute came.

Besides being politically unsavoury - the ANC could face mass dissent among MK cadres and its membership if it disbanded its military wing - it places the movement in a position where it has to let go of one of two of its biggest bargaining chips, the other being mass action.

But that is yet another story. The

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent

immediate problem is one of reaching an amicable agreement on the disbanding of MK, which will not cause the ANC to lose too much face among (militant) black supporters, and which will at the same time not test the sensibilities of the present military regime.

The Government and the ANC are presently engaged in ongoing bi-lateral talks and both sides are confident that an agreement can be reached.

In the ANC, the question of integration is regarded as an "extremely complex and sensitive issue," according to its official mouthpiece, Mayibuye.

Needless to say, the Government regards the issue in a similar way, but in terms of its thinking, the word is not so much incorporation as it is accommodation.

There is a train of thought in Government circles that members of MK could be "accommodated" in the SADF.

The Government fears that incorporation into the SADF could give credibility to ANC boasts that it was the armed struggle that has brought the political process as far as it is.

While the Government believes that there is no merit in this argument, it could be read by military personnel as admitting that MK was a force to be reckoned with.

The other, logical, fear is that if



MK chief Chris Hani

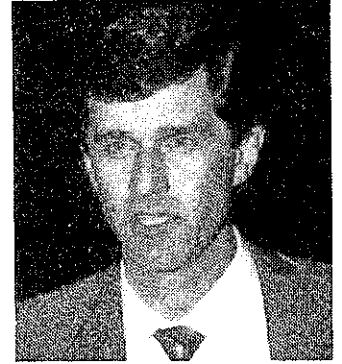
MK cadres are admitted to the SADF as ordinary volunteers without any rank or seniority, they could see themselves as foot soldiers of the white generals.

Both the Government and the ANC has, at least in terms of some of the ideas that are going around, given this serious thought, and there is confluence, particularly in the area of instituting specialised training of existing officers of high rank in MK so as to overcome this problem.

The ANC says in the April edition of Mayibuye that "continued upgrading of MK cadres and training for senior ANC members" obviously with an eye on placement in the Defence Ministry, was one way of overcoming this problem.

This would also solve the problem of "SADF domination". And, the ANC believes, this is ultimately what the ruling National Party seeks - as a kind of "security fallback" which Mayibuye explains represents "a more effective veto than a constitution would provide".

Therefore the ANC believes in the upgrading of its cadres and political leadership and working towards "ensuring a balanced and representative command structure



SADF chief Roelf Meyer

in the course of integration."

But it is now, possibly next month, before an interim government is appointed, that the question of MK will be reached a critical point, and the argument cannot continue to be spoken of in the abstract or in academic discourse.

"It will be politically untenable for the different armed forces to retain separate identities under an interim government," Mayibuye says.

The ANC believes that a Joint High Command under an interim government has to be created to minimise the possibility of "SADF disruption of the transition".

"Ideally the new defence force should be established by the democratic government so that its role, composition, character and doctrines can be shaped by democratic principles," the ANC says.

Whichever way is chosen out of this obviously loaded situation, the ANC and the Government agree that the psychological and political preparation of the personnel of both armies would be the first step.

"Vital to this is a programme of reconciliation," Mayibuye explains.

# Mandela: Solutions de

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## ON THE REFERENDUM:

In spite of our condemnation of an ethnic, racist poll, we welcome and have been greatly encouraged by the overwhelming "yes" vote given in this referendum.

It frees the National Party from all the political dilemmas which have tended to restrict it, and helps it move this (negotiation) process forward as quickly as possible.

Mr De Klerk has played a very important role indeed, because even though we regard the regime as illegitimate and discredited, nevertheless the reality is that he is the head of state, head of government in this country.

We cannot succeed in normalising the political process without his participation. Indeed, he has played some very significant moves, brought about some changes, some of which have been fundamental, and we fully acknowledge his role. And he is still going to play a very important role indeed.

We now have turned the National Party around from the policy of apartheid which they had announced as the formula to solve the problems of this country. We've turned them around to accept our policy of non-racialism. Mr De Klerk now says openly he is in favour of one person one vote on a common voters' roll.

Although we totally disagree with the fact that any particular group should have the responsibility of deciding the future of this country, we can understand why he took this step.

And he has proved himself to be a very good strategist because, after Potchefstroom, the Conservative Party would have gone on the rampage. By announcing the referendum the day after the results in the Potchefstroom by-elections, he took the initiative completely from Treurnicht.

## ON CODESA:

There are now 19 political parties involved in Codesa. Again, without boasting, this is an achievement of the African National Congress because, when we were preparing for the preparatory conference, we

Nelson Mandela visited Cape Town last week, meeting a spectrum of Peninsula residents ranging from devout Muslims to hard-nosed industrialists. One of the high points of his visit was the inaugural address to some 200 businesspeople, professionals and diplomats at the inaugural function of the Independent Business Forum, sponsored by SOUTH, M Brey and Associates and CommLife Insurance Brokers. The following are extracts from his speech, which give major insight into the ANC president's thinking on politics and economics:



PATIENT: Mandela addressing businessmen and diplomats at the inaugural function sponsored by SOUTH Photo: Sally Shorkend

had a very serious argument with the National Party and Inkatha. Both organisations argued that there should be only three political parties which are going to set out the political agenda for the country — the National Party, Inkatha and the African National Congress.

We rejected that, and said no three political parties — whatever their strength — could ever abrogate to themselves the task of determining the future of South Africa, that this is a task for all political parties which have some measure of support.

## ON ECONOMIC POLICY:

Unless we are able to repair our damaged economy, it is not going to be possible for us to have a lasting political solution. If our economy remains as it is, is unable to grow to ensure maximum productivity to be able to generate wealth and opportunities for employment, if there is no industrial peace in this country, then

we will be unable to make progress on the political level.

So one of our concerns is to ensure that business is going to work together with politicians in order to normalise our situation, because without the co-operation of business it's going to be very difficult for us to address the serious economic issues facing us.

Nationalisation, ladies and gentlemen, is the policy of the African National Congress. We declared this policy way back in 1955. And we did so, as I have talked about before, because every country in the world which has gone through a traumatic experience, like a war, has not been able to avoid some measure of nationalisation as part of its strategy to address economic problems.

This has happened in the west. It has happened in the United States of America (as Ambassador Swing will witness), in Britain, in France (Mrs Buber, the French Ambassador, will witness it), in Italy, in



WRITING ON THE WALL: Mr Nelson Mandela signs the Hector Peter

Germany (Dr Stabreit is my witness), in Japan, in South Korea. After the last World War, they had to take these measures.

We are going through a similar

traumatic experience — apartheid — in which the entire resources of the country are owned by a white minority of less than 15 percent.

Let me repeat these figures, just to support my argument: we have established that no less than 75 percent of the shares quoted in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange are owned by four conglomerates, white conglomerates, owned and controlled by them.

More than 90 percent of the industrial property of this country is owned and controlled by whites, and 87 percent of the country's land is owned by this minority of less than 15 percent.

No mere reformers or freedom fighters could ever tolerate that situation. There can be no industrial peace if we allow that situation to continue. And budgetary measures are not sufficient to rectify these imbalances, and a certain measure of state intervention is absolutely necessary.

And those who think that the mere growth in our economy will be sufficient to rectify this division must look at the position between 1960 and 1970, when the growth rate in this country was about 16 percent. And yet the gap between black and white, between the rich and the poor, widened because this growth rate was not linked to the process of redistribution. And we therefore



ANYTHING YOU CAN DO: Mandela indulged in his share of baby hugging on his visit

# Depend on economics



lector Petersen mural at Alexander Sinton Senior Secondary School  
South 28/3-21492 (HA) (49)

refuse just to talk about the growth rate in our economy, not linked to the process of redistribution.

But of course I must be realistic: nationalisation is a very unpopular strategy. We have had numerous discussions with top businessmen inside and outside South Africa.

