

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

JUNE .

Seized land: ANC pledge a 'just' fee

CT 1/6/92 (11A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC intends protecting property rights, and says that if any land is appropriated by the state, "just" compensation will have to be paid.

This was one of the key stances adopted at the ANC's policy conference which ended here yesterday.

The ANC also rejected special treatment for foreign investors. Such investors might also be blocked from investing in strategic areas and have limits placed on their local borrowing facilities.

On property rights, the adopted policy document states that "just" compensation will consist of establishing an equitable balance between the public interest and the interest of those affected.

This will not be based solely on the market value of the property, but there will be recourse to a special independent tribunal with an appeal to the courts.

ANC representatives accepted that nationalised companies would be compensated at a just rate.

Also endorsed was the concept of "mixed economy" which would foster a new relationship between the state, the trade union movement, the private sector and the market.

The ANC has pledged to introduce anti-monopoly and anti-trust policies.

A progressive tax system was endorsed, pledged to end indirect taxation on basic foodstuffs, health care and basic household services.

The ANC pledged to ensure that financial institutions channelled resources into productive investment and ended discrimination in lending against blacks, women and the informal sector or small-scale producers.

● Yesterday, economists attacked the proposed conditions for foreign investment.

Nedcor chief economist Mr Edward Osborne said the ANC was saying that the whole investment should be overseen by an investment committee such as had been seen in Zimbabwe, "which resulted in bureaucratic stalling and all sorts of problems".

Sacob chief economist Mr Ben van Rensburg said the policy showed unawareness of the forces "which today drive decisions to invest offshore".

Important factors were: Potential returns on investment, certainty in the political and economic environment, a proven history of macro-economic policies aimed at preserving the value of the currency and the ability of government to follow economic policies which foster sustained economic growth.

PHOTO: ROBERTI BOTHA

Buthelezi calls for joint peace rallies

8/Day 11/6/92

MARITZBURG — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for joint peace rallies with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Making the call at a rally near Maritzburg on Saturday, Buthelezi said it was time for the leaders of the ANC and Inkatha "to put the interests of SA first", reports Sapa-AFP.

Reacting to Buthelezi's speech, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu told reporters while touring troubled Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg that the ANC would investigate whether the suggestion was "genuine".

Political fighting between the ANC and the IFP was cited as one of the reasons for township killings in the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry's interim report last week.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela have accepted there is conflict between the IFP and the ANC.

"Let us proclaim peace and let us show by our example that we are genuinely committed to solving the problem of violence in SA today," Buthelezi said in his weekend speech.

Past attempts at peace between the two rivals have generally met with little success and Buthelezi's appeal for joint rallies is not the first time such a call has been made.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Inkatha central committee member

Walter Felgate said at the weekend Inkatha would be prepared to hold joint political rallies with the ANC once the two organisations improved their bilateral relationships.

Earlier, the SA Council of Churches (SACC) said a working committee comprising Inkatha, the ANC, the PAC, the SACP and homeland parties would meet this week to work out strategies by which joint rallies could be held in trouble-torn townships.

Felgate said that although something had to be done urgently about violence, Inkatha wanted to meet the ANC privately before the two organisations held joint rallies.

"Bilateral relationships between the ANC and Inkatha have to be attended to as a matter of urgency," Felgate said.

Other sources close to Inkatha expressed misgivings about joint political rallies.

They said rallies would fuel tension rather than end violence and eradicate intimidation.

An SACC spokesman said the working committee to discuss joint rallies was appointed in April at a meeting — convened under the auspices of the SACC — of black political parties.

The organisations pledged themselves to find mechanisms for bringing peace to unrest flashpoints such as hostels and squatter camps.

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Installation requiring all new cars in the

... FROM THURSDAY'S ...

ANC forges its policy for an election

B/day 1/6/92

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THE ANC policy conference yesterday endorsed an "unprecedented" campaign of mass action from next month, designed not only to break the negotiation impasse but also to prepare the ground for a future election campaign.

The ANC's political mobilisation programme is to focus on what its negotiations commission report called "the regime's attempts at restructuring apartheid rule", and on government corruption and complicity in the activities of alleged death squads.

The programme includes a proposal for a new coalition of anti-apartheid groups to be established around these themes, and a conference of civic, unions, political and business groups is being considered.

In criticising government's record, the ANC intends presenting itself as an alternative, offering "democracy, justice and good government".

Armed with a host of new policy guidelines adopted at the conference, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC is ready to assume the responsibility of governing this country."

In his closing address to the conference, Ramaphosa accused the NP of plunging the negotiating process into crisis. For that reason, he said, "if negotiations and mass action have not always been mutually reinforcing elements of our struggle, they now need to be so".

Asked to elaborate on the forms of mass action planned, Ramaphosa said if government did not meet the ANC's demands for an interim government by the end of June and constituent assembly elections by the end of the year, a stayaway of longer dura-

TIM COHEN
and ALAN FINE

tion than ever seen before could not be ruled out.

He pledged "rolling" mass action of various types which would revitalise the link between grassroots membership and the negotiations process.

The key to the ANC's negotiating position from now on would be the question of time frames designed to ensure a short transition period and quickly to resolve deadlocks. This would prevent the ANC becoming locked into an interim government under an interim constitution for an indeterminate period.

Speaking to the media after the conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela said while he did not think negotiations had failed, the ANC would have to use its power to get government's co-operation.

"If government is not prepared to cooperate, they must be prepared for turmoil." The ANC was continuing talks with government in an effort to break the deadlock, he said.

Asked for his response to fears that the programme of mass action would damage the economy, Mandela said, "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

Ramaphosa said the policies adopted at the conference gave shape to a "truly democratic SA". They reflected the view that even when all South Africans had won the right to vote this right would remain a shell "unless our people are economically empowered".

The central thrust of the policy stressed

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ANC policy

B/day 1/6/92

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From Page 1

not only the need "for redistribution and growth, but also to ensure end of deprivation, degradation and despair".

However, he added, the conference realised that policies would not provide a "quick-fix solution".

"You cannot wipe out decades of degradation without a systematic programme of growth," he said.

Turning to the importance of building

the ANC, Ramaphosa said while the policies adopted at the conference might be sufficient to get the ANC into government, "policies on their own are no substitute for organisation".

He urged that the ANC should begin a comprehensive door-to-door campaign to ensure that it remained "a vibrant, dynamic organisation" that would "continue to relate to the masses of our people and their needs".

Mandela launches new attack on FW

ANC President Nelson Mandela yesterday again attacked President F W de Klerk — likening violence against blacks in SA to violence against Jews in Nazi Germany — and spelt out reasons for the deterioration in the personal relationship between the two leaders.

Speaking at the ANC's policy conference in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, Mandela also criticised the "mainstream" media, saying they had failed in their duty to highlight "crimes" of omission and commission perpetrated by De Klerk.

Mandela gave four reasons for the hostility he had displayed recently towards the President:

□ De Klerk's failure to use the capacity of strong and efficient security forces to end violence;

□ By liberalising laws which previously forbade the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, De Klerk had intensified violence. When Mandela asked De Klerk to explain these amendments, De Klerk had been unable to supply an answer;

□ Nothing had been done about controlling exits from hostels, despite government agreeing to do so in May last year; and

□ Homes of township residents had been "occupied", and although police promised to investigate nothing had happened.

"After all this you cannot expect me to continue praising him (De Klerk)," Mandela said.

"But I have never attached undue importance to our personal relationship.

ALAN FINE

When I first said he was an honest man I also said progress depended on NP policies."

WILSON ZWANE reports that early yesterday Mandela told cheering crowds in Phola Park that De Klerk had either lost control over security forces or the forces were doing what he wanted them to do.

Visiting the East Rand squatter camp in the wake of police operations in the area, Mandela warned that unrest could spread to new areas unless De Klerk took concrete steps to end violence.

Mandela said government's inability to curb violence had resulted in people taking the law into their hands.

He said the ANC would "sooner or later" have to take disciplinary action against members who were involved in acts of violence. But he warned that if government did not take appropriate steps to end violence, it would be difficult for the ANC to discipline its members.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrauld said nine people — including two illegal immigrants — were arrested during a cordon and search action on Saturday.

Although no firearms were found, ammunition and a large number of dangerous weapons were seized.

Shortly after Mandela left Phola Park yesterday, journalists heard several shots in the squatter camp.

Police yesterday reported seven new unrest-related deaths on the Reef.



ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses several hundred squatters at the Phola Park camp near Alberton yesterday. Mandela repeated accusations that government was not doing enough to end unrest.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Beltel lines open for saucy calls

MELANIE SERGEANT

TELKOM may be clamping down on naughty 087 lines, but its Beltel users are not short of sexually explicit fun and games.

They can dial into a "Confessions" service and get explicit details on the ins and outs of oral sex — not to mention lots of other saucy information.

Currently, the Teletel-based system can be accessed only by Minitel terminals, but will soon be available to all Beltel-linked computer users.

Beltel also has a few "sex shops", with names such as Sextel, running. Here, many products (including fancy condoms and sado-masochistic accessories) are ad-

Buthelezi calls for joint peace rallies

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ANC ready to take over - Ramaphosa

(11A)
Sowetan 1/6/92

Sowetan
Correspondent

THE ANC, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, was ready to assume responsibility to govern the country, the organisation's secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the end of its four-day policy conference.

Almost 800 delegates yesterday adopted an 80-page policy document which Ramaphosa said did not contain "quick-fix solutions".

"The policies we have adopted here are the ones that equip the ANC and commit it to implement when it becomes the government of tomorrow," said Ramaphosa.

The policy document is divided into 18 areas and includes a new system of local government, an economic policy, health, welfare,

education, housing, science and technology and international relations.

The policies focus on the economic and political empowerment of South Africans and "would give shape to a truly democratic way of life".

Ramaphosa said in his closing address to the conference: "Those who survive on a hungry belly, are denied the prospect of a job, live without shelter and with no prospect of a healthy life for themselves and their children will always find the right to vote deprived of much of its real content," he said.

A central thrust of the document is the economic policy which not only focuses on the need for redis-

tribution but also emphasises a systematic programme of sustained growth.

The economic policy aims at creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy which would eliminate poverty, democratise the economy and create productive employment opportunities.

In order to achieve these objectives, the ANC proposes a two-pronged approach of a redistribution programme to meet the basic needs of all South Africans and to restructure the economy on the basis of comprehensive and sustainable development strategies.

It also envisages a "dynamic private sector employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced

goods and services for all South Africans".

"The primary question in this regard is not the legal form that the State involvement in economic activity might take at any point, but whether such actions will strengthen the ability of the economy to respond to the massive inequalities in the country, relieve the material hardship of the majority of the people and stimulate economic growth and competitiveness."

Against this background, the ANC visualised that its proposed mixed economy could include nationalisation.

Other options included purchasing a shareholding in companies, establishing new public corporations or joint ventures with the private sector.

Winnie considers breakaway ^{TIA} claim

LONDON - Mrs Winnie Mandela is considering breaking away from the African National Congress to set up a rival political party, the London Sunday Times reported yesterday.

And Mrs Mandela has called the report "a scandalous lie".

The *Sunday Times* said Mrs Mandela had "revealed her strategy at a clandestine meeting with

supporters last week, claiming that she had sufficient funds and support to build up a strong, radical alternative to the ANC".

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, Mrs Mandela said the report "has been fabricated to keep my name in the centre of a contrived controversy".

She accused The *Sunday Times* of being "a consistent spearhead of malicious rumour and allegations against me."

Mrs Mandela added she

was a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC, led by her estranged husband, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The *Sunday Times* said the new grouping would be called the ANC People's Party.

"It would not necessarily mean Winnie would be a rival to Nelson," one unnamed supporter is quoted as saying. "She would just use her party as a platform to push for radical policies."

Mrs Mandela had told

her supporters at the secret Soweto meeting "that a party led by her and espousing 'progressive' policies, such as nationalisation and free health care, and adopting a hard line towards the white government, would be popular with South Africa's down-trodden masses", The *Sunday Times* said.

The newspaper said ANC security had "monitored" the meeting and the leadership had ordered "a top-level investigation".

Convicted in 1991 for the kidnap and assault of three black men and a boy, who later died, Mrs Mandela has been stripped of senior ANC posts. Newspaper reports have linked her to the death of a prominent Soweto physician and missing ANC funds.

The scandal had threatened sensitive democracy negotiations between the Government and the ANC, South Africa's largest black political group. - Sapa-AP.

We are ready to govern, says ANC

STAR 11/6/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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The ANC, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, was ready to assume responsibility for governing the country, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the end of the organisation's four-day policy conference.

Almost 800 delegates yesterday adopted an 80-page policy document which Mr Ramaphosa said did not contain "quick fix solutions".

"The policies we have adopted here are the ones that equip the ANC and commit it to implement (them) when it becomes the government of tomorrow," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The policy document is divided into 18 areas and includes a new system of local government, an economic policy, and sections on health, welfare, education, housing, science and technology, and international relations.

The policies focus on the economic and political empowerment of South Africans and "would give shape to a truly democratic way of life", Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that universal suffrage was an empty shell without economic empowerment.

The policy document represents the culmination of almost



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . policy document does not contain quick fix solutions.

a year's discussion in ANC branches, regions and departments.

"Not for us the fashioning of policies and blueprints in smoke-filled boardrooms and elite gatherings. The policies adopted by this conference are the voice of the people," Mr Ramaphosa said in his closing address to the conference.

"Those who survive on a hungry belly, are denied the prospect of a job, live without shelter and with no prospect of a healthy life for themselves and their children, will always find the right to vote deprived of much of its content," he said.

A central thrust of the docu-

ment is the economic policy, which not only focuses on the need for redistribution, but also emphasises a systematic programme of sustained growth.

The economic policy aims at creating a strong, dynamic and balanced economy which would eliminate poverty, democratise the economy and create employment opportunities.

In order to achieve these objectives, the ANC proposes a two-pronged approach of a redistribution programme to meet the basic needs of all South Africans and to restructure the economy on the basis of comprehensive and sustainable development strategies.

The document says the State should be able to respond to the needs of the national economy in a flexible way.

Against this background, the ANC visualises that its proposed mixed economy could include nationalisation.

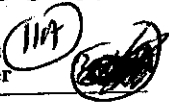
Other options include purchasing a shareholding in companies and establishing new public corporations or joint ventures with the private sector.

Nelson Mandela pointed out at a press conference after the conference that the organisation's consideration of nationalisation was not a unique position and this aspect could be found in many economic policies of Western countries, including Germany.

Mandela again attacks De Klerk

STAR 1/6/72

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



A two-hour visit to strife-torn Phola Park yesterday prompted Nelson Mandela to launch one of his strongest attacks on President de Klerk.

A visibly angry Mr Mandela told a press briefing: "I have said before that in Nazi Germany people were being killed not because they were a threat to the security of the State but simply because they were Jews.

"In our country, people are being killed not because they are a threat to security but simply because they are black."

Those wanting to verify his statement needed only to visit Phola Park, he said.

The ANC leader accused the media of failing to put the reality of the violence across to white South Africans.

He noted that the mainstream press was owned by whites who did not share blacks' life experiences and were also "not well aware of the kinds of deeds being permitted by the head of state, Mr de Klerk".

Outlining the issues which had led to the deterioration in his relationship with Mr de Klerk, he said the State President had the capacity to end the violence because he controlled a strong security force.

Mr de Klerk's decision to amend legislation prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons, however, had intensified the violence.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had pointed out that the violence emanated from the hostels. The State President had agreed a year ago to measures to curb violence in the hostels but had not acted on them.

Finally, the ANC had repea-

tedly presented police with evidence of innocent people's residences being attacked and occupied. Invariably, the SAP had said it would investigate but "nothing happened".

As Mr Mandela and his entourage were leaving Phola Park, gunmen opened fire on a police patrol.

"The police did not return fire and the attackers immediately disappeared among the shacks," police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said.

Police are hunting the attackers in the camp, which is under virtual siege in what police say is an attempt to crack down on criminal elements.

In another development yesterday, Phola Park residents lifted razor wire placed around the camp at the weekend and moved it into the Palm Ridge/Eden Park Road, endangering the flow of traffic.

company, Rob Rocky Auctioneers, was registered in March last year, with Lombaard and Plumari as directors.

"When I go to lay charges, the police refuse or where they agree, the Attorney-General declines to prosecute."

Report misused - ANC

Sowetan 11/6/92
THE ANC has withdrawn its initial attack on the Goldstone report, saying there was a large discrepancy between the actual report and the press statement by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

A press statement by the organisation late on Friday said the organisation had now received the full report which was markedly different from the press release.

"We are deeply disturbed at the manner in which the Government has manipulated the press release in order to focus attention on issues that are not covered in the report of the Commission.

"The report has been in the hands of the Government for four weeks. The Government then chose to concentrate the attention of the public on the press release so as to divert attention from contents of the report," said the statement.

It added that Government ministers had trumpeted the view that the commission had no doubt that the primary cause of the violence was the political rivalry between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

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"In reality, the report identifies more than 10 causes of the violence and at no stage suggests a so-called 'primary' cause," the ANC said.

"In fact, the stated first historical cause of the violence in the report is the apartheid system itself."

The reality, the ANC continued, was that the commission attributed part of the violence to State complicity in undercover activities and the report further criticised the failure of the Government to act on such matters.

The ANC said it fully supported the decision of the National Peace Committee to convene a meeting of all leaders as soon as possible to discuss the escalating violence. This meeting should also discuss Mr Justice Goldstone's report.

"The ANC will take all necessary additional steps to ensure proper control of all our members and will continue to cooperate with both the National Peace Committee and the Commission to the best of our ability," the ANC concluded. - *Sapa*.

SACP denies it ^(1A) was controlled by Moscow under Reds

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party had never felt that it was being controlled from Moscow, senior SACP member Mr Essop Pahad said today.

He was responding to a report in a Russian newspaper, Izvestia, which claimed that Moscow had controlled the SACP for years.

Izvestia claimed that documents from the files of the Communist Comintern showed that the SACP had been instructed early in the 1930s to overthrow the South African government.

The newspaper said the documents clearly showed whose interest the SACP protected and whose instructions it carried out.

Mr Pahad said he had not seen Izvestia's report and therefore could not comment fully.

"But I would say we've never felt the sort of control Izvestia is writing about. Our policies may have coincided, but we never carried out instructions from Moscow," he said.

He added that the Comintern expected all affiliates to be bound by its decisions.

"Because we were so far from Moscow the kind of centralised control felt by communist parties in Europe was not felt here."

Call for more discipline

THE Azanian Students Movement at the weekend called for discipline in black schools. *Sowetan 11/6/92*

It slammed teachers for staging protests that disrupted classes and declared the Government was orchestrating a campaign to deny blacks education. (IA) (S)

"It disturbs to think that on the eve of our liberation we shall be forced by our lack of basic literary skills to call on our present oppressors to run Azania on our behalf." Azasm president Andile Mngxitama said in a speech at the organisation's congress in Johannesburg on Saturday.

He accused the authorities of increasing fees for matriculation exemption certificate to bar black students from advancing in their education.

"We know who are those who will not be able to afford this - black students,"

Mngxitama told the two-day conference.

The student leader apparently questioned last week's two-day protests by members of the SA Democratic Teachers Union. Reports said schools came to a standstill in some townships.

"While we don't dispute that teachers have every right to collectively bargain for the amelioration of their conditions, we shall continue to find fault with strategies which disregard their obligation to the black child," Mngxitama said.

Top community leader Dr Nthato Motlana last week bemoaned indiscipline in black schools and in effect called on political leaders to intervene to normalise the situation.

"We have a duty as an organisation to inculcate the lost sense of discipline and the culture of learning in black students," Mngxitama said. - *Sapa*.

Mass action planned 'on scale not seen before'

ANC turmoil threat

STAR 1/6/92

(11A)



By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC has declared political war on the Government and South Africa faces unprecedented turmoil from the end of this month unless President de Klerk accedes to a set of tough demands.

The ANC's national policy conference ended yesterday at Nasrec, near Johannesburg, with the organisation issuing "battle orders" to its members — and announcing a programme of mass action on a scale not seen before.

The ANC is demanding a

"positive response" by the end of June from Mr de Klerk on the stalled questions of interim government and the election of a constitution-making body by the end of the year. The campaign will also push for the release of political prisoners and the "levelling of the political playing field".

The mass action would continue right up until the installation of a democratic government.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the organisation had finally concluded — in the aftermath of the failure of Codesa 2 — that the Government would have to be forced to negotiate a

transition to democracy. Thus mass action would henceforth be an integral part of the ANC's negotiations strategy.

"We are committed to negotiations," he said, "but if we are unable to get the co-operation we deserve and expect, then we have to use (our) power ...

"If the Government is not prepared to co-operate, they must be prepared for turmoil. That is the lesson of history in this country."

Adopting the hardest line against the Government since its unbanning, the ANC agreed on a "programme of action" involving Cosatu, the South African Communist

Party and the "mass democratic movement".

Stressing that "time is of the essence", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It will be unprecedented mass action. It's going to be rolling mass action, taking on a variety of past and new forms. We cannot rule out forms like general strikes and stayaways which are much longer than what we've had in the past."

"The campaign aims to root out minority domination and we will embark on mass action whether he (Mr de Klerk) likes it or not."

Asked whether the campaign would not damage the economy, Mr Mandela said:

"Our economy has been so mismanaged that it can never be further hurt."

He said the ANC could not avoid protests and strikes "if the Government remains deaf to our efforts. It can happen next month, in July — it depends on the reaction of the regime."

The outcome of the ANC conference makes it clear the effects of the failure of Codesa 2 to reach agreement on the transition are far deeper than was thought.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted a democratically elected constitution-making body as the "primary condition" for taking South Africa to democracy — and

it would not allow a senate ("a House of losers") to veto such a body's decisions.

"Our mandate from conference is clear. Without firm timetables ... there will be no deal at Codesa."

The ANC emerged from the militant conference united and directed as never before. The Star understands that not once did an issue have to go the vote in the closed sessions — such was the pervasiveness of the perception that the only way forward was a full-frontal attack on the Government.

● ANC ready to rule, says Ramaphosa — Page 3

Overthrow plan 'no secret'

Political Correspondent

THE SA Communist Party yesterday pooh-poohed "revelations" published by the authoritative Russian newspaper Izvestia that the Kremlin gave the SACP instructions to overthrow the South African state 50 years ago.

The newspaper quoted the allegedly secret documents released from the Comintern archives on the eve of President F W de Klerk's visit.

SACP general-secretary Mr Chris Hanu said yesterday it was sad to see Izvestia pawing very stale informa-

tion in an attempt to "curry favour with the apartheid regime".

It was no secret that during the 1930s communist parties worldwide bound themselves to decisions of the Moscow-based Comintern.

The "secret" strategy to which Izvestia referred was in fact published in full in South Africa in 1931 by the SACP's newspaper, Umsebenzi.

It was also "no secret" that the first call by Comintern for a national liberation movement to overthrow a minority government in Africa had been in South Africa.

gram

'Red plot' old hat says Hani

PATRICK BULGER

A "SECRET" Kremlin plot to overthrow the SA government was in fact published in full in the SA Communist Party's newspaper more than 60 years ago, SACP general secretary Chris Hani said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in the Russian newspaper Izvestia which said newly unearthed documents disclosed that the Kremlin ordered the SACP to overthrow the government and issued directives on a revolutionary uprising.

Hani said it was sad to see Izvestia "reduced to pawning some very stale information in an attempt to curry favour with the apartheid regime".

"The 'secret' strategy to which Izvestia refers was published in full here in SA in 1931 by our party newspaper, Umsebenzi."

Hani said the SACP, "acting on the will of the people", had sought to overthrow the government in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s.

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MORE than 800 delegates to the ANC's policy conference spent four days finalising a policy which was the product of months of preparation and seemingly endless debates. After all that, delegates arrived at a rather predictable conclusion — South Africans should have the best of everything.

From health to welfare, from education to fresh water, from housing to a thriving economy, delegates solemnly resolved that SA should be the best of all possible worlds.

Despite repeated urging from ANC leaders that policies should be sustainable and realisable, delegates paid little heed to cold, hard statistics and proceeded to gleefully declare that all residents would, as a right, have education, health care, housing and electricity.

For example, one section declares that all future governments should be constitutionally committed — no less — to embark on programmes to ensure that every household has electricity, clean water and access to waste

Utopian ANC punts impossible policies

BIDday 2/6/92.

TIM COHEN (11A)

disposal. The costs are not mentioned, let alone assessed.

It would be easy, perhaps too easy, to dismiss these policy proposals as pie in the sky, a mere list of unfulfillable dreams drawn up in ignorance, soon to be relegated to a dusty shelf. Perhaps more important than the policies themselves, many of which are questionable, is the spirit in which they were drawn up.

ANC members clearly see themselves as being involved in a moral crusade. The high moral tone which formed the basis (although perhaps not the practice) of the ANC's opposition to apartheid has carried through into its vision of the future.

At the expense of a dispassionate and critical view, the document places a high priority, in almost every sphere, on rectifying past wrongs, on tipping the scales in favour of blacks

for a change. However, it must be said that the document does state quite categorically that its contents reflect only the ANC's broad vision. "Our problems run deep and resources are limited. These policies highlight our ultimate goals, which will need to be transformed into effective and realisable programmes in the short term," the document says.

Even so, almost without heeding this caveat, the document sets out immediate proposals which waver between tenaciously maintaining a semblance of reality and those that drift way out into the stratosphere. For example, can housing be regarded as a right, as the document asserts, in a country like SA whose economy bor-

ders on basket-case status? Having asserted that housing is a right, the document goes on to say the state will be unable to provide housing for all, and that the private sector must help. How will this happen? The ANC promises only "innovative methods".

While many of the policies constitute a natural and understandable desire by the ANC to do justice in the new SA, there is another important factor to be taken into account — the election on the horizon, and election promises do have a tendency to stretch beyond the borders of the possible.

It is probably mostly for this reason that the document emphasises women's rights to the extent it does. ANC Women's League members constantly emphasise that women constitute the majority of voters, and almost every section of the document makes provi-

sion for ensuring equality for women.

Also emphasised a great deal is the state. In almost every section, when ANC delegates were looking for an agency to do good deeds, it invariably ended up being the state. The free market is not mentioned once as a method of ensuring growth. Individual rights are protected but are, in many cases, subservient to the greater good, often referred to as the "democratic will".

The protection of individual rights, while at the same time affirming a major role for the state, probably signifies a temporary meeting of the minds of socialists and nationalists in the ANC. The nationalists merely seek state power, the socialists look to the state to fulfil almost all of their aims. The potential contradictions between these two approaches will become apparent only if and when the ANC comes to implement its policy programme. Whether ANC members will then appreciate the necessity to protect individual rights against the state, only time will tell.

REVIEW

Sacob urges ANC to join in talks with business sector

The open-ended nature of several of the ANC's economic proposals is unlikely to inspire local or foreign investor confidence, according to the South African Chamber of Business.

Reacting to the economic policy adopted over the weekend at the ANC policy conference, Sacob said yesterday there were two disturbing areas with regard to the liberation movement's economic policies.

These were the continued emphasis on nationalisation as an option, and certain curbs on foreign investors.

"Such policies would serve to

weaken instead of strengthening foreign investor interest in a situation where South Africa is today starved of foreign capital and imported technology," Sacob said.

The business group also expressed concern on the issue of taxation, saying clarity and certainty needed to be reached as soon as possible on a future fiscal policy for the country.

Sacob urged the ANC to enter into discussions with the business sector to move towards agreement on future economic and social policies. — Sapa.

RCI to run holiday points system

Property Reporter

There is a growing trend among timeshare buyers to seek flexibility in their choice of holiday time and destination.

This has led to companies selling points for exchange rather than ownership of weeks at a particular resort.

In line with this, Resort Condominiums International (RCI), the largest holiday exchange organisation, is to administer the new Multi Resort Ownership points system.

RCI managing director Steve Griessel said: "Under the MRO system, points bought may be used as 'currency' each year to take one or more weeks, weekends or midweek breaks at a variety of resorts within the system. He is confident that the RCI link will mean MRO avoids the problems previously encountered by buyers in some similar schemes, such as an inability to meet demand due to too few weeks being held by the management company in relation to the number of points being sold.

Remarkable turnaround at Boumat

Finance Staff

Boumat's earnings per share recovered remarkably in the year to March, rising from 7c to 43c.

But the total dividend has been cut from 48c to 10c. Previously, a proportion of shareholders' funds was made available for dividends, regardless of earnings.

Boumat has, however, now reverted to the normal dividend cover formula.

Chairman Sidney Borsook says sales grew 6.6 percent to R1,16 billion, but that operating profit improved 35.6 percent to R39.3 million.

He says the construction industry had been hit harder than most by the "prolonged and deteriorating economic position."

He expects residential construction to improve, though not commercial and industrial building.

Mr Borsook expects further improvement in asset management and profitability, although he feels there will be little improvement in the trading environment.



Stoffel hits back at ANC

Peter Fabricius (11A)
Political Correspondent

The National Party has accused ANC president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa of using "provocative, violent and often racist rhetoric" as relations between the country's two main parties plunged further.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe flung the accusations in a statement last night attacking the ANC's planned campaign of mass action to pressure the Government into softening its negotiation position.

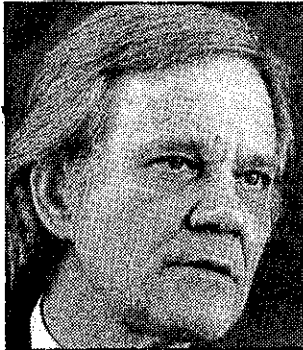
The campaign indicated a lack of confidence in the ANC's ability to negotiate and smacked of a "political inferiority complex".

It also placed a big question mark over the ANC's good faith.

The campaign would be very damaging to the economy, he warned.

He called on black workers to take note of the effects of the mass action campaign on job losses, lower pay, slower growth and a higher cost of living.

He called on black workers to take note that it was the ANC which was damaging the economy, both through mass action and



Stoffel van der Merwe ... ANC has inferiority complex.

their economic policies which well-known economists had described as the "kiss of death" for the South African economy.

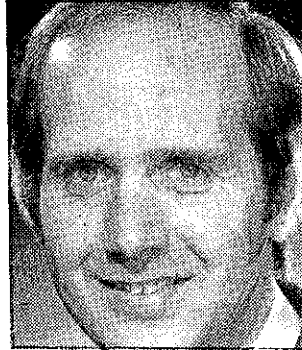
This referred to the ANC policy conference's approval of an investment code which would place certain special conditions on foreign investment in SA.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew also criticised the proposed foreign investment code.

He said it reflected a continued lack of understanding of the operation of the market forces at play.

"A code of conduct for foreign investment can play a positive role in providing for a climate of investment certainty.

"However at a time of keen competition for inter-



Ken Andrew ... criticised foreign investment code.

national investment funds, it is unrealistic to imagine that one can stipulate numerous abnormal conditions without chasing away much desperately needed investment.

"We don't have to be beggars, but we cannot afford to be finicky choosers either."

The ANC's call for mass action was yesterday attacked by Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson as being "unwise, unreasonable and unhelpful", reports Derek Tommey.

He told a press conference in Johannesburg that he did not think it was the sensible way to set about matters.

He said there had been a stage when people could understand why others felt they needed to go that route when they did not have full rights and participation in the political process. But



Julian Ogilvie Thompson ... mass action unhelpful.

mass action now would be counter-productive.

It would not be good for getting the economy going and for encouraging foreigners to invest in SA.

Mr Ogilvie Thompson said he did not think mass action would advance the cause of the ANC.

But it would make life more difficult for companies and he suspected that many people would lose a lot of wages and earnings.

It might also force some companies to lay off staff.

He said if the mass action was effective, he suspected this would only be because of intimidation.

And in a way that was quite contrary to what people were trying to achieve in this country — free and open participation in political activity.

STAFF 2/6/92.

ANC group suspends Winnie Mandela

Sowetan
2/6/92

11A

Sowetan Correspondent

MRS Winnie Mandela has been suspended from the national executive committee of the ANC Women's League, it was announced yesterday.

Mrs Mandela, former chairperson of the executive committee of the PWV region of the league which was suspended last week, was informed in writing of her suspension yesterday, according to a statement issued by the ANCWL's national executive committee.

The statement said the decision to suspend her was taken at a meeting on Saturday.

The league's national executive committee said the ANC's national working committee was setting up a commission of inquiry whose terms of reference would cover "mainly the attempted demonstration" by ANCWL members outside the ANC head office in Johannesburg last week. The demonstration led to the suspension of the ANCWL's PWV regional executive committee.

The inquiry is expected to come out with its report by the end of this week.

"The ANC has procedures and structures through which complaints and grievances can be raised. The view taken by the NEC of the Women's League is that a demonstration against the ANC by its own members disregarded ANC procedures and structures of dispute-resolution and put the movement into disrepute," said the ANCWL's statement.

We were bugged says ANC

Dowefan 2/6/92

SA Press Association

THE African National Congress yesterday submitted what it said was incontrovertible proof that its telephone lines at Codesa were tapped, and blamed the Government.

In a document signed by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and submitted to the daily management committee of Codesa, the organisation said tests by a private investigating agency showed that three telephone lines were bugged.

It would not name the agency.

Attached to the document was what appeared to be a photo-copy of a computer print-out for five tests carried out on three telephones on May 15.

The ANC said this print-out was given to the technical director of the INEQ private investigation firm, Mr Andy Grudko, for a second opinion.

"He confirmed that the print-outs showed that the three lines were tapped at the time that the tests were carried out."

Possible complicity

The ANC's document suggested possible complicity by a Telkom technician at Codesa, apparently revealed when the technical expert arrived to do a physical check on the lines.

The check revealed no suspicious devices inside the building. However, the technical expert said the devices were placed on the three lines outside the World Trade Centre, probably in the exchange at Isando.

"On the basis of the check made by the private company hired by the ANC and taking into account the expert opinion of Mr Grudko with regard to the print-outs of the five test results, we submit that it is incontrovertible that the three telephone lines were being monitored."

Turning to who was to blame, the ANC said the alleged culprit would have to have technical equipment and resources at his disposal and unimpeded access to the Isando Post Office exchange.

"Furthermore, the issue must be placed in the context of accumulating evidence as to how the different agencies of the South African state have been, and are still, operating.

"Without labouring the point, it is our considered view that one or other agency of the South African Government is involved with the use of State funds and resources and activities aimed at destroying the ANC."

Women's League suspends Winnie

WINNIE Mandela has been suspended from the national executive committee of the ANC Women's League and faces possible disciplinary action following a sit-in demonstration last month at the ANC's offices in Johannesburg.

The suspension of Mandela, along with fellow Women's League officer Nomvula Mokonyane, was decided at an emergency meeting of the committee over the weekend.

Mandela is alleged to have recruited members of several squatter communities to protest against her removal as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

An ANC Women's League statement issued after the protest indicated Mandela's supporters, calling themselves the "social welfare support committee", had believed they were taking part in an officially ap-

ADRIAN HADLAND

proved action. (11A) (25A)

During the protest the demonstrators had criticised ANC spokesman Gill Marcus and accused ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa of leading a "cabal" within the ANC intent on ousting Mandela.

An ANC statement issued yesterday said demonstrations against the ANC by members "disregarded ANC procedures and structures of dispute resolution".

Such demonstrations also brought the ANC into disrepute, it said.

It added that a commission of inquiry would be looking into the matter and was expected to complete a report by the end of the week.

Mandela was not available for comment.

2/6/92
SID

Codesa groups to continue work

Govt shrugs off mass action threat

2017 (11A)
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2/6/92

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT yesterday shrugged off ANC threats of mass action as Codesa delegates met to initiate a process which would finalise Codesa agreements and convert them into proposed legislation.

Three separate committees dealing with interim government, levelling the political playing field and the reincorporation of the TBVC states will meet next Monday to tie up loose ends in these areas and to "proceed with the work of drafting agreements in the form of proposed legislation".

These committees replace the five working groups. One, which dealt with time frames and implementation, had been scrapped. The working groups had largely reached consensus before Codesa II last month.

However, the outstanding agreement on a constitution-making body that dogged working group 2 and the last Codesa plenary and which has been referred to the management committee, has not yet been discussed. It will be dealt with by the committee in two weeks' time.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday appeared unfazed by threats of mass action emanating from the ANC's policy conference which decided to employ mass action on an unprecedented scale to accelerate negotiations.

Meyer said government was eager to get the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) off the ground as soon as possible.

He said that while time was running out to legislate a TEC during the current session of Parliament, a second session — probably in October — was still possible.

He did not see the need for mass action and questioned what influence the ANC's alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — had over ANC negotiators. He warned that if negotiations were disrupted it would not be the responsibility of government. He said it was clear from the ANC conference that the organisation was trying to build a constituency and solve internal problems. He said time frames had to be part of a negotiated settlement.

Meyer said bilateral discussions between government and the ANC would take place once the respective parties had worked out their positions in future talks.

However, the task of deciding on the fate of SA's remaining political prisoners has been taken from the ambit of government-ANC talks. The committee completing the work of working group 1 will form a task group "for purposes of identifying and compiling a list of political prisoners".

In a further attempt to speed up negotiations the SACP yesterday formally proposed that management committee sessions be held before a selected pool of journalists. Chairman Joe Slovo said Codesa was perceived in public as a "mysterious cabal". He said more effective public scrutiny was necessary.

He said the matter would be raised at the next management committee meeting.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said at a news briefing yesterday the issue of time frames had not yet been addressed, nor had a scheduled date for Codesa III.

ANC acts against Winnie again

(11A)

ex 2/6/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been suspended from the executive committee of the ANC Women's League and faces possible disciplinary action following a sit-in demonstration last month at the ANC's offices in Johannesburg.

The decision to suspend Mrs Mandela, along with fellow Women's League official Mrs Nomvula Mokonyane, was taken at an emergency meeting at the weekend.

Mrs Mandela is alleged to have recruited members of several squatter

communities to protest against her removal as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Last week Mrs Mandela's last power base crumbled when the League's entire PWV regional executive committee, of which Mrs Mandela was chairwoman, was suspended after a bitter inter-branch meeting in which the protest was discussed.

The ANC said yesterday a commission of inquiry would be looking into the matter, adding that demonstrations against the ANC by members "disregarded ANC procedures".