Early in 1990 we had a very successful business meeting which brought together about 400 top businessmen in the country.

Of course, the assault on the part of the business community was on nationalisation and sanctions. But it was quite clear that the business community in this country has not started to address an alternative to nationalisation. And we invited them.

It was quite clear that they didn't have one, and I'm sure even now you don't have one.

Nevertheless, we are well aware of opposition to nationalisation. We are also aware that as long as nationalisation remains our official policy, it is not going to be easy for us to get the co-operation of our own businessmen as well as of foreign investors.

You are all aware that big companies in this country are busy exporting, selling out their wealth, their assets, their money, because they are afraid that a democratic government will nationalise their property and their wealth. That is not the position, because we have specifically said we intend nationalising the mines, the

financial institutions and the monopolies. The rest of the economy is based on private enterprise. We accept operation of market forces and we have limited nationalisation only

to these three sectors.

In spite of the fact that this is our policy — and we're convinced that it is correct — nevertheless, we have to be realistic, because we want the sup-

Photos: Yunus Mohamed

port of business, locally and abroad. We want the people to invest in our country without fear of losing their investments. We want them to have the freedom of repatriating their prof-

(HA) (49)

is. It is the only way in which we can repair our economy.  
South 28/3-2/4/92

**ON THE ROLE OF BUSINESS:**  
Naturally of course, we are not going to depend only on foreign investment. It must form a small fraction of our resources. Our resources must be generated from internal savings, and that is what we should concentrate upon, and that is why we are alarmed at the extent to which our own local businesspersons are now exporting their capital from our country. We would like that capital to remain in the country because it is necessary to develop our economy. Have no fears about a future democratic government because we have taken a responsible initiative.

**ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT:**  
The demand for the immediate installation of an interim government has dynamic opportunities for this country, because it is going to lead not only to the lifting of all sanctions except the arms and oil embargo. It means that South Africa will put an end to its status as the polecat of the world. If it is taken, we will immediately recommend that South Africa should be readmitted to the United Nations and other world bodies — just as we are doing in sports.

It's not the government that is normalising sports today, it is the African National Congress. And our teams, our cricket team, is taking part in international tournaments. If the athletes are able to resolve their problems, insofar as the African National Congress is concerned, they are now free to participate in the Olympic Games.

We are taking those initiatives. They are responsible initiatives. Now we are saying that the next important step in this country which deserves the support of business as well as diplomats is to ensure that that interim government is installed immediately. In our view, it does not need even six months to install that government, because our own scenario which was presented to the working



ANC SALUTE: A section of the crowd which gathered in Khayelitsha to hear Mandela speak

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

groups is that this interim government will not be elected; it will be appointed by Codesa and it will involve all the 19 political parties in Codesa.

We are doing so because it has become necessary to have a mechanism to supervise the transition from an apartheid to a democratic society. It is also there to supervise free and fair elections to a constituent assembly, because that is the organ that will then be given the task of drawing up a new constitution for the country. (114) (115)

**ON VIOLENCE:**

Either the National Party and its regime have lost control over the security forces, or the security forces are doing exactly what the National Party and the regime want them to, because they have got the capacity to put an end to the violence. They have a very strong, well-equipped security service in the police, the army, the intelligence service.

Now the perception in the townships is very strong that the police and military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service are much involved in this violence.

I therefore agree that this violence falls beyond black-on-black violence. It is just a strategy of the government to say this is black-on-black violence. It is not. Somebody somewhere is fuelling this violence and using certain black political organisations and certain black leaders as a smokescreen to be able to divert attention from the real authors of this violence. It is only the installation of an interim government that can address that question.

When the head of state allows tax-payers' money to be given to an organisation which is believed to be deeply implicated in this violence, then you can make your own conclusions as to his complicity in the death of innocent people.

I had to criticise him openly. And when he raised this point, I pointed out to him: "You live in the comfort and security of Tuynhuys and Union Building, far from the field of conflict. It is my people, not yours, who are being killed every day. You have the capacity to put an end to this slaughter. You are not doing so because, to whites in this country, the lives of blacks are cheap, and that is what has restricted you from using your capacity to put an end to this violence."

**ON VAT:**

I think you should advise Barend du



**SHAKE: Mandela greets well-wishers at Langa High School**

Photos: Yunus Mohamed

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Plessis, because he is one of the most insensitive Finance Ministers of this country.

He thinks in terms of whites, even today, he is not thinking in terms of the people of South Africa as a whole.

It is inconceivable that a Minister of Finance should actually impose a tax on basic foodstuffs when there is so much poverty, when there is so much unemployment.

To tax basic foodstuffs like bread, like mielie meal, is a degree of insensitivity which is beyond words.

He has threatened now to reimpose the tax on these basic foodstuffs. He is asking for trouble.

**ON MILITARY STRUGGLE:**

We have actually gone out of our way to suspend armed struggle. We have rejected the demand we should dissolve MK. We can never do that in this particular situation. That we will not do.

But our method is one of peace, and peace in this country lies through Codesa and an interim government, and this should be the demand of those who want a new South Africa.

**The lighter side of Mandela:**

As you know, I was a "resident" of Cape Town for 27 years. But a while ago I was at a game reserve in the Transvaal. Three ladies came up to me and said they had been watching me and were happy to meet and shake hands. They said many things pleasing for a man to hear from ladies. Then they asked: "By the way, who are you ..."

● It is sometimes difficult to understand how whites think. There's a political party inside Parliament which has been advocating non-racialism all these years. But white voters in this country have sidelined the Democratic Party — even when the National Party now embraces the same policy.

● No less than R250 000 was given to Inkatha to promote violence. When the press went to Mr De Klerk, he explained what it was meant for, but not even he believed what he was saying!

● If you want to ask any questions, you are free to do so. But if you feel this old man has been talking nonsense, then you can keep quiet!



**PUTTING DOWN ROOTS: Watched by teachers at Alexander Sinton Senior Secondary School, Mandela plants a tree during the inauguration of the ecology project at the school**



# IBF kicks off with Mandela breakfast

*South 2813-21492*  
AN INDEPENDENT Business Forum (IBF), geared to meet the needs of disenfranchised business people, kicked off last Friday with a slap up breakfast with ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela.

The forum is sponsored by SOUTH newspaper, Commlife Insurance Brokers and M Brey and Associates, Chartered Accountants.

According to its mission statement, the initiative, which is open to all, is "aimed at enabling businesspeople from disadvantaged communities to take their place alongside established mainstream businesses." In his address, Mandela warned economic growth alone would not necessarily address massive economic imbalances.

"Those who think that mere growth in our economy will be sufficient to rectify this division must

look at the position between 1960 and 1970, when the growth rate in this country was about 16 percent. And yet the gap between black and white, between the rich and the poor, widened because this growth rate was not linked to the process of redistribution," he said.

He claimed every country in the world who had gone through a traumatic experience, like a war, had not been able to avoid a measure of nationalisation as part of its strategy to address economic problems.

"This has happened in the West. It has happened in the United States of America, in Britain, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Japan, in South Korea. After the last World War, they had to take these measures.

"In the present constitution of Germany, nationalisation appears

*11/19*  
as one of the strategies of the government. We are going through a similar traumatic experience — apartheid is that traumatic experience — in which the entire resources of the country are owned by a white minority of less than 15 percent," he said.

Through a series of breakfast meetings and seminars every four to six weeks, IBF pledges itself in its mission statement to:

- Enhance contact and communication between businesses previously excluded from the mainstream of trade and economic activity.
- Exchange ideas about future business practice and environment.
- Create more effective structures for disenfranchised businesspeople.
- Develop contact nationally and internationally when trade sanctions are lifted. **Quentin Wilson**

# Rabie is opportunist

## say angry youths

By DAN DHLAMINI

CAPRESS  
29/3/92

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ANGRY Western Transvaal coloured youths this week disrupted a National Party meeting near Potchefstroom where Jack Rabie, who defected from the Labour Party, was the main speaker.

The visibly embarrassed Rabie had to leave the Promosa Community hall through the back door.

Some of the youths who disrupted the meeting called him an opportunist who did not care for the struggle of the coloured community.

The youths said Rabie was being used by the NP government to garner coloured support in the event of an election.

Rabie replied saying people were wrong to label him a collaborator for serving in the old apartheid system, because he now belonged to the new NP which does not discriminate.

"Rabie is an opportunist, and we will not be surprised that when the ANC gets the upperhand he leaves the NP and joins them," said one of the youths.

**W**HEN the PAC opens its third national congress in Umtata on Friday, two years since it was legalised, it faces some hard choices.

Two related issues could dominate the four-day congress whose theme, according to PAC information head Barney Desai, is likely to be "The PAC - The Way Forward".

The first major task is the choice of the presidency - the outcome of which will in turn determine the second issue - which way the organisation is going.

Reduced to essentials, the choice facing the PAC is whether members will elect the leadership that will join Codesa or whether they will choose the so-called hardliners who reject this forum as a toy telephone.

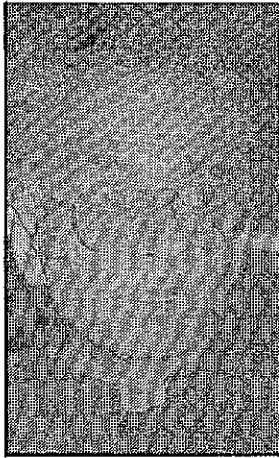
PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke caused a stir this week when it was reported that he had indicated that the organisation was going to join Codesa. However, it later emerged that he had made a qualified statement on possible participation.

In spite of Moseneke's conditional statement, there is a strong feeling that the present senior leadership is ready to enter Codesa.

Speaking after a meeting with Zambia's Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga, Moseneke said: "Those decisions (about joining Codesa) we will make as and when appropriate, when we think Codesa can deliver genuine democracy to the oppressed African people."

This week's suggestion by the PAC that the liaison committees (made up of the PAC, ANC and Azapo) of the moribund Patriotic Front be revived, and reconvened also lends credence to the thinking that the organisation may be contemplating a more strategic way of joining Codesa.

However, much will depend on the leadership chosen in Umtata to take charge of the affairs of the organisation for the next two years. Focus will be on the four senior positions which constitute the presidency - that is president, first and second deputy president and sec-



**BARNEY DESAI**

retary general.

PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu and his senior lieutenants understand fully the pressures facing the organisation.

The international community wants the PAC to take part in Codesa. Even some of the PAC's allies - like the Frontline states, the Organisation for African Unity and Nigeria - all want the movement to take part in Codesa.

Desai says the message coming from these organisations is that they "understand that Codesa is not going to deliver the goods for the oppressed", but believe the PAC must "get inside and fight from there".

It is significant that two weeks before the organisation's important congress, Makwetu and Moseneke went to Nigeria and Zambia respectively where they met the leaders of these countries.

Although not much was revealed about the discussions held in the two countries, it is known that General Ibrahim Babangida (Nigeria) and Frederick Chiluba support the current negotiations taking place through Codesa.

Another indicator of the thinking going through PAC ranks is that congress is expected to assess (and hopefully respond to) the current negotiations process underway in the country.

The Frontline states, the OAU and Nigeria, are believed to have made representations to the PAC about the negotiations process and as one insider put it, "congress must resolve this issue".

Apart from international pressure, being at the helm of the PAC in the last two years has not been an easy job for the gentlemanly and likeable Makwetu.

The operations of its armed wing, Apla, has placed the internal leadership under serious strain. They have been castigated in several quarters for failing to denounce Apla's attacks on policemen, particularly black ones.

Strapped for cash, the PAC has had to operate on a shoestring budget and in the shadow of the more popular ANC.

Some would-be financiers have stated that material support is dependent on the PAC abandoning the armed struggle.

All of the PAC's trump cards are now gone. Sanctions have all but been lifted. The armed struggle is a non-starter. Financial support is also dwindling. The Frontline states are no longer safe springboards.

The much-vaunted "Death to Codesa" campaign never took off.

To compound the PAC problems, there have been persistent rumours, which seem to lack substance so far, that there is a "clique of ambitious men" who are said to be trying to unseat some of Makwetu's powerful lieutenants.

It is believed that this clique realises that the PAC president is too popular to dislodge. The strategy, it seems, is to weaken him by removing his chief lieutenants and putting themselves in these influential positions.

Among those targeted for sidelining, it is claimed, are popular figures like Moseneke, Desai and secretary general Benny Alexander.

Makwetu and company, it is believed, argue that much as Codesa is flawed, it is the only viable forum for negotiating the future of the country.

Whether this view will prevail in Umtata remains to be seen. Staying outside Codesa is increasingly becoming a serious dilemma for the organisation.

# Which way forward

CITY PRESS 29/3/92  
By SEKOLA SELLO

Party dilemma  
Over Codesa (11A)  
for PAC?

CITY PRESS, March 29, 1992

PAGE

# Cadre fears for his life

By SOPHIE TEMA

SHARPEVILLE Umkhonto we-Sizwe cadre Sam Ntepe is hiding from a hitman who, the ANC claim, has been given R5 000 to kill him.

Ntepe's house has been attacked twice by mystery gunmen with AK-47 and R-1 rifles.

This week executive members of the ANC met Vaal police liaison officer, Piet van Deventer, to discuss violence in the townships and the attacks on Ntepe's house.

Van Deventer said some cases in which police misconduct had been alleged were being investigated.

He said the ANC asked for the immediate arrest of a policeman who shot Montoedi Molebatsi, a Sharpeville ANC member. He added there was not enough evidence to justify an arrest.

The ANC said that during the discussions it became clear that some matters affecting the residents were not reported to Van Deventer by his fellow officers.

Speaking to City Press at his hide-out, Ntepe said he had tried unsuccessfully

fully to get the Sharpeville station commander, J Seaba, to set up a peace pact with local youths.

"I offered to speak to the youths in the hope that Seaba would do the same, but I have been ignored.

"Now I am being harassed because the police claim that I instigated the youngsters to intimidate white policemen in the township.

"I went into hiding because I know that there will be an attempt on my life.

"I am now prepared to bypass Seaba and speak to his superiors because we want peace and stability in our townships," he said.

■ This week the ANC found several shells in Tshosane Morobi's tavern in which 17-year-old student Alice Mabuye and another woman, Mphoko Chabedi, were killed.

On Wednesday night Vaal Weekblad journalist Peter Mabuye and his five-year-old daughter escaped unhurt when six men opened fire on his car near Evaton.

Several bullets hit the bakkie, and the windscreen was shattered. Mabuye said he recognised one of the gunmen.

C/PRESS  
29/3/92

(11A)



# Yesterday's heroes find politics a fickle mistress

S Times

29/3/92

(11A)

## MALCOLM FRIED finds out what happened to some of those strident voices of the old South Africa

ment's greats.

But to the horror of ANC workers, most of whom knew him only by reputation, his incompetence proved to be profound.

So old yet so unwise, Mr Nzo turned out to be a harmless sycophant who passed through the body politic of the ANC like an enema — rapidly, uncomfortably and leaving no lasting impression.

His only job now appears to be as an adornment at press conferences.

Others have left the stage under different circumstances.

Allan Boesak, in the 80s the darling of US television ("Anti-apartheid leader Allan Bow-sack alleged today..."), was sunk by his libido.

His high-pitched voice,

which held a rowdy audience in the way a teacher's nails screeching down a blackboard silences an unruly class, rings out less at mass gatherings these days. Journalists no longer devour his every utterance.

One and all decided it simply would not do for the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches — a man for whom Exodus 20:14 (the bit about adultery) ought to have been more than a platitude — to indulge in sordid hotel-room trysts and abandon a decent, patient wife.