6 000 Toyota workers 'to end strike today'

ex 2/5/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — More than 6 000 workers are expected to return to work at Toyota plants here today after a "settlement package to resolve the dispute" was negotiated with Numsa, a company spokesman said.

The 18-day strike is estimated to have cost the company up to R310 million.

Toyota SA chief executive Mr Bert Wessels said the impact of the strike on the company's operations would be assessed today if production resumed. He would not elaborate on the settlement package.

Lightning kills cricket umpire

YOULGREAVE, England. — A cricket umpire was killed by a bolt of lightning at the weekend — on the same field where he suffered a head injury during the soccer season.

Mr Peter Hill, 26, only recently recovered from the football injury after spending two weeks in hospital. — Sapa-Reuter

No Zipra men in MK, says chief

JOHANNESBURG. — uMkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda yesterday denied that trained former members of Zimbabwean Deputy-President Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zipra forces had been absorbed into MK and were based in South African townships.

He was responding to a report in the latest issue of New African magazine.

(11A)

CT 3/6/92

Dutch visitor: ANC wants investments

JOHANNESBURG. — Dutch Transport Minister Mrs J H R Maij-Weggen left South Africa yesterday evening, saying her discussions with top ANC officials had disclosed the organisation wanted foreign investment in South Africa as soon as possible.

She warned that future nationalisation would chase would-be investors away.

Ending her eight-day trip, Mrs Maij-Weggen said she felt very positive about Codesa and the negotiation process.

CT 3/6/92
"Everyone I met, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, said they were very positive about Codesa," she said at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Mandela was optimistic there would be an interim government within three months, she said.

During her visit she also met, among others, her South African counterpart, Dr Piet Welgemoed and Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys.

The Dutch delegation also signed a new aviation agreement that will entail more KLM flights to South Africa and similar rights for SAA. — Sapa

Mandela slated for 'war talk'

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites".

During a weekend visit to the Phola Park squatter camp Mandela said the ANC would do everything in its power to prevent black anger from spilling over into white areas, but could not guarantee this would not happen.

The row has been fuelled by NP-supporting newspapers, which have strongly portrayed Mandela's statement as a threat that whites would be targeted.

Treurnicht said Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt at intimidating whites to bow to ANC demands. "In effect it is a declaration of war on whites."

This was a facet of the ANC's strategy to take power and was a clear contravention of its signing of the national peace accord, he said. He said it was not yet too late for whites to tell the ANC it found its threat unacceptable and that an ANC government was totally unacceptable to Afrikaners.

He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

LP bid for poll pact with ANC

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has been approached to assist the Labour Party candidate in the forthcoming House of Representatives by-election in the Diamant constituency at Kimberley.

The by-election — which is the NP's first attempt to gain support among coloured voters — is seen in political circles as a test of whether the ANC-aligned LP or the NP has majority support among coloured voters.

However, the LP's efforts are being hampered by traditional ANC antipathy towards the tricameral Parliament. Its northern Cape region has already called for a boycott, a move which could see the NP's Howard Isaacs taking the seat.

A well-placed LP source said party leader Allan Hendrickse yesterday spoke to ANC president Nelson Mandela and to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to persuade the organisation not to oppose LP candidate John Scholtz's bid for election.

An ANC statement said yesterday that Ramaphosa had held talks with the LP and that the talks were "arranged to discuss the position of the ANC vis-a-vis the by-election."

"Ramaphosa said the matter was still being discussed with the ANC northern Cape region and no finality

had been reached," the statement said.

The top-level talks were held a day after LP officials met the ANC's local government spokesman Thozamile Botha and local civic representative Darkey Afrika in Kimberley on Monday. Both men apparently turned down the LP request for assistance.

The LP claims it is already being assisted by the local ANC-aligned civic organisation. But the ANC's northern Cape region was planning a boycott of the election and a mass rally to coincide with the June 24 poll, northern Cape ANC media officer Pakes Dikgetsi said.

LP organisers said the ANC had to realise that more than a Parliamentary seat was at stake.

One said the LP wanted the local ANC-aligned Kimberley Civic Organisation to help bring out voters, especially an estimated 8 000 in Galeshewe township where the civic holds sway.

He said the LP was strong among working class people which comprise about half the 24 000 eligible voters. However, the LP was concerned that traditional ANC hostility towards the tricameral Parliament would deter more sophisticated voters from going to the polls.

Moscow will not invite Mandela as ANC head

(11A)

PATRICK CULL

ST PETERSBURG — Nelson Mandela will not be invited to Moscow as president of the ANC but as an international human rights figure. *B/Dany 3/6/92*

This emerged after Monday's meeting between President F W de Klerk and Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

Sources close to the talks said that Yeltsin was extremely anxious that De Klerk not be "uncomfortable" about the invitation to Mandela to visit Moscow, emphasising he was not being invited as the leader of the ANC.

It also emerged after the talks that both leaders expressed concern about potential communist influence — De Klerk because of the SACP's hold over radical elements within the ANC and Yeltsin because of the possible disruptive influence the party could have in his country.

It is understood De Klerk also told his counterpart that SA could be in for a tough time in the months ahead with strikes and demonstrations.

The president left last night for Japan, where it is expected to be announced that the Export-Import Bank of Japan will visit SA later this year to assess loan possibilities to the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

This is one of the breakthroughs expected to be announced this week after a meeting between De Klerk and Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa scheduled for today.

Another issue expected to be raised is the question of double taxation for Japanese companies operating in SA.

An agreement could also be reached on the promotion of tourism and on the need to start preparatory work on air links between the two countries.

The president wound up his two-day trip to Russia yesterday with a visit to St Petersburg.

After laying a wreath at the Monument to the Heroic Defenders of Leningrad, the president spent most of yesterday sight-seeing. He had one formal meeting with St Petersburg vice-mayor Vjacheslav Sherbatov. ● See Page 3

Patriotic Front may be revived — under pressure from the OAU

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff
PRESSURE from the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement has led to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress talking about reviving the Patriotic Front.

Formed in Durban last year after a meeting of several anti-apartheid organisations and trade unions, the front seemed headed for the rocks when the ANC continued to take part in Codesa against the wishes of the PAC.

The PAC not only shunned Codesa, but tensions between the movements rose as the PAC criticised the ANC for continuing to take part in the forum.

But the front could be back on track by the end of the month after pressure from the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Factors such as the stalemate be-

(11A) (230) ARG 3/6/42
tween the government and the ANC at Codesa and the ANC's mass action plans have also improved the chances of another Patriotic Front meeting.

PAC information chief Mr Gorah Ebrahim said: "The OAU supports the idea of reconvening the Patriotic Front and has indicated that it would finance such a meeting."

He said talks had been held with the Azanian People's Organisation, which was barred from the Patriotic Front meeting, and other organisations.

"We would like the front to meet by the end of the month but we are not the only players. The front must meet as a matter of urgency."

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC supported the ANC's plans for mass action, but added that this would have to be discussed at a meeting of the Patriotic Front.

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Mandela slated for 'war talk'

3/22/92 3/6/92
11A

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela, claiming his warning that violence could spill from black to white areas was an effective "declaration of war on whites".

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The row has been fuelled by NP-supporting newspapers, which have strongly portrayed Mandela's statement as a threat that whites would be targeted.

Treurnicht said Mandela's comments were a blatant attempt at intimidating whites to bow to ANC demands. "In effect it is a declaration of war on whites."

This was a facet of the ANC's strategy to take power and was a clear contravention of its signing of the national peace accord, he said. He said it was not yet too late for whites to tell the ANC it found its threat unacceptable and that an ANC government was totally unacceptable to Afrikaners.

70

He said government was faced with deciding whether it wanted to form a government with an organisation which had a private army, held it to ransom and did not respect people's freedom.

Govt to fence off hostels

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT was dealing with the upgrading of hostels as a matter of urgency and attention would be given to fencing them, Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

His department had noted that the Goldstone Commission regarded hostels as a common participant in most violence in afflicted areas. It had also noted the commission's recommendation that the hostels immediately be properly fenced. *B/Dam 3/6/92*

Wessels said in a statement government had already approved a comprehensive strategy for upgrading them.

Wessels said he had already announced that humane living standards at hostels were a high priority for government and R294,6m had been allocated for the conversion or upgrading of hostels.

Nationwide strike on 'mass action' agenda

6/10/92 3/6/92
PATRICK BULGER

ANC, Cosatu and SACP leaders would meet on a weekly basis in the months ahead to plan mass action that could culminate in an open-ended general strike in August, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said yesterday. *3/6/92*

Shilowa was outlining how the alliance's campaign of mass action, confirmed at the ANC policy conference at the weekend, would unfold. The mass action campaign was consistent with the alliance view that negotiations were "another site of struggle", he said.

The alliance has told government

that it wants a firm commitment to interim government and to elections for a constituent assembly or it should face unprecedented mass action and possible withdrawal from negotiations at Codesa. *1/1/92*

Shilowa indicated, however, that mass action could still take place as the alliance was demanding government action on a whole range of issues ranging from corruption to government-sponsored violence against its opponents.

The alliance partners would be

going back to their constituencies between now and mid-July to hold report backs and to seek mandates on mass action. *1/1/92*

Shilowa said mass action would take the form of factory occupations, stayaways and a general strike in August that would continue until government gave in to alliance demands.

He said the issue of Cosatu participation at Codesa had become "academic". More important was the involvement of organs of "people's power" like the civics in negotiations.

● Comment: Page 8

SIEMENS

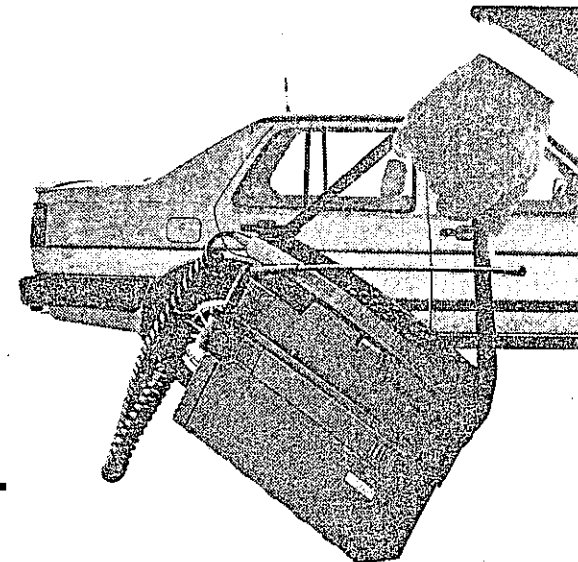
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ESTABLISHED HOME FOR INTEREST

ANC takes part in historic meeting of Police Board

Sowetan 3/6/92

By MONK NKOMO

THE South African Police do not need destructive criticism as they were doing their utmost to curb the unparalleled wave of crime and violence in this country.

This was said by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, at the first meeting of the Police Board in Pretoria yesterday.

The board, formed in terms of the provisions of the National Peace Accord, comprises representatives of various organisations including the ANC.

Kriel said the 22-member board could be a major contributor towards the goal of impartial policing and the goal of attaining

credibility among all sections of the community.

"This is not only an historic occasion in the history of South Africa, but a milestone for the South African Police," Kriel said.

Chairman of the board, Mr Don Brunette, former Attorney-General of the Transvaal, said yesterday's meeting was to discuss administrative issues and that they hoped to meet once a month.

Kriel said the establishment of the board meant that the community would be participating in matters directly relating to internal police policy.

"South Africa is currently being swept by an unparalleled wave of crime and violence. The South African Police are controlling this in the best possible way and do not need destructive criticism," Kriel said.

"No security force, no matter how peaceful, can continue effective policing under a barrage of hatred and criticism," he added.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, said:

"The police need the community's support and trust. This is precisely why we want to involve the community in our policy making."

ANC like a petulant child, says Buthelezi

STAR 3/6/92.

LONDON — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised the African National Congress for threatening black unrest to force white concessions in constitutional talks.

He urged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to return to negotiations with President de Klerk.

The talks are deadlocked over whether the white minority will have special rights under majority rule.

"I am just disappointed that the ANC adopted the line whereby they are threatening," Chief Buthelezi said at London's Heathrow Airport.

"That is typical behaviour of a petulant child throwing out toys," he said.

Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha movement, had stopped over in London on his way to the United States.

The ANC on Sunday threatened what secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called "rolling mass action" in the constitutional confrontation.

"I would urge them (the ANC) to be calm," said Chief Buthelezi. "The threats of mass action and so on is just going to tear the country apart."

"And who suffers if the country is torn apart? All of us, including them. There is no gain for anyone."

Aides said Chief Buthelezi would lecture for the South African Educational Foundation in the United States and meet former president Ronald Reagan and business leaders in Chicago, Miami, New York and Washington.

Chief Buthelezi acknowledged during the interview that rivalry between the IFP and Nelson Mandela's ANC was the cause of township violence.

He told reporters that last week's report by Mr Justice Goldstone on the violence contained nothing new.

Asked whether the violence was a result of IFP-ANC rivalry, he said: "He wasn't telling us something we didn't know because, after all, it takes two to tango."



Chief Buthelezi urged Mr Mandela to respond to a call he said he made last weekend for the ANC leader to "stand together" with him to end township violence.

"I personally made a plea to him that he and I should really, at this point, try and address joint peace rallies," the Inkatha leader said.

"So far there has been no response," he said.

At least 11 000 blacks have been killed in the violence in the last eight years.

Mr Justice Goldstone accused the Government on Monday of distorting the findings in his report and said it was not intended to apportion blame.

The Government had said the judge had vindicated its view that the main cause of violence was rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha, and highlighted the finding that there was no evidence to back ANC charges that much of the violence was instigated by a third force of right-wing whites. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

'Other DP MPs see future with ANC'

SEVERAL DP MPs believed their future lay with the ANC, independent Sandton MP Dave Dalling told a critical, but small meeting of Sandton businessmen yesterday. *Monday 4/6/92.*

About 120 members of the Sandton Chamber of Business (SCB) attended the meeting last night during which several people called for Dalling's resignation and a by-election to test his support.

Dalling refused to resign, saying he felt more representative of Sandton as an ANC member than as a DP member.

There were 28 000 white voters in the Sandton area but there were also 28 000 black people, 2 000 Indians and 3 000

ADRIAN HADLAND

coloureds.

He said he had been uncomfortable for some time within the DP which had been "taken in tow" by the NP during the March referendum. The DP was unable to make any decisions and was wracked with tension and animosity.

Dalling suggested there were also DP MPs who thought a formal alliance with the NP was necessary while others wanted the party to go it alone.

He told the businessmen he was confident an ANC government would not nationalise companies.

Winnie's job is up for grabs

11A
Sowetan
4/6/92.

THE African National Congress key social welfare department post vacated by Mrs Winnie Mandela at the height of her controversial career is up for grabs.

Also still vacant is the deputy position vacated by sacked attorney Mr Dali Mpofo, who was allegedly romantically linked with Mandela.

According to ANC spokesman, Dr Pallo Jor-

By VICTOR TSUAI

dan, the position had not been officially discussed but the ANC would welcome anybody with the necessary qualifications to apply.

Mandela resigned her position as head of the welfare department after the announcement of her separation from her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

She however said she would continue in the position until a replacement was found.

Jordan said no replacement had been found and qualifications needed for the post would be training in the social welfare field.

"The position still remains vacant and anybody who feels they qualify can apply. The credentials obviously have to be good," Jordan said.

Jordan could, however, not specify as to whether the prospective applicant



**WINNIE
MANDELA**

should be a card-carrying ANC member.

This week Mandela was suspended from the national executive committee of the ANC Women's League.

Mandela, who was suspended with Mrs Nomvula Mokonyane, was last week suspended with the entire ANC Women's League PWV regional executive.

She remains a member of the powerful National Executive Committee, a position to which she was elected at the national conference last December.

Revolutionaries delay change, says De Klerk

(11A) (11A) B/Daw 4/6/92

TOKYO — People who were "clinging to the concept of revolution" were delaying the process of change in SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

His remarks come at a time when his relationship with ANC President Nelson Mandela appears to have hit a crisis point.

Addressing the SA Trade Association and Springbok Club in Tokyo, the President said things were "extremely dynamic" in SA, but while he was confident of success, there would be setbacks and delays in the next few months because not all parties had "broken with the past".

But, he added, the inevitability of change was accepted by the majority which was committed to "peaceful change through peaceful negotiations".

De Klerk criticised Mandela at a news conference on board his SAA 747 jet early yesterday morning, saying that he wished Mandela would take co-responsibility for ending the violence.

It was, he said, a pity that Mandela failed to do this.

The political approach Mandela was adopting had no credibility in anyone's eyes, he said.

De Klerk also addressed the issue in his talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, telling him that there was a problem be-

PATRICK CULL

tween government and the ANC, specifically over the organisation's refusal to become a political party and its unwillingness to abide by the Pretoria Minute and D F Malan Accord.

The ANC, he told the Russian president, was "out of step with bringing about a democratic solution".

De Klerk said the real problem was the strong radical element within the ANC which was allied to the SA Communist Party.

He said radicals were now busy delaying the process and organising mass demonstrations and strikes.

In reply to Yeltsin's inquiry on where Mandela stood, De Klerk said that while he was a moderate and he had brought the ANC to the negotiating table, "lately he was not resisting pressure from radicals and had given in to this faction".

"He has become abusive and arrogant and has attacked me in recent statements abroad," De Klerk said.

While warning of difficult months ahead for SA, the President said the strategy was to keep negotiations going and that radical action would not be taken.

However, he said, law and order in the country would be tightened.

ANC threatens to destroy city's nonracial council (11A)

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC said yesterday it would organise mass action to ensure the collapse of Kimberley's single city council project.

ANC Northern Cape region media officer Pakes Dikgetsi said yesterday the ANC asked the Kimberley City Council at the start of this week not to go ahead with inaugurating the single council.

He said the allocation of councillors was "a clear illustration of the racist and undemocratic manner" in which the council had proceeded with the project.

"It has been our view that negotiation has to take place between all parties — as equals — to restructure local government in terms of agreement reached at national level.

"A multiparty commission on local government

was proposed and it is that forum which must decide on restructuring.

"We proposed to the city council not to go ahead with this inauguration and to re-open negotiation around this matter, and it refused. We are now left with no other option but to struggle to render this structure un-

workable. An all round campaign of mass action to ensure its collapse will be undertaken and its inauguration will be greeted by demonstrations."

Dikgetsi said the ANC had informed the council "that we do not agree with their approach of twinning together discredited apartheid-created local authorities and then claim to have a nonracial, democratic local authority".

NEWS IN BRIEF

ANC hits at suspension

BY SUSPENDING MP Jan van Eck for refusing to disclose the source of his allegations against former president P W Botha, government had treated democracy with contempt, the ANC said yesterday. (S) (IA)

Van Eck, who with four other DP MPs joined the ANC last month, said last week in Parliament that Botha was aware of more than a thousand political assassinations. (S) (IA) 4/6/92

The ANC said Van Eck's suspension appeared to be a smoke-screen to divert attention from the heart of the problem that he had raised.

(TIA) ARG 4/6/92

'Bullets until ballot' warns PAC

UMTATA. — The Pan Africanist Congress would not abandon the armed struggle until blacks had the vote, the organisation's national organiser said.

Addressing about 400 PAC members at the Umtata City Hall, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivanani said the PAC would not "abandon the bullet" until "the ballot is secured".

Speaking on the PAC's refusal to enter Codesa talks, Mr Nemadzivanani said they were perturbed by Working Group 1 on the creation of a

climate conducive to change.

"Since 1952 the environment was conducive to settlers. The question 'conducive' is relative to whoever is in charge.

"We are told De Klerk, an angel of peace and messiah of reform, will liberate us.

"There is no milk of human kindness in any oppressor's breast. De Klerk has mastered the art of manipulating public opinion using a dummy mentality at Codesa," he said. — Ecna.

Moves on electoral procedures opposed

STAR 4/6/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC has condemned the Government's intention to amend electoral procedures, saying such subjects were "clearly the province of Codesa debates".

The ANC, which said it was outraged to learn of the proposed amendments, added that by discussing unilateral changes to the electoral procedures the Government revealed its "utter contempt for the negotiating process".

The organisation condemned the "provocative action" and called on Pretoria to withdraw proposed amendments to electoral and referendum Bills.

It also called on the other parties in Codesa to "refuse to ally themselves with this attempt to unilaterally determine transition procedures".

In another development, federal hopes of the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party received a boost with the formation of the Coalition for a Federal Democracy, whose aim is to encourage Codesa to think in terms of a federal framework of government.

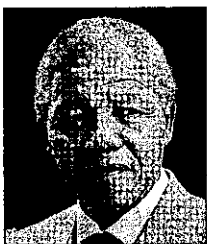
The coalition, whose members are not affiliated to any political party or organisation, will publish research on federal proposals appropriate to South Africa. Political risk consultant Dr Wim Booyse was appointed provisional chairman.

NELSON MANDELA

FM 5/6/92

11A

Preparing to govern



ANC president Nelson Mandela opened the organisation's policy conference last week. Here are extracts from his address

This conference is essentially about preparing to govern. We are here to say to ourselves and to the world that we understand and that we are ready and capable of taking responsibility for the process of reconstruction in our land. We are mindful of the fact that we have yet to win our freedom and we understand the link between clear policies and victory. The ANC must emerge from this conference with clear policy proposals for a future democratic government.

The policies with which we emerge must inspire the broadest possible cross-section of South Africans. Most important, our policies must provide hope for the poorest, the most downtrodden, those who have borne the brunt of apartheid oppression.

Let our conference speak even to those who have benefited from apartheid. Let us provide them with a vision of the future — a vision of a single nation, a vision of an ANC government which will be able to govern competently and inclusively. Let us inspire all South Africans with a belief in our capacity to create stability and to generate wealth for the benefit of all in our country.

On the one hand, our struggle, and the leadership of the ANC within it, represents hope to democrats and struggling people throughout the world who are perturbed by the so-called New World Order — this new approach which seems to be so opposed to development and which will result in an ever-widening gap between rich and poor.

There are great expectations that our conference will reassert that the role of government is to protect and advance the interests of the most vulnerable. There are also those who are keen to see the ANC abandoning this developmental perspective which we hold so dear. They will be disappointed.

There are also investors waiting to get the first tentative signals about the capacity of the ANC to create a stable economic climate where they can invest with confidence. Our policies will establish social justice and democracy. Democracy is our best investment for stability.

Some have asked whether the approach of the ANC is ideological. We are unconcerned about labels. We are concerned about developing a programme which will systematically eradicate the ravages of apartheid. Obviously, this tilts our policies in favour of the most disadvantaged. We are also committed

to putting into place sustainable policies that will ensure systematic growth to meet these important goals.

The fact that we are a national liberation movement that brings together people across the political spectrum is a strength which we cannot abandon. The significance of the conference, therefore, is that the policy guidelines which we will adopt are for the entire nation and not only for the ANC.

We must emphasise that we will not be adopting a rigid blueprint.

Our method of policy formulation is important because it creates clarity in the policy environment. A much greater percentage of our membership now understands the resource constraints that an ANC government will face and that there will, therefore, be no quick-fix to decades of apartheid destruction. Important as this part of the process is, it does not substitute for the technical detail which will have to be worked at.

The guidelines we will adopt will describe the legislative, economic and institutional framework necessary to transform society into one which will serve the interests of the majority. The institutions thus created will have to be staffed by persons who are trained and competent, by civil servants committed to democracy, accountability and a people-centred approach and by staff committed to clean and efficient administration.

The creation of a diligent and professional civil service is a task that is already long overdue. There will have to be changes in the existing civil service in line with our commitment to affirmative action and our commitment to the establishment of a slim State. Changes in the civil service are unavoidable and those who are qualified, competent and diligent obviously have far less to fear.

An essential element of our democratic policies must be geared towards transforming society, with a special emphasis in transforming the power relations in policy-making structures, in the implementation of those policies, in the workplace and in the residential areas.

Our policy guidelines must be able to withstand the rigour of scientific test and they must be able to be defended by every ANC member.

The Third World is littered with the relics of liberation movements which have successfully liberated their countries from the yoke of colonial oppression, only to be defeated at the polls in the first post-colonial elections.

These defeats have more often than not been a consequence of unfulfilled promises, a lack of openness in policy-making and the direct consequence of the adoption of policies which could not be sustained by the economies of those countries. These experiences have many valuable lessons for us in SA.

There are understandably high expectations that democracy will put the changes in

place rapidly. These expectations are not about luxury. Our people's expectations are about acquiring basic essentials like housing, electrification, water, sanitation, decent education and jobs. One of the threads that runs through all of our policy documents is the unshakable commitment of the ANC to direct resources towards those ends.

We remain convinced that these objectives are attainable. What we will need to clarify are the time-frames within which we shall be able to deliver these basic goods and services to those who need them most.

We are challenged to avoid unrealistic expectations and to define a sober set of priorities. Moreover, we are challenged to involve our people in democratic processes to set priorities.

We must leave this conference with a clear idea of the needs, prospects and constraints. However, this understanding cannot be the exclusive property of the delegates who attended this conference.

The ANC remains unequivocally committed to growth and redistribution. A failure to secure these in the shortest time will result in the further degradation of the social fabric in our country. The costs of this are far too high. The growth path which our country needs is impossible to achieve without the democratic institutions of governance in place.

It is imperative, therefore, that Codesa delivers soonest — within the deadlines we have set out. Our country cannot be held ransom by the National Party's stubbornness, selfishness and greed for power.

The ANC has never allowed itself to be intimidated by this regime. We have no intention of doing so now. The process now under way is one that we initiated; the regime does not own Codesa. We must forge ahead to secure agreements on constitutional principles, on a democratically elected constitution-making body and on time-frames.

In the interests of all the people of our country and of struggling people across the world who are looking to the ANC to redefine the practice of democracy, we must break the deadlock. We know that the masses of our people make up the most reliable deadlock-breaking mechanism.

We have said that negotiations are a site of struggle. Consequently, the negotiations under way at Codesa must be supported by other means of struggle. This conference will consider activities to break the intransigence of the regime. A draft proposal has earmarked July as the deadline.

The policies that we will adopt will only assume life if we secure democracy soonest. We may not fail the many patriots who have sacrificed so much to bring our country to this point. Nor may we ever fail our people. We bear their hopes and aspirations.

We are the future!

Shrewd move

FM 5/6/92

The ANC's drive to attract white support received a boost with the announcement that prominent Durban city councillor Ros Sarkin has joined the movement.

This comes a month after the defection to the ANC of five DP MPs: Rob Haswell, Pierre Cronje, Dave Dalling, Jannie Momberg and Jan van Eck. They now form an ANC-aligned caucus in the all-white House of Assembly. The lack of fuss which followed Sarkin's move indicates the speed with which SA politics is adapting.

Sarkin was elected as an independent by the largely affluent Mitchell Park ward on the northern side of the Berea. She chairs the city's creative and recreation committee.

She says her decision is based on the belief that the ANC represents SA's best hope for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist future.

The announcement, made by the ANC's Southern Natal Region, came just before the ANC's national policy conference held in Johannesburg last weekend. The secretary of the Hindu Maha Sabha (which boasts 80 affiliated Hindu organisations), Rugbeer Kalideen, has also thrown in his lot with the ANC.

Sarkin says her decision means the ANC now has formal representation on the council. But she says she will continue to serve the interests of her ward and argues that there is no reason for the management committee to ask her to resign as a committee chairman.

Though another whites-only municipal election is not likely in Durban — Management Committee chairman Peter Mansfield says a nonracial city council could even be in place this year — Sarkin could have a difficult time taking her voters with her at the next ballot. She must convince them that she will look after their interests, especially in economic terms.

That assumes, of course, that council elections would still be based on wards rather than on proportional representation. ■

~~11A~~

11A

FM 5/6/92

More savagery looms

There is absolutely no moral or practical reason for business to support or encourage the strikes and civil disturbances that the ANC and its trade union supporters are planning. Negotiations to broaden democracy have unfortunately been held up. But they have neither broken down nor been abandoned.

There is no rational justification for the intimidation that is being planned.

This is probably the first setback in a negotiating process that inevitably will contain many. If the ANC decides to take to the streets every time one occurs, the cost will be enormous — not only in production and wages forfeited, but in lives lost and injuries sustained.

ANC president Nelson Mandela cannot logically criticise President F W de Klerk for inadequate measures to curb ANC-Inkatha violence, when he himself is prepared to stoke an already fearsome climate of intimidation and killing. We say this for one simple reason — when people take to the streets in large numbers, there is an immediate increase in the potential for mindless savagery.

Our guess, too, is that in these difficult economic times many black workers are going to have to be intimidated into civil unrest. They will not want to lose wages and benefits and have their lives disrupted yet again. Their resentment will inevitably provoke those elements of ANC authority that are overzealous or just plain thugs.

Nor is ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa correct in stating that street demonstrations were behind everything the ANC has achieved so far.

Grand apartheid had been rock solid for 40 years, unshaken by sabotage, sacrifice or sedition. Cracks came only when Afrikaners realised that demographics were against them, when the American banks (motivated by greed and not politics) withdrew vital loans; and when the ANC's diplomatic initiative began to bear fruit.

Taking to the streets at the first Codesa setback smacks of malice born of mortification at the Nats' intransigence. If the prospect of more violence were not so serious, we would remind the ANC that cowboys don't cry. Instead we have to deplore its insensitivity. ■

ANC and govt still talking

8/10ay 5/16/92

(11/10) (2/2/92)

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are continuing to meet in bilateral talks to resolve the constitutional dispute left by Codesa II even as the ANC and its allies prepare for unprecedented mass action aimed at the same goal.

Negotiators from both sides met earlier this week, an ANC source confirmed. A government spokesman said government would neither confirm nor deny such talks. The ANC source said the talks were aimed at resolving the dispute that arose at Codesa II on a constitution-making body.

Despite optimism from both sides that the dispute could be resolved, a campaign for mass action was proceeding.

The ANC, insisting that negotiations and mass action were not inconsistent, was still making preparations for mass action

to strengthen its call for an interim government and an agreement on elections for a constitution-making body, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday. He said a campaigns committee had not yet decided what action to take.

He said the ANC had not set specific deadlines for the onset of its mass action campaign. Its alliance partner Cosatu had given government until the end of June to prepare the ground for the establishment of an interim government or face unprecedented mass action. Cosatu's campaign was agreed to by the ANC and the SA Communist Party prior to Codesa II.

However, mass action in the form of

To Page 2

ANC

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(11/10) (2/2/92)

From Page 1

rallies, marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and pickets would begin on June 18 under the auspices of the ANC Youth League (Ancyl) — two weeks before the expiry of Cosatu's deadline.

Ancyl said yesterday that "June 16 1992 will also be taking place within the context of the overall ANC-led campaign which

should effectively begin early in July under the slogan "From Corruption, Murder and Mismanagement to Justice, Democracy and Good Government".

Ancyl spokesman Parks Mankahlana conceded that nothing short of the installation of an interim government could halt the campaign in its tracks.

Thugs hijack exiles' dream project

A "DREAM project" for returning exiles in kaNgwane, torn apart by claims of corruption and mismanagement, has been hijacked by Soweto youths.

The kaNgwane Work and Study Centre was a first local attempt at "education with production", a model made popular in southern Africa by exiled educationist Patrick van Rensburg. Less than a year after its launch the project has collapsed.

Its two centres — at Mthimba and Khumbula near Hazyview in the eastern Transvaal — have been closed. About 100 youths have forcibly occupied the Mthimba campus and are damaging its facilities and allegedly terrorising locals. Staff members have fled, fearing for their lives.

Senior members of the African National Congress, who went to investigate, were forcibly held for a few hours by the youths.

At the centre of the storm is ex-director Chris Seopesengwe — a former education chairman of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. He stands accused by the board of the Johannesburg-based Youth Education Trust (YET), which owns and manages the project, of recruiting the youths and busing them to kaNgwane in March to destabilise the centre. Yesterday the board applied for a court order to have the youths removed and restrain Seopesengwe from meddling in the project's affairs.

"It is tragic that this has been detailed by a power struggle which has nothing to do with the principles on which it was founded," said Van Rensburg.

It is also alleged Seopesengwe organised the youths' parents into a self-styled committee which, despite pleas from ANC leaders, insists the children have a right to the school.

The YET board is chaired by Van Rensburg and includes Albertina Sisulu, Sister Bernard Ncube, Sydney Mufamadi and attorney Chris Watters. Van Rensburg is a former South African diplomat who resigned in 1957 to join the Liberal Party. He went into exile in Botswana during the State of Emergency declared in 1960. There he pioneered the establishment of work/study brigades for Botswana youths.

Board members tell horror tales of how the group of youths have intimidated and assaulted staff members, seized motor vehicles for use as taxis, harassed locals, and stolen equipment for resale.

"Beer bottles are strewn all over, and the ablu-tion block is in a terrible condition," said YET programme officer Lesley Gumbi.

The Mthimba centre is now completely under their control. The lights and water have been disconnected, as well as the telephone.

Board members — including Sisulu, Gertrude Shope and Van Rensburg — were held hostage

W/mailed 5/6-11/6/92.
A group of Soweto youths have taken
over a project providing 'education
with production' to returning exiles.
The thugs are damaging property and
held a group of ANC officials hostage.
 By **PORTIA MAURICE**

when they tried to investigate the situation there on March 20, five days after the youths arrived.

"The parents got wind of our trip there and went in advance," said Mohamed Tickly, spokesman for the Batlagae Trust, set up to sponsor education for returned exiles. "After lengthy meetings they refused to let us out unless we allowed them to stay. They barricaded the gate with chairs, on which they sat. After about two hours, they let the women in the delegation go, and allowed us out eventually just before midnight."

The executive of the ANC's eastern Transvaal

region has also tried to negotiate with the youths, but they would not listen. They and their parents have rejected offers from the Batlagae Trust to place them elsewhere subject to screening and interviews.

Seopesengwe, who quit his job in February and is unemployed, denies any knowledge of the intruders. "If there are allegations against me, I'd prefer to keep quiet," he told *The Weekly Mail* this week.

He described the project as a "brilliant" one, which he "built singlehandedly" and "saw mushrooming" before his eyes. The youths, he said, may have arrived of their own accord.

"You know how many of our young children fled into unknown territories seeking political asylum," he said. "Travelling to kaNgwane is nothing in comparison."

The group's origins are unclear. It is said many of them hail from Emdeni in Soweto, where Seopesengwe stays. ANC sources say some may have left the country for its refugee camp at Dukwe in Botswana in 1990, and since

returned. Others, it is claimed, are foster children or on the run from police. Only a handful were recommended by the ANC's repatriation committee.

The parents' committee has accused the YET board of financial irregularities and mismanagement. But Van Rensburg said there was no evidence of this, and that an audit is in progress.

Initiators had high hopes for the kaNgwane centre, set up with advice and assistance from the International Foundation for Education with Production, which has its head office in Botswana. Its 14 teachers were seconded by the kaNgwane government.

Students split their learning time between academic activities and work, according to the innovative education with production curriculum — an alternative to Bantu Education. Production units engaged the 278 students in agriculture, carpentry, catering, construction, electrical installation, motor mechanics and metal fabrication. Assets to the value of about R500 000 were built during the first seven months.

THE CIGARETTE FOR CONNOISSEURS

In the traditional 20s tin



Funds for recruitment drive high on Azapo agenda

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

STAY
(11A) 5/6/92

Azapo will discuss ways of raising funds to enable it to embark on a huge recruitment campaign when its national council meets in Laudium, Pretoria, according to Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

The three-day national council meeting, which begins today, will map out the Black Consciousness organisation's way

ahead, discuss fund-raising and devise a nationwide recruitment drive.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said the meeting would be used to plan how to organise and consolidate Azapo's support. Fund-raising would feature prominently.

He said his organisation had accepted that it could not get funds from sympathetic governments and organisations abroad because of its policies, and had decided to double its efforts to

raise funds on its own.

Unlike the ANC, his organisation would not concentrate on holding big rallies, but would take its campaign to every black household.

Asked whether Azapo would take part in elections for a constituent assembly, Mr Nefolovhodwe said he did not believe his organisation would contest an election which flowed from deliberations at Codesa.

Mr Nefolovhodwe also said

President F W de Klerk's Government and its security forces were responsible for ongoing township violence.

Saying Azapo had been vindicated for its refusal to sign the National Peace Accord last year, he called on "all organisations of the oppressed and exploited to grab every available opportunity that can unite them on the ground".

● Azapo 'just marking time in the wings' — Page 13

DEFENCE UNITS AREN'T OUR RESPONSIBILITY, SAY THE ANC

PAUL STOBER talks to MK leaders about their 'forces on the ground'

THE African National Congress has come out firing in support of defence units, but insists they fall outside the ranks of the organisation's military wing.

"We called for the community to defend itself because we believe they have the political right," explained Calvin Khan, personal assistant to the commander of Umkhonto weSizwe, Joe Modise. But, Khan added: "Defence is the responsibility of the community. It is not the duty of MK to establish and control defence units."

Khan pointed out that many of the existing defence units were attempts by communities to defend themselves from the attacks they had experienced over the past two years. "It is not as though the ANC created the conditions in which defence units have

flourished," he said. According to Khan, the high profile of MK members in defence units came about because they were the only people in their communities who had the experience and training to organise an effective fighting force. However, he insisted MK members were a part of defence units in the areas where they lived in their individual capacity, and that the organisation had not assigned cadres to particular communities.

He described the constant stream of MK personnel, many of whom hold key positions in defence units, through the ANC's military headquarters (MHQ) as part of a process of consultation. "Our forces on the ground always follow the political leadership. There is nothing sinister in their looking to the ANC," he said.

The thin red line between an operational MK unit and the actions of individual mem-

bers is a point of dispute between the government and the ANC. According to the government, the action of MK members who belong to defence units constitutes a violation of the Pretoria and DF Malan accords under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle.

Khan disagrees: "You cannot confuse the right to self-defence with contravention of the accords. Defence units are not organs of the ANC."

He firmly denied the ANC was using defence units as a means of having fully trained units on standby if the negotiation process failed.

The ANC sees defence units as non-partisan structures, open to members of the community who have identified the need for them. Although they provide training and political guidance, they cannot distribute weapons to unit members. The con-

stant complaint of members of defence units that they need more and better weaponry would seem to support this.