A failed run at high ANC office left Dr Boesak with the post of ANC Western Cape president, a sop to years of fighting spirit. He now confines himself to sedate speeches, stocking his wardrobe, and long lunches at fine Cape eateries.

Raymond Suttner, who spent time in detention before fleeing South Africa and returning in 1990, was also once off-seen and much quoted on ANC policy. However, his uniformly turgid analyses inevitably became boring.

He left his post as a Wits law lecturer to head the ANC's political education department. He now shares his wisdom in the workshops of the masses.

At least one of the bad old days' glitterati has retreated under honourable and un-muddled conditions.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, feisty, witty and fearless, won a Nobel Peace Prize for his opposition to apartheid. Never reticent to speak out, nor stooping to defend himself against cynical demands

that churchmen should shun politics, he roused the nation and instilled a spirit of fierce resistance.

But in February 1990, when the doors of political prisons began to creak open, Tutu said his job as a political leader would soon be done. He is more and more using the pulpit as a venue for scriptures, rather than sound-bites.

Beyond the arena of predominantly black politics, others also have taken to the back benches, or bowed out entirely.

In a somewhat eccentric departure, Nic Borain, the young and voluble Western Cape director of Idasa, chucked it all up in 1990 to go garlic farming.

Trowling about in Riversdale, he evidently has no regrets. Mr Borain declines to discuss his decision to abandon his old career. A former work associate says he simply decided he had had enough.

One man who perhaps wandered inadvertently into relative obscurity, through a hop-scotch-like dance among political parties, is Denis Worrall.

## Fervent

Formerly National Party-appointed ambassador to London, leader of the Independent Party (anyone remember that one?), co-leader of the DP, and then ousted by Zach de Beer to become an ordinary caucus member, his words have lost their maverick freshness and his causes have been overtaken by events.

"I'm eclipsed," he admits.

Wynand Malan is another player who apparently fell foul of indecision.

Malan, too, abandoned the Nats. He led the National Democratic Movement (no takers for that one either?) and went on to become another DP co-leader. For a while, he also excited as a fervent convert challenging the old order.

But as the old order receded, so did Malan. He resigned from the DP in 1990 and now pursues a limited law practice and dispenses political advice.

"I have no aspirations, I have no regrets, and I have no unfinished business in politics," he says. True or not, the man is facing facts.

And in an unwitting confirmation of what Mordaunt wrote so long ago, Worrall said of his own career: "I had one moment of glory."

He could just as well have been speaking for all the rest.

DURING a brief lull in one of 18th-century Europe's interminable wars, Thomas Osbert Mordaunt sat down with quill and paper to pen an observation on the bitter-sweet ambivalence of the hero fallen from grace.

"One crowded hour of glorious life," he wrote, "is worth an age without a name."

Tom Sebina, languishing in a humble home in Soweto's Dube Village, would empathise well with his namesake's verse.

Mr Sebina is one of a clutch of the country's recent political figures of the left who fell victim to their times and actions — once sought out and lauded, but now a little weary, a little maudlin, and, to no little extent, ignored.

His is one of the more extreme cases.

Last year he returned to South Africa after 27 years, 10 of them as the ANC's chief spokesman in Lusaka. Before the cleansing wash of reform, his had been the voice most quoted on the outlawed organisation's policy.

Today, retired, he lives in a house belonging to a family member, according to an ANC official.

Even if anyone now bothered to get a word from Mr Sebina, it would be tough:



TOM SEBINA ... not a word from ANC's former chief spokesman

Telkom says the telephone line to the house (the ANC still has the number in its diary) was disconnected last December due to non-payment of a R303,41 bill.

How undignified the demise of the mighty.

In no less precipitous a denouement, Alfred Nzo discovered the firestorm of reality quickly evaporates the cloud of perception.

For a period in Lusaka, during a lapse into illness by Oliver Tambo, Mr Nzo was acting president of the ANC. He returned home in 1990, heralded as one of the move-

## Mandela pats FW on the back

ANC president Nelson Mandela complimented President FW de Klerk this week for making it possible for political parties to negotiations.

"I congratulate De Klerk. He is a courageous man, being a white Afrikaner, to abandon apartheid and embrace democratic values," he said.

"We have the same problem in the ANC and face serious criticism for changing our policy directions," he said.

It was difficult to make young ANC members understand a need for change after they had been "produced by the organisation and told to make the country ungovernable", he said.



# After the Right, now a new set of dangers

S/Times 29/3/92

11A  
S/Times

**T**HE purpose of reform, as sanctioned by the referendum, is to transfer power to an elected government which will be subject to constitutional safeguards; the aim of the ANC is to achieve the transfer of power *before* safeguards are in place.

This ploy has been lurking in the shrubbery of Codesa for some time but it has been brought into sharp relief by the dispute with the Inkatha Freedom Party over regional rights. The IFP refuses to proceed with the transfer of power until certain constitutional questions are cleared up.

The IFP, like the Democratic Party, is wedded to a federal system which, by reserving powers to regional governments, may act as a shield against the unfettered power of the central government. This is standard constitutional thinking for divided societies where the central government may be captured by one group, tribe, or clique, which then uses its power to oppress the others.

The ANC, like the SACP, is bitterly hostile to federalism. Mr Joe Slovo says rejection of federalism is part of the ANC's "bottom line", a non-negotiable matter. For the IFP to permit power to pass to the ANC before the question of federalism is settled would, therefore, be suicidal folly.

Consider what might well happen if the ANC got its way: we would have, within months, an interim government council which would oversee Parliament, the cabinet, and all the homeland governments. It would also share control, with all other participants at Codesa, of the security forces, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

The main purpose of this council, however, would be to prepare for elections to a constituent assembly. Those elections, we may assume, will be by universal franchise, and by proportional representation, which would eliminate all parties that get less than, say, five percent of the total vote.

This would eliminate all the weaker members of Codesa, including the DP, the SACP, and possibly the IFP. The constituent assembly would, most likely, consist of an overwhelming majority of ANC representatives, and a

minority of Nationalists, with a few irrelevant odds and ends.

This ANC-dominated assembly would have two functions. Its main task would be to draw up a constitution, complete with bill of rights, democratic safeguards, regional structures, and so forth. However, the content of this constitution is bound to be hotly disputed, and it may take many months before it is completed. Among the disputes will surely be property rights, regional powers, and the powers of the courts to review the actions of the executive.

The ANC wants decisions on the constitution to be carried by a two-thirds majority, which the ANC may conceivably achieve in the elections for the constituent assembly. In that case, the ANC would be in a position simply to impose its constitutional ideas on the Nationalist minority, on the IFP, and on all minorities, like the DP, that fail to gain a foothold.

We would end up with a high-sounding constitution, utterly useless, like the Soviet Union's.

**A**SSUME, however, that this view is alarmist, and that the constituent assembly deadlocks. Negotiations to break the deadlock might last indefinitely, like the work of the continental congress that drew up the American constitution.

What would happen in the meantime? Well, the constituent assembly would appoint an interim government which would strive to govern by consensus, and the assembly would act as a legislature, also by consensus. Technically, this arrangement would proceed under the present constitution, as amended by Parliament, until the new constitution was agreed.

In practice, however, disputes over the content of the new constitution would be carried into the constituent assembly, into all law-making and tax matters, into the cabinet, and into the streets. We have already seen that the ANC, when it does not get its way, reverts to mass action, as it is planning to do over VAT. What is worse, this turmoil would proceed under a constitution which all parties consider imperfect because it lacks a bill of rights, federal structures and other constitutional safeguards.

To predict how the struggle would proceed is impossible — it requires flights of imagination. But it is not inconceivable that, for example, the constituent assembly may fail to achieve consensus to fund the government of Kwazulu which may then collapse for want of money to pay salaries. That would put an end to the IFP's pretensions in the most brutal manner.

**T**HE question is whether the other parties in Codesa can be trusted to prevent this sort of thing from happening. The first line of defence is the National Party which, unhappily, shares with the ANC a desire to elect a constituent assembly to govern *before* the new constitution has been perfected.

The National Party — oddly, considering its own treatment of the Senate — puts its faith in a multi-party upper house and a multi-party cabinet to check any excesses that might be attempted by the national assembly.

Even if that device succeeded — and it might well be undermined, as the Union Senate was undermined by the Nationalists, in ways that cannot now be foreseen — the result would nevertheless be deadlock, and the consequence of deadlock would be power struggle in the streets. The National Party, having evaded the challenge when it was in full control, would find itself struggling to meet the same challenge when it must share control with the ANC.

Two dangers arise. The first is that the National Party may, in circumstances we cannot now predict, lose the struggle and be forced to accept a defective constitution. The second is that the party's elected and appointed officials may seek to secure their own interests by striking a deal with the ANC, so that NP and ANC could govern together, one hand washing the other.

We have, in voting "yes", dealt with the totalitarianism of the Right; now we must deal with the totalitarianism of the Left. That task is not made easier by the instinct of any ruling elite to perpetuate itself.

**KEN OWEN**

# Talks lurch as Codesa tackles the real issue: Who will wield power?

S/Times 29/3/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

AS WEEKS go, the past one was not a good one for Codesa. In fact, for many members of the all-important Working Group 3, which is discussing interim arrangements, it was the worst since they began work more than two months ago.

The problem is simple: the National Party has proposed the creation of an interim administration that does not surrender any real executive power. The ANC — the other main negotiator at Codesa — instead wants meaningful executive authority in key areas.

In assessing the possibilities of compromise, it is perhaps easier to start with the common ground.

Most parties agree there should be a two-phase approach. The first would see the appointment of an interim executive to level the playing field for elections.

Thereafter, all parties agree, a body should be elected which would serve both as a constitution-making body and as a legislature.

It is the government's proposals for the first phase that have created an uproar.

It has proposed the appointment of four transitional councils — one to plan elections under a transitional constitution, one to plan new municipal boundaries, another provincial boundaries and one to plan the handling of government finances.

Councils to deal with law and order and defence are also proposed, but only if the ANC and the government can agree on the ending of the armed struggle and the demobilisation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The government wants these councils to have essentially advisory powers, but argues that their power would be persuasive because ministers who ignored proposals would risk collapsing the whole system.

The government has also proposed that the councils meet as a joint transitional council, but says that the council would not have any specific duties.

The ANC's proposals are not dissimilar.

First, it proposes an all-party interim government council to oversee the operations of the tricameral Parliament, the cabinet, the TBVC and other homeland governments.

It envisages the appointment of four multi-party committees which would have complete control of security, the Budget, foreign relations and local government.

Finally, the ANC wants two independent commissions appointed to oversee the holding of elections and

the running of state media.

But the government and the ANC differ widely on the powers to be wielded by the interim executive.

Where the government's joint transitional council would have no specific duties, the ANC's interim government council would oversee the functioning of all existing legislative and executive bodies.

The government's transitional bodies would be advisory with some statutory competence. The ANC's multi-party committees would have complete control over their areas of jurisdiction.

Government members say they will not accept the abrogation of the constitution and Parliament that the ANC plan would entail. The ANC and other parties refuse to accept the government's proposals which, they say, would ensure the NP remains both "referee and player" in the run-up to elections.

They argue, too, that the role the government envisages for the committees is a preparatory one for a new

constitution and does not deal with "levelling the playing field".

Is a compromise possible?

Probably. It would seem to lie in the government accepting that the committees would have to have specifically defined executive powers.

The ANC and others would have to accept that the NP, while being prepared to concede that the holding of elections requires a levelling of the playing field, is simply not prepared to surrender effective control of the government in the interim.

Difficult as it might seem to find common ground in the proposals, there is general acceptance on all sides that a solution is possible.

Much more severe difficulties lie ahead, particularly in the period between the appointment of an interim executive and the holding of elections under a transitional constitution.

The ANC envisages this period being restricted to about six months. In that time Codesa would have agreed on a set of broad principles.

It also envisages that parties receiving five percent of the vote in

proportional representation elections be represented in the constituent assembly. It proposes that all parties be appointed to the Cabinet which would operate on the basis of consensus. It foresees the interim constitution being in place for nine months.

But it does not deal adequately with the possibility of the interim body exceeding its intended nine-month life span, except to say that "incentives or penalties need to be built into this time frame to discourage delays".

The NP will unveil its full proposals for the second phase of interim government in April. But initial outlines provided this week indicate that what the party has in mind for the transition is its constitutional proposals released last year.

The NP's preliminary proposals entail a revolving presidency, an enforced coalition cabinet and a two-chamber Parliament with minority parties and regions having disproportionate representation in the second house.

The government has made it absolutely clear that it sees the period between the appointment of an interim executive and elections as much

longer than six months.

It has also stated that elections cannot be held until issues such as the disbanding of MK are dealt with and a "general and satisfactory situation of order and stability has been established".

Secondly, where the ANC sees Codesa only agreeing to broad constitutional principles prior to elections being held, the NP clearly intends that issues such as minority protection and minority party participation in government are thrashed out in detail.

Other parties believe that what the government calls its transitional proposals are in fact what it wishes to see as a final constitution.

Given that the referendum has freed it from the obligation to go back to white voters for an endorsement of changes to the constitution, the government could in theory drag out negotiations to February 1995.

There are clearly some in its ranks who would like to do just that. What militates against this is the driving force that has brought negotiations to this point — the parlous state of the economy, the dire need for new investment and the likelihood of massive internal labour unrest and escalating violence.

Contemplating the prospect of ensuing chaos concentrates the mind. That, if nothing else, will ensure that Codesa finds an acceptable compromise.



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S/Times 29/3/92

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

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# Brakes on Codesa 2

S TIMES 29/3/92 (11A)

**CODESA TWO is likely to be delayed by at least a month as the government digs in its heels against ANC demands for the speedy installation of an interim government.**

The second plenary session of Codesa was scheduled to take place at the end of April.

But following the government's unveiling of its proposals for an interim government this week, negotiators on all sides said this was high-

A top government negotiator said that for Codesa 2 to have any meaning, agreement would have to be reached on the first phase of transitional rule — the appointment of an interim executive structure.

And although initial hostile reaction from opposition parties to the government's proposals for this phase has dissipated to some extent, a lot of tough bargaining lies ahead before agreement can be reached.

This week Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, warned that the government would not be allowed to dictate the pace of Codesa.

"They cannot ride roughshod over Codesa," he said.

His warning coincides with indications that the ANC will consider "mass action" to bolster its position at the negotiating table.

The first signs that government was adopting a tougher line in negotiations came last week when Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told the Sunday Times that without agreement on the ending of the armed struggle and disbanding of the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), he doubted agreement could be reached on transitional structures.

## Powers

He, and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, also warned that Codesa 2 could not take place without the issue of the participation of the Zulu king being resolved.

On Monday the government created an uproar among its Codesa negotiating partners when it outlined plans for a first phase of transition.

It proposed the setting up of a number of transitional councils to look at regional government, local government, finance and elections.

The opposition parties were incensed because they believed the government was suggesting these councils have only advisory powers and not executive powers as had earlier been agreed at Codesa.

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

They were less angry, but in no way satisfied, when the government's negotiators explained that they did intend that these bodies have statutory powers.

Although strong differences remain, negotiators on all sides believe a compromise will be possible but, it is highly unlikely agreement will be reached in April.

The linked issues of the government's demand that MK be disbanded and ANC fears over the role played

by the security forces continues to be the most tricky issue.

In its proposals for the transition, the government linked the appointment of a Transitional Defence Council to achieving progress in ending the armed struggle and disbanding MK.