How weapons are procured is left to the local defence unit, but Khan admitted MK ordnance may be finding its way to the units: "If an MK unit had access to weapons before the unbanning and used them for self-defence, it is beyond our control."

However, Khan insisted all MK arms caches were under the control of MHQ. When pressed for details, he responded: "It is enough for you to know we control them." He believes the defence units have other means of arming themselves and pointed out that it is not difficult to obtain, or even make, weapons in South Africa.

Despite recent reports of defence units being hijacked by criminal elements and running amok in the very communities they are supposed to protect, Khan feels the

ANC will continue supporting the structures.

He described those defence units responsible for abuses as "insignificant elements" and "those cases that have been reported to us have been dealt with very effectively".

The organisation reasons that the units prevented a situation where the security forces and rightwing elements could openly attack communities, and that without them, the level of political violence would have been much higher.

Khan dismissed the apparent inability of defence units to end attacks and random killings: "Of course, there will be losses, but over the past year they have changed into an effective mechanism."

He agrees that the defence units are not the solution to spiralling violence: "It is absolutely necessary that we find a political solution," he says.

Inkatha accused of kidnap and torture

ANC members fired a broadside at the Vaal Triangle's Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers yesterday, saying they were kidnapping, torturing and murdering their rivals.

At a news conference in Johannesburg, four ANC members gave accounts of how Inkatha supporters were allegedly using Sebokeng's KwaMadala Hostel to launch attacks on ANC members.

George Mapeyi, David Pabe, Mosotho Tsotetsi and Mandla Mokhaane said they had been kidnapped, tortured and forced to join Inkatha.

They also claimed hostel dwellers had kidnapped a number of young Sebokeng women whom they were treating as sex slaves. Mokhaane said during his captivity he witnessed three killings of ANC activists by the hostel dwellers.

The four alleged that white men were colluding with the hostel dwellers.

The ANC PWV region reiterated its demand for the immediate closure of KwaMadala Hostel and the arrests of the perpetrators of violence in the Vaal Triangle.

Inkatha West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu denied Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers were "terrorising" ANC activists in the Vaal Triangle.

"I urge the ANC to refer the allegations to the Goldstone commission for investigation," Ndlovu said.

Mapeyi said he was kidnapped on May 16 by people he knew "very well". He said he was taken to KwaMadala Hostel, where he

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WILSON ZWANE

was threatened with force if he did not provide the hostel inmates with the names of returning exiles.

"On realising that my life was in danger, I gave them names of some of the ANC activists in Sebokeng ... not returning exiles," he said.

He said after he had given the hostel dwellers the names, he was issued with an Inkatha membership card. His kidnappers then left the hostel complex and returned later with an ANC activist in tow.

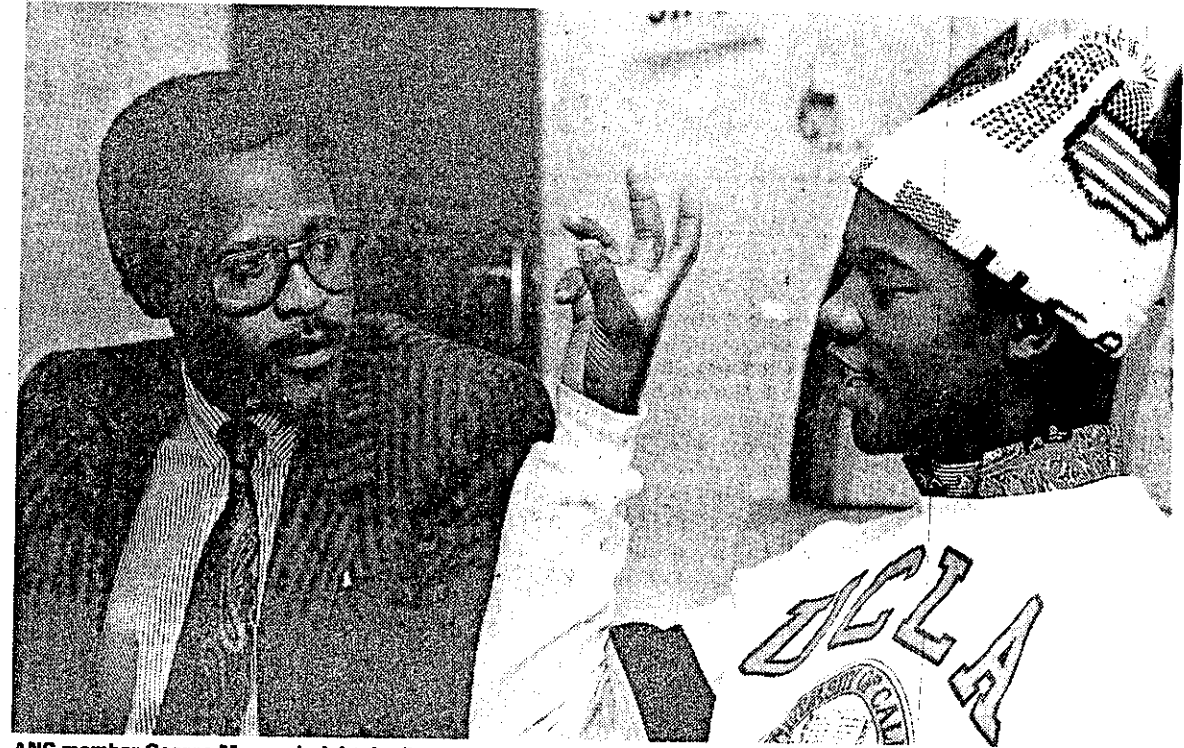
"They told me they were going to kill him. They left with him and on their return, they had blood all over their clothes," Mapeyi said, adding that he believed the hostel dwellers had killed his "comrade".

David Pabe said he was not forced to join Inkatha. He had joined the organisation "voluntarily" to see what was happening behind the hostel walls.

Tsotetsi said that after he had been kidnapped on May 11, he was taken to the hostel where he was given rudimentary training in the handling of firearms and explosives.

He said he was told he would be expected to attack houses of two ANC officials in the area. After refusing to do so Tsotetsi was assaulted. He woke up in a hospital.

ANC PWV said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa would visit the Vaal Triangle next week to assess the situation.



ANC member George Mapeyi, right, in discussion with ANC PWV region official Floyd Masehe at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday at which ANC members alleged they had been kidnapped and assaulted by Inkatha supporters.

Four shot during attack on taxi rank in East Rand

FOUR people were wounded during a shooting at a taxi rank in Springs on the East Rand yesterday, police said.

The incident happened a day after the ANC had claimed that those responsible for train violence had changed tactics and were now targeting taxi commuters in-

bangu, and his "comrades" were launching frequent attacks on taxis ferrying hostel dwellers to and from Meadowlands Hostel.

Police have said they were investigating all possibilities.

WILSON ZWANE

Bees invade honey farms

KATHRYN STRACHAN

CAPE invader bees are threatening the future of bee farming in Transvaal.

Honey production fell 70% after the bees destroyed beehives, SA Professional Beekeepers' Co-operative spokesman Mike Schoenwald said.

10 years' compulsory schooling ANC

By PORTIA MAURICE

THE African National Congress believes 10 years of free and compulsory education is the minimum necessary to prepare individuals to participate in the economy and society, and has committed itself to provide this.

In its education policy unveiled at this weekend's conference it also promises that students who cannot afford to proceed beyond this level will have access to bursaries and loans. Where possible, a year of preschool education will be included and as far as possible there will be flexibility between different levels of the education and training system.

Disabilities and special learning needs will be provided for. The organ-

isation also commits itself to redistributing resources to women, rural and adult students, and the mentally and physically disabled.

Special schooling will be provided up to matric level for youth who have dropped out of the school system or been expelled because of "apartheid practices".

To employers goes the prime responsibility for providing adult basic education, whereas the state will ensure delivery to the unemployed. There will be a national certification system for this.

If the ANC came to power, the central state and local authorities would control education. The former would be responsible for the "development

of national policies and principles, financing education, the development of a national curriculum and standards". Lower levels will take care of the day-to-day administration and management of the system.

The organisation commits itself to "removing gender-stereotyping from the curriculum" and, in a kind of affirmative action, offers "special help" to girls to extend their skills in areas previously barred to them such as woodwork

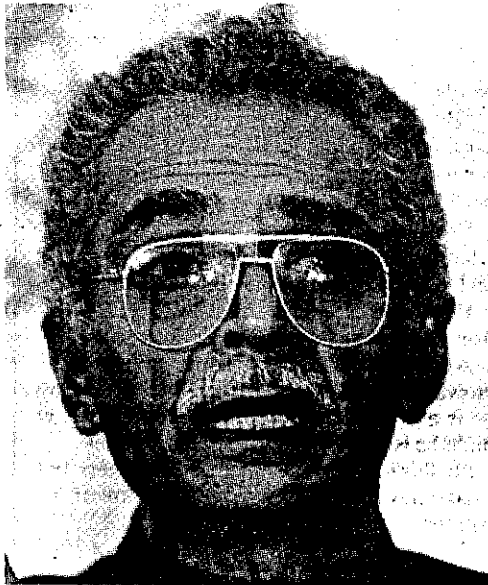
Pupils will have access to a minimum of two languages — a regional lingua franca and English.

© See PAGE 25

Codesa deadlock boosts opposition

w/mail s/b - 11/6/92

(11A)



Barney Desai ... Codesa a 'lame duck'

By MONDLI MAKHANYA
ORGANISATIONS of the far left are almost gleeful over the failure of Codesa II — and are even more determined to stay away from the negotiation process.

The breakdown in constitutional talks has also given a fillip to moves to establish a front of anti-Codesa organisations, spearheaded by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Both the PAC and Azapo remain adamant that they will not join Codesa, will not negotiate before a constituent assembly is in place and will only hold preliminary talks with the government at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman.

Leadership elements within the PAC who have favoured Codesa participation — arguing that the movement does not have the capacity to derail it — have been severely weakened by the

Codesa deadlock.

"Codesa II was a lame duck. It would be ridiculous to go there because it is now clear to everybody that Codesa is about the re-entrenchment of apartheid rule," says PAC information secretary Barney Desai.

This weekend Azapo's National Council will hold a crucial conference to plan a campaign to pressurise the government for a constituent assembly.

The first step in this, says Azapo's Don Nkademeng, will be a convening of a Patriotic Front (PF) of organisations operating outside Codesa, spearheaded by Azapo and the PAC. A summit between the black consciousness movement and the government is also on the agenda.

However Azapo seems more enthusiastic than the PAC about this "alternative PF". The PAC appears more interested in resuscitating its still-

born PF alliance with the ANC.

The Africanist movement has made several overtures towards the ANC, the last one being two weeks before Codesa II. But the ANC has not shown a reciprocal interest in reconvening the PF.

Explains ANC national executive member Joe Ebrahim: "If we call a second PF summit, we must be clear what we want to talk about and what we want to achieve. They will come with an anti-Codesa attitude and then will just end up fighting about Codesa. There's no sense in that."

There is also bitterness at the ANC's apparent wish to go the mass action route on its own.

Comments Desai: "We will only support the mass action campaign if the demand is for a constituent assembly. But if it's based around the ANC's demands in Codesa then we see no reason to support it."

The Washington Post

Mandela Warns Of Attacks On Whites

Guardian (w/in w/man) 5/6-11/6/92.
MR NELSON MANDELA called President Frederik W. de Klerk a criminal on Sunday and compared his government to Hitler's Germany as the political climate in South Africa worsened.

The unusually harsh attack came at the end of a policy-making meeting of the African National Congress at which the anti-apartheid organization took a militant new approach to its dealings with the white-minority government.

The ANC threatened a campaign of strikes and demonstrations aimed at crippling the

country unless the government takes new steps to end violence and backs down on demands for special constitutional protections for whites. The organization blamed state security forces for the ongoing violence in black townships, which has claimed thousands of lives in recent years.

"In Nazi Germany people were being killed not because they were a threat to the state but simply because they were Jews," Mandela said at a news conference following the ANC meeting. "In our country people are being

killed not because they are a threat to the state but simply because they are black."

The ANC leader said that the violence was occurring because de Klerk "has given the capacity to certain groups to kill innocent people." That assertion contradicted a report last week by a judicial commission. It said that the ANC and its chief black rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party, were mostly to blame for the violence and mostly responsible for stopping it.

Earlier in the day, Mandela visited a black

(119) *(redacted)* *(redacted)*
squatter camp at Phola Park, about 30 miles south of Johannesburg, where residents have accused police of attacking residents and where security forces are maintaining a heavy presence, and said that township violence could spread to white areas if President de Klerk failed to stop it. "People are getting very angry." The ANC would discourage attacks on whites but might be powerless to stop them. The only way to end the violence was to set up a non-racial interim government which would control the security forces, he said.

Majority Rule - Or Power Sharing?

JOHANNESBURG, — South Africa's negotiations on a new, post-apartheid constitution are discouragingly deadlocked, and over an issue that seems on the face of it to be too trivial to warrant such a crisis: a dispute over the size of the majority that will be required for approval of the new constitution. Even at the start of the bargaining, the difference between the African National Congress and the government of President Frederick W. de Klerk on this issue was small: a matter of just 25 votes in an elected Constituent Assembly of 300.

After days of haggling it had narrowed to a 5 percent difference over the majority that would be needed for agreement on regional (or state's) rights, and to a government demand that the negotiators agree in advance that the future constitution should have a Senate with powers equal to the House of Representatives — something the ANC refused to accept.

There they stuck, a hairbreadth apart but with mounting obduracy on both sides that is now hardening into serious hostility and could start to unravel the whole negotiating process.

Why so much drama over so little? "Juvenile brinkmanship" was how one exasperated delegate at the all-party convention described it. But there is much more to the conflict than that.

To begin with, what is happening at the convention — known by its acronym of Codesa — is more than just the negotiation of a new national constitution. It is also the negotiation of a peace agreement between the government and the ANC, similar to what a settlement between the Israeli government and the PLO would be. This introduces an additional element of pride and honor and the saving of face, when to give too much is to appear to concede that the other side really won the war.

This limits flexibility and sets barriers to concession. The principal negotiators on the government and ANC sides know there are highly emotional audiences out there watching to see who has won the day and ready to pounce on their leaders if they feel they have conceded too much.

As Hamlet said, people will find quarrel in a straw when honor's at the stake. But then again, there is more than a straw involved here. Small though the differences over these percentages appear, they in fact go to the heart of the divergence between the ANC and the white government over what kind of country the new South Africa should be.

The ANC wants majority rule. It is prepared to have an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting the basic human rights of minorities: things such as language, cultural and religious rights, free speech and free

By Allister Sparks

political expression. But it insists that the majority party must have the right to form the government — or, as Nelson Mandela puts it, "normal democracy as the world knows it."

De Klerk and his National Party, on the other hand, have made it clear they are opposed to majority rule, which they call a "winner takes all" system. They want what they call "power-sharing," a system of compulsory coalition government that would give minority parties (such as the National Party will likely be after the country's first one-person-one-vote elections) a share in government almost regardless of how small they are, as well as a power of veto over all legislation exercised through a specially constituted Senate. The ANC calls



F. W. de Klerk

this a "loser keeps all" system.

This fundamental difference has lurked in the background without being directly confronted ever since the negotiations began last December. The talks have skated around it while progress on other issues has been made, but every now and then they brush against it and then there is a spat. That is what happened at Codesa earlier last month.

To achieve its "power-sharing" constitution, the National Party initially wanted the constitution to be drafted by Codesa, where its own position as the governing party is strong and it has the support of a number of old tribal "homeland" parties formed under the apartheid system that will almost certainly be wiped out in a one-person-one-vote election. The ANC, on the other hand, wanted the constitution to be drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly,

where it knew it would be the biggest party and the National Party and its allies would be cut down to size.

After months of negotiation a compromise was reached. The National Party accepted that the constitution had to be drafted by a body of unquestioned legitimacy, meaning an elected Constituent Assembly. The ANC, for its part, agreed that Codesa should negotiate the interim constitution, which will be in place while the Constituent Assembly is sitting, and that it should also lay down some broad principles for the final constitution — principles which will be binding on the Constituent Assembly.

Ever since then, the ANC has had an abiding suspicion that the government, with its long record of duplicity, is trying to trap it into a situation where it gets into a "power-sharing" interim constitution and never gets out again. The ANC has in fact indicated its willingness to have this interim constitution provide for a "government of national unity," in other words one in which all the Codesa parties form a coalition and have to govern by consensus. And that is, of course, exactly what the government would like as a final constitution.

Thus the ANC is demanding a strict limit on such an arrangement: a period of about six months during which the final constitution is drafted. The government would like to have it permanently — or at least for a drawn-out "interim" period of about 10 years.

This is why the dispute over a relatively tiny percentage managed to stall the whole convention. The ANC and its allies became convinced that the government, which is monitoring opinion polls closely, was trying to get an unattainably high majority for agreement on the constitution so that progress could be blocked and the country locked into an "indefinite interim constitution."

When the government indicated its willingness to abandon this position in return for a commitment to having in the final constitution a powerful Senate of undefined structure — the very kernel of its "power-sharing" plan — the fear of a trap grew, and the ANC dug in its heels.

Since then attitudes on both sides have hardened, and mutual mistrust has deepened, with the ANC threatening to pull out of the peace accord it signed with the government and other parties last September and take its freedom struggle back to the streets with a campaign of "mass action."

It seems clear that South Africa will be unable to move forward meaningfully in its transition to democracy until this basic issue is resolved: Is the country to have majority rule or not?

ANC sidesteps the abortion debate

By PORTIA MAURICE

CHOICES about motherhood may well remain as limited as they are for South African women under a future government: the African National Congress effectively ducked adopting a policy on abortion rights at its weekend conference.

The issue sparked lengthy and heated debate. Pro- and anti-lobbyists had their axes out, locked in conflict for long periods. A proposal that abortion be legalised, with proper counselling, had been tabled in the health commission by various

branches. Another hot potato from the same lobby was that the job of 'commercial sex workers' (prostitutes) be protected by law in future.

Feminists and a handful of gender-sensitive males battled with moral and religious objectors — trying to sway the organisation towards their perspective on these thorny issues. Medical workers were also among the main movers. But to no avail. The issues were referred back to "grassroots level" for further discussion, with no deadlines.

In fact, the ANC Women's League

took a surprisingly diplomatic line. Although arguing that women should have control over their bodies and fertility, the League caucus felt the organisation was not ready for any fixed stance.

"Our impression was that the membership was not ready for such a decision," said Women's League representative Feroza Adam. "Many people don't understand the realities of abortion and hard lines against it often stem from a lack of information."

THE African National Congress has emerged from its weekend policy conference as a social democratic organisation.

Social democracy is not a phrase the organisation uses — because of the traditional left-wing antagonism to an ideology that was always seen as a compromise with capitalism. "Capitalism with a conscience" was the phrase used by communist parties to deride social democracy's choice of social reform rather than revolution.

But the policies outlined in the document *ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa*, released last Sunday after the conference, place the organisation in the broad tradition of the British Labour or German Social Democratic parties.

The ANC is not classically social democratic in that it does not envisage some of the large-scale state intervention that has long been part of such a policy. But contemporary social democracy recognises the failures of state control in eastern Europe and assigns a greater role to market forces. The western European parties no longer suggest the same kind of state intervention in the economy and in social policy as they did three or four decades ago.

Wishy-washy, but it is social democracy

They do, however, still seek to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth by moderating market forces and use state intervention to pursue social policies, such as the provision of minimum health, housing and education standards. They also emphasise democracy — multi-partyism, freedom of speech and so on — to separate themselves from eastern European socialism.

The ANC's policies fall firmly within this definition. The basic objectives of the policy outlined in the document are four-fold: to achieve political and economic self-determination for all; to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice "in a swift, progressive and principled way"; to develop a sustainable economy and state infrastructure to improve the quality of life of all; and to promote a universal sense of freedom and security.

While the African National Congress' policies were largely ambivalent, they place the organisation firmly in the realm of social democracy.

By **ANTON HARBER**

This separates the ANC from free market capitalism: the document recognises a state responsibility to intervene to achieve social equality and a minimum quality of life.

It also separates the ANC from communism: it treats issues of freedom and democracy as a priority. "We do not want new forms of tyranny to replace the old ... we must abolish all forms of discrimination, domination, privilege or abuse," the guidelines stipulate.

However, the document prioritises

the need to overcome social, economic and political inequality and injustice. It reflects all the traditional social democratic concerns: the provision of education, housing and health, workers' rights, women's rights, affirmative action for the disadvantaged and care for the environment. The ANC goes so far as to plan to entrench an individual's entitlement to education, health and housing in the constitution — a controversial element because these will not be justiciable.

In structure, the ANC remains a broad-based social movement that embraces a range of people from communists to liberals. But two years after its unbanning and after an extended and intense debate about policies — during which it was often not clear whether an African nationalist socialism or the Zimbabwe model, an old-style Stalinism or the Soviet model, or

a more moderate social democracy would hold sway — the dominant ethos is clearly one of social democracy.

The ANC has tried to balance the various forces within it and this means that many of its policies are wishy-washy and non-committal. For example, with an eye on the influence and power of traditional chiefs, it says they "will continue to play an important part". But it does not say when, or how this will be reconciled with democracy — only that any changes in the functions of chiefs will be made after consultation with them.

Another example is language policy: it gives all major languages equal status and gives citizens the right to use "any South African language of their choice" in dealings with the state. It will be possible, the ANC says, to designate one single language for record purposes, but avoids specifying which would be chosen. In an eloquent paragon of empty political rhetoric, it says only that "all the major languages ... should be equally available for such purposes".

The document is also an attempt to balance the demand from the ANC's constituency for radical redistribution of wealth and resources with the post-Soviet criticism of too much state intervention.

In fact, the ANC ascribes a large role in its policies to independent trade unions, civic organisations, development bodies and other non-state, non-capitalist structures. This is one of the most important and innovative aspects of its policy document.

The place for such bodies will, it says, be established in the constitution. "These are the institutions of civil society which are crucial if we are to have a deep and thorough democratic order," it stipulates.

Some of its policies are radically democratic: it proposes that local government include "people's assemblies" and special "sub-committees" which will allow "all organs of civil society", such as civic associations, trade unions, traditional leaders and cultural, religious and women's organisations "the scope to influence the process of (local) government".

Of course, the guidelines must be treated with the same scepticism as all election manifestos: there is no reason to believe that an ANC government will pay any more attention to its campaign promises than any other administration.

But the document signals the beginning of an election campaign — and gives the clearest indication yet of how the ANC will position itself in the rush to garner votes.

It is likely to avoid answering specific questions in a way that would offend anyone. So, for example, it will not tell how it plans to raise the money to pursue its elaborate social policies while reducing some taxes (such as VAT on food) or just what industry, if any, it seeks to nationalise; or how it will give the broad mass of people better access to the media. These are issues that raise the ire of powerful business interests without winning the ANC any votes.

It will, however, emphasise its broad commitment to democracy, to redistribution, to affirmative action, to restoring land rights and to rectifying the inequalities and injustices of the past — focusing on populist issues.

The press conference where the document was released was dominated by plans for mass action and the policy guidelines were sidelined by the ANC's 10-page plan of action, *Transition to democracy*. The message was clear: the election campaign is going to be centred around mass mobilisation of the ANC's traditional broad constituency.

Azapo 'just making time in the wings'

STAR 5/6/92

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CONVENTIONAL wisdom among some political observers has it that organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress, which have refused to take part in negotiations going on in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, have effectively marginalised themselves.

The question is often asked whether these organisations, which apparently have no viable alternative to Codesa and are incapable of applying brakes to the negotiations process, would be able to muster a modest showing in polls when the first all-in elections were held.

One opinion poll after another has shown the ANC to be ahead in the popularity stakes, followed closely by the National Party and then, a distant third, by the Inkatha Freedom Party. Azapo and the PAC, which are often lumped under the heading "the others", get the thumbs-up from about 10 percent of the country's population.

But the two organisations believe their potential has been grossly underestimated.

While the PAC considers itself to be a major player in black politics — with some people in the PAC leadership even believing the organisation could surprise everybody in an election and beat the ANC, like Robert Mugabe's Zanu (PF) trounced Joshua Nkomo's more popular Zapu in Zimbabwe in

Azapo is gearing itself to become a major force in black politics after the first all-in elections. writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

1980 — the Azapo leadership has accepted the ANC's apparent invincibility in a first election, but believes it will be a major player in opposition politics after the first election.

This view was expressed first by former Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala in an interview in London two weeks ago, and by incumbent Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe in an interview in Johannesburg this week.

Azapo's view, as enunciated by Professor Mosala — who is now a lecturer at Cambridge University — is that the mystique surrounding the ANC as the main liberation movement will wear off once that organisation is in power either alone or in partnership with the NP.

It is then, said Professor Mosala, that the ANC would be judged on issues and on its ability to deliver on its election promises. Azapo, Professor Mosala said, would then emerge as "the people's organisation" articulating their grievances and disillusionment with the new government and outlining its own policies.

Mr Nefolovhodwe agreed.

Beware the ministry of culture

W/E Mail (in W/Mail) 5/6-11/6/92 IIA

The ANC's recent policy guidelines suggest a strong role for the state in the promotion of the arts. If South Africa is to get a ministry of culture, how should it operate and what are the dangers?

SHAUN DE WAAL ponders some of the issues

ASHIFT has taken place in the field of cultural politics. Once the debate, not coincidentally in the darkest days of repression, turned on the issue of art's specific relation to political and ideological goals. Now the issue has broadened, and the view is on the future.

The African National Congress' *Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa*, adopted at the organisation's special congress last weekend, commits the ANC to the promotion of the arts, which it sees as "vital to the well-being of South Africa" and a way of cultivating "a sense of national identity and pride" and "a potentially unifying force".

"A single national department to promote arts and culture should be created," says the document. It also foresees the setting up of "public-funded, non-sectarian artistic and cultural institutions" with a strong role in education and development.

Should there be a ministry of culture and what exactly should it do? How should state sponsorship of the arts operate — and what are the dangers?

That some relationship must exist between the arts and the state is not really questioned by those who debate the point. The focus is rather on how the state can best assist the arts to grow. This is based on the assumption that the arts are somehow disadvantaged and must be helped to do their job in society. The key word, in fact, is money.

Private enterprise has done and is doing much in the way of arts sponsorship. The very notion of sponsorship implies that help is needed in areas where ordinary market forces fail. Governments all over the world give money to cultural enterprises that would not otherwise sur-

vive. England gladly supports its National Theatre, and the Brecht Theatre was a show-piece of the old East Berlin. The Australian government got that country's film industry on its feet before market forces took over.

But is it possible to assume that state sponsorship of the arts will really be "neutral"?

A recent debate convened by the Congress of South African Writers took as its theme "Artists: Which Party Would You Vote For?" Representatives of the main political parties were invited to give their views on how the state should assist the arts. There was one thing they all more or less agreed on: that the state should provide maximum funding while meddling as little as possible.

The National Party's Sheila Camerer (who said she "enjoys getting involved in the practice of art as an amateur portrait painter") put it this way: "The NP's attitude to the arts can be summed up as art for art's sake with little or optimally no interference by government, but practised in accordance with the norms of society of the day."

"The state is morally obliged to nurture the arts," said Geoff Klass of the Democratic Party, "which, in turn, must be free to criticise the institutions of government without being obligated in any way."

The ANC's Wally Serote said: "Both civil society and government have a role to play in cultural development."

This, of course, is the ideal. For the moment, it is all fine talk — the reality of state involvement in the arts may be considerably different. Reassurances of no interference from the state are likely to be taken with a pinch of salt until there is a very clear position on censorship. Unfortunately, few are prepared to accept the principle of *no censorship at all* as a basic demand. And what government will really be able to resist meddling? It is in the nature of government to interfere.

"ANC cultural policy aims to redress the imbalances inherent in our society, in terms of race, class and gender. In particular our rich and diverse artistic traditions in the fine arts, literature and music must be nurtured and promoted, as must alternative and under-represented traditions."

— ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa

ship machine tangled together ideas of state security and the "norms of the day" to control culture in a way that was advantageous to it. Censorship is the dark side of state sponsorship of the arts, and for as long as it claims to protect society from moral decay or whatever they want to call it, the state will be able to protect itself most efficiently.

At the same time, state involvement in the arts can lead to a condition just as stultifying if art bodies become mini-bureaucracies.

Another thing hampers the short-term realisation of the ideal of generous hands-off state sponsorship. As the Inkatha Freedom Party's Suzanne Vos repeatedly reminded the audience at the debate, large amounts of money are not going to be available for the arts in the foreseeable future. That is no doubt true, but large amounts have already been spent — the State Theatre, the Johannesburg Civic Theatre and so on — and these structures will have to be put to use in some way.

among artists, commentators and audiences that any variety of ministry of culture would actually be detrimental to the arts rather than helpful.

One must recall the way the German Nazi state denounced modern art and set up its own programme of pure, Aryan *Kunst*, thus revealing its aesthetic sense to be cretinous. And how the Soviet state, especially under Stalin, tried to turn the arts into a purely ideological vehicle, producing only insipid grandiosity. Closer to home, we can see the way the NP government manipulated the arts into a framework for Afrikaner cultural nationalism.

The state, say some, will never be able to resist trying to shape the arts to its ends. However subtly it does it, the state has an ideological agenda. Under apartheid, an ersatz multi-culturalism served the purposes of the dominant party. Perhaps the opposing notion of "people's culture" could be as dangerous even if implemented by a non-racial government.

Because there is taxpayers' money involved, state sponsorship will always be controversial. The United States' National Endowment for the Arts was a hot issue earlier in this election year. Its head, John Frongmayer, was eventually sacked by George Bush after a protracted outcry over the sponsorship of art that offended conservative middle-class values.

In France, however, Jack Lang's ministry of culture has received acclaim. Maybe it's just that the French are more sophisticated than the Americans, but they certainly don't bow to a "moral majority". Lang has cleverly boosted the arts through developing infrastructures like festivals of different kinds instead of just handing out money to artists, though he does some of that too. The chic, urbane Lang, in fact, has managed to become the ideal minister of culture, a man who in himself represents something of French culture.

If there is to be a ministry of culture, we must make sure we get a Jack Lang and not a Joseph Goebbels.

Which raises the other point that the party representatives at the Cosaw debate more or less agreed on. Unless cultural workers (for lack of a better term) organise themselves into effective pressure groups, any future state policy on the arts will be marred from the start.

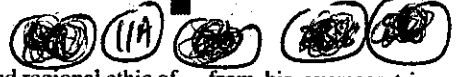
But is such common purpose in the nature of

Not the Waldorfs!

IN a recent report on the Splashy Fen folk festival (Weekly Mail, May 8 - 14), it was erroneously reported that a member of the Waldorf String Band had fallen drunkenly off the stage. This was a case of mistaken identity. The Weekly Mail unreservedly apologises to the Waldorf String Band and the individual concerned.

ANC given eco-report

Sowetan 5/6/92



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday officially received a report on Business and Environment in South Africa, commissioned by Pick 'n Pay head Mr Raymond Ackerman, at a function in Johannesburg.

The report, prepared by the International Business Council for Sustainable Development, points out that the present develop-

ment status of Southern Africa has been achieved mainly by selling off natural assets - irreplaceable minerals and almost irreplaceable wildlife and forests.

"With natural riches rapidly depleting, and severe degradation of agricultural potential, together with a wide range of both deliberate and ignorance-based assaults on the ecosystems of the region, the mostly unsuspecting population is facing catastrophe,

yet is doubling every two decades."

The BCSD report said that tourism, especially eco-tourism, offers the only large-scale opportunity for replacing mineral exports as a source of essential foreign exchange, employment and economic survival.

Tourists would not be attracted to slums, crime, disease, extinct animals, denuded veld and a ravished visual environment.

Development of a na-

tional and regional ethic of informed environmental concern will be prerequisites not only for leaving something for tourists to see but for feeding the population.

The ANC welcomed the report, saying the organisation was committed to an environmental policy that will secure sustainable growth and create a safe and healthy environment.

The report is to be presented to State President FW de Klerk on his return

from his overseas trip on June 18. The document is part of Southern Africa's private sector input to the Earth Summit.

Professor Stan Sangweni, the ANC's chief environmental spokesman recently said of the potential mining threat to St Lucia's eastern shores: "It is most dangerous and irresponsible to damage a very precious, internationally valued resource, which cannot be restored, whatever the miners say."



'The SACP were not Soviet puppets'

SOUTH 6/6 - 10/6/92.

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WHILE Russian Premier Mr Boris Yeltsin secured a loan from President FW de Klerk to the tune of R140-million, a Russian newspaper, Izvestia, published "secret revelations" about the SACP.

Its allegations that the SACP was a pawn for Moscow have been treated with contempt by leading South African communists. The newspaper claimed that the Kremlin instructed the SA Communist Party to overthrow the South African state 50 years ago.

SACP general-secretary Mr Chris Hani said: "It is sad to see Izvestia reduced to pawing some very stale information in an attempt to curry favour with the apartheid regime.

"It is no secret that, in the thirties, communist parties world-wide bound themselves to the decisions of the Comintern. The 'secret' strategy to which Izvestia refers was, in fact, published in full here in South Africa in 1931 by our party newspaper, Umsebenzi."

Izvestia referred to the time when the Comintern — international body of communist parties — called on communists in South Africa to form an alliance with the nascent national liberation movement with a view to overthrowing white minority rule here.

According to Hani, it was in fact the first call to the African continent for a revolutionary, national liberation struggle. The newspaper allegedly quoted secret documents from the Comintern archives on the eve of De Klerk's recent visit.

Hani added: "It is still less of a secret that the SACP and its allies through the sixties, seventies, and eighties sought the overthrow of the apartheid regime.

In doing this, we were not acting on instructions from any foreign capital. We were acting solely on the will of the great majority of South Africans.

"The Russian people and the peoples of the former Soviet Union continue to be

Was the SACP ever a puppet of the Communist Party in the former Soviet Union? QUENTIN WILSON sounds out opinions from the local party's leadership ranks.

heid in high esteem in our country for the great sacrifices they have made on behalf of our struggle. Izvestia and the forces associated with it would be well advised not to squander this esteem in trying to curry favour with the leader of a regime that is about to disappear."

Mr Brian Bunting, SACP central committee member since 1948, argued that even though this strategy for a "Native Republic" was drafted by the Moscow-dominated Comintern, South African communists had a significant say in its content.

"Before the 'Native Republic' resolution was adopted at the 1928 Comintern congress, a group within the CPSA (as it was then called) made contact with communists in the Soviet Union to discuss what the draft should look like," Bunting said.

"This group of South African communists, led by Mr James la Guma and Mr Douglas Walton, had discussions with them and it was partly because of these representations the resolution took the form it did.

"I do think, however, the Comintern was too rigid in its framework and this was one of the reasons it closed in 1943. In fact, in

its final statement, the executive said it was too restrictive on parties throughout the world. In the beginning though, they played an important role by stimulating communist movements in all countries," he added.

Bunting said while he served on the SACP central committee "the Communist Party in the Soviet Union never interfered with the policies and programmes of the SACP".

"They assisted us where they could. There would be occasional discussions between us where we would exchange views on events in the world and our countries.

"We also had common aims ideologically, so from that angle we had a lot to agree about," Bunting said.

Another central committee member, Mr Essop Pahad, said the Soviet Union had been invaluable to the SACP and the liberation movement as a whole.

"When the ANC and the SACP chose to adopt the armed struggle in the sixties, the Soviet Union offered us a lot of help with weapons and military training. Without their help there is no question we would not have made the progress we made.

"They never asked for a penny and we will always be grateful for the disinterested help received while we fought against the oppressive regime," Pahad said.

Ties now between the SACP and the former Soviet Union have loosened considerably. Bunting and Pahad both expressed concern over De Klerk's dealings with Yeltsin.

Pahad said: "Their meeting says a great deal about the class and ideological position of the new Russian government. Our people in South Africa need to understand that Yeltsin is heading a pretty right-wing regime. The money lent to him by De Klerk might have been better spent on development here — I doubt very much whether Yeltsin will even see out his term of office."

Naidoo hits out at 'caretakers of the status quo'

THE silly season of hysteria has arrived once again, as Government ministers, big business and elements of the media attempt to whip up a storm of protest against the attempts of our people to challenge an intransigent, corrupt and ruthless clique who are refusing to surrender power. These caretakers of the status quo are throwing up their hands in horror at the proposed programme of peaceful mass action by the ANC and Cosatu.

These armchair critics, so quick to claim that mass action will result in suffering for ordinary people, have been slow to express concern for the 'welfare of the masses' when it has come to condemning State orchestration of the violence, high food prices, corruption and Government intransigence in the negotiations.

The most charitable explanation is that they are cushioned from the harsh realities.

The NP Government has got so drunk on power for the last 44 years that it clings to minority rule through preposterous machinations such as a 'constitution-making body' subjected to the veto power of a senate of losers, and expected to rubber-stamp an undemocratic interim constitution.

Democrats in our country have no option but to devise methods to challenge the bully-boy attitude of the present Government and pressure it towards bona fide negotiations.

Our demands are rational, reasonable and represent the aspirations of the millions currently

Cosatu general-secretary JAY NAIDOO explains why mass action is the only way.

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trapped in the deadly embrace of apartheid, violence and poverty, and all committed to peace and justice.

There are certain basic demands which we believe can unite all but a tiny minority of our countrymen and women. These are:

- Political — The installation of an interim government of national unity to level the playing field and to oversee the election of a constitution-making body with the sovereign right to draw up a new constitution.
- Murder — Immediate measures to bring the security forces under control of a multiparty commission and the public investigation of all death-squad activities and State involvement in the violence. This would then make it possible to implement the National Peace Accord effectively.
- Corruption — Billions of rands that could be going into job creation, schools and hospitals are stolen or mismanaged. We need open and accountable government now and in the future. Cosatu is demanding a public investigation of all Government departments, the recovery of these assets and

the prosecution of all officials involved.

● Poverty — Cosatu is demanding a national programme of urgent poverty relief to address the widespread hunger and starvation. Drought relief and poverty relief must involve local communities. In addition, our VAT demands for exemption on basic foods, as well as the proposals on bringing down food prices, have to be addressed urgently.