Although there were reports this week quoting ANC sources as saying agreement was in sight on the MK/security forces issue, a senior government spokesman said he did not believe the problem could be fully resolved before Codesa 2.

Although the government does not appear to regard MK as a security threat, it does regard the issue as being politically important because of the public row between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the matter at Codesa 1.

# Frontline appeals for end to violence

STAR 30/3/92

HARARE — The one-day meeting of Frontline states held in Harare at the week-end ended with the leaders calling for the removal of obstacles to the peace process in South Africa.

In a communique issued after the meeting, the Frontline leaders appealed to South African blacks to end the factional battles in which thousands of people had been killed in the last few years.

"The summit called for an end to this carnage," the communique said.

The leaders noted the positive outcome of the whites-only referendum and considered the likely impact of that result on the peace process.

The summit expressed the view that more remained to be done for the democratisation process to succeed.

"In particular, the remaining obstacles to the creation of an atmosphere conducive to constitutional negotiations ought to be removed," the communique said.

The meeting reiterated its strong appeal for unity among black South Africans, especially between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, in the face of constitutional talks.

"A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise their common objective and to unite in the face of the common enemy."

The summit, which was chaired by President Robert Mugabe, noted with grave concern the escalation of violence in South Africa resulting in the loss of innocent lives and the destruction of property.

Reaffirming its continued support to the South African lib-

eration movements until victory was achieved, the summit expressed its determination to continue monitoring the evolving situation in South Africa closely and effectively.

It invited the liberation movements to inform the next OAU ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania on April 28 on their preference with regard to the composition, mandate and location of a monitoring mechanism for this purpose.

Mr Mugabe said the international community should retain sanctions on Pretoria until the reform process was "absolutely irreversible".

He told a news conference that the big white "yes" vote was not enough.

"I think those who have lifted sanctions on the result of the referendum are being deceitful," said Mr Mugabe. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Liberation movements express doubts

STAR 30/3/92

(11A) (SAP)

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress told the Frontline meeting in Harare that the central issue in the South African problem was the drawing up of a nonracial constitution by elected representatives of all the people in that country.

In his presentation, PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said the "yes" vote won by President de Klerk in the recent whites-only referendum was not a vote for democ-

racy and majority rule, but merely a vote to ward off sanctions on South Africa.

Mr Moseneke said the euphoria and expectations surrounding the referendum result were not only deafening, but also devoid of any objective analysis.

A democratic forum to discuss the new constitution was yet to be set up and agreed upon, he said.

ANC deputy president Walter

Sisulu said the South African Government's interim arrangements, which it presented at working group 3 of Codesa on March 23, had raised serious problems about the Government's conduct in negotiations.

"The pre-election transitional arrangements have the effect of leaving all powers in the hands of the present Government, thereby allowing it to act both as referee and player," Mr Sisulu said. — Sapa.

# Establish alternative to Codesa, Azapo proposes

STAR 30/3/92

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

The Convention for a Democratic SA had failed to bring about true democracy in South Africa. Therefore, an alternative forum should be established to negotiate the transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolov-

hodwe said yesterday.

Mr Nefolovhodwe was speaking at a press conference after the organisation's two-day consultative meeting held in Johannesburg at the weekend.

He said Azapo was currently consulting with the Pan Africanist Congress, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and other groups outside Codesa to set up the "alternative Codesa".

Firmly quashing speculation

about the existence of a pro-negotiations group within the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), he said the conference had unanimously resolved to reiterate Azapo's opposition to Codesa.

Mr Nefolovhodwe appealed to the ANC not to accede to the Government's demand that Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded.

MK should, instead, discuss ways of defending black people with the Azanian National Liberation Army of the BCM and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He added that Azapo's legal unit would investigate ways to help victims of train violence and their families to take legal action against the South African Railway Commuter Corporation and the Government.

# Gloves off at

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN  
SALDRU LIBRARY

## Matrimonial knot



# Codesa

*Sowetan 30/3/92*

*ISMAIL* *11A*

**THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa reaches a critical point this week as the battle for absolute power during transitional rule begins in earnest.**

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent**

This is the message from both Government and the ANC - the two most senior negotiators at the convention.

They said no progress on interim rule should be expected unless there was measureable progress towards peace in the country.

At the same time negotiators from most parties have signalled that Codesa 2 - which has been postponed to the end of April - could now be postponed for yet another month.

The government also said that no real progress could be made on interim rule as long as the ANC still retained the armed struggle as a means of attaining power.

Senior cabinet ministers last week laid the blame for the continued violence in the country on differences among black political parties.

It said Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing, should be disbanded.

Commenting on last week's ultimatums from the Government, a senior ANC negotiator told *Sowetan*

Government's proposals for interim rule will also come under Codesa's glare this week, as the ANC and most of the significant players at the convention have either tacitly or otherwise outrightly rejected them. The National Party last week tabled its proposals which in real terms did not grant any significant power to black people. The ANC said that the proposals were no more than granting black political leadership executive powers through "toy telephones".

"We cannot allow the Government to steamroll us at Codesa, and it looks like that is what they're trying to do," he said.

From page 1

**Power battle starts**  
*Sowetan 30/3/92*  
*11A*

# IFP rumours were 'propaganda'

ALLEGATIONS that the ANC and the SA Communist Party planned to assassinate IFP leaders, destroy hostels and kill Zulus was political propaganda and an incitement to murder.

Testifying last Friday before the Goldstone commission of inquiry into the prevention of public violence and intimidation, ANC deputy commander and acting Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, Mr Sphiwe Nyanda dismissed the allegations as untrue and unsubstantiated.

The urgent sitting in Pretoria was called following allegations by the IFP that the ANC/SACP alliance were planning a terror campaign against its members.

Inkatha leader Mr Musa Myeni said he had received this information from West Rand chairman, Mr John Mlangeni. Mlangeni had said he had been told about the alleged imminent attacks by two women cleaners and an

11A

By MONK NKOMO

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unnamed IFP member in Rustenburg.

Questioned by Mr Justice Goldstone, both men admitted they did not take any initiative to verify this information.

Nyanda said the ANC investigated the allegations and found they were untrue. The ANC had arms caches in the country, but did not intend using them for this purpose in accordance with the provisions of the Pretoria Minute.

Asked by Mr Justice Goldstone to comment on the evidence given by Myeni and Mlangeni, Nyanda said: "It is very strange that a man of Myeni's calibre and intelligence could use unsubstantiated information the way he did."



# Attempt to settle ANC, Ciskei row

11A 205

Sowetan

30/3/92

**UNIONIST** Jayendra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two parties.

The secretariat said in a statement at the weekend an agreement that the two men be involved in the mediation was reached after the peace secretariat visited East London last week.

"Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is presently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman," the statement said.

It was reported earlier this month that the ANC was planning to launch a campaign aimed at destabilising Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military government.

Ciskei then demanded that negotiations at Convention for a Democratic



**OUPA GQOZO**

South Africa be suspended until the ANC had announced its intentions.

In other peace initiative developments during the past few days, the secretariat said peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth.

The three structures were launched by the chairman of National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, and other members.

A steering committee for

the Northern Cape established in Kimberley on Wednesday would prepare the ground for the formation of a regional dispute resolution committee on April 8.

The meeting was attended by the National Party, the ANC, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the SA Police, church bodies, civic structures, SA Chambers of Business and other business organisations.

Mr EF Cahill, of the Northern Cape Chamber of Business, was appointed chairman of the steering committee.

After a report-back by the steering committee formed last month, a regional dispute resolution committee for the Western Transvaal region was formed in Klerksdorp.

The Eastern Cape regional dispute resolution committee was established in Port Elizabeth on Thursday. - Sapa.



# Join the talks, PAC is told

11A

Sowetan  
30/3/92

**HARARE** - Seven African leaders have called on the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to join the African National Congress (ANC) in talks with whites on turning South Africa into a non-racial democracy.