● Economic — The continued unilateral restructuring of the economy is causing increased conflict. Having accepted the legitimacy and logic of a national economic negotiations forum, the Government should engage in a process of meaningful negotiations with the major players in society — a process which delivers goods in the short as well as the long term.

The Cosatu and ANC programmes of mass action must be seen in the context of the Government's systematic refusal to meet these demands. Our programmes are designed to break the political logjam which is the consequence of Government intransigence. If the critics of mass action know of other effective ways to make the National Party see reason, we are interested to hear them.

Failing this, we would call on all South Africans to support our programme of mass action in their millions, to demonstrate to this corrupt, violent and intransigent Government that if they refuse to go gracefully, they will be ignominiously swept aside by the tide of democracy.

18South women

A gender-friendly ANC seems to be the result of proposals made by the organisation's Women's League at an ANC national policy conference last weekend. **Muff Andersen** reports:

League gets gender into focus at ANC policy conference

THE ANC Women's League (ANCWL) won major victories at the ANC's national policy conference last weekend. The league took the ANC beyond lip-service to non-sexism and got it to agree to radical programmes of affirmative action. Following its defeat last year on the quota issue (that 30 percent of ANC national executive committee members be women), the ANCWL has worked hard to instill gender consciousness at all levels of the organisation. In preparation for the national conference, the league held its own policy conference three weeks ago. The league also sent representatives to travel with the National Policy Conference Committee "resource team" to the regional policy conferences so that gender issues would not just come from the ANCWL but from the regions too. The ANCWL combed the draft ANC policy document and identified omissions and areas which lack an appropriate gender emphasis. Two interesting debates prompted by the league at last weekend's conference concerned abortion and commercial sex workers (the league insisted the conference and all future ANC forums not use the word "prostitute"). The women noted that thousands of South African women had died after procuring illegal abortions and that thousands of babies were abandoned because their mothers could not support them financially. The conference accepted that its steering committee refer the issue of abortion back to ANC branches for thorough discussion after educational material had been supplied to



BRIGITTE MABANDLA: Clause on "respect for life" is problematic

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assist them to reach a decision. The question whether to register commercial sex workers to curb the spread of Aids was also referred back to branches. In the discussion on the bill of rights, the ANCWL said references to "family life" should be changed to "home life" because of the connotations of the nuclear family in "family life". The document now reads "family and home life". A clause, also in the bill of rights, referring to the movement's "respect for life", was identified as problematic by ANC lawyer Ms Brigitte Mabandla. She explained that the clause was put into the draft document as a response to the South African regime's history of executing its opponents. Conference inserted an explanatory clause which read "notwithstanding the right of women to choose whether or not to give birth" alongside the "right to life" clause. Conference called for tolerance of gay men and lesbian women and the eradication of traditions and customs which undermine women. Conference inserted clauses in the bill of rights to safeguard workers' rights, the needs of women workers and to prohibit the emotional, physical and sexual abuse of women. On social welfare policy, conference recommended grants for single parents, free medical care for the unemployed, safety centres for bat-



FRENE GINWALA: Pay women for labour in the home

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tered women, equal pay for all pensioners and a national body to look into children's rights. The league said women are traditionally discriminated against in education and science and technology. Conference adopted affirmative action programmes in these areas and called for the development of gender-sensitive technology. Dr Frene Ginwala, who heads Codesa's gender commission, questioned the unpaid labour of women in their homes, the lack of recogni-

tion given to the contribution of rural women to the gross national product and the discrepancy between men's and women's wages and salaries. However, finality could not be reached on these issues. Among the recommendations accepted were calls for sex education in schools; for campaigns against Aids and violence against women; and for the right of women to control their own bodies. Women's right to fight, through land courts, for land from which they were dispossessed or to which they lost their rights through racist legislation or traditional sexist laws was also debated. Here too, the women were successful. Conference accepted a recommendation that the future security forces implement affirmative action programmes in recruitment, training, deployment and promotions to redress gender imbalances. Conference accepted that a task force be formed to probe recruitment of women into the army.

Could mass action strategy backfire on protesters?

AS SOUTH Africa stands at the threshold of another round of possibly debilitating and costly mass action, a scientific report has called into question the basic premises of the tactic in achieving goals. JOE LOUW reports.

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THE ANC and its allies will be holding their first "broad forum, MDM (Mass Democratic Movement) type" meetings next week to discuss "implementation and action on the ground" of its plans for mass action to pressure the Government into accepting its political goals at Codesa.

The meetings will involve not only the major alliance partners, such as Cosatu, but also "broader organisations" such as student and civic organisations and regional labour movements.

Thus the mass action campaign "to break the deadlock" at Codesa, announced by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the end of the organisation's policy meeting last week, appears to be on its way.

But while the issues may appear to be clear-cut to the ANC and its allies, a pamphlet issued by the South African Institute of Race Relations examining the implications and effects of boycott and stayaway strategies raises some troubling questions that may have to be raised by the community as a whole.

The pamphlet does not address this particular mass action call by the ANC and its allies, but its author, Paul Pereira, focuses on specific consequences implicit in such strategies.

Boycotts, and withdrawal of labour and consumer patronage, he points out, have been part of the South African political scene for dec-

ades, and its supporters assert that with mass mobilisation, the Government has been forced to abandon the apartheid system and negotiate for the inclusion of all citizens in decision-making.

"But while many such campaigns realised their objectives, there were some heavy costs in-

involved. For example, during the VAT stay-away of November last year, 100 lives were lost and the economic losses can't really be quantified — although the Government claimed them to be around R2 billion.

According to Pereira, although the media and politicians talk about

"popular strategies" and "residents' demands", there is no way of gauging the level of support among residents for strategies of boycott.

A contributing factor to violence, he says, has been the lack of consultation between the organisers of such campaigns and those expected to

implement them. "Arguments put forward for the use of coercion to ensure the success of such campaigns have been that the benefits would be enjoyed by all — both those who sacrificed and those coerced to participate."

In the present climate of economic recession

and high unemployment, Pereira points out, "with the possibility of job losses and pay being docked, work stayaways may prove a difficult strategy to sell, thus adding to the impetus to use coercion in these campaigns".

Presenting another element of the coercion

argument, Pereira cites Vincent Maphai, head of the political studies department at the University of the Western Cape, saying that boycotts and stayaways "are not intended to be voluntary or optional".

"Coercion towards a common purpose is less objectionable when em-

played in circumstances whose goals are praiseworthy, clear and reasonably attainable," writes Maphai. "It is unrealistic for a struggle to depend entirely on voluntary support, as only a few 'heroic' people would participate."

Maphai adds: "A struggle which relies exclusively on coercion is morally and politically bankrupt as it delays the transition to democracy and reinforces a culture of political intolerance."

Asked about the extent to which the ANC and its allies intend to adhere to the principle of consultation and to address the problem of coercion during the coming campaign, Mandla Dhlamini, one of the ANC strategists assigned to the task, replied:

"Mass consultation is the principle behind mass action — it is the primary essence in the involvement of the masses — discussion at the grassroots was proved during the recent VAT stayaway and the train boycott. Mass action is not an elite campaign — you won't hear any high-flown English spoken there."

"Mass action is not responsible for the decline in the state of the economy and for the suffering of the people. We know that apartheid and its policies of economic mismanagement and high-scale corruption are responsible. That is why we have to rid ourselves of this illegitimate minority Government," Dhlamini said.

Make room for independents — Mandela

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SOUTH 6/6-10/6/92

Diversity in ownership of the media is a vital component of a free press, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in an address to international newspaper publishers in Prague:

LAWS AND mores which repress freedom of expression are a disservice to society, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Prague last week.

He said the ANC was "firmly devoted" to securing the right of citizens to express an opinion, as long as the exercise of that right did not harm others.

He was delivering an address to a conference of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

Mandela said three large conglomerates dominated the print media in South Africa.

"This has produced an alarming degree of conformism in the South African print media.

"With the exception of one daily, the senior editorial staff of all South Africa's daily newspapers are cast from the same racial mould. They are all white, they are all male, they are all from a middle class background and tend to share a very

similar life experience."

Mandela said the ANC had no objection in principle with these profiles of editors, but believed this posed a threat of one-dimensionality for the media of the country.

"It is unacceptable that a country whose population is overwhelmingly black, 85 percent of the total, is serviced by a media whose principal players have no knowledge of the life experience of that majority."

The scandal that rocked South Africa last month, the revelations that members of the government shared responsibility in ordering the deaths of four activists, reaffirmed the crucial role of a diverse and independent press in South Africa.

The investigations which uncovered the "sordid facts" were conducted by small, independent publications which pioneered a tradition of investigative journalism South Africa had sorely lacked for 30 years.

"That the criminals in high places responsible for these deeds might

one day soon be brought to justice is a tribute to the alternative and independent weekly newspapers.

"The courage shown by these endeavours needs also to be recognised."

Mandela said the independent weeklies had kept the flag of press freedom flying in the face of draconian censorship.

They offered a platform to people and issues excluded from the mainstream print media. This media has begun to follow the lead given by alternatives in order to compete.

"The removal from South Africa's statute books of the scores of laws, ordinances, regulations and administrative measures that abridge the rights of South African citizens to know the truth and which repress the freedom of the media to publish, is essential for the creation of a climate of free political activity.

"We have insisted that this be effected as speedily as possible, because these laws provide a convenient shield to conceal government misdeeds.

"They also inhibit the growth of a democratic culture that is beginning to find roots, and which needs careful nurturing."

Mandela said the tradition that emerged in the media must be safeguarded if democracy was to be achieved in the country.

A critical, independent and inves-

tigative press free from state interference was the lifeblood of any democracy.

"It must have the economic strength to stand up to bullying by government officials; it must be protected so our rights as citizens are protected."

The ANC wants to include in a constitution measures to ensure the free flow of ideas and information.

The extension of the diversity the alternative newspapers had injected was of vital importance.

"The huge imbalances that persist in the press sector between the handful of struggling independent, alternative newspapers and the giant monopolies — Argus, Times Media Limited, Nasionale Pers and Perskor — must be redressed."

Mandela said a new political climate had been created through a struggle in which the alternative media played an outstanding role.

He hoped this climate would afford the two sides of the media industry an opportunity to accept each other as partners, with a shared interest in defending freedom of the press now and in the new dispensation.

He stressed that the mainstream media had an equal interest in ensuring the diversity of the South African press, even in the face of economic pressures that induce monopolies.

"As the South African newspaper industry rejoins the world media community, it is important that meaningful steps are taken to reduce the imbalances in control and access to the media.

"In this regard, it is necessary that the conglomerates who today bestride the South African media like colossi, find ways to disaggregate themselves so as to make room for other players."

Mandela said freedom of the press was among the most valued of the freedoms for which South Africans had given their lives.

Among them were two ANC militants and journalists, Joe Gqabi and Ruth First, who were both assassinated by South African intelligence agents 10 years ago.

"It would be a slight to their memory and to their pioneering work if, by our actions, we proved unworthy of their sacrifice."

Mandela said a free press in a democratic South Africa would restrict the appetite of any government to amass power at the expense of citizens. It would also be the vigilant watchdog of the South African public against the temptation of the government to abuse power.

"This is all the more reason why the press in South Africa, including its ownership, should reflect the composition and varied viewpoints of all our people," Mandela said.

Kimberley councils unify as ANC stages protest

KIMBERLEY — In the face of opposition from both Left and Right, Kimberley yesterday went ahead with the introduction of South Africa's first integrated city council.

The amalgamation of the Kimberley City Council, the Galeshewe City Council and the Coloured and Indian Management Committees was the culmination of two mini-Codesas held in the city in January and April.

The new council consists of 12 white councillors, seven black, four Coloured and one Indian representative.

"Our message is loud and clear," says ANC regional spokesman Pales Dikgetsi. "We reject this undemocratic structure."

"It is clear that the whites will always be in the majority when it comes to voting in the new council," he said.

The consolidation initiative was opposed by the

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ANC, the Conservative Party (CP) and the Civic and Ratepayers' Associations.

Despite these protests, and about 250 demonstrators at the Civic Centre, the ceremony went ahead.

Kobus Meiring, Administrator of the Cape, said Kimberley showed the rest of South Africa "what perseverance, patience and dedication can accomplish".

"The result of the negotiations are an indication that wide consensus can be reached over community issues," Meiring said.

The ANC has warned that stayaways and consumer boycotts are in the offing.

CP councillors Danie Theron and Roelof van Tonder, who protested against the ceremony by not attending, maintain that they do not have a mandate from their voters.

IN THE 30s the SACP was riven by a bitter internal power struggle.

The reason was a directive from the Communist International in Moscow that South Africa should become an independent native republic and that the communists should become subordinate to the African nationalists.

An ultra-left faction headed by a Latvian immigrant, Lazar Bach, embraced Moscow's line and sought to paint all opponents, even the revered Moses Kotane, as "deviationists".

Both factions appealed to their masters in Moscow for support.

On September 14 1935, the "deviationists", Kotane and Eddie Roux prominent among them, sent this telegram: "Demanding intervention in South Africa. Sectional leadership conducts mass expulsions — Kotane, (John) Gomas, Roux."

The other faction responded on October 17 1935: "To Zismanovich, Comintern, Moscow: Dissent continues, faction-fighting ongoing. Other side irreconcilably protests the leadership line — splits masses organisations. Some will have to be expelled. Do not encourage them — Green Raymond, Lewis, Hilton, Morris."

The Comintern, angered by the row, sent the party this directive on November 26:

"The Executive Committee of Comintern considers it imperative to investigate in detail the position of your party and all existing

GENERAL MR TRADES



The history of world communism is a closely guarded secret in a sombre building in Moscow's Puskinskaya Street. Documented evidence of Moscow's links with communist parties in other countries is still hidden from public scrutiny.

But Moscow correspondent Boris Piliatskin was able to gain access to the top-secret pre-World War 2 files on the South African Communist Party and its boss, the Communist International. The archives reveal a divided and failed party in which treachery, even murder, played its part....

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causes of dissent. To this effect it is necessary for Raymond, Kotane, Roux and Hilton to travel here immediately." The telegram ordered that no action be taken before the Comintern had reached a decision on the dispute.

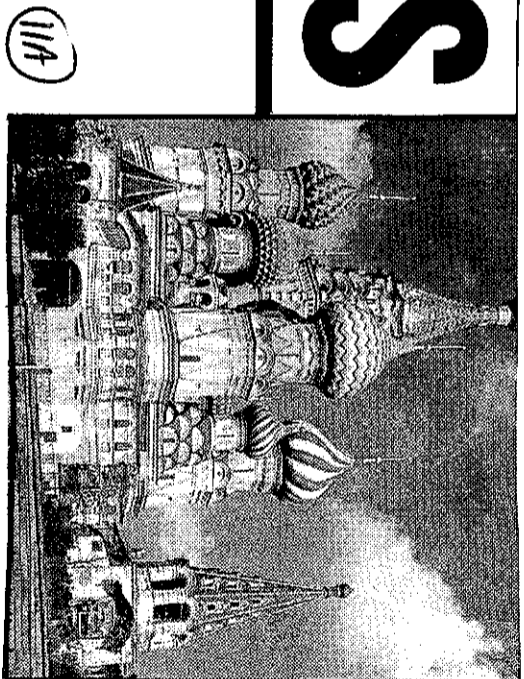
The details of what materialised are not clear from the remaining archives, but this intriguing entry appears in a Comintern secretariat resolution, dated November 28 1935. It was necessary, said the entry, to "dethan Bach in Moscow" pending "an investigation into his role in 'deviationist activity'". The boot clearly

The background to the infighting in the SACP stemmed from some members resisting the Comintern decision to create an "independent native republic" — thus preparing for an armed uprising against "British rule".

Already in October 1928, the Comintern had resolved: "The native republic means the return of the country and the land to the black population of South Africa. The white working masses must understand that they are a population minority in South Africa, and their goal should be to support the native masses in their struggle with white bourgeoisie and British imperialism."

And in September 1931, the Comintern — urging "complete and immediate independence for the South African people" — stressed the "rights of Zulus, Basotho and other tribes to create their own republics".

The Comintern saw the Great Depression as the ideal opportunity to topple the government of the then Union of South Africa. On September 28 1931, the political secretariat of the Executive Com-mittee of the Comintern met in



Treachery, murder played their part in SACP in-fighting

Moscow. On the agenda was a resolution regarding the SACP. Eleven-odd pages of text hold just one aim: the consolidation of communist rule by any means be it by creating disturbances, spreading enmity or violence.

Part 1 of the resolution reads: "Economic crisis creates all the necessary conditions for a unified front of all workers and exploited." Part 6 is more specific: "The party must even now spread

directive: to popularise, in any way, the 'colossal successes' in the building of socialism in the Soviet Union, and to explain the revolutionary role of soviets in China.

After taking power the workers' peasants' government, under SACP supervision, should conduct immediate redistribution of common wealth from the 'white exploiters'.

Part 6 of the resolution endorses the "confiscation without reimbursement and nationalisation of all companies, mines, railways, banks, large industries, shipping lines, etc."

To achieve these goals the South African followers of Marxism-Leninism are instructed by Moscow "to create a network of illegal cells within main industries, mines, farms and bantustans".

But by 1936 the Comintern — in its Information Bulletin — had reached this conclusion: "on the strength of the SACP: 'The Communist Party of South Africa, from the day of its creation, has been torn by faction-fighting. The intensity of this internal struggle has increased, particularly from

AT ODDS

1932. The party is not growing. It does not have a single factory cell, or a single cell at gold mines where most of the native masses are employed.

"The current membership of the party is 150, consisting of 80 natives and 70 whites. The European part of the party consists primarily of Jews (the majority), Latvians, Lithuanians and others emigrating from the Baltic countries and having little interest in the country itself."

The Comintern itself survived as such only until 1943. Stalin was forced to act when, after Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Soviet participation in the anti-Hitler coalition along with the United States and Britain came into glaring contradiction with the official Comintern line on undermining Western democracies and fanning world revolutionary fires. As a gesture of goodwill, the headquarters of world communism were disbanded.

Even so, Moscow retained its central role — shedding any modesty with the onset of the Cold War.

KIMBERLEY was transformed this week into a city of two tales, both historical and controversial and evoking emotions running as deep as the Diamond City's famous Big Hole.

It was the week that saw the merging of the black, coloured, Indian and white local authorities into South Africa's first non-racial municipality — which the ANC immediately shot down as a "farce".

It was also the week a rowdy parliamentary by-election kicked off, pitting "brown" National Party supporters against the Labour Party, until recently a colossus in coloured parliamentary politics.

Hundreds of rural folk in Kimberley and its environs were picked up by NP and LP canvassers for free rides to polling booths in

Multiracial election fever hits Kimberley

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By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

exchange for their special votes, either for the NP's Howard Isaacs or the LP's John Scholtz.

Each man confidently predicted he would win the election when ballots are counted after the polls close on June 24.

Test

The vacancy was caused by the resignation from Parliament of Mr Les Abrahams, a Kimberley businessman, earlier this year.

He appeared in court on fraud and theft charges relating to the finances of the management committee of the Resthaven Old Age home in the town.

The constituency of Diamant is traditionally Labour Party territory, but the politicking in this by-election has a much wider importance.

The tussle tests President FW de Klerk's claim that his party has more support than any other

group among the coloured community.

It also tests the Labour Party's claim that, despite losing power in the House of Representatives, it is still the dominant party in coloured establishment politics.

Even the ANC is on trial. The LP has moved rapidly left and allied itself with the ANC. Although the ANC refuses to become embroiled in the contest — it says it is an "ethnic" election — the relationship between the LP and the ANC will also be judged by the voters.

National Party supporters in Diamant were eloquent in their support of FW de Klerk's party. LP supporters were much more reticent about why they would support the Rev Allan Hendrickse's party.

Freedom

Bearded Oom Harold Hendrickse, 72, who claims to be a World War 2 veteran and a cousin of Alan Hendrickse, is one of the "characters" of the area.

At the NP table, he loudly announced the arrival of each load of voters and escorted them in the right direction.

"I am an FW man. I fought for freedom in the war, but freedom only came when FW made it a reality. My greatest regret is not having an FW T-shirt," said Oom Harold.

NP election officials promptly promised to get Oom Harold his T-shirt.

Mr Joe Pinetown, a local school principal with 43 teachers on his staff, said: "The NP is the most important player in maintaining order and government in this country."

"At this stage, we must do everything in our power to maintain stable and sensible government by supporting FW to expedite the process of democracy."

Land grab probe

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R79 000 for the prop-
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rating report that certain individuals had engaged in "massive" speculation after being given assurances by the government that no one would lose out financially by incorporation.

This week, Brigadier Martin Nel confirmed that the Bloemfontein branch of the CCU was investigating the transactions.

At the time of incorporation, Dr Piet Koornhof was the minister in charge of the Department of Co-operation and Development, which subsequently became the DDA.

The director-general at time was Mr Gilles van Nall, who retired this as chairman of DDA the SA Develop- Corporation.

dom — who was the investiga- Info Scandal by an advo- etief van — start- e Thaba half of ssion ig- the al

missed as a personal malicious vendetta against his department.

Mr Strydom found that from September 1977 to April 1983, only six houses were built in Thaba Nchu. However, in the four-month period from May to August 1983, 95 properties in the town changed hands.

Details of property valuation methods were discussed at a preliminary meeting of a technical committee in April 1983, attended by Mr Key and Mr Steyn.

"It is noteworthy that the rush to buy empty stands started on May 23, and that Messrs Key and Steyn and their firm of attorneys started the ball rolling by buying new stands from the municipality," the report said.

Got it taped

AMERICAN Terry Williams taped up his fiancée like a mummy with sticky tape to stop her nagging.

Sexy Druids

A UK historian says ancient Druids built Stonehenge as the set for a kinky sex show.

Youth

'Codesa'

falters

Express 7/6/92
By JOHANNES NGCOBO

MUDSLINGING between the Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade and the ANC Youth League this week forced a planned "mini-Codesa" summit to be postponed.

The "Mini Convention for a Democratic South Africa" was to have accommodated a large number of South African political youth movements at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park this weekend.

However, the IFP youth brigade declined to be part of it.

A well-placed IFP youth source said the organisation's leadership would not share the stage with the ANCYL because its president, Peter Mokaba, had told a gathering at Richmond that the IFP was the enemy of the people.

"What he said on the day in question is what we consider to be wartalk. We will only participate if he withdraws that statement."

Political groups which were to have taken part included the National Party Youth Action and the Democratic Party youth wing.

The event was sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

Issues on the agenda included peace and the democratic process in SA.

Prior to the postponement, ANCYL's Geoff Brown and a member of the special committee on National Youth Unity, said: "The main aim of the conference is to bring together political youth



GUN CULTURE . . . A child in Sebokeng shows off one of area have taken to making.

organisations from across the ideological divide."

Other issues for discussion at the conference were the youth rights in the future SA, international exchange and readmittance of South African youth to the United Nations' youth structures.

Idasa's Transvaal liaison officer Patrick Banda said: "We cannot confirm or deny that the conference is taking place."

The aborted conference was to have been attended by 300 delegates from all over SA.

MK man on

CP Reporter

THE Rand Supreme Court this week heard how an Umkhonto weSizwe soldier and four others unleashed a Chicago-style bout of shooting during a bank robbery.

Appearing before Judge Hartzenberg and two assessors are Thabana Petros Zitha, 23, of 1254 Emdeni Soweto, and self-confessed MK member Thulani Trevor Ndlovu, 25, of 1236 Maihula Park, Vosloorus.

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Mr Louw said his future

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he and his wife took over
the South Coast hotel.

ANC denies arms build-up

S Times

16/92

By DE WET POTGIETER

ANC liaison officer Gill Marcus denied yesterday that senior officers of Umkhonto we Sizwe decided at a secret meeting on the East Rand two weeks ago to consolidate arms caches from neighbouring states inside South Africa.

Intelligence sources said two huge caches were discovered in a plantation near the Swazi capital, Mbabane, following the meeting at which MK decided to bring arms into South Africa for use against Inkatha warlords, especially in Alexandra.

Acting on information from South Africa, Swazi police swooped on the Thoskane plantation on Tuesday and found sophisticated weaponry including RPG 7 rocket launchers and projectiles, AK-47 rifles and ammunition, as well as a silencer, a powerful anti-aircraft gun capable of shooting down helicopters, a heavy calibre

machinegun, hand grenades, anti-personnel mines and anti-tank landmines, demolition charges, detonators and a large amount of heavy explosives such as TNT and Pentolite.

There is growing concern in South African intelligence circles that weapons cached in neighbouring states could fall into the hands of criminal elements in MK, be sold on the black market or be used during the planned mass action campaign.

An explosives expert said three of the demolition charges found would be enough to destroy a township hostel.

As part of MK's plan to consolidate its arms supplies, half a ton of AK-47 rifles and limpet mines was moved from Lusaka to Harare on Monday.

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Police must be non-partisan

C/Pren 7/6/92

11A

THE police should be "part of the people" without having to be card-carrying members of organisations, the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs said in Umtata this week.

Addressing a seminar on the role of the police in a changing society, Gora Ibrahim said the entire police force needed to be examined with a view to democratising it.

ANC intelligence chief Patrick "Terror" Lekota said the police need not be apolitical but they should be non-partisan.

To avoid bias they should not hold positions of authority in political parties.

Talking about the unionisation of force members, Ibrahim said it would be "disastrous" for everybody if they formed a union and engaged in strikes.

Lekota said police force members should have a union which was not affiliated to any other body.

Insensitive

This union should only take up issues which the government was insensitive to, like wages.

Professor GT du Preez, of the University of SA, said the police's ability to exercise authority was related to public acceptance of the legitimacy of the system.

He said minimum entry qualifications should be introduced in the force, and that intensive selection should be aimed at the elimination of biased people.

The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union issued pamphlets outside the seminar calling for proper consultation with all members of the police force.

The pamphlets said junior police force members were unaware of the purpose of the two-day seminar.

The organisation also criticised the absence of students, workers and residents, who they said should have been consulted because they were "pillars of state revenue". - Eena

Here angels never tread

By ZB MOLEFE

ARE South African political leaders now using violence to achieve what they are unable to achieve by democratic means, Institute for Multi-Party Democracy executive chairman Dr Oscar Dhlomo asked this week.

Writing in a Natal newspaper Dhlomo pointed out that it is also disturbing that both the ANC and the IFP "have so far found it extremely difficult to effectively discipline those of their members who publicly flout the provisions of the Peace Accord by engaging in so-called war talk".

South Africans are still waiting to read about the outcome of an ANC "investigation" into inflammatory anti-Inkatha



**HITTING OUT AT ALL
... Oscar Dhlomo.**

statements made by Peter Mokaba in Richmond several weeks ago, Dhlomo points out.

"Add to this Harry Gwala's boast about killing so-called IFP warlords by the ANC."

The IFP, according to Dhlomo, at least fares better in this regard. He recalled two recent instances where IFP leaders

In the ugly arena of SA politics . . .

issued public statements challenging or contradicting inflammatory statements "issued by some of its politically reckless leaders".

Some of these included a reported announcement that the IFP was planning to deploy thousands of armed people in Soweto to tackle the ANC.

The other was the statement that the IFP was about to establish a so-called Bambatha Regiment to challenge the ANC's Umkhonto we-Sizwe.

The government does not escape Dhlomo's wrath. "Not even the government is immune from playing politics with the

lives of innocent people who are dying in the violence."

Dhlomo pointed out that the government had received an important interim report about violence from the Goldstone Commission, but decided to sit on it for four weeks.

"To add insult to injury, it (the government) then selectively quoted from this report with the aim of creating the wrong impression that two parties, namely the ANC and IFP, were singled out as the only culprits fermenting violence," continued Dhlomo.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "even appeared on television

glorifying that the Goldstone report had exonerated the police as far as violence was concerned".

Even his deputy, Johan Scheepers, repeated this in a television debate. It took the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale, in that debate, to remind Scheepers that he had apparently forgotten part of the report "which refers to the role of the police, the Defence Force and apartheid in the violence".

"In the final analysis it is this disappointing attitude of government spokesmen towards the Goldstone Report that will ensure that violence does not end," argues Dhlomo.

"As I have repeatedly observed in the past, there are certainly no angels in this violence. The Goldstone report seems to confirm this observation."

CIPres 7/6/92

ANC 'no' to Labour over 'private battle'

(IA)
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress has refused to support the Labour Party in the Kimberley by-election which it calls a "private political battle" between the National Party and the LP for an "ethnic seat" in the House of Representatives.

The NP's candidate is Mr Howard Isaacs, chairman of the local "coloured" management committee. Mr John Scholtz, former Ministerial Representative, fired by President F W de Klerk when he reshuffled the "coloured cabinet" in the HoR, is the LP candidate.

Both men this week confidently predicted victory with the Labour Party.

The ANC has refused to support the merger of Kimberley's African, "coloured", Indian and white local authorities into South Africa's first non-racial municipality.

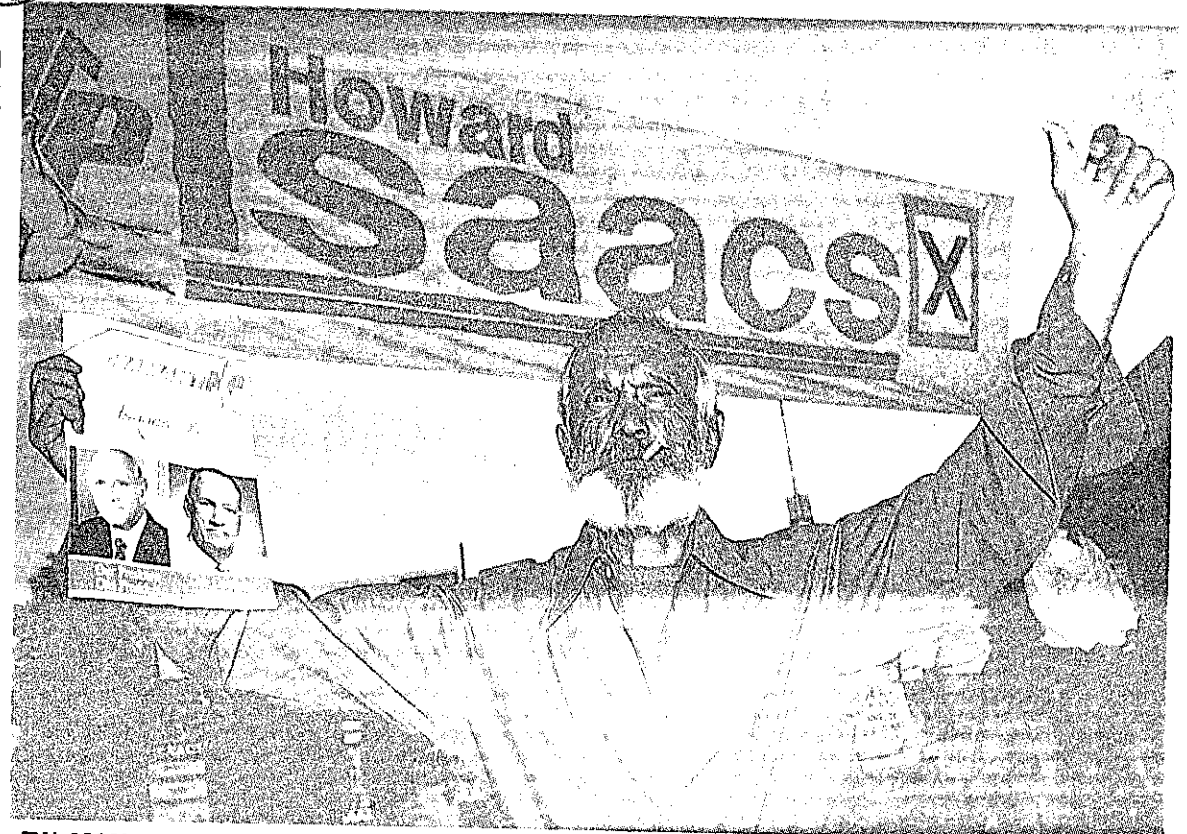
The ANC also refused to support the merger of Kimberley's African, "coloured", Indian and white local authorities into South Africa's first non-racial municipality.

Reason

ANC media spokesperson in the area, Mr Pakes Dikghetsi, said the proposed merger — scheduled for last Friday — did not have the blessings of the ANC on the grounds that such a non-racial product would be built on outdated apartheid structures.

At polling stations dotted around traditional coloured townships and outback villages, the National Party and the Labour Party were engaged this week in a political bun-fight which will go down in history as the first by-election the traditionally white NP fought in the coloured House of Representatives (HoR).

If Labour loses this "safe" seat to the predominantly white NP there would be reason for deep soul-search-



FW MAN ... "Oom Harold" Hendrickse, who touts votes for Mr FW de Klerk and the National Party
SITimes (Cape metro) 7/6/92
Picture: AMBROSE PETERS



JOHN SCHOLTZ
Labour candidate



PAKES DIKGHETSI
ANC spokesman



HOWARD ISAACS
Nat candidate

ing by the party's leadership.

Although some Labour MPs are privately considering joining the ANC as did four Democratic Party MPs recently, it is doubtful if the ANC would want them as such close soulmates.

For some odd reason, Labour Party voters who turned up at the main polling station at Square Hill Park Civic Centre at Kim-

berley — and even at the far-flung village of Ritchie, 35km north of Kimberley, were unwilling to give their reasons for voting Labour.

By contrast, those sporting NP rosettes, lapel badges and "FW" T-shirts were quite eager to speak out.

Bearded Oom Harold Hendrickse, 72, who claims to be a World War II veteran and a cousin of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan

Hendrickse, is one of the "characters" one finds in most rural towns.

At the NP table this week, he loudly proclaimed the arrival of each load of voters and escorted them in the "right direction".

"I am a FW man. I fought for Freedom in the war but freedom only came when FW made it a reality before I die. My greatest regret is not having a FW T-shirt,"

said Oom Harold.

But there are also those who demonstrate complete apathy for the "private" battle between the LP and NP.

Mr Joseph Reid, 31, a former University of the Western Cape law student who now plays keyboards in the New Age Band, said:

"This is an ethnic election for so-called coloured people only. I shall not vote. I will cast my vote when all the peoples of South Africa are free to choose in a free and democratic election."

Power

Mr Lionel Kenny, a Kimberley businessman and member of the interim non-racial city council of Kimberley, said:

"I think the whole issue is already cut and dried and that the Nats will come out tops. People will cast a majority of votes for the FW man in the race because FW can deliver the bread while the opposition can only offer political theory and rhetoric."

continued — D

Mr Pakes Dikgetsi, ANC media spokesperson in Kimberley, put the ANC's views this way:

"The position of the ANC is that we opposed the Tricameral Parliament when it was introduced in 1984 because the regime was trying to entrench its grip on power through undemocratic means. The same system is still in place.

"We called for a boycott of the tricameral elections in 1984. Our thinking has not changed in that respect.

"We cannot support the Labour Party in any respect in this private little battle it has with the NP. If we did that, it would be tantamount to compromising our principles."

Illusions

Mr Peter Hendrickse, LP PRO and MP for Addo, responded:

"I have no illusions about this by-election. This is going to be the toughest we have ever fought because of the advantage of money and organising expertise that favours the Nats.

"I remain confident, though, that as the final voting day — June 24 — approaches, the traditional LP voters will come out in droves to support our candidate, Mr John Scholtz, who is well-known to them as a former ministerial representative.

"We have said before that we have spoken to civic leaders of all races, including the ANC, about our position in this by-election. However, we do not depend on the ANC for support in this battle and I deny that we ever claimed the ANC was supporting us".



Time for vision, not a battle for the trough



SI Times 7/16/92.

THE tragi-comic processes of Codesa have shown that neither white South Africans, whose experience of democracy is generally limited to a manipulative racial oligarchy, nor black South Africans, whose past is quite barren of democratic experience, are able to rise above their past.

A great opportunity to create a liberal democracy lies before us. It is being squandered in power struggles, not because of malice but because of a general ignorance of the basic tenets of a democratic society.

The ANC is gradually coming around to an acceptance of the need for investment, business and even certain forms of private property, but its economic policy, as spelled out a week ago, still rests on a simple belief: "They have it and we want it."

This demands, of course, a political system that will enable the ANC to "take it". Or to tax it, spend it, distribute it, and control it. If the ANC cannot have outright socialism then at least it wants a free hand to direct and manipulate the resources of the country as, from time to time, takes its fancy.

In other words, it wants to run the country as the Nationalists have been running it: a powerful central government, tightly controlled, and unfettered by too many checks and balances, to dispense patronage to its supporters through a nepotistic bureaucracy.

Indeed, the ANC's political strategy mimics the strategy used by the Nationalists for more than 40 years: just as the Nats could ensure an automatic and permanent majority by dividing the white electorate on language lines, so the ANC can ensure an automatic majority if it divides the population on racial lines — hence the constant harping on "white" privilege and "white" wealth.

The mere suggestion of an effective federal system elicits from the ANC the cry that it would perpetuate apartheid. The accusation is utter nonsense: in Germany, the federal system has provided a mechanism for the equalisation of wealth between the regions (Lander), just as in the United States it has pro-

vided a mechanism for the equalisation of individual rights in the states.

The Nationalists understand very well the ANC's lusts. They, after all, have their snouts in the trough; they know what power is worth in hard cash. Lately, indeed, a mood of "the end of the empire" seems to have taken hold among the mandarins, which would explain the almost desperate levels of looting that are uncovered week after week, but the politicians are still fighting to retain power.

The ANC suspects, with some reason, that the government is simply trying to draw it into a joint administration — an interim government — in which the National Party would have the ability to prevent constitutional progress more or less indefinitely. Democracy would never arrive, and the ANC leadership would simply be bought off by sharing the spoils of office.

The ANC, unlike some of the more ambitious members of the Democratic Party, finds this prospect of junior partnership at the trough unattractive; it wants the whole hog. The result is, inevitably, a looming power struggle in which the ANC will fall back on rolling mass action to keep South Africa, and its economy, destabilised.

TO say that the National Party relished the prospect would be to exaggerate but it is true that the party, imbued with a spirit of triumphalism since its convincing referendum victory and its overseas successes, does not flinch. It sees the ANC isolated internationally by its foolish adherence to socialist fantasy and weakened at home by schisms between the unionised labour elite and the unemployed masses.

Anyway, the government will not permit itself to be defeated in the streets.