But the PAC, which advocates total power for blacks, has previously rejected such appeals with a view that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) would sell blacks short.

In a communique issued on Saturday at the end of the one-day summit, the presidents of the Frontline states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia

and Zimbabwe — said the PAC and ANC should join the democratic process.

The PAC, which is to hold its second congress in Umtata this weekend, is expected to give serious attention to the renewed appeal by the Frontline states.

PAC official Mr. Moss Mavundla said yesterday: "In the light of international developments and views expressed by these governments, we will be discussing whether the PAC should join, but a decision will be taken by congress."

"A special appeal was made to the liberation movements to recognise their common objective and to unite in the face of a common enemy," the communique said.

The Harare meeting,

which was also attended by senior officials from the ANC and the PAC, was called to discuss ways to encourage progress towards multi-party democracy in South Africa.

The PAC said an external body should organise the talks to ensure the government "is not both player and referee". - *Sapa-Reuter*.

# Azapo threatens to take legal action

11A

Sowetan 30/3/92

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Azanian People's Organisation has threatened to institute legal action against the Government and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation for the continuing violence on Reef trains.

This decision was announced at Azapo's two-day meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend, called to discuss future strategies in the light of the changing political climate.

The meeting was attended by the central committee and the organisation's branches.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said his organisation would consult taxi bodies and other transport associations to provide cheap alternative

means to facilitate a boycott of trains.

Azapo also called on the regime to disband the South African Defence Force.

The Azapo leader said: "We call on Umkhonto weSizwe to enter into bilateral talks with the Azanian National Liberation Army and the Azanian People's Liberation Army to deliver joint blows to the SADF".

On the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), Nefolovhodwe said: "All the bantustan and tricameral elements must attach themselves to the regime and be regarded as a single delegation."

**NEWS IN BRIEF**

**Township aid ended**

THE Pretoria Regional Services Council is to terminate financing of an upgrading contract for Atteridgeville township, which includes the installation of "budget energy control" meters.

A spokesman said the decision was taken following opposition to the meters, which were installed because they allowed residents to control electricity bills and eliminated complaints of inaccurate meter reading. He said obstruction by residents had jeopardised the project. The local residents' organisation had failed to convince residents not to hinder the installation of the meters.

*Biday 31/3/92*

**Sanco to convene**

THE newly launched SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) would convene for the first time on April 11, Civics Association of Southern Transvaal general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday. Sanco, launched in Uitenhage earlier this month, is headed by Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso.

**Concern for minorities**

US ambassador to the UN Andrew Young yesterday said SA minorities would have to be protected in any negotiated constitution. He is in SA as a member of the International Olympics Committee.

**Minister appointed**

CAVENDISH MP P I Devan has been appointed Housing and Agriculture Minister in the House of Delegates Ministers' Council with effect from April 1.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporter.

# Zimbabwe trade delegation to visit

*Biday 31/3/92*

**MICHAEL HARTNACK**

HARARE — In the first initiative of its kind since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe is dispatching a 30-member trade promotion delegation to Johannesburg next week.

"Now that SA is firmly moving on the road to becoming part of the international community, it is essential it does not see the southern African region only as a market for its products," said Zimtrade's director of export development, Mike Humphrey, who is organising the visit.

"If South Africans are to trade with the region, they (should not) make the mistake Zimbabwe made in 1980 with its neighbouring countries

"We managed successfully to antagonise almost all our trading partners in the region by running up sustained trade imbalances in our favour.

"SA really has to learn from that," he said.

Humphrey said Zimtrade, which had recently taken over the trade promotion functions in the trade and commerce ministry, believed the Zimbabwean economy was well placed to supply the middle income group who were generating more wealth as a result of recent changes in the country.

The delegation arriving in Johannesburg next week would contain representatives from 26 companies in the clothing and textiles sector, the footwear and leather sector, the furniture and wood products sector, and the processed food sector.

"We have proved to be competitive in these SA markets with these products," Humphrey said.

He noted SA remained Zimbabwe's largest trading partner. In 1990, the volume of visible imports and exports exceeded R1,2bn.

Zimbabwe's trade deficit in that year was more than R500m in SA's favour.

Observers here note the state-run Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation is for the first time sending a camera crew to Johannesburg to accompany the delegation. It is believed this has cabinet approval.

While in Johannesburg, the Zimbabweans will be meeting their counterparts in Safto and JCCI.

Negotiations on Zimbabwe's proposed new trade agreement with SA have been continuing in Pretoria.

At independence in 1980, President Robert Mugabe inherited Rhodesia's 1964 vintage pact with SA, which now needs urgent updating in view of changes in the two economies in the intervening years.

Although Mugabe has given no hint of relaxing his longstanding ban on contact at ministerial level with the SA government, dispatch of the delegation raises relations to a new level.

Senior finance minister Bernard Chidzero has acknowledged that expanding Zimbabwe's trade links with SA is essential for the success of Zimbabwe's R32bn economic structural adjustment programme, supported by the World Bank.

# Alliance sees Minister on 'poor' enforcement

By Guy Jepson

11/17/92

STAR 31/3/92

Senior ANC alliance officials met Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and top police officials in Pretoria yesterday for discussions on the enforcement of weapons laws, links between the South African and KwaZulu police, and police conduct.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance said the meeting, at police headquarters, held at the request of the alliance, was conducted in a constructive spirit and that a number of suggestions had been made to Mr Kriel.

The statement said the alliance delegates had expressed particular concern at:

● The poor enforcement of leg-

islation on dangerous weapons.

● The lack of confidence in the functioning of the police liaison system, particularly in the PWV region.

● The pending transfer of four SAP stations to the KwaZulu police on Wednesday.

● The inability of the police to protect residents from crime and, in particular, from attacks by hostel dwellers and on trains.

Reacting last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said if the twin problems of crime and political violence were to be solved and if lasting peace was to be achieved "forums must be created for discussion and co-operation on this crucial issue.

"The SAP and the Government are committed to finding solutions to the pressing problems of violence and crime and are obviously prepared to cooperate at all strata of society and with all sections of the community to reach these goals."

The alliance statement said Mr Kriel had been accompanied at the meeting by his deputy, Johan Scheepers, and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

Alliance representatives included Cosatu negotiations coordinator Jayendra Naidoo, ANC national working committee member Sydney Mafumadi, and Aziz Pahad, an ANC national executive committee member.

STAR 3/13/92

# PAC sticks to stayaway and boycott plans

Staff Reporter *(Signature)*

The Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday it was going ahead with plans to call a national stayaway and a trains boycott in the PWV area to protest against the ongoing violence in the country.

West Rand region secretary Tumediso Modise said the PAC had called a meeting in Johannesburg on Thursday to discuss the proposed action with the ANC, Azanian People's Organisation, civic associations and trade unions.

Mr Modise was speaking at a press conference after the weekend West Rand region conference in Soweto, which was attended by some national executive committee members, including Lesoane Makhanda, UN representative in New York.

**All must talk, say**  
STAR 3/3/92  
**Canada, Tanzania**

OTTAWA — Canada and Tanzania yesterday urged all South African political parties to join negotiations to keep up the momentum for democratic change.

Foreign Ministers Barbara McDougall of Canada and Ahmed Hassan Diria of Tanzania met to discuss the eventual lifting of Commonwealth sanctions against South Africa.

"We agreed on the need to encourage all parties, especially those not in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), that their participation is essential," Mrs McDougall told a news conference. ~~CODESA~~ 11/7

Mr Hassan Diria said South Africa's democratic process was irreversible following the March 17 referendum. ~~CODESA~~ 11/7

Mrs McDougall, who will visit South Africa next week, said Canada wanted to give South Africa a positive signal to maintain the pace of change.

She will meet Government and opposition leaders from April 6 to 8. — Sapa-Reuter.