So the fight is on. It would be silly to try to predict the course of battles yet to begin, but there is obviously a risk that the over-stretched police will, sooner or later, be caught in a position of using firearms against a crowd — on camera. The ANC's higher echelons

may be sanctimoniously horrified by the prospect of a massacre, but at the street level there is, one suspects, less squeamishness.

Those who hope for an economic revival in the next year, for a resumption of home-building, or for a successful expansion of the work of the peace commission must blanch when they consider the near future. The question is what can be done about it?

AT the risk of exciting again the quivering egos of those DP members who see their party simply as a stepping stone to greater things, I repeat a view that I held when the Progressive Federal Party made its expedient and ill-judged decision to go into alliance with Dr Wimpie de Klerk (who fled back to the Nats), Mr Wynand Malan (who just fled) and Mr Jannie Momborg (who has gone to the ANC, taking Mr David Dalling with him).

In this country, only the old "Progs" have preserved sufficient familiarity with the basic tenets of democracy, and sufficient integrity in public life, to serve as the catalyst for the making of a democratic state. Only they can raise, and answer, questions such as: "What is the proper limit to the power of the central government?"

At Codesa, the DP leaders have done sterling work, more or less universally acknowledged, as marriage brokers between the ANC and the National Party. That is no doubt a worthy cause and it will deserve a kind footnote in the history books. But a better cause would be to devise, defend and propagate a vision of a truly democratic South Africa in which every individual has a chance to fulfil his potential.

The ordinary people of the country are aching for such a vision of the future that does not make them the pawns of government, or the raw material of social planners. This is the time for the DP to articulate such a vision, and to take it directly to the people.

KEN OWEN

Talks failure means 'three-month delay'

CODESA II's failure to deliver a package of agreements would delay the negotiations process by three months, DP Codesa representative Ken Andrew said at the weekend. *B/Dan 8/6/92*

The ANC's resort to mass action to support demands for an interim government and a democratic constituent assembly, as well as ANC-government mudslinging, would keep public tensions between the two main parties at a high level, said Andrew.

"The behaviour of the ANC and government in the days leading up to Codesa II and afterwards has set us back about three months," he said.

Codesa II mandated Codesa's management committee, made up of representatives of the 19 participating organisations, to resolve the deadlock that arose

(1A) PATRICK BULGER

around decision-making percentages in a constitution-making body.

Once the deadlock is broken, agreements already reached on levelling the political playing field, interim arrangements and the reincorporation of the TBVC states will be ratified.

Codesa II asked the management committee to break the deadlock in time for a planned third Codesa plenary at the end of this month — by which time Parliament would have introduced legislation to facilitate interim arrangements. The deadline is unlikely to be met.

One ANC source admitted last week that emphasis on the office bugging issue was a "delaying tactic" intended to stall proceedings until the ANC had "consulted" its constituency through mass action.

Investment in Jo'burg expected from Far East

B/Dan 8/6/92
ADRIAN HADLAND

SUBSTANTIAL capital investment in SA's manufacturing and property industries could be expected from the Far East soon, Johannesburg city council commerce and industry director Collin Wright said at the weekend.

Trade delegations from Singapore, China and Hong Kong would visit Johannesburg this year to investigate investment opportunities, Wright said on his return from the Far East. Japanese and Korean companies had also expressed interest in extending trading ties with SA.

Singapore's Trade Development Board and the Singapore Manufacturers' Association would send delegations to the city in July, and a Singaporean computer manufacturer had confirmed his intention to open a factory there.

A ministerial delegation from China had also announced it would be visiting Johannesburg during July.

Wright addressed more than 120 Hong Kong businessmen during his trip and discussed immigration and investment opportunities with several major corporations. A group of property owners was expected to arrive in Johannesburg soon to discuss city property development.

The Import-Export Bank of Taiwan was offering low interest rates with special repayment conditions to Taiwanese corporations investing in trade and manufacturing facilities in SA. Several South Korean firms had committed themselves to opening Johannesburg offices.

On a Hong Kong radio station last week, Wright pointed out that SA's infrastructure was better placed to take advantage of a global economic upswing than others such as eastern Europe.

Tribute paid to Marina Maponya

Business Day Reporter

MARINA Maponya, a former SA businesswoman of the year and wife of millionaire Richard Maponya, died at her Johannesburg home on Friday after a long illness. *B/Dan*

Maponya was deputy chairman of the Maponya group of companies, which was built up after she and her husband went into business in Soweto during the '50s. *8/6/92*

Maponya initially trained and worked in social welfare.

She became a director of several companies.

They included Volkswagen SA, African Life, the Development Bank of SA, the SABC — she was appointed the corporation's first black board member in 1990 — and the Post Office.

Sapa reports that Post Office board of directors chairman Donald Masson paid tribute to Maponya, saying her valuable contribution as a board member would be missed. He expressed his condolences to her husband, eight children and 15 grandchildren.


ROLEX

Winnie group vows to work on

*Schekun
8/6/92.*

(11A)

THE African National Congress's PWV regional executive committee has defied its suspension by the Women's League national executive committee and vowed that its business would not be affected by the move.

Labelling its suspension "unconstitutional and

By MOKGADI PELA

unprocedural", the PWVWL further condemned "the barbaric behaviour of the NECWL of acting in a biased manner by endorsing the suspension from a report of five self-appointed women."

The decisions were taken following a meeting held in Central Johannesburg yesterday.

PWVWL deputy chairman Ms Gwen Mahlangu said they would continue recruiting members and were preparing for the Women's Day services to be held on August 9.

Stop funding to SA - Azapo

11A

Sovetan 8/6/92

THE Azanian People's Organisation at the weekend resolved to call on the international community to stop funding organisations it described "as responsible for the ongoing violence in the country".

The decision was taken at Azapo's fifth national council of its congress at Laudium near Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo's publicity officer, said the organisation has resolved to call on the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned

Movement, the Frontline states and other socialist organisations to heed their call.

He said: "Azapo has long identified the perpetrators of this violence and the Goldstone Commission has now endorsed our long-held view."

Some of Azapo's resolutions are:

- To instruct the women's secretariat to draft and present a policy document on gender issues which will be ready for adoption at the next national congress.

- Instruct the central committee to consciously and deliberately intervene in the re-organisation and

transformation of Imbekelo into a fully-fledged women's wing of Azapo.

- To inform the SABC that failure to resolve Mwasa's dispute will force Azapo to call on the black community to take any steps necessary to assist Mwasa.

Some of the points discussed were:

- That the participation of women in the activities of Azapo is minimal;

- That society has created stereotypes that have relegated women to the status of inferiors in a male-dominated society.

- Azapo will fully continue to support Mwasa;

- Azapo condemns the SABC for its intransigence in meeting the demands of Mwasa for a living wage.

Moodley said Azapo had called on all people over the world to support and assist it in its efforts to "defend the people".

Azapo also called on all black people to unite and use all means necessary to defend themselves against the "white racist settlers" and their private armies.

It also called on the Azanian National Liberation Army to come to the defence of displaced people who face threats of violence from white "property owners" on the Reef.

We'll smash Codesa - Azapo

Sarefan 8/6/92
AZANIAN People's Organisation president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe issued a clarion call to his followers to launch a campaign in the villages and townships to dislodge the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Addressing Azapo's national council in Pretoria at the weekend, Nefolovhodwe said Codesa supporters had substituted consultation with the masses with consultation with Codesa's working groups and committees of experts.

He said Azapo would launch a new campaign under the theme: "From village to village and township to township" to make ordinary people participants of their own liberation.

Codesa participants have indicated they intend to im-

(11A)
pose a state of emergency as well as detention-without-trial laws, despite the disastrous history of these decrees in South Africa, he said.

"If it is evil for (President FW) De Klerk's Government to declare a state of emergency on innocent, non-violent and unarmed people, then it is an act of betrayal when a state of emergency is declared by those who profess to be creating a new free country."

In an apparent reaction to the African National Congress' intended programme of protests, Nefolovhodwe said: "Mass action that is called merely to enable Codesa to sit again is meaningless and Azapo will not participate in such useless exercises." - *Sapa*.

Azapo leader in call to dislodge Codesa

STAR 8/6/92 (11A)

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe has issued a clarion call to his followers to launch a campaign in the villages and townships to dislodge Codesa.

Addressing Azapo's national council in Pretoria at the weekend, Mr Nefolovhodwe said supporters of Codesa had substituted consultation with the masses with consultation at Codesa working groups and committees of experts.

He said Azapo would launch a new campaign under the theme "From village to village and township to township" to make ordinary people

participants in their own liberation.

Codesa participants had indicated they intend to impose a state of emergency as well as detention-without-trial laws, he said.

In an apparent reaction to the ANC's intended programme of protests, Mr Nefolovhodwe said: "Mass action that is called merely to enable Codesa to sit again is meaningless and Azapo will not participate in such useless exercises."

Azapo had to turn mass action into an instrument of people's power and wealth redistribution. — Sapa. —

Azapo reveals plans for June 16 services

Sowetan 8/6/92

117

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has announced venues and speakers for this year's countrywide June 16 commemoration services.

By MOKGADI PELA

Its main rally in Soweto's Regina Mundi Church will be addressed by Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe while deputy-president Dr Nchaube Mokoape is billed to speak at the Motlhodisi Stadium in Maokeng, Kroonstad.

tion secretariat, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, is scheduled to speak in Rustenburg.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng will speak in Durban, and publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley will address another rally in Gugulethu, Cape Town.

Other rallies will take place at Dennilton Stadium near KwaNdebele and Mohlakeng, Randfontein.

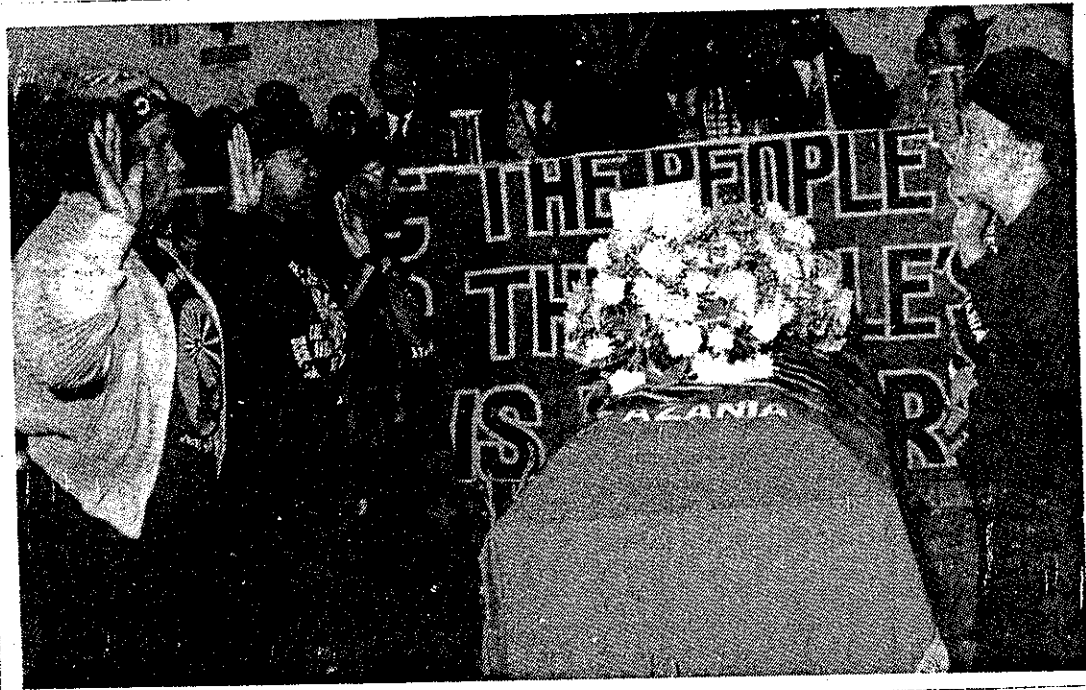
Projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa will speak at the Mahwelereng Stadium while Dr Victor Dlamini, Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, will speak at Colyn in the Western Transvaal.

Announcing this, Moodley said Azapo's message would focus on the solidarity displayed by black people in 1976, "very much in the tradition of Black Consciousness".

Azapo's vice-president, political affairs, Mr Molatlhegi Thale, will speak in Grahamstown, vice-president Mr Zingisa Thwalo in Danielskuil, former Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala in Qwa-Qwa and the head of the educa-

"In this era, when there is so much violence directed against black people, it becomes the responsibility of every black person to revive the unity we had in 1976. We call on black people to honour the legacy of Hector Petersen, Tsietsi Mashinini and the memory of Steve Biko," Moodley added.

Moodley said other senior members of Azapo had been invited to speak in Harare, London, Los Angeles, Washington DC and Toronto.



Mourners making the Pan Africanist Congress salute flank the coffin of PAC member Mr Jan Shoba during his funeral in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Saturday. Pic: JONAS MANKGA

Varsity funds 'race-based'

Sowetan 8/6/92

PAC talk war at Shoba funeral

Sowetan 8/6/92 By MONK NKOMO **11A**

BLACKS in South Africa will only be liberated through the intensification of the armed struggle and not through negotiations with the "racist, minority regime".

This was said by several speakers at the funeral on Saturday of Mr Jan Shoba, PAC member and deputy commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army who was shot dead at his sister's house in Saulsville on May 29.

The service, held at the Atteridgeville community centre, was attended by thousands of people and speakers included members of the African National Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Dedicated soldier

Almost the entire national executive committee of the PAC attended the funeral.

They included deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke; Mr Johnson Mlambo, former APLA commander; Mr Enoch Zulu, Mr Benny Alexander, Mr Barney Desai and Mr Gorah Ebrahim.

Also present was Mrs Veronica Sobukwe, wife of the late founder member of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe.

A message from APLA forces in Dar-es-Salaam was read by Zulu, who described Shoba as "a dedicated soldier committed to the liberation of his people".

Alexander said the armed struggle was a legitimate form of fighting South Africa's illegitimate regime.

The PAC's national executive committee, he added, was "incurably addicted to the fact that the armed struggle must continue. And we will not betray that cause".



Armed struggle the answer, mourners told

By Mkeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

(11A)

The oppressed masses of South Africa will not be liberated by negotiations but by intensified armed struggle against the "racist regime", Atteridgeville mourners were told yesterday.

Speakers at the funeral of Jan Shoba (31), the assassinated senior member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — which is the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — called for the intensification of the armed struggle to wrest power from

"the minority regime".

Mr Shoba, of Serote Street, Atteridgeville, was gunned down by unknown persons with AK-47 rifles at his sister's home in the township on May 29. *SM 28/6/92*

The funeral service at the packed Atteridgeville community centre was attended by the entire national executive committee of the PAC, with the exception of the president, Clarence Makwetu.

Also present was Veronica Sobukwe, the widow of inaugural PAC president Robert Sobukwe.

FW blasts ANC over proposed mass action

By Helen Grange

The ANC was given another lambasting last night from President F W de Klerk on his return to South Africa from a visit to Russia, Singapore and Japan.

A beaming Mr de Klerk became sombre on being asked by waiting pressmen at Jan Smuts Airport about his feelings on the ANC's plans for mass action in the wake of Codesa 2's failure.

The ANC's decision to initiate strikes, parades and marches militated against their commitment to nego-

tiations, he said. It raised questions about the ANC's integrity to commit itself to negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said that he had noted "irritation" among those who had received him overseas about the ANC's failure to "live up to expectations and to become a more concrete part of a solution." STAR 916192

Asked when a political breakthrough in negotiations could be expected, Mr de Klerk said: "When all political leaders accept full responsibility and stop playing typical party politics. We

must rise above this ...

"I implore them (the ANC) to be careful ... I accept mass action as a legitimate democratic method, but during this period of intense negotiations, it is counter-productive, to my mind, and I am highly critical of it," he said.

Earlier Mr de Klerk said all three countries he had visited had received him warmly and he expected much good to flow from the visit.

He said there would definitely be investment and an expansion of trade. But he

insisted that the visit had been low-profile, focused more on "laying foundations" than on concrete results.

"We don't expect pre-arranged agreements, but there was a general acceptance and recognition of our progress and the fact that South Africa will play a central role in the southern African region."

Mr de Klerk, with his entourage, last night flew from Pretoria's Waterkloof Airport to Cape Town where he will meet Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi later today.

Government, Azapo hold informal talks

Sowetan
9/6/92

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

Investigations Editor

(11A)

~~SECRET~~

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has held several meetings with Government representatives aimed at opening negotiations between the two, *Sowetan* can reveal.

The meetings were held in Johannesburg, Pretoria and two other "bush venues" but did not involve executive members of Azapo.

Sources said the two delegations had "made sufficient progress to set up a meeting outside the country to involve the leadership of Azapo, probably led by deputy-president Dr Nchaube Mokoape and to include Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on the other side".

The meeting, which is likely to be held in Botswana, is to be convened by a respected African church leader, who was approached by Azapo's externally-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), which will also take part in the meeting.

Information at the disposal of *Sowetan* is that a senior member of Azapo was approached by an official of the

● To page 2

Secret talks

Sowetan 9/6/92

(11A)

~~SECRET~~

● From page 1

Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Maritz Spaarwater, in February.

At an informal meeting between a team from Azapo, Spaarwater and two other officials, Dr Chris Maritz and Mr Herman du Toit, indicated that the Government wanted to engage Azapo in negotiations.

It is understood the Azapo delegation indicated the organisation's willingness to talk on condition the meeting was held outside the country, under a neutral chairman and if the Government talked about the handover of power.

The participation of the BCMA was also made conditional on acceptance of the invitation for talks.

Azapo's central committee apparently refused to meet the delegation, insisting that if the Government wanted to meet with the leadership, they should formalise the approach in a letter.

Several informal meetings were held later between the two and the process stopped last month before Codesa 2.

Mass action puts our future out on the street

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AFTER Codesa II, the ANC withdrew its consent from key agreements already reached because of the deadlock over the constitution-making body, and said it would use mass action to break the deadlock.

If government is to accept that agreements reached after nearly six months of negotiation involving 19 delegations can simply be overturned by one of those delegations, Codesa becomes irrelevant for three reasons.

Firstly, if the threat of mass action prevails, then SA's future is already in effect being decided in the streets and the NP may as well hand over power at once instead of pretending that it can ensure that the process is orderly and constitutional.

Secondly, other Codesa delegations would be exposed as nothing more than decorations to give an appearance of wider legitimacy to whatever concessions government makes in response to threats of mass action.

Thirdly, Codesa itself would be exposed as neither a consensus-seeking

body nor a nation-building forum, but simply as an expensive rubber stamp.

In a sense, government has itself partly to blame for the position in which it now finds itself. At the end of March it abandoned its plans to introduce VAT on certain foodstuffs after Cosatu threatened a government strike and Nelson Mandela threatened to destroy the economy if VAT was imposed on food. No doubt mindful of the fact that the anti-VAT campaign last November killed 100 people, government capitulated. The ANC and Cosatu drew the obvious conclusion, and they are now doing the obvious thing.

Mass action may not stop even if an interim government were to be installed. It would probably be used against that interim government until that government, too, handed over power. The pattern was established in St Petersburg in 1917, in the October half of the Russian Revolution, because the target of mass action on that occasion was not the Czar, who had already been forced to abdicate,

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

but the inept reformist provisional government under Kerensky.

The threat of rolling mass action prompts various questions:

□ Is Cosatu becoming the dominant partner in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP/Umkhonto we Sizwe/SACP alliance? Despite the difficulties at Codesa II, Mandela struck a bullish note immediately afterwards, only later talking about mass action to break the deadlock;

□ Although 3,5-million workers supported (or were coerced into supporting) the anti-VAT campaign last year, can a stayaway be sustained beyond a week when retrenchments are a daily occurrence and absolute unemployment — no work in the informal or formal sector — is running at 2,5-million to 3-million?

□ Will Cosatu seek to avoid this risk by staging a series of shorter stayaways instead?

□ Can De Klerk dig in his heels without reversing the extraordinary breakthroughs he has made on the international front, where, at a guess, he is probably the most popular leader in the world today?

Since the processes of Codesa are necessarily slow, SA faces the prospect of a second decade of mass action, boycotts, stayaways and the like. The price in terms of economic damage and loss of life is apparently regarded as acceptable. Mandela recently said: "Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action."

Some supporters of mass action dismiss violence as endemic anyway, and last year, after the first 24 deaths (in two days) in the anti-VAT stayaway, a Cosatu official said, complacently and inaccurately: "There have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country."

The risk to the ANC in mass action is that it awakens unrealistic political expectations at the same time as

the organisation is beginning to lower economic expectations.

It was, indeed, in the very speech that he talked of using mass action that Mandela pointed out that "a much greater percentage of our membership now understands the resource constraints that an ANC government will face and that there will, therefore, be no quick-fix to decades of apartheid destruction". This argument was echoed by Cyril Ramaphosa a day or two later, when he too warned against "quick-fix solutions" to "centuries of deprivation, (and) decades of corruption and mismanagement of our economy".

Occasionally, when ANC officials speak on economic issues they seem a bit more realistic than some sections of the business community with their predilections for "kick-starts" which are, after all, the economic equivalent of the political quick-fix.

□ Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations. This is an extract from an address to the Rotary Club, Maritzburg, last Friday.

Govt and ANC renew bid to break logjam

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (1A)

The ANC and the Government are scheduled to meet again today for the second time in seven days in a further bid to resolve the crucial deadlock about an elected constitution-making body.

They are expected to discuss their views on the composition of such a body, entrenched regionalism and federalism, a senate with veto powers over the constitution-making body, and the timing of the implementation of decisions.

Sources have indicated that the vital issue was whether the Government was prepared to accept that a democratically elected constitution-making body would draft a new constitution.

"The issue is whether the Government is prepared to make the conceptual leap from

STAR 9/16/72
power-sharing to a democratically elected constitution-making body," said one source.

Observers have noted that serious bilateral attempts were being made by both sides to resolve the crisis in negotiations before the deadlock came up for discussion at next Monday's management committee.

This is only two weeks before the deadline for the ANC's comprehensive programme of mass action.

ANC sources indicated annoyance with views expressed by the Government which had created the impression that progress was being made at resolving the deadlock.

Both sides agree that the constitution should be fashioned by an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature, but disagree on the special majority needed for its adoption.

The Government has proposed 75 percent but the ANC insists on a two-thirds majority. Participants were split 50-50

on the issue at Codesa 2. The bilateral meetings indicate that the deadlock could be resolved outside Codesa.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delpont said in Parliament yesterday that the deadlock over constitutional matters was not only about the percentage needed for approval.

He said the Government could not agree to suspend the constitution until a new one had been hammered out, as this would leave a vacuum.

The Government felt Parliament would not pass legislation for an interim constitution until a new one had been drawn up.

At yesterday's meeting of the Codesa subcommittee dealing with the creation of a climate for free political activity, four task groups were established. They will investigate the issue of political prisoners, an independent broadcasting board, discriminatory legislation and refugees.

Govt, ANC in bid to break stalemate

THE Government and the ANC meet today to try to break the deadlock at Codesa.

Their discussions are expected to include the composition of a constitution-making body, regionalism, federalism and a senate with veto-powers over the constitution-making body.

Codesa yesterday set up four task groups to investigate issues hindering negotiations.

The groups will focus on the media, political prisoners, refugees and discriminatory legislation.

ANC and police wrangle over death of official

By Bronwyn
Wilkinson
Crime Staff

The ANC and the police in the eastern Transvaal are at loggerheads over the death of an ANC executive member shot in KwaDela after being arrested as a suspect in the murder of a policeman.

Police said investigating officers shot Reuben Nkosi (36) when he pulled out a gun in his home yesterday.

But the ANC claims Mr Nkosi was gunned down in cold blood.

A police spokesman said Mr Nkosi was arrested on Monday on the strength of an affidavit linking him to the death of Constable Jacques Scheepers in the township last month.

Mr Nkosi took members of the Crime Investigation Service to his home after his arrest.

While the police were searching the house, Mr Nkosi pulled out a loaded 9 mm pistol which had been hidden and "swung it towards the investigating officer", the spokesman said.

The policeman fired a shot that fatally wounded Mr Nkosi.

A 9 mm pistol, with the serial number removed, was seized and an inquest docket was opened for investigation.

ANC eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu disputed the police version of Mr Nkosi's death, claiming he was shot in cold blood in front of his relatives.

Mr Mthembu said the policemen who killed Mr Nkosi were implicated in "what can be interpreted as retaliatory victimisation of the (KwaDela) community" after the death of Constable Scheepers.

"The Davel police have become a law unto themselves," he said.

Constable Scheepers was beaten to death on May 30 when he and a Constable Nkonde were on patrol in KwaDela.

According to police, a crowd surrounded the police van when the two constables stopped at a restaurant. The crowd attacked the constables several times and seven people were wounded when Constable Nkonde fired into the crowd. The wounded men were arrested and two other suspects were later picked up in Bethal.

Mr Mthembu disputed the police version of Constable Scheepers's death, claiming the two policemen picked up Constable Nkonde's girlfriend from a beerhall before firing into the hall for no apparent reason.

Mr Mthembu said Constable Scheepers was beaten to death in the ensuing chaos.

He claimed police had assaulted several KwaDela residents during their investigation.

STAFF 1016192

Bid to end power struggle

6/10 am 10/6/92
HIGH-LEVEL meetings are to be held this week to try to resolve a power struggle in the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, which is threatening to cause large-scale violence in the Vaal Triangle.

A senior Numsa official confirmed yesterday that "personality clashes" among Vaal Triangle branches of Cosatu, its affiliate Numsa, the ANC and the SACP, and the existence of a hit list targeting Numsa shop stewards for assassination, were threatening to destabilise the region.

He said more than 20 shop stewards at Vanderbijlpark's Iscor plant had been targeted for assassi-

WILSON ZWANE

nation. Three Numsa shop stewards and three union members had already been murdered in the past few weeks, he said.

Another shop steward's house had been attacked twice with AK-47s.

The official refused to name either the people suspected of being behind the hit list or the Numsa officials whose names appeared on the list.

But he acknowledged it was believed that "police spies" who had infiltrated Numsa, and some members of his union, Cosatu, the ANC and the SACP were implicated in the plan to

break the union's power base in the Vaal Triangle.

Numsa claims to have more than 6 000 members at the Iscor plant in Vanderbijlpark.

The Numsa official said his union was due to meet ANC leaders yesterday to discuss the existence of the hit list and "personality clashes" among officials and members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

Discussions would also be held with Cosatu, the SACP and, possibly, with the Civics' Association of Southern Transvaal leadership before a news conference on the hit list was called. The conference was expected to be on Friday.

ANC replaces Winnie

Political Staff

(118)

PRCT 10/6/92

MRS WINNIE MANDELA's reign as head of the ANC welfare department is over.

She has been replaced by Mr Jackie Selebe, a member of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Return of Exiles.

Mrs Mandela resigned as welfare head in April, but stayed on in her position while the ANC looked for a replacement.

Yesterday the national executive committee appointed Mr Seleki as temporary welfare chief.

Asked if Mrs Mandela had left the department, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he presumed that was the case "because Mr Seleki's appointment takes immediate effect."

PAC to react on ANC's plans

(11A)

Sowetan 10/6/92

THE PAC is soon to explain its stance on the ANC's proposed mass action.

The PAC's national working committee held a two-day meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to outline their policy after the ANC recently announced plans of mass action.

It is expected to announce its reaction before the end of next week.

Although executive committee members were tightlipped about the outcome of their weekend meeting, it is believed that the organisation could support the ANC call but only if it was not in the interests of Codesa.

Sources within the PAC confirmed that if the purpose of the mass action was to further the interests of Codesa "then the PAC is not interested with that kind of action".

'Struggle' anthem calls for peace throughout Africa

STAR 10/6/92. (11A)

South Africa's hymn of peace Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika is often dismissed as a militant call for political empowerment. This "struggle" anthem is sadly misunderstood.

Listen to its words, suggests a recent issue of Reader's Digest. It begins by asking God's blessing on our land — not just here in the extreme south, but the whole vast continent of Africa.

The first verse and the chorus were penned as a hymn in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga, a Methodist mission school teacher. Xhosa poet Samuel

Mqhayi later added another seven verses, and the hymn made such a strong impression on the African Native National Congress (the original name of the African National Congress) that it was officially adopted in 1925 as the closing anthem for its meetings.

These verses provide a perfect vehicle to build a new nation together. They call for God's blessing on all our people — for the banishment of famine, disease, wickedness. For unity, self- upliftment, education and mutual understanding.

Sadly, very few

South Africans, black or white, are even aware of these words. One can't help thinking that they could be a unifying force, helping to reduce the terrible violence that afflicts us.

Aptly, the final verse acknowledges imperfection in the family that is Africa and is a plea to God to blot out our sins. Thus it ends on a highly spiritual note, in an attitude of honesty and humility towards God.

It seems appropriate as we build our new nation that this anthem should be a prayer for our land

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PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators met in Pretoria last night for talks aimed at resolving the constitutional impasse and possibly averting the ANC's planned mass action campaign. *Blouay 10/6/92*

This was the third occasion the two parties met since Codesa II last month.

Government sources said yesterday it would not accede to ANC demands point by point but it hoped the talks would render mass action unnecessary.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said ANC plans would be clarified next week. It was still possible that an agreement on interim government could stop mass action.

Government was eager not to be seen to be giving in to ANC demands, however.

Govt, ANC in bid to resolve impasse

(11A)
"We are continuing with negotiations quite normally with the object of taking the negotiating process further. Whether any agreements will have an influence on the ANC and mass action remains to be seen," NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said. An ANC decision to call off mass action in the light of progress in bilateral talks would be regarded as a "bonus", Van der Merwe said.

The ANC was expected to ask government to clarify its views on regionalism, the role of a senate, time frames for implementation of decisions and an elected constituent assembly.

Keys slates ANC call for mass action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's call for mass action belied its claim that it was ready to govern, Finance Minister Derek Keys said yesterday.

Keys said the ANC's eagerness to embrace mass action was only the latest of several salvos fired in the economic civil war and underlined the organisation's indifference to the economy.

Wrapping up the budget votes he told Parliament SA needed to increase savings by about R20bn if it was to achieve a satisfactory growth rate.

Government should be responsible for half the R20bn savings, he said. The desired savings represented about 6% of GDP.

Keys said investment in SA was currently running at about 19% of GDP and needed to average about 25% a year up to the year 2000 if the country was to achieve his targeted growth rate of about 3,5% a year.

Keys said the ANC's mass action call ranked with the call for continued sanctions and showed its contempt for the achievements of the market sector of the economy during the very difficult past decade.

He said he understood that the priority accorded the liberation struggle in the past had meant that everything had to be subordinated or sacrificed to get to the negotiation table.

"There comes a point, however, at which the audience, the watching world, expects to see actions fitting a future government starting to emerge and subtly displacing those more suited to a liberation movement struggling for recognition," he said.

Keys said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had proclaimed that the ANC was ready to govern. "The call for mass

B/D cum 11/6/92

BILLY PADDOCK

action rather indicates otherwise to that watching world."

The watching world was very important and this importance was growing steadily especially in light of the "global village" idea and the dominance of the free market system internationally.

Instead of learning the language and the codes of how to take full advantage of the international market-related mindset, the ANC were walking into the trap of rhetoric and slogans.

The ANC struggled for very small donations or loans from sections of foreign countries' budgets rather than concentrating on the "thousand times greater power that was available in these countries economies for market-oriented actions", he said, adding that SA needed that massive power.

Keys said it was difficult to propose a growth scenario which included the current dissaving of the state.

"I am not, during this very exceptional year, concerned about the size of the dissaving." The criticism should have come in February.

"Now I am exceptionally thankful that as the year progresses the wisdom of the decision to rather open the taps than close them has borne evidence," he said.

There was no fear of overheating and the Reserve Bank had to gallop to keep to the interest rates which it believed were correct for SA. But this was an exceptional year, with the economy in the trough of the recession, and then a 500-year drought coming on top of that.

□ To Page 2

Keys ^{B/D cum 11/6/92}

He said that as soon as the private sector showed signs of economic recovery government's duty will be to cut its expenditure in real terms.

Given that the state machinery was so huge and complex, preparations for this had to be made this year.

There was no room for "crash programmes". It would be planned improvements in the public sector towards business principles that would achieve this, he said.

"Over time the extent of the change will be considerable. Saving must increase to the order of R20bn to finance a satisfactory investment level. About half of this will have to be the responsibility of the state," he said.

□ From Page 1

As the pressure of surplus expenditure on the side of the state decreased, two things would happen: prices would not increase as rapidly, which would allow lower interest rates according to the Stals approach.

And at the same time the state would not dip into its savings resources, which would exert downward pressure on the interest rates, Keys said.

He said he could think of no single act in the economic sphere which would have a more pronounced favourable effect for SA's reintegration into the world economic system than the ability to lift the standstill restrictions and to re-establish a single convertible currency.

League is threatened by split

over Winnie

Wimant 516-11/6/92
By LINDA RULASHE

DEEP-seated conflict within the African National Congress' Women's League exposed by the Winnie Mandela saga of the past two weeks is posing a threat to the league's survival.

The league is desperately trying to heal the breach and in the process, rid itself of the crisis in its ranks sparked by a pro-Winnie Mandela faction.

Five or six regional executive members allegedly spearheaded and planned a march held last week on the ANC head offices demanding Mandela's immediate reinstatement to the welfare department.

Following a sit-in, the national leadership of the league confirmed Mandela's suspension from the national executive committee.

The women — who include Nompumelelo Madala, Maggie Nkomo and Maria Mojapela — are believed to have made no bones about their allegiance to Mandela.

The demonstrators — calling themselves the Social Welfare Department Support Committee — included squatters who had been recruited from Phola Park.

An inquiry set up to determine, among other things, whether Mandela allegedly drummed up support among the squatters and regional executive committee members to stage the march, will mete out the necessary punishment to those involved in the incident.

"The notion of there being personalities is a problem in terms of our masses," said league secretary general Baleka Kgositsile, when referring to the respect and support Mandela has commanded through the years.

"However, we as an organisation have to grapple and deal with the situation until we reach the position where there can be no personalities but only principles."

Kgositsile stressed that the league was not targeting Mandela, as has been alleged in some quarters, but that there was a principle in operation.

"Whoever is in the wrong in terms of the objective inquiry will never get away with it."

She dispelled any notions that the



Baleka Kgositsile ... 'The notion of personalities is a problem'

Photo: LINDA RULASHE

league may close ranks to protect Mandela.

"In the past, the approach has been that a person was being victimised but that should not have meant that we shouldn't look into the matter."

Most of the women congregated at the ANC offices for the demonstration were ignorant as to why they had gathered there.

Some had believed they were protesting against the government until they learnt the truth.

"Several of them were angry and disgusted," said Kgositsile. They were perplexed and dumbfounded that the members of ANC's Women's League could demonstrate against their own organisation.

Eleven of the 20-member regional executive committee (REC) threatened to resign during an inter-branch meeting on May 22 in protest against those REC members who were involved in the march.

Mandela was not present. She apparently left before the meeting started, her explanation being that she wanted to see her lawyers about statements made by some REC members in the press.

Mandela was absent from a second emergency meeting of the national executive — of which she is a member — which was called last weekend during the ANC's policy conference to

discuss the situation in the region.

As "a compromise", the PWV REC — which Mandela chairs — was suspended, pending an investigation into the whole affair.

Later, Mandela was also suspended from the national executive committee of the league.

Since then, Mandela is believed to have been trying to convene meetings in various regions to challenge and defy the suspensions that have already taken place.

Kgositsile said: "We have sent word to all branches that should they attend a meeting which she has called, they should know that the meeting they are attending is illegal."

Reports of a top-level investigation into claims that Mandela was to set up a rival political party have been refuted by the ANC. ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said: "I know nothing of the investigation other than what I have read in the newspaper."

"Anything is possible," commented Kgositsile. But reflecting on the incidents of the past two weeks she said: "If ever she or anyone else would like to form a party, it is fair for them to do so rather than to have them rise against you."

"I must say, though, that it would be quite contradictory for one to leave the ANC and go and form another party."

Rebel will speak at music festival

Sowetan 11/6/92.
 REBEL MP Mr Jan van Eck will be a featured speaker at a music and poetry festival at the Mamelodi Stadium on June 20 to commemorate the disappearance of activist Stanza Bopape at the hands of security police.

In recent weeks, Van Eck, who describes himself as "a sucker for lost causes" has shot to prominence as an outspoken critic of the Government.

He and four Democratic Party MPs made news when they left their party to join the ANC. This week Van Eck again made news when he was suspended from Parliament for implicating the State in the murder of over 1 000 black political activists.

The commemorative festival, which is being organised by the Mamelodi Civic Association, will also feature the rarely heard talents of Jonas Gwangwa's group, Philip Tabane's Malombo and Julian



Sowetan Reporter

Bahula. Other featured entertainers are Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Four Sounds Plus Three, Vusi Mahlasela and Ngwako.

Festival co-ordinator, Toenka Matila, said the festival starts at 7am with a 10 km fun run from Stanza Bopape Village to the Mamelodi Stadium. Van Eck will speak at 10am.

"There is also a possibility of speakers from MK, either Chris Hani or the newly-appointed MK head, Siphwe Nyanda. But that still has to be confirmed," said Matila.

Entry to the stadium will be R5 and a R3 entry fee is also required for the fun run. Money for the fun run can be paid in at the civic association's offices at the Balebogeng Centre in Mamelodi. The festival will end at 7pm.

Alliance faces split in Vaal

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Personality clashes and deep-seated tensions among members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance are threatening to split the alliance in the Vaal Triangle, it was confirmed yesterday.

The seething tensions — believed to have culminated in an alleged hit list targeting National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) shop stewards for assassination — were receiving urgent attention from the leadership of the tripartite alliance, which yesterday dispatched a senior ANC delegation to the region.

Confirming press reports that personality clashes among members of the alliance in the Vaal were threatening to destabilise the region, Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the matter was receiving attention at the highest level of the allied organisations.

Mr Coleman was commenting on newspaper reports which quoted a senior Numsa official as saying more than 20 shop stewards at Iscor's Vanderbijl-

park plant had been targeted for assassination.

The union official said six Numsa members — three of them shop stewards — had been killed in recent weeks.

Former journalist and ANC PWV regional spokesman Wally Mbhele confirmed the rift.