● EC poised to loosen crucial sanctions — Page 5

# Debate on PAC's future role

CALLERS to the Sowetan Radio Metro were last night divided on whether the PAC should join the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Some told host Tim Modise the organisation

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should join Codesa for the sake of a peaceful transition towards a new society.

Others said Codesa was a forum which would not deliver the fruits of liberation.

Doreen of Joubert Park said if PAC was realistic, it

would join Codesa. (11A)

"They should heed the Frontline states' advice to join Codesa or provide us with an alternative," she said.

Jeremiah Sihlangu of Witbank said the PAC should not join Codesa because the forum was under Government's control.

Bhekisizwe of Alexandra Township said the PAC should join Codesa because blacks were "sick and tired of dying."

Junior of Meadowlands said this was a time for negotiations.



"PAC should forget its one-settler, one-bullet slogan. The whole of South Africa wants peace," she said.

Thabang of Kagiso said the PAC was losing a wonderful opportunity of being in Codesa.

# Are the Reds now set to sail into the sunset?

**T**HE DOMINANT position of communists within the African National Congress is likely to wane in the years ahead, predicts Stephen Ellis, director of the Centre of African Studies at the University of Leiden, and co-author of a new book, "Comrades Against Apartheid".

Dr Ellis reckons that the South African Communist Party was able to assume an increasingly strong hold over the ANC during years of armed struggle because it provided vital links to the ANC's main military backers — the Soviet Union and East European communist states.

During the nearly 30 years of armed struggle — from the formation of the guerilla army Umkhonto we Sizwe in mid-1961 to the decision to suspend armed struggle in August 1990 — the SACP made MK its fief, Dr Ellis says.

Thus, he reasons, as the armed struggle and MK recede into history, the ANC will, in all probability, recover its independence and the SACP will slip back into the more modest role it played in the political arena before Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd banned the ANC in 1960.

Dr Ellis, who spoke to The Star during a brief visit to South Africa, adds a proviso to his prediction: the SACP can theoretically salvage its position if it advances a new ideology to galvanise the ANC/SACP alliance in the same way as the commitment to "armed struggle" did.

Dr Ellis, however, does not think the SACP will succeed, in part because the SACP's new acceptance of multiparty democracy has deprived it of its revolutionary zeal and blurred the distinction between it and bourgeois parties advocating social democracy.

Nationalisation will not fulfil the mobilising role of armed struggle, he says, noting that there is growing resistance to nationalisation in the ANC and that even the SACP is not in favour of across-the-board State ownership of the means of production.

Dr Ellis, whose book traces the relationship between the SACP and the ANC in exile, predicts that the ANC and the SACP will revert to the positions they occupied in the 1930s and '40s, when the larger, more moderate ANC was often at loggerheads with the smaller, more radical SACP.

Joe Slovo, chairman of the SACP and a former chief of staff of MK, challenges a central tenet of Dr Ellis's thesis: that the SACP acquired power within "and over" the ANC because it provided the links to resources from the Soviet Union and its allies.

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The SACP is destined to fade into relative insignificance, if not wither away, forecasts Africa specialist Stephen Ellis (right). Veteran communist Joe Slovo disagrees strongly, reports PATRICK LAURENCE.



Mr Slovo points to the Namibian guerilla movement, Swapo, arguing that it did not have an alliance with a local communist party and yet it was able to win Soviet backing for its war against colonial rule in Namibia. Thus, he reasons, the ANC was not intrinsically dependent on the SACP for entree to the communist world.

The ANC/SACP alliance was not the product of armed struggle after 1960 but a result of co-operation between the two organisations in common campaigns in the 1950s, Mr Slovo adds. He recalls the role of prominent communists of that era — Moses Kotane, JB Marks and Yusuf Dadoo — in building up the ANC/SACP alliance.

Mr Slovo agrees there are ideological differences between the SACP and the ANC: the SACP represents working-class interests and is committed to socialism; the ANC is a multi-class organisation which was founded to end "race tyranny".

But he does not expect that these differences will lead to a separation in the immediate future.

As the veteran communist sees it, South Africa is divided into two broad camps today: an ANC-led camp, of which the SACP is an important part, and a rival camp led by the ruling National Party.

There are no differences between the ANC and the SACP on the immediate political agenda: the final elimination of apartheid, the drawing up of a new constitution, the election of a constituent assembly, and the establishment of a nonracial democracy.

Mr Slovo expects that the ANC and SACP will contest constituent assembly elections on a common platform and with a common list of candidates.

He acknowledges the possibility of divergence on socio-economic issues further down the line, arguing that these deep-

rooted issues — which have been largely subordinated to the fight against "race tyranny" — will force the ANC to ask itself: Quo vadis?

Dr Ellis argues that the SACP over-emphasised the military struggle during the 1980s and that, by failing to develop the political struggle inside South Africa to its full potential, unnecessarily prolonged the life of the apartheid State.

Mr Slovo, who visited Vietnam in 1978 with the then ANC president, Oliver Tambo, to learn about guerilla war at first hand, disagrees.

The strategy deployed after the visit did not, Mr Slovo maintains, aim at overthrowing the apartheid State in a frontal military attack: rather it was conceived as a multifaceted assault, of which the political struggle inside South Africa was an important component.

Looking ahead, Dr Ellis predicts that South Africa's emerging new order may witness the unification of two widely feared forces: the apartheid State's supposedly disbanded security police and the ANC's security section or, as it is known, Mbokodo.

Dr Ellis, a former editor of Africa Confidential, offers two reasons for his prediction: precedent and the affinity which draws security men together across the barriers of ideology.

He cites the cases of Zimbabwe and Namibia: in Zimbabwe, security men from Ian Smith's era serve with Robert Mugabe's security forces in the Central Intelligence Office; in Namibia, Solomon Jesus Hawala — alias the "Butcher of Lubango" — the former People's Liberation Army of Namibia security chief, and Derek Brune, a former South African security policeman, serve the same political masters.

Dr Ellis argues that the drawing together of security men is prompted by their shared skills and a desire by the

new rulers in post-colonial Africa to retain control over as many of these security men, as possible.

They apply Lyndon Johnson's famous aphorism: it is better to have potential enemies in the tent urinating out than outside urinating in.

South Africa's secret police are well known, having won international notoriety because of the dozens of detainees who died in their custody before they were formally disbanded and because of their suspected role in the murder of political activists (a suspicion which the Harms Commission blurred rather than removed).

Much less is known about the ANC's security department, Mbokodo ("the stone that crushes"). Dr Ellis helps fill the gap. He devotes space to it in the book which he co-authored.

Mbokodo rose to power in the ANC after the exodus from South Africa of young black activists in the wake of the 1976/77 student revolt. Its main function was to discipline the recruits who came to the ANC for training as guerillas and to identify spies infiltrated into the ranks of fleeing activists by the security police.

Dr Ellis remarks: "Mbokodo set to work detaining anyone suspected of espionage... They were given (and used) full powers to beat and torture suspects."

The situation was aggravated by a mutiny in ANC training camps in Angola in 1984. The rebellion, in which young exiles from the townships figured prominently, was prompted in part by Mbokodo's excessive and frequently misdirected zeal.

The mutiny and Mbokodo's role in prompting it was investigated by an internal commission headed by James Stuart, then a member of the ANC national executive. As Dr Ellis records, the report was neither published nor tabled, as expected, at the ANC's 1985 conference at Kabwe.

Since then, however, ANC president Nelson Mandela has admitted that ANC recruits were detained and tortured, and the ANC leadership has appointed a new commission of inquiry headed by a respected human rights lawyer, Gilbert Marcus. Its terms of reference state specifically that it will be published.

Footnote: Dr Ellis's co-author is anonymous. Described as a member of the ANC and the SACP, his real identity is hidden behind a pseudonym, Tsepo Sechaba. According to the publishers, Indiana University Press and James Currey, Sechaba's "inside account" — which includes an account of the 1984 mutiny and the abuse of power by Mbokodo — is central to the book. □