However, SACP spokesman Indres Naidoo said he knew nothing about the rumoured tension and could not comment.

Mr Mbhele's colleague, Ronnie Mamoepa, told The Star that a high-powered ANC delegation, which visited the Vaal Triangle yesterday morning, would talk to leaders in the area in an attempt to gain better understanding of the problems.

Mr Mamoepa said the delegation — which included SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Sydney Mufamadi — would find out what was happening in the area and then report to the ANC's NEC, which met in Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said a spate of allegations had been levelled at the ANC by the police recently, and the delegation would look into these.

STAR 11/6/92

Mandela drive to win over Indians

Sowetan 11/6/92
MR Nelson Mandela's drive to win Indian support for the African National Congress will be launched in Phoenix at the Rydalvale Grounds on Sunday.

This will be the largest political gathering in the giant township, which is believed to have 350 000 residents.

Mandela will also be having a meeting at the Pattudeen Theatre in Chatsworth tomorrow and community organisations have been invited to send three delegates each.

Focus (11A)

The chairman of the ANC Phoenix branch, Mr Yousuf Vawda, said: "Mandela is expected to focus on the concerns of the Indian community as well as its role in the future democratic society."

Sharing the platform with Mandela will be ANC MP Mr Pierre Cronje, chairman of the Southern Natal Branch of the ANC Mr Jeff Radebe and the chairman of the management committee of Codesa, Mr Pravin Gordhan.

Sowetan Correspondent

Mandela to enter Indian territory

The Argus Correspondent (11A)

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela's drive to win Indian support for the African National Congress is due to be launched in Phoenix before an expected 20 000 crowd at the Rydalvale Grounds on Sunday.

ANC 11/6/92
The South African Police, Durban City Police and ANC marshalls will work together to keep control of the largest political gathering in the giant

township, which is believed to have 350 000 residents.

Mr Mandela will also be having a meeting at the Pattudeen Theatre in Chatsworth on Saturday and community organisations have been invited to send three delegates each.

But the big show of strength is set down for Sunday and 35 community, welfare and sporting organisations have combined their efforts for Mr Mandela's first major foray into an Indian area.

Grand ideas. Can they deliver the goods?

Wimail 5/6-11/6/92
PERHAPS the greatest regret about the African National Congress' latest economic document, drafted at the movement's policy conference last weekend, is its open-endedness.

It proposes a mixed economy, but does not say what the mix should be. It suggests a future government may compel financial institutions to invest in socially desirable projects but omits to hint at the size of prescribed investment.

Promising to reverse skewed regional rural-urban development, it does not say how such programmes will be conducted or financed. And while speaking of "adjusting" trade barriers, the document does not specify how.

This is a pity. For months both domestic and foreign investors have been waiting for clarity in ANC economics before committing their money to South Africa.

But ANC spokesmen argue that they will only get into specifics when the movement is in power and that the document is only a guideline to tell potential voters and investors what an ANC government is likely to do.

In many respects the document — like the draft which was released a month ago — has made significant departures from past thinking. And judging by the less than hysterical reaction from the business community, one assumes it hasn't been as badly received as previous pronouncements.

It reflects an ANC which has been under enormous pressure, from local business and the international community — to drop remnants of socialism from its economic programme — and from its own constituency to deliver the fruits of liberation.

While the African National Congress' economic document shows a definite shift from ANC thinking two years ago, it lacks finality, reports
MONDLI MAKHANYA

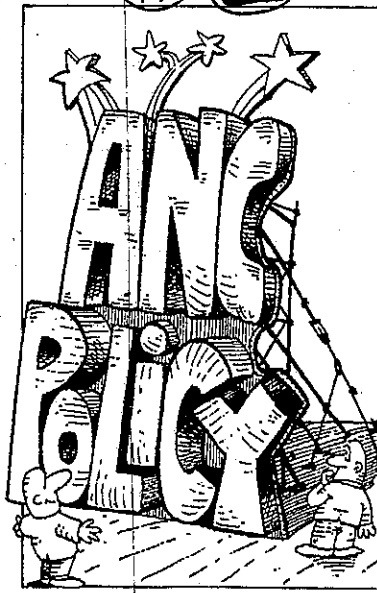
In fact, the movement had modified its position so far by the time of the conference that it took pressure from conference delegates and some nudging from its Congress of South African Trade Unions ally to have the word "nationalisation" retained.

What finally came out was a document vague enough not to alienate anyone.

While nationalisation is referred to, the document makes it clear it will only be considered as one aspect of government intervention — along with the buying of shares in companies and the establishment of new companies — aimed at redressing past inequalities and responding to market failures.

The document also notes that an ANC government may consider privatising certain state enterprises if it deems this necessary for the enhancement of their efficiency. In all this, "the balance of evidence will guide the decision for or against various economic policy measures"

"There will be no irresponsible nationalisation," says Institute of African Alternatives director Ben Turok, who also sits on the ANC economic commission. "What we are concerned about is that the government is busy privatising state enterprises. These will definitely be renationalised."



As in past documents, there is a commitment to affirmative action with regard to women and blacks. As a means of redressing the concentration of economic power in the hands of "a minority within the white minority", the ANC advocates anti-trust, anti-monopoly and mergers laws "in accordance with international norms and practices".

While the ANC makes a commitment to observe fiscal and monetary discipline, the document promises wide-ranging programmes aimed at eliminating apartheid inequalities in housing, education infrastructure, health and welfare. In places the document reads like an updated Freedom Charter. But principle is one thing, the practical implementation another.

There still seems to be a belief in ANC circles that the "post-apartheid

dividend" — economies flowing from the abolition of apartheid waste and duplication — will be a windfall for the new order. But calculations indicate that this will amount to no more than R6-billion — half of this year's health expenditure. Furthermore, it will be a one-off saving.

"My fear is that in the pursuit of these goals, the ANC won't be able to deliver. Then they'll start printing money and embark on other inflationary measures," warns University of Cape Town economist Nicoli Natrass.

For these projects the ANC hopes to harness a significant portion of funds through some form of prescribed assets and also via the establishment of community-based financial institutions.

Getting financial institutions to agree to these mechanisms shouldn't be difficult. Already the Life Offices Association is debating the issue of directing a certain portion of their annual investments in this way.

In addition, the establishment of community banks should not hit moral obstacles. Such institutions are already in the pipeline.

Institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, may also be approached for loan finance. But the document is suspicious of these institutions. It stresses that "relations with international financial institutions should be conducted in such a way as to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation".

While committing itself to fiscal discipline and increased social expenditure, the ANC shies away from acceptance of any tax regime, saying this will be investigated by "a representative fiscal commission". It only proclaims its support for a progressive tax system.

"You cannot increase spending and lower taxes, because then you have to borrow and burden the next generation with debt," comments First National Bank economist Cees Bruggemans. While the ANC's reluctance to tie itself to detail is understandable, it is regrettable that little attempt was made to prioritise certain forms of expenditure and elaborate on revenue sources.

A capital gains tax is also mooted — ostensibly to discourage land speculation. A sign of trade union and Vat Coordinating Committee influence is also visible in the undertaking to end indirect taxation on foodstuffs, health care and household services.

Mass action launch pad

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC's biggest mass action campaign yet will start on June 16 — the anniversary of the Soweto uprising — it was announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

The tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu has decided to use Tuesday June 16 as the launching pad for a sustained campaign aimed at forcing concessions in negotiations with the Government. *STAR 12/6/92*

Nationwide rallies and a "people's referendum" would mark the beginning of the "unprecedented campaign of mass action", said senior ANC officials.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba told a

● To Page 3 ■

Big ANC campaign to force negotiations concessions

● From Page 1

media conference yesterday that more than 70 rallies — with an expected total attendance of 1 million people — would mark the beginning of preparations for mass action "to break the current logjam in negotiations".

This year's June 16 commemorations would have a unique element in the form of a mock "referendum" in which

STAR 12/6/92
people would be asked whether they supported Mr de Klerk's constitutional proposals.

It is understood this was endorsed by the ANC's national executive committee this week.

A full programme of nationwide June 16 rallies — to be preceded by marches in Katlehong and Soweto — was distributed yesterday.

The League also announced it would mobilise other youth

organisations to make submissions for draft "legislation"

A draft of the "Bill" will be made available to the international community and the South African population.

● President de Klerk will address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on June 16, it was announced yesterday. A statement issued by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

lezi's office said Mr de Klerk would later address the public.

The IFP Youth Brigade yesterday announced it would hold "a rally for peace and reconciliation" on Sunday in Soweto's Jabulani Stadium.

● At separate press conferences yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation said they would not take part in the mass action campaign.

PAC, Azapo reject ANC mass action

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC's mass action campaign kicks off on June 16 without the support of the PAC or Azapo. *B/P/cur 12/6/92*

The PAC, which joined the ANC in a patriotic front last year and decided on joint mass action to secure a constituent assembly, said yesterday it would not take part in campaigns promoting Codesa.

Sapa reports that Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said his organisation would not take part in actions designed to put Codesa negotiations back on track.

"We are always committed to any type of constructive mass action which is geared to bringing the regime to its knees. We will not participate in mass action designed simply to present protests and appeals," Moodley said.

In Johannesburg the PAC's national working committee also said it would not be party to the actions.

The ANC Youth League yesterday announced June 16 as the start of a mass action campaign aimed at getting government to agree to an interim government and a democratically-elected constituent assembly.

ANCYL president Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies would be held around the country. A "people's referendum" would be held to test the scale of rejection of government's proposal of a senate and a 75% majority in a constitution-making

□ To Page 2

Mass action

B/P/cur 12/6/92
body with regard to regionalism. PAC information director Waters Toboti said the PAC would leave the choice of whether to take part in mass action to individuals.

"People will take their own decisions. We have never campaigned against the programmes of other people," he said. He warned the ANC not to interfere with the right of PAC supporters to take their own

11A *18*
decisions on mass action. *18*

Toboti said the PAC would be launching its own programme and would continue with the armed struggle until government had handed over political power.

PAC sources admitted that the split on mass action would weaken the patriotic front which has been in tatters since the PAC decided not to take part in Codesa.

□ From Page 1

PAC no to ANC mass action plan

(11A) CT 12/6/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Pan-Africanist Congress will not join the ANC's planned mass action campaign set to begin on June 16.

The PAC said yesterday that while it had a principled commitment to mass action as "an essential site of struggle", it would not be party to any mass action aimed at "breathing life into the discredited Codesa".

The PAC said Codesa was "nothing more than a mechanism to build a Berlin Wall around white privilege and erect barbed wire around the aspirations of the oppressed".

● The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was committed to mass action which was geared towards overthrowing the government and, therefore, would not participate in protests designed to present appeals, Azapo spokesman Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Durban, Mr Moodley said Azapo would not participate in mass action which called for negotiations to be put back on track.

● Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League yesterday outlined a campaign of mass action to be launched on June 16 to break the logjam at Codesa.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said more than 70 rallies — expected to involve a million people — would be held on June 16.

Azapo appoints talks mediator

DURBAN. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has appointed a prominent African dignitary to act as mediator in preparation for possible bilateral talks with the government, according to Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley.

Mr Moodley said the mediator, whom he declined to name, would liaise with Azapo and government representatives to work out details of the venue and agenda of talks.

Addressing a news conference here yesterday, Mr Moodley said a Department of Foreign Affairs official had held informal discussions with a senior Azapo member this year.

Mr Maritz Spaarwater had told the Rev Joe Seoka the government was willing to consider Azapo's conditions for a bilateral meeting.

At a subsequent meeting, Mr Seoka told Mr Spaarwater Azapo would meet the government only at a neutral venue (outside South Africa), with a neutral mediator as chairperson, and to discuss how the government would resign. — Sapa

On June 16 a "people's referendum" would be conducted at all the mass gatherings, posing the question: "Do you agree that a democratically-elected constitution-making body should be undermined by: An undemocratically constituted senate of losers; predetermined regional powers, functions and borders, which are designed to perpetuate white privilege, racism and tribalism; a 75% majority which will give the minority veto powers?"

Mr Mokaba said the Youth League would begin to mobilise submissions on a Transition to Democracy Act.

This would replace the notion of an interim constitution, which the government wanted to impose on the country as a permanent constitution.

Let the people vote

To listen to many ANC stalwarts, one would think the Scandinavians are not only a race of moral giants who subsist in perfect welfare states — but that they also dispense ambrosia to every benighted cause in Christendom and beyond.

Of course, that is not true. Nevertheless, it gives us the opportunity to draw the ANC's attention to the Danish referendum, which is likely to undermine the Maastricht treaty that seeks to curb its national sovereignty. The Danes did not take to the streets to show their dismay; they took to voting instead.

Would that not be a more democratic manner for the

ANC to demonstrate its dismay at the Codesa setback? By organising a referendum among all those who do not have a parliamentary vote, it could show the world — let alone the Nats — the depth of its support.

It would also be able, demonstrably, to serve the cause of black unity.

It would draw such a heroic response that differences within its own ranks and beyond would — even if only momentarily — be forgotten. It would save life and limb and demonstrate that the ANC is capable of more than mindless remarks such as: "Our economy has been so mismanaged that it can hardly be further hit by mass action." ■

RETIREMENT

FM 12/6/92 (117)

(232)

(58)

(300)

ANC deals with Sanlam

A decision to invest the provident funds of ANC staff through Sanlam caused some surprise but it is a measure of the extent to

ECONOMY & FINANCE

FM 12/6/92



which the Bellville assurer has managed to change its image from a mutual set-up for Afrikaner savings.

"It was a very democratic decision," says an ANC official, adding that several presentations were received and then voted on. Derek Hanekom, of the ANC economics unit, says Sanlam made the best all-round presentation from "an investment point of view."

What is not clear is whether Sanlam will be requested by the trustees to put any of the money into the Community Growth Fund, the unit trust announced last month that will invest only in "socially responsible" companies.

It makes sense that the ANC would want to join trade unions sending money to the CGF. So far, apparently, that issue has not been discussed. Hanekom suggests it is possible to separate ANC policies, to some extent, from the wishes of the 600-plus staff who ultimately control the fund. But the question was raised, when Sanlam presented, to what extent the sensitivities of fund members would be taken into account when the portfolio was compiled. Hanekom says satisfactory assurances on this issue was one of the factors in Sanlam's favour.

Sanlam says it will under no circumstances divulge details of a client's investment policies and directions but adds that clients' wishes are always taken into account. ■

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WHAT IS ITS ROLE ?

This week we look at the role and of the executive committee in an organisation. Executive committees are an important part of an organisation, but sometimes they don't work properly. Have you heard members of your organisation saying the following:

"The executive never tells us anything"

"The executive never does anything, they just talk"

"Our executive thinks they own the organisation"

These problems with executives are common. The reason for these complaints lies in the fact that executives often don't know what their job is, or what members want them to do.

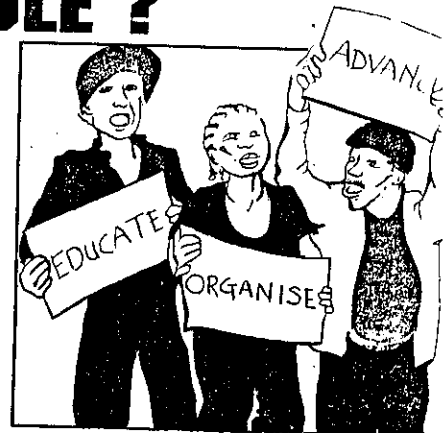
In this article we hope to answer some of the following questions for organisations, and their executive committees, namely:

- What is an executive committee?
- How does the executive remain accountable * to the organisation?
- What work should the executive committee do?
- How does the executive committee provide leadership for the organisation?

New Nation 12/6-18/6/92

(Learning/N)

(11A)



What is an executive committee?

It is impossible for all the members of an organisation to meet every time a decision needs to be made, unless the organisation only has a handful of members. The organisation therefore elects a group to look after its day-to-day affairs. This group is called the executive committee, or simply the executive. The executive must act on behalf of the organisation, and in its best interests. Usually the executive shares out the work among the committee into portfolios, which are special areas of work. It is usually the most experienced, committed and skilled members who are elected onto the executive. The approach of the executive should always be to act on the basis of policy * decisions taken by members. They have the responsibility of taking forward the policy decisions of the membership in day-to-day situations.

The executive and accountability

The executive is an elected structure. Its mandate is to take forward the work of the organisation. So it is very important for the executive to be accountable to the members who elected them.

How is the executive held accountable?

The executive should:

- Report on all executive decisions and actions to the membership.
- Implement the wishes of the organisation.
- Report on all the money spent by the organisation.

The executive should not:

- Take decisions on behalf of the organisation outside the broad agreements already decided by the membership.
- Keep some discussions and decisions from the membership.

Keeping the members informed

The executive should regularly report back to the membership to keep them informed. Report-backs tell the membership what the executive is doing, as well as the progress the organisation is making. The reports could be written or discussed in the meeting.

What is included in reports?

1. Summary of all executive decisions.
2. Report-backs on all mandates given to the executive.
3. Financial reports.
4. Meetings attended, as well as held by executive.

Question: Does your executive report-back to you in your organisation? How often does this happen?

What work should the executive committee do

The executive must:

1. Keep up-to-date records of membership.
2. Keep a mailing list of members, other organisations and individuals.
3. Inform members of all work and progress.
4. Deal with incoming and outgoing correspondence.
5. Keep files and records, for example financial records.
6. Give notices of meetings.
7. Keep proper minutes of meetings.
8. Pay organisational bills and accounts.

The executive also needs to act on behalf of the organisation in some cases. The executive should:

1. Meet with other organisations.
2. Sit on joint committees, such as crisis committees, campaigns committees, etc.
3. Attend conferences and congresses of other organisations, sometimes to speak, often just to observe.

All these tasks are the collective responsibility of the executive, but often particular tasks will fall within the particular portfolio of an executive member.

How does the executive provide leadership to the organisation?

It does this through collective actions as an executive, as well as through the individual acts of the executive members. It tries to set an example by the hard work and commitment of the executive.

The following guidelines are important:

1. Arrive on time for meetings.
2. Follow correct meeting procedure.
3. Do not get unnecessarily angry or emotional in meetings.
4. Listen to what members are saying, learn from them and respects others views.
5. Be open to criticism. Do not use status to intimidate others.
6. Contribute in a constructive * way to discussions, by being supportive, but also critical when necessary.
7. Work alongside other members in practical day-to-day tasks such as putting up posters, going door-to-door, etc.
8. Do not engage in loose talk outside meetings which is destructive.
9. Serve the interests of the organisation at all times, not the interest of the individual executive member.

Conclusion

Your executive is there to carry out your wishes in your organisation. If the executive is not working well then it is also your responsibility to give them advice on the mistakes they are making. If your executive is working well you should tell them so. Being an executive member can be difficult work, and they would like to know if they are doing their job properly.

New Words

Accountable: Being responsible to your organisation, and having to explain your actions to them.

Policy: Your organisations aims and plan of action.

Constructive: Making helpful suggestions

Questions for readers

Question 1:

Does your organisation have an executive? Does every member of your organisation know what your executive is supposed to do?

Question 2:

Is your executive carrying its mandate forward? Is it accountable to the membership?

Resource List

The Human Awareness Programme has more information on the role of the executive committee. You can contact them at the following address:

The Human Awareness Programme
4th Floor Conlyn House
156 President Street
Johannesburg
2000

Their telephone number is (011) 337-8716

Next week we will look at the different portfolios in the

Business

STAR
urged to
13/6/92
back mass
action



NELSON MANDELA.

DURBAN — Business should throw its full weight behind the ANC's mass action campaign as this will contribute far more to bringing peace and democracy to South Africa than the recent referendum had, according to Nelson Mandela.

Addressing business leaders here last night, the African National Congress president stressed that the mass action campaign was not aimed at the private sector but was a strategy to increase the pace to democracy.

He said that while some had charged the campaign would impact negatively on business confidence, the ANC regarded the long transition proposed by the Government as far more damaging. He explained that investors would not be attracted by the protracted uncertainty.

Mandela told his audience: "If you want us to

CRAIG DOONAN

refrain (from mass action), come out and pressurise the Government to agree to an interim government. No proud country can allow a minority to continue with the mismanagement of their government."

The ANC leader said the majority of whites held the wrong perception that mass action would lead to violence. The mainstream press, he said, had also propagated this view. The ANC, however, was committed to peace and

● TO PAGE 2.

March led by American civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King.

the police. Key distribution points will include railway stations.

Mandela

● FROM PAGE 1

peaceful protest while the real causes for violence were the Government, its security forces and Inkatha.

Addressing the issue of nationalisation, Mandela said this policy remained an instrument of the ANC. But if it was ever implemented "it is likely to be used extremely sparingly".

"In fact, nationalisation may never be used as a strategy if there's maximum co-operation between business and ourselves."

He explained that some businesses had already become involved in a form of redistribution by allocating huge resources to the country's transition. Some businesses were also already making massive efforts to address work-

ers' problems by offering housing, training, scholarships and other developmental programmes to them and "we hope the process will grow".

Although the ANC still considered nationalisation as a strategy it would only implement it if a cost-benefit analysis indicated this was the necessary option.

The ANC supported a balanced approach to industrialisation which sought to overcome regional inequalities and imbalances. "We're concerned with our economy. We want maximum production and we want to cut down and eliminate unemployment."

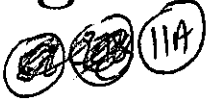
"Our policies cover the need to open the economy to create competition and enhance the development of a dynamic private sector by the application of anti-trust legislation." — Sapa.

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'The night there was fire all over Soweto'

SOUTH 13/6-17/6/92.

By Quentin Wilson



JUNE 16, 1976 — a date emblazoned on the minds of many.

For some it was the day agitators mustered thousands of schoolchildren to run riot in Soweto.

For others it was a sharp, clear message to apartheid's architects that their game would not be played — whatever the cost.

It started as a student march to protest against a government ruling that school subjects be taught in Afrikaans. But after police fired the first volley of ammunition into unarmed schoolchildren, the protest escalated into the biggest uprising this country has seen.

The dramatic picture of the first victim, 13-year-old Hector Peterson, being carried by Mbuyisu Makhubu, was published locally and internationally. It has come to represent the anguish and pathos of the uprising.

The commemoration of June 16 has been earmarked "National Youth Day" by the country's political left.

Tuesday's 16th anniversary has brought another spate of calls for the day to be declared a public holiday.

But the government says there are "already too many public holidays".

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said: "For the ANC it is a day on which the youth of our country stood up and said to the world: 'we have had enough of apartheid.'"

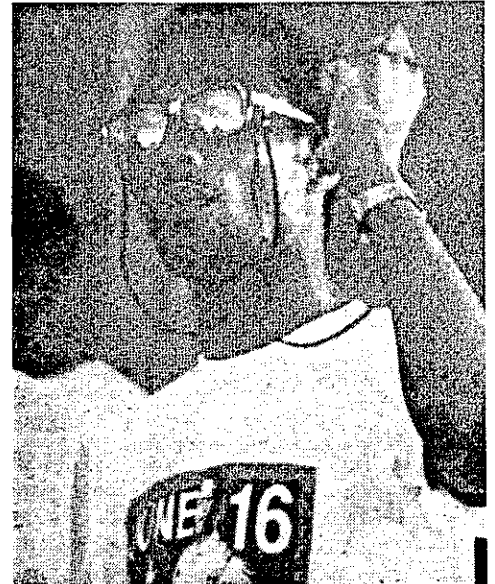
"It was a strong voice to the government, telling them that apartheid would end sooner rather than later.

"We are going to honour all those, specially the youth, who gave their lives and died for the struggle. It is a time when the people of South Africa highlight their suffering.

"But it's not only a commemoration, it is a time to rededicate ourselves to continue the struggle against apartheid and its consequences. We therefore feel very strongly that the day should become a public holiday," Niehaus said.

NP spokesperson Ms Sheila Camerer said: "The NP would not be in favour of it. We have too many public holidays around this time. Codesa should look at the question of public holidays."

Niehaus said 1976 was a turning point because it was the first time "the people took the lead in the struggle rather than leaders of



A LIVING MEMORY: June 16 1976 is a day South Africa will never forget

political organisations".

He said many of the youth who had been involved in the uprising left the country to join the ANC and its military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), leading to a tremendous growth in MK ranks.

An example is Mr David Ndaba, who left South Africa to join the ANC three months after the 1976 uprising had started. For those three months he worked in the underground.

For Ndaba, "June 16 instilled revolutionary spirit among the students and our parents, the workers".

Ndaba gave his impressions of what happened that fateful Wednesday morning, 16 years ago.

"We were marching to Orlando Stadium peacefully in protest against the imposition of Afrikaans. It was during that peaceful demonstration that the police opened fire on children.

"The students were marching and collecting other students from different schools in Soweto. The police came to cordon off groups as they were moving towards the stadium.

"After a worried resident was given assurance by a black policeman that there would be no bloodshed, the students were asked to disperse.

"You can't expect thousands of people to disperse in a minute! The police opened fire.

At first there was confusion. Nobody thought the police would fire at children.

"Large crowds of students gathered in front of the police. At one stage some of the police surrendered and took to their heels as they were chased by the crowds.

"That afternoon the students regrouped and decided they were going to attack all symbols of oppression in the township. The first target was the administration offices. One office after another went up in smoke as they were attacked with petrol bombs."

"The night of June 16 — that Wednesday — there was fire all over Soweto. Police opened fire as building after building was set alight. By now they had been joined by the workers who had come home.

"The following day more people were killed by the police. At one point there was a helicopter that hovered low over the heads of crowds, indiscriminately firing from the machine guns in the helicopter," Ndaba said.

"By Friday, the chaos had spread to Pretoria, Durban and towns in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

"The streets of Soweto were red with blood. People were lying in the streets bleeding to death, but instead of ambulances being sent to take them to hospital, they were loaded into police vans and taken to the police station. There were bodies stacked high. These were people but they were lying there like mealie bags," Ndaba said.

By Beverley Garson

A GROUP OF returned exiles who are demanding grants from the ANC were locked out of the organisation's offices in Port Elizabeth this week.

The move followed a sit-in at the offices on Friday by about 200 returnees, most of them members of Umkhonto weSizwe.

A spokesperson for the group, Mr Richard Mothibe, said that since their return to the country they had not received any money.

"The ANC not only promised us grants but repatriation funds, too. Some of us were injured in exile and some are mentally retarded.

"We are all members of the ANC and they promised to take care of us.

"Now the ANC is talking a different language. When we want to meet them, they close the office," he said.

Mothibe said he had spoken to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on June 1 about the grants which they had not received.

"He appreciated our problems and pleaded for patience. He said he had received money from

ANC closes doors on angry returnees demanding grants

Switzerland and that we would each get R2 500 soon.

"Mandela said he would speak to the national executive about the issue. Meanwhile, we should register our names at regional offices."

The group set June 5 as a deadline for payment and indicated that on that day they would go to the ANC offices.

"When we got to the offices on Friday, Mr Linda Mti (regional chairperson) said the funds were no longer available and that the ANC was not going to give us money.

"They also cut off our communication with the president. One exile, Mr Master Babula, was beaten in the toilets by office security," said Mothibe.

He said they had been angered and took one of the office cars without permission. The other returnees had dispersed.

When they gathered on Tuesday to continue "negotiating" over the grants, they found the doors locked and a notice saying the offices were "temporary closed".

ANC regional chairperson Mr

Linda Mti said the organisation apologised to members and the public "for the temporary disruption of our operations by a group of returning exiles who gathered to demand a resettlement grant".

He said the ANC had stopped giving grants to members after the United Nations High Commission for Refugees started operating in the country.

Members were then referred to the UNHCR.

"This meant that those who came last year were able to get the

amount of R2 225 from the ANC and R4 000 from the UNHCR, whereas those who came after December 1991 were only eligible for the R4 000.

"The unfortunate misunderstanding has been hijacked by disgruntled elements within our ranks, spear-headed by enemy provocateurs who infiltrated our organisation abroad, including former members of the SADF sent to join the ANC.

"If the problem continues we will release profiles of those troublesome individuals for the public to know who the agitators are," said Mti.

One of the returnees, Mr Peter Jones Mabala, said they did not wish to respond to individuals who were defending the ANC against its members.

"We regard ourselves as genuine members of the ANC. We expect ANC leaders to address our issues properly.

"They should sympathise with our problems as we are mothers, fathers and breadwinners. They must regard this issue as important," said Mabala.

He added that as the issue over grants was internal, it should be solved internally. — Pen

SOUTH 13/6 - 17/6/92

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Ex-SACP chief Tloome dies

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FORMER South African Communist Party chairman and African National Congress executive member Dan Tloome died yesterday in Johannesburg's Hillbrow Hospital. He was 73.

A statement said the veteran anti-apartheid activist, who had returned to South Africa in 1990 after decades in exile, died from diabetes and heart problems.

"The ANC mourns the death of Daniel Tloome," spokesman Carl Niehaus said of the man who had cut his political teeth as a trade unionist.

Tloome played a major part in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and together with other ANC leaders was tried and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Placed under house arrest in 1963 he went into exile and be-

came a member of the executive committees of the ANC, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and a member of the central committee of the SACP. He was chairman of the SACP until 1991 and during the 1970s was deputy general secretary of the ANC.

Teacher

He rose into the upper echelons of these organisations from a humble beginning. After a primary and high school education in Bloemfontein, he trained as a teacher and took up a teaching post in the Free State.

At the end of the 1920s, he trekked to Johannesburg, enrolled for a part-time journalism course and accountancy as he got enmeshed in trade union activities. He started his trade

union career as an organiser in the Milling Workers' Union, of which he later became secretary. In 1941 the Council of Non-European Trade Unions was set up and Tloome was elected vice-president.

During this period he was actively involved in the activities of the ANC Youth League, of which Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu were also members.

Tloome was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC at the age of 30 in 1949 and he joined the SACP during World War 2. He played a major part in the building up the Mineworkers' Union and in organising a strike in 1946 which involved 100 000 workers.

The ANC did not say when his funeral would take place. — Sapa.

Tribal wrangle in NY court

IN THE words of his lawyer, he is the most generous man in Africa. But that was just one of the claims his adversary was contesting in court.

She said he had 26 wives and she was one of them. He said there were only four and she was merely one of his 18 concubines. She said he had 79 children and her three were among them. He admitted fathering her brood, but said he had only 69 in total.

Bizarre task for judge

The case of Nigerian tribal chief M K O Abiola and his aggrieved partner found its way into a New York courtroom this week, presenting the bemused Judge David Saxe with his most bizarre task.

Gloria Uboh-Abiola (34), now living in America, had decided she preferred the single state and was asking the judge to grant a divorce.

Judge Saxe ruled that American law has no jurisdiction over African marital customs and dismissed the divorce action. But he ordered that the chief must pay child support of about R40 000 a month — the amount he already pays voluntarily — and her R140 000 legal fees. — Daily Mail, London.

Azapo no to planned mass action (WA)

AZAPO would not participate in next week's planned mass action, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said this week. Moodley said Azapo would not participate in mass action which called for negotiations to be put back on track.

"We're always committed to any type of constructive mass action which is geared to bringing the regime to its knees. We will not participate in mass action to present protests and appeals."

21/11/1972
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Mass action marks shift

ci/pres 14/6/92



Negotiations to now take a back seat.

By SEKOLA SELLO (1A)

CONTRARY to popular belief, the decision by the ANC to embark on mass action at the beginning of July is not, as several commentators have claimed, the action of a petulant organisation unable to get its way at Codesa 2.

Mass action is not a kneejerk response to problems at Codesa. Instead, it marks a definite shift in the thinking of the organisation on the whole question of negotiations and ending white domination.

The battle to dislodge FW de Klerk from power will now be fought in the streets, squatter camps and factory floors - not in the sedate atmosphere of the World Trade Centre in Kemp-ton Park.

Two factors are regarded as having played a big role in the organisation's decision to adopt a confrontationalist approach.

Firstly, the violence - which is being blamed on the government - has seriously hampered the ANC's efforts to organise in the black community.

There is a feeling in the ANC that should elections take place, it may not be able to muster a comfortable governing majority given the level of violence in the country.

Mass action will involve creating structures with "defence components" so that the organisation can, according to a spokesman, "survive in Ulundi, Zonkeziwe, and other areas of Natal".

Secondly, there is an increasing lack of confidence in the ability of Codesa or negotiations to deliver. Questions were also being asked whether the aspirations of the ANC's general membership were being adequately represented in Codesa.

It is primarily these two factors, ANC insiders claim, which have now pushed mass action to

the fore as the principal weapon to dislodge the government.

Mass action is seen as the best way of ensuring that people's aspirations are realised. Structures with defence components, it is hoped, will also provide protection to the people.

Negotiations are still considered necessary but they are now relegated to a supportive role. A member of the ANC National Executive Committee Peter Mokaba says negotiations must be conducted in the context "of the struggle that is taking place outside the negotiations forum".

Mokaba goes on to say the "two biggest ever mistakes made by the movement" since organisations were unbanned two years ago were to subordinate mass action to negotiations and to use mass action as a tool to be invoked every time there were problems in the negotiations.

The powerful ANC Youth League headed by Mokaba has

for some time contended that mass action was not like a tap which could be turned on and off depending on the circumstances.

The prevailing opinion in the organisation now is that negotiations are not the primary strategy or goal of the movement. Mass action is now seen as the overriding strategy on which even negotiations must be based.

That negotiations are taking a back seat as the focus of struggle between the two major parties at Codesa is also shown by the number of hardline positions taken at the recent ANC policy conference.

The main contentious issue is that decisions taken by the elected national assembly (the Constituent Assembly) must be accepted by a two thirds majority.

On the two thirds majority issue Mokaba says the organisation is "prepared to have as

many deadlocks as possible".

The organisation is adamant that both the election to the Constituent Assembly and its sitting must not take place under the jurisdiction of the present government.

The issue of percentages and the Constituent Assembly are considered non-negotiable.

The planned programme of action provides for rendering "apartheid structures" like community councils, homelands and Department of Education and Training unworkable.

Consumer boycotts, indefinite strikes and the resettlement of the homeless people in any land available and suitable for occupation are part of the strategy.

It is envisaged that structures like community councils, once having been rendered unworkable, will be taken over by the "organs of people's power" to make sure that Pretoria does not

reinstale its administrators.

Structures with a "defence component" will also be created to ensure that the movement can organise in places which are now considered no go areas because of the level of violence and intimidation in them.

These will be ongoing strategies against Pretoria, and according to Mokaba they do not expect that "during the course of this mass action there will be calls for such action to stop because we have reached some agreement on this or that".

While focus has been largely on the adverse effects mass action is likely to have on the economy, it is the resettlement of the homeless which is fraught with serious problems.

Several residential associations in Johannesburg's northern suburbs are reported to be arming themselves and preparing to use force to prevent

squatters in their neighbourhood.

This followed a decision by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to resettle Zevenfontein squatters at sites in Diepsloot and Nietgedacht - a decision which has been strongly opposed by residents in the surrounding suburbs.

Most residents claim that resettling these homeless people will devalue their properties, create slum conditions and also lead to an increase in crime.

The ANC's view is that if people had the courage to occupy land in and around black townships, "if this is done in an orderly manner to maintain standards", then white, empty land within white areas will also have to be occupied.

If the ANC lives up to its threats, we could well be headed for a long winter of discontent.

Nation braced for mass action

By **SEKOLA SELLO** and **SAPA**
THE government and the ANC were yesterday locked in serious talks in a last-minute bid to avoid confrontation over mass action planned for this week.

The emergency talks come in the wake of a hardening of attitudes and trading of accusations by the two parties.

Against a backdrop of deteriorating relations, the ANC alliance announced this week that Tuesday's national June 16 rallies would be a launching pad for mass action on an "unprecedented scale".

In response, the government has put Citizen Force and Commando Force members on standby to help the police "maintain peace, stability and law and order".

This decision amounted to "declaring open war against the people", the ANC said.

CP News 14/6/92
It further charged that "there can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force".

The ANC said it would not be intimidated by a show of force. Rather than "participating with sincerity in the negotiation process", the government chose to rely on propaganda and brute force.

Contrasting its hardline attitude towards mass action by the ANC was the government's leniency towards armed vigilantes parading the streets, the organisation added.

"The people of SA and the international community will hold De Klerk responsible for any loss of life or injuries."

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus confirmed the emergency talks saying mass action, the

call-up and the "situation in general" were being discussed.

At the time of going to press, the outcome of the talks was not known.

Meanwhile, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short a trip to the US because he feared the campaign would exacerbate violence, while the PAC and Azapo said they would not support mass action if it aimed to resuscitate failed talks at Codesa.

On arrival at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, Buthelezi said he was "very disturbed" with the planned action and foresaw clashes between IFP members and those planning the campaign.

Reiterating its commitment to strive for a reconstituted Patriotic Front, the PAC urged the ANC to desist "from further participation in Codesa".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela shrugged off the PAC's decision not to support the campaign. Speaking in Durban, he said: "Whether they support us or not is irrelevant. Progress has been made so far despite the PAC."

Despite behind-closed-doors attempts to make up, the ANC launched a scathing public attack on the government saying: "The De Klerk government, rocked by corruption, proof of police and military involvement in the murder of activists and a complete failure to protect the lives and property of all South Africans, wants to return to rule by the old ways of coercion and repression."

"Instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known is to vote with their feet, De Klerk and his colleagues are identifying them as the enemy."

Killings deepen hospital crisis

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

THE crisis in black hospitals in the Transvaal deepened yesterday following the brutal gunning down of three trade union members and a bystander in two separate incidents in the East Rand's Natalspruit.

It has also been alleged that strikers have been harassed by police.

A statement issued on Friday by the National Education and Health Workers Union (Nehawu) said Victoria Mazibuko, a

nursing sister at Natalspruit Hospital and Grissell Marubelela, both Nehawu shop stewards, were gunned down by men who burst into a meeting at Mazibuko's house on Thursday evening.

The husband of one of the dead women was also killed in the attack.

In an incident on Tuesday, Nehawu member Vuyo Mtshekeshe was shot dead in Natalspruit.

Nehawu alleged that a nurse at the Boksburg/Benoni Hospital had also been assaulted and her vehicle da-

maged on Friday morning. This was confirmed by the TPA.

Nehawu said: "This is clearly a cowardly attempt to scare our members and to stop them from exercising what are basic trade union rights."

Nehawu general secretary Phillip Dexter said in addition to the 11 hospitals that were affected by the strike, unconfirmed reports said more hospitals in the Transvaal and Free State have been hit.

At a press conference in Johannesburg

on Friday the Nehawu leadership said strikers would not be intimidated by "union-bashing tactics". They emphasised, however, the strike was not linked to the planned ANC/Cosatu mass action.

Nehawu president Bheki Phakathi said his union would blame the government for any deaths of patients during the strike.

Nehawu condemned "in the strongest terms the revival of the death of 20 babies who allegedly died during the union's 1990 strike at Ga-

Rankuwa Hospital".

It said the TPA was trying to present the strikers as "insensitive people" and was desperately trying to shift attention from the strikers' legitimate demands.

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini said the union federation supported the strikers' demands.

Nehawu is demanding a 15 percent wage increase and the TPA is offering 9,2 percent. By late yesterday the TPA and Nehawu were still locked in negotiations.

Four-phase strategy to bring government to its knees

ANC UNVEILS BATTLE PLAN

S/Times 14/6/92

11A/24

By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

THE ANC has spelt out details of a four-phase battle plan for mass action aimed at bringing the government to its knees — starting with Tuesday's day of protest.

Occupations, sit-ins, marches, boycotts and acts of disobedience and disruption are planned in an escalating campaign dubbed "Operation Exit", which will culminate with an effort to stage a general strike in August. ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils, a Communist Party member, yesterday told the Sunday Times details of the plan adopted by the "alliance" — the ANC, SACP, Cosatu, youth movements and civic organisations. The campaign was condemned yesterday by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer as

dangerous, disruptive and with no moral grounds".

As the country girded itself for an extended period of disruption, an SADF spokesman announced on Friday that army reserves were being called up. Yesterday the ANC declared the call-ups amounted to a declaration of war on peaceful protest.

The first phase of the ANC campaign begins on Tuesday with 70 rallies across the country and lasts until June 30 — the deadline the alliance has given the government to establish an interim government.

Another key date in this period is June 26, when the alliance will present draft legislation, a "Transition to Democracy Act", to "people's assemblies" for approval.

During this first phase, Mr Kasrils said, action will be planned locally and regionally.

Focus

If the government ignores the June 30 deadline, the second phase swings into action from July 1.

The focus will be the co-ordination of national campaigns. For example, said Mr Kasrils, a day could be decided on when people take to the streets across the country or a week could be identified for certain boycott action.

During the first week of the second phase, the alliance will also decide on the date and length of a national strike and

stayaway. The middle of August has been proposed.

Phase three would begin with the general strike and stayaway, and intensified civil disobedience. Efforts to target corrupt institutions and bring the government to a standstill would be intensified.

Phase four, dubbed "exit gate", in which the government is supposed to exit from power, begins after the national strike.

Sustained

The alliance envisages that by this point the pressure that has built up since June 16 will have become unstoppable, and that the numbers involved in campaigns will have swelled to several million.

There is no deadline for the termination of the action. It would be sustained until democracy was won, Mr Kasrils said.

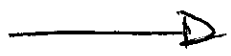
"This kind of action, as demonstrated in Eastern Europe to bring about democracy, was applauded by the West. To deny South Africans the same right to become the handmaidens of democracy would be racist and undemocratic," Mr Kasrils said.

The action would be directed at "snarling up the wheels of government". This could include besieging and occupying government buildings and clogging their telephones and fax machines.

Institutions that have been connected with corruption and hit squads, such as police headquarters, would also be targets. Mr Kasrils said the people would demand that individuals involved in corruption and murder be

□ To Page 2

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ANC's battle tactics

S/Times 14/6/92

□ From Page 1

brought to justice. Laying siege to prisons to demand the release of political prisoners is also envisaged.

Homeland governments, particularly Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, would also come under pressure. Mass occupation of the casinos has been discussed.

People would be encouraged to boycott products advertised on the SABC, which the ANC alliance believes should be transformed.

Central to the ANC plan is an appeal to the international community to put pressure on the government to bow to the ANC's demands for rapid movement towards an interim government.

"What needs to be understood is that there is a smooth and a rough road to democracy. The government blocked the smooth road at Codesa 2. We must now travel the rough road," Mr Kasrils said yesterday.

The implementation of Operation Exit, adopted at an alliance summit on May 13 and developed at the ANC's policy conference, was discussed at an alliance meeting on Thursday.

Representatives emphasised that all action should be disciplined and peaceful.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Mr Meyer said after a meeting with the ANC that ANC leader Nelson Mandela had twisted the facts to justify mass action in a speech made in Durban on Friday.

It was not true, Mr Meyer said, that the government was clinging to power at all costs and that the negotiation process had reached a dead end. The best proof was the meetings that had taken place with the ANC recently.

The government remained committed to negotiations but would not be threatened. It was also untrue, Mr Meyer said, that progress had not been made in negotiations.

"The ANC knows it has reached agreement with the government on a transitional phase in which provision will be made for a transitional parliament and a transitional government," he said.

ANC heavies step in

By SOPHIE TEMA

A HIGH-POWERED ANC delegation visited the Vaal Triangle this week as five people lost their lives amid deadly union rivalry.

Allegations of a hit list are also receiving urgent attention from the ANC-/SACP/COSATU leadership. *Ciphen 14/6/92*

Five people have already been killed at the KwaMasiza Hostel following personality clashes between members of the

National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Union officials said three of the victims had been shop stewards.

At a meeting held at the KwaMasiza and Vietnam hostels, SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, accompanied by ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mafumadi, called on members of the ANC and its alliance to stop the killings immediately.



Mass action is a battle for moral high ground



STimes 14/6/92

ON the South African political calendar, June 16 is loaded with emotion and with menace. This year it is, as the starting date for the ANC's attempt to force the National Party's hand by mass action, more doom-laden than usual.

On one side is the National Party, made nervous by the recent demonstration in East Germany that unarmed masses may bring down a hated government; on the other side is the ANC, dragged along helplessly by township youngsters whom it cannot control. Between them, anything may happen.

Much depends, however, on the form that the mass action takes. In a famous exposition of revolutionary tactics, the Brazilian guerrilla leader, Carlos Marighela, argued that violence was necessary to convert political crisis into armed conflict, and so to provoke the security forces to brutal actions that would further alienate the people from their rulers.

If that is what the ANC's mass action is intended to do — and I have no doubt that some of the organisers follow Marighela's script — a heavy onus will fall on the police and the SADF to act with restraint and with iron discipline. Neither force, I fear, has the discipline, nor indeed the training, for that difficult role.

On the contrary, there are people on both sides of the conflict who think they can use violence as an instrument of politics. Police and military officers, who are singularly ill-equipped to deal with this sort of crisis, will no doubt argue that mass action should be crushed before it begins.

Nothing could be more dangerous. Violence is inherently unpredictable, and — as we know from long experience — the danger of uncontrolled mayhem is never greater than when the security forces confront crowds of black demonstrators. Again, the indiscipline of the security forces comes into play.

So, too, does the indiscipline of the mob. Gandhi, the greatest exponent of peaceful mass action, constantly urged his followers to self-discipline and purity of motive; Martin Luther King actually trained his followers in the

techniques of peaceful mass action. Their concern was not pious, but political.

To understand their argument, it is necessary to draw a distinction between mass action as peaceful protest, and mass action which entails civil disobedience. The former is an absolute right, and much as people may dispute the wisdom of strikes, marches, assemblies and protests, there is simply no reason to forbid such acts. Indeed, the police must protect the demonstrators.

Civil disobedience is different. Its purpose is not simply to demonstrate disaffection, nor even to disrupt the normal workings of society, but to show up the immoral nature of the regime, and the injustice of the law. "Unjust law is no law at all," said Thomas Aquinas.

Martin Luther King, challenged by Christian clerics, retorted similarly that when he broke the racist laws of the United States, and accepted the punishment that went with it, he was obeying a higher law. He understood, as did Gandhi, that non-violent disobedience, especially when it attracts brutal punishment or greater injustice, generates immense moral force — the force that can bring down governments.

HOWEVER, there are certain essential criteria for civil disobedience to succeed. A Canadian scholar, Mark MacGuigan, has identified three essential principles: Firstly, civil disobedience must be distinguished from mere protest, which can be achieved by means other than law-breaking, and from actual resistance, which entails conflict. Secondly, civil disobedience must use exclusively non-violent means, even (perhaps especially) when the protesters are subjected to punishment. Thirdly, all legal means of obtaining redress must have been exhausted.

On the last of these points the ANC argues, not altogether convincingly, that it has exhausted the possibilities of negotiation because the government does not negotiate in good faith. The government, of course, disputes this.

The point will be put to the test in the coming days. If the ANC can per-

suaude people, here and abroad, that the government is simply stonewalling, it will generate great pressures on President De Klerk. But if President De Klerk can persuade people that the ANC is using mass action simply to strengthen its hand in negotiations, sympathy will swing to the National Party, and the government will be freed, within judicious limits, to restore order by force.

AN even greater test lies in wait for the proponents of mass action. The second of MacGuigan's points — that exclusively non-violent means must be employed in civil disobedience — is essential to the outcome. In effect, the conflict must be turned into a morality play, with villains and victims clearly identified.

To succeed, the demonstrators must endure, without retaliation or resistance, whatever punishment the law-maker imposes on them. The greater the punishment, the more vivid the injustice, and the greater the moral force which is generated. At the extreme, a demonstrator who dies uncomplainingly acquires the status, and generates the moral force, of martyrdom.

King's demonstrators in the American South were hand-picked for their self-control, and put through rigorous training to endure, without retaliation, assaults by water hoses, teargas, baton charges, and worse.

Nobody, I imagine, thinks that the undisciplined township youth, the lost generations of 1976 and the following years, possess the qualities that might convert mass action into moral pressure. On the contrary, whatever moral advantage they may have acquired from suppression by unjust rulers is likely to be dissipated in cycles of degenerating behaviour, descending from *toy-toy* to stone-throwing, to looting and destruction, to arson and murder, until they discover again, in the very pit of degeneracy, the neck-lace.

At that point, moral advantage will have passed to the Nationalists.

KEN OWEN

Day of grief for mother

By NOMVULA KHALO

JUNE 16 is another day of pain for Nombulelo Makhubu, the mother of Mbuyisa Makhubu.

The picture of him carrying the body of Hector Peterson, the first victim of the 1976 uprising, was used by newspapers around the world.

Makhubu said: "It is believed that my son died in exile years ago of an unknown ailment.

"I last heard from him was in 1978 when he wrote to tell me that he was studying at a Nigerian college.

"He complained about cholera and mental depression and said he spent most of his time in hospital. Later he sent me a photograph of himself, and I think he died soon afterwards, because he looked very skinny.

"Now I hope and pray that no one will come to my house again hoping for an interview. I've had enough. I can't take it any more. I also wish someone could tell me how I can stop newspapers from publishing my son's photo," Makhubu said.

She added: "I wish too that they would stop calling my son a hero. He was not. In my culture you are your brother's keeper, and he only did what he was supposed to do.

"But, I am proud of my son for doing what he did,

and do not blame anyone for what happened to him," she said through tears.

Makhubu was no stranger to politics. Her husband, Lawrance, who was a member of the

ANC, died in Kenya in 1972. He left South Africa in 1963 because of police harassment.

She said that she was distressed because she would never be able to visit the graves of the two

most important people in her life.

"I say this because I have lost hope of ever finding Mbuyisa again.

"To all those parents who have suffered as I have, I say let us not feel



SORROW ... Nombulelo Makhubu.

bitter, but pray to our Lord Jesus Christ to give us strength and courage," said Makhubu.

She said Tuesday, June 16, was a day that Sowetans would never forget. Many lost their loved ones and some of those who survived were left wheelchair-bound.

Nevertheless, Sowetans should not lose hope. The future of every nation lay in its youth.

"They must all do what they are expected to do, and not expect it to be done for them," she added philosophically.

ANC plan to move arms dump to Namibia foiled

By DE WET POTGIETER

PLANS by the ANC to move more than 27 000 tons of armaments as well as several tanks, anti-aircraft guns and troop carriers to Namibia from Angola were thwarted this week.

The plan was ditched when the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation revealed details about Umkhonto we Sizwe's single biggest arms cache in neighbouring states.

On Thursday, sources in Luanda gave the Sunday Times an inventory of the MK arms stashed at Grafanil, 23km east of Luanda, in MPLA warehouses.

Dated February 1992 and signed by the ANC's chief ordinance officer in Luanda, Lister Makeke, the inventory was among other secret documents seized when the ANC's offices in Rua de Liberdade were ransacked earlier this year.

Listed in the inventory are five Russian

tanks, five light armoured vehicles which can also be used as troop carriers, 430 artillery compasses, a grenade launcher, one box of AK-47 night-sights, 2 188 AK-47 rifles, 899 M41 and M44 7,62mm carbines, 32 pairs of infantry binoculars, 727 Makarov pistols, 22 PKM machineguns, six Dragov sniper rifles, 21 heavy calibre machineguns, 11 575kg of TNT, 800kg of plastic explosives, more than two-million rounds of AK-47 ammunition, 8 400 hand-grenades, 5 690 mortar shells, 49 720 Makarov rounds, 15 400 armour-piercing shells, 19 442 anti-tank mines, 13 908 anti-personnel mines and 5 443 limpet mines.

The existence of the cache could seriously embarrass the Angolan government, and could jeopardise peace initiatives before the general election later this year.

Grafanil is situated next to the railway line to Viana, where the ANC used to have a transit camp.

Boesak debate ¹⁶⁷ challenge ^{CT 15/6/92} rejected

THE National Party has turned down a challenge by ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak for a public debate.

The NP was also "full of optimism and confidence" that it would win this week's House of Representatives by-election in Diamant in the Kimberley area, the party's secretary-general, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in an interview published in yesterday's Rapport Metro.

Dr Van der Merwe said Dr Boesak wanted the NP to create a platform for himself.

He accepted that a defeat in Diamant or even a narrow majority would be a setback for the NP, but the result in Diamant would not be a precise reflection of NP support among coloured people.

The NP had initially accepted the Labour Party as partners, but this had changed when the LP embarked on a policy of confrontation, broke agreements and blocked legislation.

Cosatu spells out four-phase plan

SA braced for mass action campaign

11A
B/day 15/6/92

CAPE TOWN — Government is bracing for an extended period of disruption as a result of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign which starts tomorrow.

The security forces were on standby and thousands of the 500 000-strong citizen and commando reserves had been called up or were on standby to cope with the action, government sources said yesterday.

But this was to ensure the law was not broken and to guarantee the safety of citizens should there be intimidation.

"We will maintain peace, law and order and still show the ANC and its partners that its mass action campaign was a waste of time and only injured its own supporters and the very poor that it claims to represent," the source said.

The ANC, SACP and Cosatu at the weekend spelt out a four-phase plan to cripple government and force it to bow to the alliance's demands.

The action starts tomorrow (June 16, Soweto Day) with a day of protest. It will continue with occupations, sit-ins, marches, rallies, and boycotts. It the plan runs its course it will culminate in a general strike in August.

The government source said that while the mass action campaign was totally unnecessary, destructive and unlikely to help negotiations, government had no real problem with marches and rallies.

However, he said there could be intimidation if there were stayaways. Even though marshalls and organisers might be determined to keep marches and rallies

BILLY PADDOCK

peaceful, they could degenerate into dangerous violence especially if there was strong opposition from other political groupings.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa yesterday urged businessmen to shut their factories and offices on days of mass action or strike during the programme.

Shilowa said the fact that business leaders had played a role in securing a yes vote in the referendum showed they were supportive of a new constitution.

"We have made our demands and we would like business — unless it wants to be perceived as siding with government — to say how it wants to participate in our mass action programme," Shilowa said.

Cosatu was prepared to meet business leaders "in whatever way" to discuss the matter.

Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons yesterday declined to comment.

Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman Musa Zondi yesterday called on supporters to make the campaign fail by not taking part. Addressing a rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre yesterday, Zondi said his organisation was opposed to the programme.

He said it would damage Codesa negotiations, cripple the economy and give rise to large-scale violence.

Shilowa said the programme's first phase — the mobilisation phase — would begin tomorrow and finish at the end of the

□ To Page 2

Mass action

15/6/92

11A

□ From Page 1

month. During this period locally and regionally planned mass demonstrations, including marches and pickets, would be staged.

Another key day in this period would be June 26 — the day on which the Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown in 1955.

If government did not accede to the demand for an interim government, the second phase of the programme would swing into action. Shilowa said nationally co-ordinated mass action campaigns would be launched in this phase.

Phase three, to begin in August, would be characterised by a general strike, more mass marches and sporadic stayaways.

Phase four, dubbed the "exit gate", is when government is supposed to exit from power.

Shilowa said running concurrently with Cosatu's unprecedented mass action campaign would be "intensified" campaigns for demands such as a living wage, lower food prices and the extension of "worker rights" to domestic and farm workers.

He said his union would propose to its allies that discussions with Azapo and the PAC be held as soon as possible to secure their participation in the mass action programme.

Azapo, the PAC and Nactu have said they would not engage in campaigns aimed at promoting Codesa.

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Azapo 'aiming for power in all-in poll'

STAR 15/6/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter (11A)

The Azanian People's Organisation was aiming for power in the first inclusive general election and would not wait to become an opposition party under a majority government, according to Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Nefolovhodwe said Azapo — which would soon embark on a major fund-raising and recruitment drive country-wide — was "contending for power like any other organisation".

Azapo, Mr Nefolovhodwe said, would not be content with merely being a major force in opposition politics once a new government was in power, but would aim at power itself during the first all-in election.

He was reacting to a recent story in The Star quoting his predecessor in the Black Consciousness organisation, Profes-

sor Itumeleng Mosala, who said Azapo would emerge as a major political player once an ANC government — widely regarded as a fait accompli — was in power.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said the impression had been created that he agreed with Professor Mosala's views, expressed during a recorded interview with The Star in London.

His position, he said, was that Azapo would take on whatever interim government was formed as a result of negotiations in Codesa, which his organisation regarded as a fraud.

However, Mr Nefolovhodwe said Azapo would not take part in elections for a constituent assembly unless it was convinced these would be conducted to its satisfaction.

Conditions which would have to be met included the restriction of all security forces' to their bases and that the elections be supervised by international observers.

ANC wants joint action

(11A)
Yowefan 15/6/92.

By MONK NKOMO

THE ANC will hold crucial talks with all anti-apartheid movements, including the PAC and Azapo, to brief them on its planned mass action, it was announced yesterday.

Media spokesman for the ANC, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said both the PAC and Azapo, who recently announced they would not participate in the mass action, would soon be briefed on the objectives of the planned action.

Describing both organisations as "our natural fellow fighters", Mamoepa said they had already started with an intense consultative process with anti-apartheid movements, churches, youth organisations, students and women organisations.

Codenamed "Operation Exit Gate", the planned mass action was a four-phase battle plan that would include national strikes, stayaways and intensified civil disobedience, the ANC said.

Mamoepa said it was unfortunate that both Azapo and the PAC had rejected their plans before they had even been briefed.

"Throughout all our protest actions in this country we have always sought broader support for our campaigns from all anti-apartheid organisations, including the PAC and Azapo."

"Mass action has been there before Codesa. And negotiations are part of the struggle for freedom. Our demands can be met through negotiations or mass action. In fact, it is through mass action that we are today negotiating at Codesa," said Mamoepa.

Hector's mother for PAC's service

Sowetan 15/6/92 (11A)
Sowetan Reporter

THE mother of Hector Pietersen, the first victim of the June 76 uprisings, will speak at the Pan Africanist Congress' commemoration rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto tomorrow.

Mrs Dorothy Pietersen will share the platform with PAC president Mr Clarence Mlamli Makwetu. Hector's sister will also be at the rally.

African cultural groups Bayete and Sakhile will render cultural items during the service.

PAC West Rand spokesman Ntsundeni Madzunya said: "We are urging all the oppressed African masses of our stolen land to highlight the significance of June 16 in our struggling history by attending organised rallies throughout the country."

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State declares war on violence

Sowetan 15/6/92 Political Staff

THE State is to give itself drastic new powers - including a toughening-up of detention without trial procedures - in an attempt to curb the continuing violence and intimidation.

New legislation to be tabled in Parliament today aims also to ban private armies, give attorneys-general the power to refuse bail and to drastically streamline court procedures for serious crimes of violence and intimidation.

The Criminal Law Second Amendment Bill, as it is called, was described by a Justice Ministry spokesman this week as a "declaration of war against violence" - although the Bill has raised concerns that the rule of law is again under threat.

Indaba seeks drought aid solutions

By Julienne du Toit

Widely divergent organisations at the weekend put aside their differences to work out a national drought relief strategy.

The Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches, who opened a conference on the drought at the University of the Witwatersrand, urged for solutions to avert possible mass starvation.

A food coupon system for the very poor might be implemented, he said.

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu of the Independent Development Trust

(IDT) said funds available for drought relief were not adequate and the need to co-ordinate them was a major issue.

The drought should not be hijacked as a political issue, as this could only be counter-productive.

The conference, hosted by the IDT and the Kagiso Trust, included political organisations such as the ANC and IFP, various church groups, trade unions, government departments, homeland governments, embassies, agricultural unions and representatives from the business sector.

In total about 68 or-

ganisations, including Operation Hunger and World Vision, worked out a co-ordinating strategy between parties involved in drought relief.

The conference set up a consultative forum of about 30 members, with a national steering committee, which will meet soon.

Consultative council priorities were:

- To fit drought relief into longer-term development planning, especially at regional level.

- The current commercial agricultural sector should not be propped up

by drought relief.

- Aid that farmers got specifically for farm-workers should be subject to control by representative drought committees.

- Existing protocols between the Government and self-governing states regarding water planning and provision should be reviewed.

The consultative forum's functions would be to exchange information between participating organisations, match needs with resources, establish priorities, and lobby for aid internationally and nationally.

Tribute to man of courage

Sowetan 15/6/92  *11A*

FORMER chairman of the South African Communist Party Mr Dan Tloome, who died at Hillbrow Hospital at the weekend, would always be remembered for his powerful leadership.

In paying tribute to the 73-year-old veteran activist, the African National Congress said the liberation movement would always continue to draw strength from the memory of his powerful leadership, which had survived all forms of repression.

Tloome, who was also on the national executive committee of the ANC, died from diabetes and heart problems on Friday.

Known to fellow activists as Uncle Dan, Tloome was born in Bloemfontein on 17 February 1919.

He received his primary and high school education in Bloemfontein. He later trained as a teacher and took up a teaching post at Vierfontein

in the Orange free State.

At the end of the 1920s, Tloome moved to Johannesburg and enrolled as a part-time journalism and accountancy student. At the same time he worked full-time in the trade union field.

He started off as an organiser in the Milling Workers Union, to which he was later elected secretary.

In 1941, the Council of Non-European Trade Unions was formed.

Outstanding

Mr Gana Makabeni was elected president and Tloome became its vice president.

By 1945, the union could speak for more than 158 000 workers organised in 119 trade unions.

Tloome was at the same time also active in the ANC Youth League.

The Youth League brought together an outstanding collection of young leaders. These

included people like Mr Nelson Mandela, now president of the ANC, Mr Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC.

In 1949 Tloome was elected into the national executive committee of the ANC.

During the Second World War he joined the South African Communist Party. He was first elected to the Johannesburg district committee and later to the central committee.

Tloome played a big role in the formation of the Mineworker's Union.

He was influential in the organisation of the 1946 miners strike in which more than 100 000 workers took part.

He was also prominent in organising the Defiance Campaign of 1952. Together with other ANC leaders, he was tried and convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for his part in leading the campaign.

From 1953 onwards Tloome was banned and

placed under house arrest to prevent him from taking part in political issues.

He could not speak on public platforms and could not leave the magisterial district Johannesburg. But he continued his political activities, and his views were always sought by fellow activists.

He went into exile in 1963.

Deputy secretary

He was a member of the executive committees of the ANC and the South African Council of Trade Unions, and a member of the central committee of the SACP.

During the 1970s he was deputy secretary general of the ANC.

After the death of Mr Moses Mabhida, Tloome was elected chairman of the SACP, a position he held until 1991.

His funeral arrangements had not been made at the time of going to Press.

Brute force not the answer - ANC

Sowetan 15/6/92

11A

THE decision to put SADF units on standby in response to the ANC's mass action campaign tomorrow amounted to a declaration of war, the organisation said at the weekend.

The ANC accused the Government of relying on propaganda and brute force, instead of negotiating with sincerity.

The SADF has called up citizen force and commando force members to be placed on standby for the ANC's mass action plans tomorrow, the 16th anniversary of the June 16 1976 Soweto riots.

SADF spokesman Colo-

nel John Rolt confirmed the move.

The move was supported by the Conservative Party.

CP's spokesman for defence, Dr WJ Snyman called for the units to be used primarily for "home and family" protection against any possible threat "from the communist-inspired ANC".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, cut short his tour of the US because the "IFP and I are very concerned about the ANC's decision.

"There's already so much violence that we cannot defuse, and the ANC's decision will only exacerbate the ongoing vio-

lence," Buthelezi said on his return.

The ANC said instead of guaranteeing the protection of people whose only means to make their views known was to vote with their feet, president FW de Klerk "and his colleagues" were identifying them as the enemy.

"There can be no question that the mobilisation of the SADF is intended to intimidate the disenfranchised majority with a massive display of force.

"The attitude displayed by the Government is in marked contrast to its lenience towards the mass action of armed vigilantes, who have time without number been permitted to

parade through the streets with their weapons, leaving death and destruction in their wake," the organisation said.

The Government sought to put the onus for the prevailing murder, mayhem and chaos on the ANC, and blame mass action for the country's problems, the ANC said.

The people of South Africa had the undisputed right to demonstrate their opposition to Government policies and practices that they found unacceptable, it said.

The ANC demanded that the country should move forward rapidly to an interim government of national unity. - Sapa.

Pro-Winnie, in trouble

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress Women's League members who demonstrated in support of former regional chairwoman Mrs Winnie Mandela last month will face a disciplinary committee soon, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The entire regional executive of the ANCWL was suspended on May 24 after a memorandum had been presented at ANC headquarters complaining that Mrs Mandela was being victimised by some "faceless" congress leaders who had made "unauthorised" allegations about her private life to the media. (11A) CT 16/6/92

Police deny accusations at Mlangeni's inquest

SUSAN RUSSELL

A POLICE officer investigating the death of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, killed last year by a booby-trapped cassette player, denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that there had been an attempt to source the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible.

Capt André Kritzinger made the denial during cross-examination at an inquest on Mlangeni.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when he activated the device at his home.

The cassette player and a tape marked "Evidence of hit squads" had originally been posted to policeman Dirk Coetzee in Lusaka, where he had taken refuge with the ANC after making public his claims about the existence of police hit squads.

Coetzee left the package at the post office in Zambia because he did not have the money to claim it and it was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed the booby-trapped cassette player was sent to him by former colleagues at the police farm Vlakplaas from where, he alleges, the hit squads operated.

The inquest court heard yesterday that the yellow sticker on the package was one used internationally to facilitate a uniform postal process but was not used in SA, which had been excluded because of sanctions and other isolationist policies against the country.

Counsel acting for Mlangeni's family, G Rautenbach, suggested to Kritzinger that a statement obtained by the police from a post office employee stating that the sticker was not used in SA was an attempt by the police investigators to distance the origin of the device as far away from SA as possible.

Kritzinger denied this.

Hostel residents warn of revenge

By Day 16/6/92

WILSON ZWANE

DEMOLITION of a hostel in Dobsonville, Soweto, by township residents had set the stage for a "bloody confrontation", West Rand Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka warned yesterday.

On Sunday, Dobsonville residents used earthmoving equipment to demolish sections of the local hostel, while the majority of the Inkatha-supporting inmates were attending an Inkatha Youth Brigade rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre.

Residents commandeered an earth-mover and a road leveller and crashed through the razor wire, smashing into the hostel and tearing open four rooms.

Kubheka said since police had displayed a disregard for the safety of hostel residents, the time had come for hostel residents to take the law into their own hands and defend themselves against attacks from township residents.

"We will use whatever means at our disposal to repel attacks directed at us," Kubheka said.

He added that the development would lead to a "bloody confrontation" between township residents, bent on demolishing hostels, and hostel dwellers.

Soweto police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said police would do everything they could to protect lives and property.

In its monthly report on repression, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday 296 people had died and 274 had been injured in violence countrywide last month.

Most of the deaths (228) and injuries (192) were reported in the PWV region.

Meanwhile, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) is distributing pamphlets on the Reef offering R10 000 rewards to people with information leading to the conviction of those responsible for politically-motivated attacks.

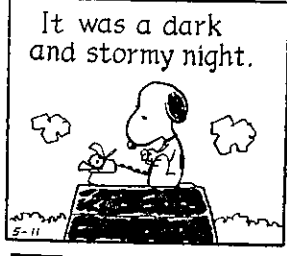
A spokesman for the LHR said the pamphlet campaign would be extended to Natal and the western Cape.

In another development, the national peace committee has requested an explanation from the Student Representatives Council (SRC) of Soweto's Vista University of the disruption of a peace symposium by its members last week.

"At the time when the urgency of normalised police/community relations is being stressed by the national peace secretariat, the national peace committee strongly condemns last week's disruption of a peace symposium in Soweto by members of the Student Representatives Council of Vista University," committee spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



Winnie's clique faces a hearing

By Day 16/6/92

ANC Women's League members who demonstrated in support of former regional chairman Winnie Mandela last month will face a disciplinary committee soon, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday. (11A)

The league's entire regional executive was suspended after a memorandum was presented at ANC headquarters complaining that Mandela was being victimised by "faceless" congress leaders who had made "unauthorised" allegations about her private life to the media.

Asked if Mandela would face the committee, Niehaus said he could not comment. — Sapa.

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ANC arts and culture secretary-general Wally Serote addressing the Johannesburg news conference yesterday at which the organisation threatened mass action over its demands that the performing arts councils be restructured. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

ANC warning to govt over funding of cultural activities

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC's arts and culture department has demanded that government suspend all funding of cultural activities.

ANC arts and culture secretary-general Wally Serote said yesterday the organisation was considering launching mass action on yet another front — this time against government-funded performing arts councils.

This followed a breakdown of talks last month about demands for a trans-

formation of the cultural scene in SA to allow the "participation of the majority of people". The organisations were "turning a deaf ear" to these demands, he said. *By Day 16/6/92*

His department was concerned about the representation and legitimacy of government-funded cultural institutions and held talks with all the provincial performing arts councils last month.

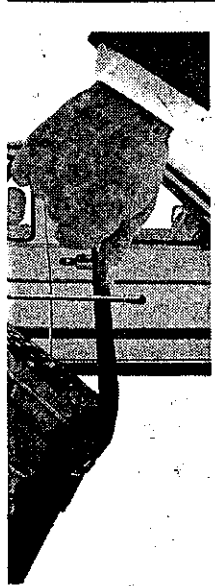
The talks broke down when the councils indicated they would have to consult government before continuing, he said.

"We have no choice but to pressurise them into ... involving the entire population," said Serote.

Serote also announced that the ANC had formed a commission to develop a policy on the funding of arts and culture in SA.

The aim of the commission was to develop and define the terms of reference for funding on the basis of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexual and united SA.

The funding policy needed to reflect the views and aspirations of the broadest range of individual players and interest groups operating in the field, he said.



Sisulu calls for investor boycott

BOSTON — ANC chief economist Max Sisulu told an investment meeting on Sunday it was not time to put money in SA, saying this would wrongly reward Pretoria's white leaders and stymie democracy talks.

Sisulu said sanctions had brought SA's white leaders to the negotiating table, where talks aimed at establishing a nonracial democracy had stalled. Sanctions alone would keep them there, he said. *11A*

"We are therefore saying now is not the time to reward (President F W) de Klerk, now is not the time to embrace apartheid, now is not the time to invest in SA," Sisulu told a meeting of the Social Investment Forum, a private US group that encourages value-oriented investing.

He said opportunities in a post-apartheid SA were "limitless" but that the ANC did not think a free market alone could deal with "the structural imbalances and inequalities" centuries of colonial and apartheid rule had brought. *16/6/92*

The ANC was committed to the creation of a "mixed economy" with co-operation between the state, private companies, financial institutions and unions, Sisulu said.

SA would need "massive flows of foreign investment" but the ANC believed this should "complement" domestically derived investment and productivity, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Azapo claims govt and ANC have secret pact

AZAPO claimed yesterday to have documentary evidence that government and the ANC had come to a secret agreement ruling out majority rule for 10 years. *11A*

The organisation claimed the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance had misled its supporters by saying its mass action programme, starting today, was aimed at ousting government.

ANC and Cosatu officials have said the mass action programme was aimed not only at breaking the Codesa logjam but also at the transfer of power to the majority.

A senior Azapo official said yesterday his organisation had documentary evidence that the transfer of power to the black majority was not the alliance's top priority.

The official said according to documents — obtained from Azapo supporters in Europe — there was an agreement between government and the ANC, which effectively ruled out majority rule for 10 years.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday Azapo would be better advised to concentrate on its campaigns aimed at ousting government.

Macozoma also rejected Azapo's proof as fabricated.

The Azapo official said judging by statements by the alliance's officials, including ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, it was obvious

WILSON ZWANE

the campaign was aimed at making Codesa negotiations successful.

Mokaba last week said his organisation would hold a "people's referendum" to test the scale of rejection of government's proposal of a senate, a 75% majority in a constitution-making body and on regionalism.

The Azapo official said his organisation was not opposed to mass action. "On the contrary. We are prepared to launch joint mass action campaigns with whatever organisation, provided such campaigns centred on the transfer of power to the black majority and the redistribution of wealth."

Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said at the weekend his union would propose discussions with Azapo, the PAC and Nactu to secure their participation.

The Azapo official said his organisation would treat today as a public holiday. But that did not suggest Azapo supported the alliance's mass action programme.

National peace committee spokesman Val Pauquet said the committee's executive had agreed to set up a system to monitor violations of the national peace accord during the mass action programme.

soldiers opened fire on worshippers in a church recently, killing several, her husband was taken prisoner.

Mrs Mashava and other women were ordered to carry bags of maize meal on their heads.

A woman who did not

hacked to death by a soldier. Horrified, Mrs Mashava screamed and fell.

A soldier ripped off her dress and held the barrel of his rifle against her cheek, saying: "Try that once more and you're the next to die."

That night she managed to escape. She

the village where her daughter lived, and they reached the Mangweni transit camp five days later.

Refugees arriving at the camp are registered, checked medically and immunised. Each person is issued with a blanket, a bar of soap, clothing

to last a month.

Those who are fortunate enough to have relatives in Tonga go to their families, while others depend on the kind-hearted but poor locals.

Refugee field co-ordinator Sally McKibbin, who has worked among

ahead, and they could only pray for rain.

It was late afternoon when new arrivals were issued with blankets, soap and maize meal.

"This is the first time in more than a year that I have held a bar of soap," an old woman said.

ANC denies having armaments in Angola

Star Africa Service

The ANC has denied reports that it still has huge quantities of armaments, including tanks, anti-aircraft guns and troop carriers, in Angola.

Weekend reports said efforts by the ANC to move the more than 27 000 tons of weaponry to Namibia were abandoned after last week's disclosure of their existence by the International

Freedom Foundation. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the reports were totally untrue. "The ANC abides by the international agreements reached with the independence of Na-

mbia," he said. ANC arms and personnel had been moved from Angola to countries "further north" after the signing of international agreements paving the way for the indepen-

dence of Namibia. According to the reports, an inventory of weapons was among documents seized when the ANC's offices in Rua de Liberdade were ransacked earlier this year.

STAR 16/6/92

11A



'Angry' ANC snubs Kenyan president

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE ANC yesterday cancelled a meeting between its president Nelson Mandela and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi in an apparent reaction to the Kenyan leader's earlier talks with President F W de Klerk.

Sapa reports ANC sources were "hopping mad" with Moi for ending a 23-year-old embargo on public visits by African leaders to SA by meeting De Klerk last week. *6/1/92*

ANC sources said by cancelling the meeting, Mandela was snubbing Arap Moi, who had praised De Klerk on his political reforms during their meeting in Cape Town last week.

Arap Moi stopped in SA on his way to the Earth Summit in Brazil last week. He returned after the summit and his delegation leaves SA today.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma confirmed last night that the meeting — which he described as merely a courtesy call — had been cancelled.

He said although the meeting was rescheduled, it was not on the cards in the near future.

Mandela was leaving for Malawi tomorrow and would subsequently visit Nigeria. Mandela and Arap Moi had met on two previous occasions.

A spokesman for the Kenyan delegation confirmed the meeting had been cancelled. However, he said a meeting with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had also been cancelled.

He would not give any explanation for the cancellations.

Foreign Affairs said it had not hosted the current leg of Arap Moi's visit and could not comment on the the ANC's cancellation of the meeting.

Parties fail to make progress on crucial Codesa issues

11A

CODESA ground to a virtual halt yesterday with government and the ANC still at loggerheads on a number of crucial issues.

Even the size and composition of the daily management committee, scheduled to be decided at yesterday's management committee session, was left undecided and referred to the next meeting.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the talks between government and the ANC outside Codesa had also made "no progress whatsoever" on critical issues such as the creation of a senate, the percentages needed for adopting a new constitution and the timeframe and structure of a constitution-making body.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer, however, said bilateral talks were proceeding favourably and constructively.

One ANC management committee member said government had failed to realise how serious the deadlock had become. Government was conveying the message that everything was going fine while failing to tackle the "hard issues".

Codesa's management committee did decide yesterday to create a sub-committee to investigate the status of discussions within working group 2 which is concerned with the constitution-making body, prior to

the second plenary session.

It also formed a standing committee to examine working group 4's discussions around the TBVC states' incorporation, which would be considered individually.

Another subcommittee was created to make recommendations on arrangements for management committee meetings to take place with the media present.

But apart from cosmetic advances, the ANC and government appeared deeply divided on the crucial issues.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said the biggest single deadlocked issue concerned the writing of the constitution. "The question of whether Codesa or a constitution-mak-

ing body writes the constitution goes to the root of the matter," he said.

"It must be either democracy or Codesa, the two are not synonymous," he said.

Ramaphosa told a news conference yesterday the ANC had proposed a moratorium on government legislation aimed at restructuring defence and local government.

One member from each of the participating parties in Codesa would be travelling to the US to observe the forthcoming elections, it was announced. The invitation to spend three weeks in the US had been extended by the US government.

Rallies to focus on uprising

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff



Soweto will be the focus of political activity today as all major liberation movements hold rallies in the township that spawned the pupil uprising 16 years ago.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa yesterday said the main focus of the ANC rally at Orlando Stadium would be "mass action for the transfer of power to the majority".

The main speaker will be Nelson Mandela, who will unveil a statue to honour

those who died in 1976.

Azapo projects director Lybon Mabaso said Azapo's message at Regina Mundi Church would be for people to recommit themselves "not for the vote, not for negotiations but for the land and seizure of power". The main speaker will be Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

PAC West Rand official Bonga Majola said the PAC's service at the Jabulani Amphitheatre would be addressed by its president, Clarence Makwetu.

Soweto pupils will lay

down their pens today to commemorate the 1976 uprisings. They will return to classrooms tomorrow.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Themba Khoza said the IFP had decided to call mass meetings in city centres to show that "the majority of workers reject the ANC's mass action programmes".

IFP Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu said meetings would be based mainly in Meadowlands, Katlehong and Sebokeng. The theme would be an appeal for peace.

STAR 16/6/92

Govt talks a waste of time, says ANC

Political Staff

As the ANC was poised last night to embark on a three-month programme of mass action, it urged the Government not to delude the public on the seriousness of the crisis between them.

After yesterday's meeting of the Codesa management committee, the ANC and the Government gave contradictory accounts of progress towards resolving the deadlock on who should write a new constitution.

While ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied that any progress had been achieved at Codesa or in bilateral talks with the Government, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said negotiations were proceeding "favourably and constructively" and explained Mr Ramaphosa's contrasting view as a way for the ANC to justify its mass action.

Mr Ramaphosa said the two parties had moved no further than identifying areas of difference. He described the meetings as "totally frustrating and a total waste of time" as the Government had not tabled any proposals to resolve the deadlock.

Mr Ramaphosa said he had told the management committee that mass action would be "a peaceful form of protest against a Government which is intransigent and bent on holding on to power as long as possible".

He said the ANC had ensured from its side that no loss of life would occur, but was concerned about agents provocateurs disrupting rallies and marches.

Mr Meyer said the Government had urged the ANC to suspend the mass action. It was a matter of concern that the tripartite alliance had decided before Codesa to launch its programme of mass action, Mr Meyer said. The motivation lay not in the negotiation process

● To Page 3

'Govt talks waste of time'

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● From Page 1

nor Codesa; the ANC was building a power base.

In Cape Town last night, President de Klerk charged that the state of the negotiations process could not justify the mass action, and called on the public to distance itself from this "disruption".

"Protest actions of the scale and nature which are planned do not coincide with the spirit of honest negotiation to which the ANC and its allies have bound themselves at Codesa. It also goes against the spirit of the Peace Accord."

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the Government was not opposed to peaceful and legal protest, but to mass action which led to "mindless violence, destruction of lives and property, and large-scale economic disruption".

The security forces would not tolerate the disruption of the public transport system; intimidation; the occupation of State or semi-State buildings; the disruption of emergency and essential services; damage to property; or any action affecting the public's security.

Security force protection of national key points has been

stepped up and troops are on standby to maintain essential services, reports Peter Fabricius.

Defence Minister Gene Louw told Parliament last night that apart from the 9 900 men which the defence force already had deployed on a daily basis in the country, certain part-time Citizen Force and Commando units were on 72-hour standby.

ANC MP Dave Dalling had earlier called the call-up "evil and hypocritical" and said the ANC demanded that it be withdrawn immediately.

Cosatu said: "We reject with contempt the attempt by the Government and police to whip up emotions around the impending programme of rolling mass action."

"Given their past record, the Government and police war-talk is extremely sinister, and suggests they are trying to create a war psychosis to enable them to crack down on peaceful mass action."

The National Peace Committee last night urged Mr de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to commit themselves to Peace Accord procedures rather than "strong-arm tactics" during the mass action.

Protests and Codesa come under attack

11A
Star 17/6/92
By Stan Hlophe
and Thabo Leshilo

The ANC's mass action campaign and Codesa came under attack at Azapo and PAC June 16 commemoration services.

Speaking at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu said Codesa had "structural inefficiencies and is loaded with discredited lackeys".

"The De Klerk Government has institutionalised a deadly double agenda to talk to the leaders by day and kill the African people by night."

At Regina Mundi, Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe appealed to the ANC to "join us in our struggle to usher in a socialist Azania".

National Council of Trade Unions assistant general-secretary Cunningham Ngcukana declared: "We (black people) are not stormtroopers for the ANC. We will not let workers be used for Codesa."

SAP's Martin Luther King ad offends widow

STAR
17/6/92

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By HUGH ROBERTON

CORETTA Scott King, widow of civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King, has angrily attacked the South African Police for invoking the name of her late husband in its weekend advertisements on the ANC's mass action campaign.

The advertisements claimed that Dr King's belief in peaceful protest was a model and inspiration to the SAP, and the advertisements urged South Africans to follow Dr King's lead.

Mrs King described the use of her husband's name by the SAP as "perhaps the most offensive and outrageous abuse of my husband's name that I have ever seen."

Her statement said: "With its long history of oppression of the black citizens of South Africa, including massacres of innocent men, women and children in peaceful demonstrations, most recently in Sebokeng in 1990, the SAP are poorly qualified as advocates of non-violence.

"Martin Luther King was strongly opposed to apartheid, which the SAP has supported with the most vicious tactics imaginable, including murder, torture and a relentless campaign of terror against the non-



Coretta Scott King ... support for mass action campaign.

violent movement for freedom and human rights in SA."

Mrs King urged President de Klerk to order the SAP to "immediately cease" using her husband's name in its propaganda, adding she supported wholeheartedly the "non-violent mass action campaign for nonracial democracy in South Africa." □

ANC may be on the wrong track

STAR
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11A
333

The ANC must not bank on international sympathy for its programme of mass action, writes HUGH ROBERTON of the Washington Bureau.

MASS ACTION by the ANC would attract little or no international sympathy and probably would fail to advance the ANC's cause inside South Africa, according to Irish diplomat and political commentator Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien and his son Patrick, who have just returned to Washington after an extended visit to South Africa.

Their views were published this weekend in the Atlantic Monthly, a prestigious magazine devoted to politics, international affairs and the arts.

This is the O'Briens' second article on South Africa. Their first followed their controversial visit to the country in 1986 during which violence erupted at the University of Cape Town when Dr O'Brien attempted to deliver a lecture.

Suggesting that President de Klerk would be unlikely to go much further than he had done in proposing a transition to full democracy, the O'Briens ask: "Can he be forced to concede the substance of the ANC's demands?" Their conclusion: "Probably not."

"ANC militants often threaten to 'make South Africa ungovernable' if their full demands are not met. The trouble is, those areas that the ANC might be able to make ungovernable — the black townships — already are ungovernable. Many of them are theatres of inter-black factional violence, most of it between ANC supporters and supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, and all chronically suffer from large-scale criminal violence.

"An ANC summons to mass insurrection might make things even more violent in those areas, but the white community would not be sufficiently affected to force it to concede the ANC's demands.

"A sustained all-out miners' strike would indeed shake white South Africa, but such a strike seems unlikely. The miners did not undertake one when the apartheid code was still in force, although Winnie Mandela called on them to do so. Why should they impose upon themselves the miseries of a sustained general strike just because the ANC chose to reject the far-reaching programme of reform which has already swept away all the legal institutions of apartheid (with the exception, for the moment, only of the homelands)?"

The O'Briens predict: "Cosatu, the ably led black trade union movement, will declare solidarity with the ANC but will continue to look after the interests of its own members. The most the ANC can count on is some token strikes of limited duration."

The authors argue that although big strikes can be organised — they point to the two-day strike organised in the first week of last November — they are extremely hazardous and two-edged. The November strike ended in tragedy, with heavy fighting on the President Steyn gold mine between strikers and opponents of the strike.

"The greatest strike in South African history had done little damage to the mine owners, but its principal victims were the miners themselves. Failure on such a scale discredited the idea, fostered by the ANC, that the strike weapon will bring the

ANC to power in South Africa. The episode also provided further demonstration that the ethnic factor, dismissed by the ANC as a fiction of apartheid, is of growing significance in post-apartheid South Africa."

The O'Briens say the same hazards apply to the other political weapons at the ANC's disposal, including boycotts, and add: "Some ANC members — and all the groups to the Left of the party — seem to believe that by rejecting the proposals of the NP and agitating against it, they can regenerate international pressure on Pretoria and revive sanctions.

"This seems quite unlikely. The NP's September proposals are far-reaching enough, and democratic enough, to appeal to most Western governments. The variations they introduce to the one person, one vote system

have precedents in other democracies: Switzerland, Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States.

"If the ANC rejects them in order to negotiate an improved version, its position will at least be understood internationally. But if it attempts to 'make South Africa ungovernable' it will attract little or no international sympathy. The ANC's initial denunciations of the De Klerk proposals are actually helpful to De Klerk, because they refute the more dangerous charges of his Conservative rivals: That he has given in to the ANC's demands."

The O'Briens describe President de Klerk as "a formidable and resourceful political leader" who has shown great personal courage in standing up to the far Right, and who has demonstrated his ability to stand

by his principles and pursue his objectives. The ANC's rejection of his constitutional proposals was probably anticipated by him, and indications are that he expects a period of "prolonged wrangling" with the ANC.

"South Africa probably will get a new constitution sometime during this decade, and probably early in it, and that constitution will probably quite closely resemble De Klerk's proposals," they predict.

□ Patrick Cruise O'Brien is black. He was adopted by Dr and Mrs O'Brien when he was a small child, and following an outstanding academic career has joined Dr O'Brien in many research projects around the world. They have jointly authored many articles on current events, including two on the changes in South Africa. □

Stop black killings - BCMA

By MOKGADI PELA

11A

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania has made an impassioned plea to those murdering black people to stop immediately.

A message from BCMA chairman Mr. Mosibudi Mangena in Harare said failure to do so would justify black people conducting Nuremburg-style trials in a liberated country.

He said the killing of 25 blacks in the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle was a "damning indictment on all of us and an insult to the memory of the heroes of June 16, 1976." *Sowetan 17/6/72*

"The 1976 freedom fighters, who were imbued with the philosophy of Black Consciousness, loved and respected Black people. Contempt and hatred prevalent in the Black community today are shameful and depressing. We kill, maim and offend one another randomly. It appears some in the black community love the oppression more than they love themselves," Mangena said.

JUNE 16 ROUND-UP

Opposition to ANC call criticised

Sowetan 17/6/92

11A

THE responses of opponents of the African National Congress' call for mass action are directly contributing to a climate of conflict in which violence may escalate, says the University of the Witwatersrand's Project for the Study of Violence.

In a statement yesterday the PSV said the call by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to resist the mass action was ambiguous and could be interpreted as a call to arms.

The PSV also criticised SA Police advertisements showing a picture of a "necklace" victim attached to a warning of the possible effects of mass action as being

possibly interpreted as inflammatory.

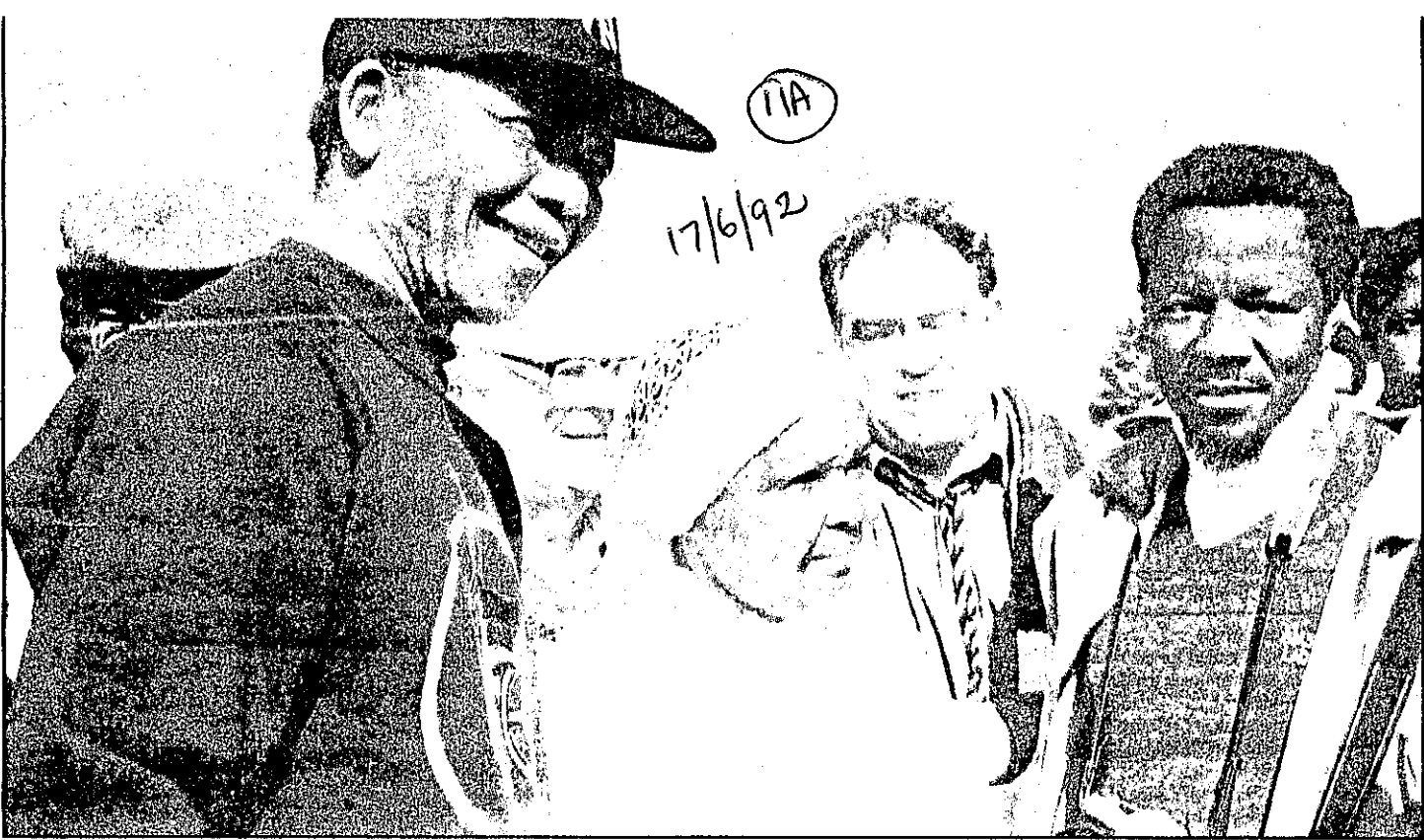
"One may well ask why, in all the days and months of recent train massacres, no comparable advertising campaign was launched by the SAP?"

The statement did concede the ANC's call for mass action might be considered by some to be provocative.

"The Project for the Study of Violence does not believe that mass action necessarily leads to violence. However, violence is undoubtedly more likely at present... The Government, political interest groups and the mass media actively contribute to a climate of violence by continually referring to violence instead of peace." - *Sapa*



Inkatha Freedom Party women break into a dance at a June 16 rally at Meadowlands Hostel.



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC officials Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils with Mrs Dorothy Petersen, mother of Hector Petersen, the first victim of the Soweto students uprising on June 16 1976. Also with them is Mr Sam Nzima, the photographer who took the picture of Hector after he had been shot dead. The picture made world headlines.
Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

Killers spoil day

*Peaceful
June 16
rallies*

— See pages 2, 6, 7 and 8

MYSTERY gunmen attacked pedestrians and motorists at Soweto's Jabulani Flats and Moletsane township last night, killing nine people. (Full report on page 2)

The incident marred an otherwise peaceful June 16 which was commemorated by hundreds of thousands of people.

The latest killings raise the death toll on the

Reef since Monday night to at least 28.

The killings were mainly attributed to unknown gunmen who attacked taxi and train commuters.

The June 16 stayaway by workers also disrupted the country's industry.

Black liberation organisations, monitored by security forces, held rallies and services throughout the country.

Most of the rallies ended peacefully. A bus carrying PAC supporters from a rally, however, was shot at as it passed the Nancefield Hostel.

Each Cigarette a Masterpiece

Rembrandt VAN RIJN
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IN SUPERIOR MILD

Cream of the Crop

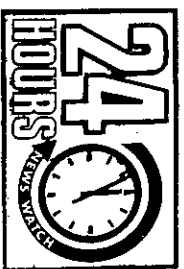
THE
MASTERPIECE

Voices of the people

114

AKG 17/6/72

Mass action . . . and picture images taken on two fronts



AT NYANGA

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

MASS action will end at the Union Buildings with the installation of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first genuine president, according to the new chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Siphwe Nyande.

At a June 16 commemorative rally in Nyanga yesterday, he accused President De Klerk of having a secret strategy of negotiating with the ANC on one hand and undermining it on the other.

"From the moment he decided to talk to us, he was not serious about talking. He just wanted relief from international pressure. If he was serious we would not have had a deadlock at Codesa."

The deadlock was all about the refusal of the National Party to hand over power, he told about 7 000 people.

"We've been saying we must knock some sense into their heads. Now we must bring them to their knees."

He accused the National Party and its surrogates, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, of playing a macabre political game in which blacks were killed.

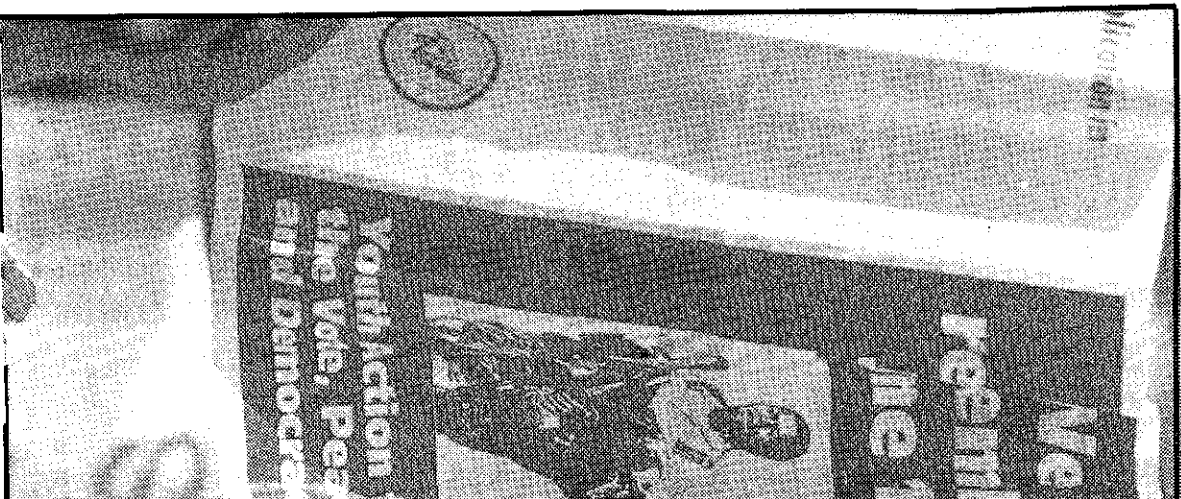
He said the ANC was not threatening the government. "But this mass action must stop in Pretoria, right at the Union Buildings when we install Nelson Mandela as this country's first genuine president. When we stop, Nelson Mandela must be in the seat of power."

He said mass action was not a call for violence, but a "call to people to vote with their feet for the destruction of the South African government".

He criticised the government's decision to mobilise the security forces. This and the mobilisation by the IFP were designed to stop "you and me from marching to freedom, to stop our rolling mass action".

The ANC had no alternative but to press ahead and topple the government, he said. The ANC would not give the government what it wanted.

"They want to negotiate on the basis that the ANC will not enjoy any power when it comes to power. The same NP that once wielded draconian powers



contact me for more information.

"The PAC wishes to emphasise that we are fighting for our land in order to control it. Our responsibility is to control every inch of Azania," he said to deafening applause.

now, on the eve of its exit, wants to reduce the power of an organisation enjoying the support of the majority of South Africans. We can't accept this."

AT GUGULETU

EDWARD MOLOINYANE,
Staff Reporter

THE Pan-Africanist Congress would not support the ANC's mass action campaign as long as it was aimed at trying to win freedom through the farce called Codesa. PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nematdivhanani told a June 16 rally.

Unlike the 1976 students uprisings in which the PAC was proud to have been in the forefront, the mass action was aimed solely at ensuring the oppressed collaborated in their oppression, he told more than 5 000 supporters at the emotion-charged gathering in Guguletu.

The five-hour rally, attended by the organisation's women, youth and student groups in their colourful gear, was held in the grounds of the civic centre because the hall could not accommodate the crowd.

Nactu and the radical Muslim group Qibla shared the platform and an official from the British consulate attended.

Mr Nematdivhanani, who was given a standing ovation and punctuated his speech with PAC slogans, including "One settler, one bullet" and "No apology" said the struggle for liberation had reached a critical stage.

"The PAC has always regarded the youth as the vanguard of the struggle and when they took to the streets they made it clear they did not want to be spectators. They wanted to be part of their liberation.

"This is not a day of mourning or celebration — we are here to rededicate ourselves to our struggle. The campaign in 1976 was against collaboration, but 16 years later we find some of our people being bribed to take part in such farces as Codesa.

"We are, however, not surprised because we know that in any struggle there are those who capitulate and fall at the wayside because they cannot withstand the heat.

"The PAC will therefore not be part of a mass action campaign if the idea is to force the success of a failed but dangerous monster," he said.

Heaping lavish praise on the PAC military wing, the African People's Liberation Army, he said most of its members were the remnants of the 1976 uprising and in "this confused scenario" they remained "our only hope".

"APLA is not a private army. It is a PAC army and the PAC is not a private organisation, but a national liberation movement of Azanians.



REMEMBERING: The tone at the ANC's rally in Nyanga was militant, but speakers and pamphlets such as this one (left) held by this young woman emphasised that June 16 should be a peaceful day.

DANCING: There were lighter moments, exemplified (below) by Mr Christmas Tinto, former regional chairman of the ANC, and (bottom) a team of marshals, toying during a break.

SPEAKING: New Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyande (bottom left), who was the ANC's main speaker in Nyanga.



Voting with feet

Sowetan 17/6/92

AN estimated 10 000 ANC supporters - under close scrutiny by a massive security force contingent - marched peacefully through Durban's city centre yesterday afternoon to mark the beginning of the mass action campaign in Southern Natal.

The enthusiastic crowd had earlier attended a rally at Durban's Curries Fountain.



People support action

Sowetan 17/6/92.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday told about 45 000 people at a June 16 commemoration service that the mass action campaign would go ahead because the people supported it.

Mandela said the presence of the people at Orlando Stadium in Soweto and other parts of the country gave the ANC a passport to continue with their action.

Mandela said this when addressing the 16th anniversary of the students uprisings.

He said: "This is the scientific way of testing the will of the people and they responded positively.

"Your presence has proved the De Klerk government wrong when it said the people did not support the mass action campaign

BY IKE MOTSAPI

called by the ANC.

"The ANC called for the mass action in order to break the deadlock at Codesa.

"The deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages. It is about the Government insistence that the party that wins the elections should not be allowed to rule the country.

"The Government wants all the parties presently engaged in talks at Codesa to be represented in the new government.

"This actually means that elections that are to be held will be meaningless. So, why do we have to hold elections?

"This means that if the ANC wins the elections and wants to change the system of separate schools, they cannot do so if the

National Party does not approve of it."

Mandela urged the youth to be "like the June 16 1976 students" who fought hard for black liberation.

He also slammed some ANC members who he said had become undisciplined by killing their political opponents.

He said by doing this they were "discrediting the struggle for black liberation"

He made an urgent plea to all people of the country to work together to stop the violence.

In Natal, an estimated 10 000 ANC supporters - under close watch by a strong contingent of security forces - marched peacefully through Durban's city centre yesterday afternoon to mark the beginning of the mass action campaign.

They earlier attended a mass rally at Durban's Curries Fountain Stadium, where they were addressed by speakers from the tripartite alliance.

In Pretoria, pamphlets distributed by the Atteridgeville branch of the ANC Youth League at a June 16 commemoration service at the Roman Catholic Church, said historic victories achieved by blacks revealed that it was only through mass action that the Government could be made to listen.

In the Northern Transvaal, more than 5 000 people heard from Azapo projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa that the Black Consciousness Movement had demonstrated in 1976 that black people were their own liberators.

Mabasa said if the BCM had not been there in 1976, oppression of black people would have been complete without any challenge.

● See also pages 6, 7 and 8

Police direct callers to ANC

THE CALEDON Square charge office yesterday referred telephone inquiries on safety during the mass action campaign to the ANC because they know where the trouble will be.

A member of the public phoned *Sapa* and said he had called the charge office

Sapa 1716172
to ask whether it would be safe to come into the city. He was given a number to phone. He dialled this number and was surprised when the phone was answered by the ANC's Western Cape headquarters.

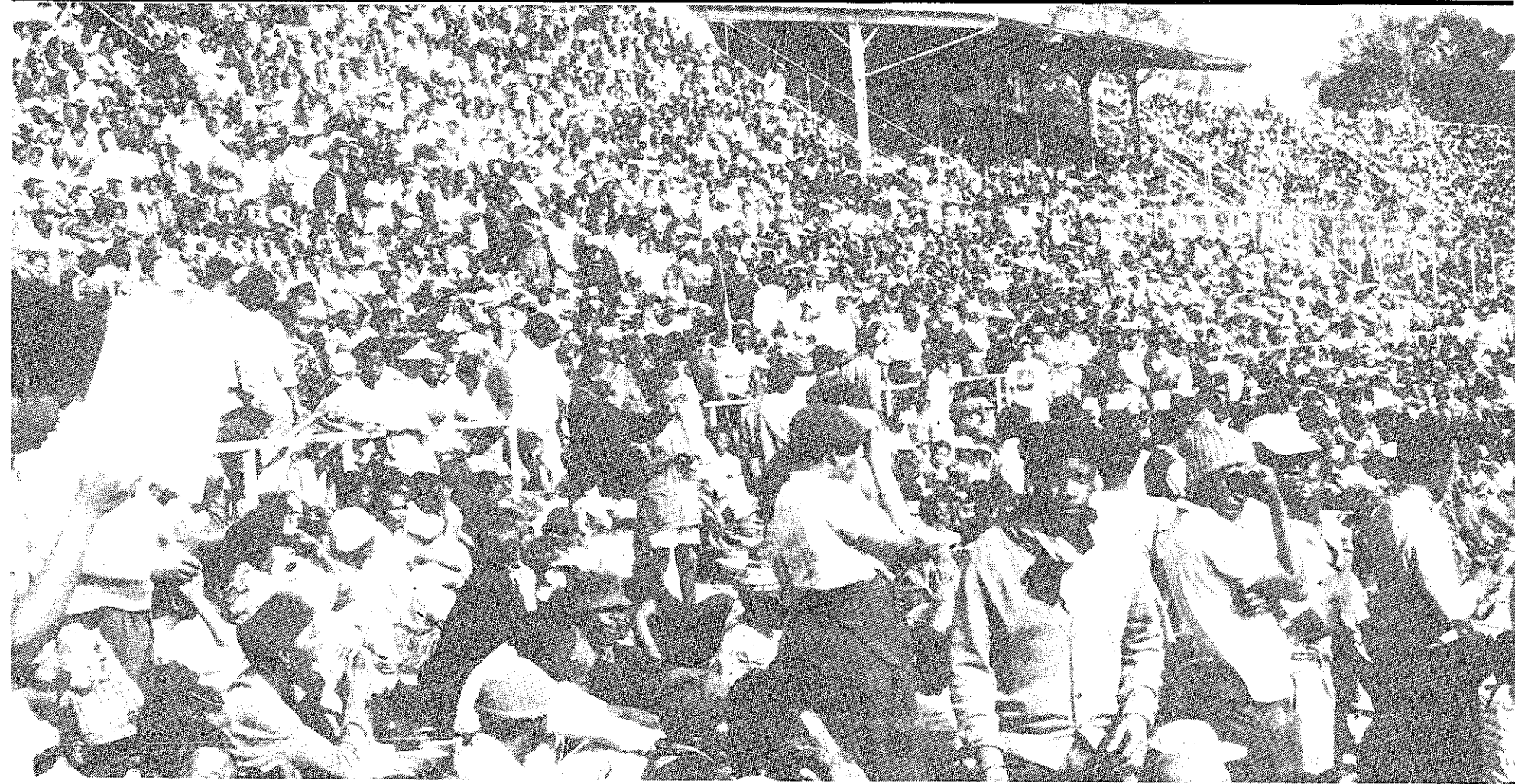
Mr Willie Hofmeyr of the ANC confirmed that

members of the public had phoned his office to inquire whether it would be safe to travel in certain areas.

A *Sapa* staffer then phoned the Cape Town charge office of the police and asked whether it would be safe to travel to Cape Town from Kraaifontein

and was told to phone the ANC.

The policeman gave his name and rank when asked for them. But he also gave the number of the police regional operations room and said they would be able to give information on which routes to take. -*Sapa*



Thousands of people crammed into Orlando Stadium, Soweto, yesterday to commemorate the 16th anniversary of the June 16 1976 Soweto riots. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

June 16 remembered

Suspend peace accord - PAC (11A)

By MZIMASI NGUDLE

THE PAC called on the ANC to honour the central demand for the transfer of power through a constituent assembly. *Sowetan 17/6/92.*

Addressing more than 4 000 people who attended the commemoration of 1976 uprising at the Jabulani Amphitheatre, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu also called for the immediate suspension of the National Peace Accord.

Makwetu entered the stadium to the drumbeat of the Sakhile who thrilled crowds with revolutionary songs. "It is now seven months since the accord was formally signed. The violence has instead escalated. "Experience has taught us that without an independent and neutral convener, any agreement with the regime is in danger of non-implementation," he said.

Makwetu reiterated the PAC demand for a constituent assembly, stressing the principle of neutrality and the necessity of internationally supervised processes. He rejected the first phase of the Transitional Executive Council as a "cheap lie". He said the TEC was "nothing but a native advisory board which is equivalent to the discredited homeland structures."

The programme was cut short because of the time. Among those who failed to appear is the mother of Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 riots. She was said to be sick.

Sowetan later learnt that Mrs Dorothy Petersen was at an ANC rally at Orlando Stadium.

45 000 listen to Mandela at Orlando (11A)

Sowetan 17/6/92

SOWETO was a hive of activity when more than 45 000 people marched from various points on their way to attend a June 16 commemoration rally at Orlando Stadium yesterday.

By IKE MOTSAPI

The rally was organised by the African National Congress.

As early as 9am hundreds of people gathered at Ikwezi station, Zone 1 in Diepkloof and Ipelegeng Centre before they walked to Orlando West where a memorial stone was unveiled in memory of Hector Petersen - the first person to die on June 16 1976.

Curious people lined the streets waiting to have a glimpse of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who was to lead the marchers to Orlando West.

Members of the ANC, some of whom were armed with pangas, knives and knobkerries, sang and danced in the streets.

The situation was tense and the presence of police angered some youths, who threw stones at a passing police Casspir vehicle.

The police did not react but instead drove off and parked at a distance. A police helicopter monitored proceedings periodically.

Orlando Stadium was packed to capacity as early as 8am. Hundreds of ANC members elected to stay outside the stadium apparently to monitor the situation for any trouble.

Show respect 'for June 16' (11A)

By SONTI MASEKO

JUNE 16 should be commemorated with respect because every black person remembered their loss, Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were told at a rally in Soweto yesterday.

Hostel dwellers with sticks and skin shields performed traditional dances at this ceremony attended by about 1 500 people just outside the Meadowlands Hostel. *Sowetan 17/6/92*

"We regard this day as a day of prayer with no violence. We do not wish to remember our fallen soldiers with more killings," said Mr Themba Ndlovu.

Police watched from a distance as each speaker said the IFP was committed to peace and unity.

The gathering heard that Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi came to Soweto in 1976 to call for peace as police killed children.

Mr Nelson Msomi of the tribal chiefs advisers said June 16 was the boiling point of a struggle which began in 1910 when the English and the Boers agreed to govern the country without blacks.

"We do not stand for violence but we call for the return of the land taken from our kings in 1910," he said.

Youth Brigade Central Committee member Mr Carter Ndlovu said the African National Congress was trying to wring concessions from the Government at Codesa through mass action.

Talks can't 'bring about freedom' (11A)

Sowetan 17/6/92

NEGOTIATIONS would not bring about total liberation in South Africa as long as they were based on the so-called power sharing, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said yesterday.

Nefolovhodwe was speaking at a packed June 16 commemoration service at Regina Mundi Church in Rockville, Soweto.

By ABBEY MAKOE

"You cannot expect the master to give you freedom. It is unheard of in the history of struggles worldwide," Nefolovhodwe said.

He produced a four-page document which he alleged contained a secret agreement between the ANC and the Government.

He said the ANC had agreed to

the imposition of the State of Emergency during the transitional period and the installation of a new Government by at least 1995.

Nefolovhodwe claimed black majority rule was not part of the agreement.

Nefolovhodwe urged the ANC to walk out of Codesa and "join the oppressed people in their war towards total liberation".

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, general secretary of the Nactu, drew a long applause when he said: "There cannot be any negotiation between the paymaster and his puppet."

He said the neutrality of the negotiations table was essential.

"That neutrality must not be in the enemy's territory, Ngcukana said.

THE ANC is angry and the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (Pact) bewildered — that is the upshot of negotiations which have ended, probably temporarily, in a media shootout from the ANC.

This week the ANC's arts and culture secretary, Wally Serote, threatened mass action against the performing arts councils which are one-third state-funded.

This was a response to the breakdown of talks with the councils about majority participation. Serote also demanded the suspension of government funding of cultural activities.

In Pretoria, Pact director-general Denis Reinecke does not know what the ANC wants except he has a "general feeling" that they are after control — of repertoires and funding.

Negotiations between the ANC and arts councils have been off and on for the past 18 months; ANC sources say it took excessive time and patience in getting the councils to the negotiating table, while arts councils sources say they do not know why they are across negotiating tables from political organisations anyway.

Explains Reinecke: "We haven't been in the political arena for 30 years: we're a private company. We haven't played in closed (racially segregated) theatres for years; we have racially mixed boards and companies; we promote on merit.

"If you take over the arts councils, what is put in its place? The councils create job opportunities for nearly 15 000 people and probably support three times that number."

He reports negotiations with the ANC as having been satisfactory; the ANC clearly disagrees.

The ANC and the arts councils may have been negotiating, but they have not been listening or have not liked what they heard. As a draft document discussed by the ANC seminar two months ago made clear — and some Pact people attended the seminar — the issue for the ANC is control of funding, management and repertoires.

Arts councils and ANC make poor negotiating partners

Monday 18/6/92

ROBERT GREIG



The draft document provided for discussion at the seminar clearly outlines the ANC's strategy and tactics in dealing with state bodies — or bodies considered to be such, such as Pact, which receives 30% of its funding from taxpayers.

However, the document also sheds light on general ANC strategies and tactics. The document urges that:

- Negotiators should be drawn from "the broad democratic" forum;
- "An objective of negotiation with state institutions should be to challenge control and legitimacy and take control of resources";
- In negotiations, funding should be made available to fund the negotiating process;
- "Unilateral" appointments should cease; and
- Parastatals should be restructured to be "democratically representative at all levels of decision-making — artistic, managerial and administrative".

The document also urges that the ANC should gain free access to staff at state institutions to bring them into the negotiating process which should be "made public within the ANC", along with public debate on radio, TV and in the media generally.

The document notes that it considers the "regime's" two-pronged



SEROTE

strategy to be "no political involvement" and claims that opponents are not representative. The document also targets rural development and

festivals for this negotiating approach.

Clearly the arts councils, no matter how good their intentions, are considered to be state bodies by the ANC and thus a potential target for control.

The performing arts councils' response to the ANC has, in fact, generally met ANC expectations: the councils have both claimed to be non-political and questioned whether opponent bodies are representative.

What emerges from the ANC/arts council spat is that the ANC has a strategy and tactics but not an ultimate policy, while the arts councils — and probably many similar bodies, as well as many private sector ones — may have organisational policies but are short on negotiating strategies and tactics.

Inevitably they talk past each other. In arts negotiations the ANC has been determined but not aggressive; the councils have tended to be conciliatory or defensive.

Equally inevitably, any negotiations of this kind are experiencing the ripples of uncertainty from Codesa.

The key issue, which has not been discussed, is who each party is negotiating for. The ANC claims to negotiate for "the democratic move-

ment" which, in terms of its own document, boils down to the ANC. The arts councils are negotiating on their own behalf, but as recipients of taxpayers' money their right to do so is questionable.

But that is a legalistic issue. The practical issue, which the ANC has raised without the success it would have liked, is whether the organised arts are as sensitive to the range of SA culture as they should be. The ANC has not recommended ways of broadening that range to include Pact, says Reinecke.

It is difficult for either the councils or the ANC to be considered disinterested by the other on arts matters. Each suspects the other of hidden agendas.

The suggestion of a commission on arts funding in SA looks reasonable enough, and would look even more so were it not the ANC suggesting it.

Its competence in artistic administration is unproven, an observation used by both sides for conflicting arguments. As a body of politicians, its motives are inevitably questionable.

But with the suggestion of a commission — which most performing artists would probably welcome — it may have grabbed the initiative from a state which, in the past 20 years, has held two unmemorable commissions of inquiry into arts funding.

The greatest achievement of the last was relating state subsidy to seat occupancy: the more seats occupied, the greater the subsidy.

In economic terms, the future of the arts in SA depends on who pays, why they pay, how much they can pay and on whose behalf. In actual terms, the future could depend quite as much on artists insisting that they, not politicians, the democratic movement or quasi-state councils, should decide what their arts and audiences need.

But such assumption of responsibility is relatively new for artists in SA who, in the past 44 years, have tended to buy into political orthodoxies of one kind or another knowing that these come with either state support or the promise of it.

Cane-growers in line for R130m drought relief aid

81 Day 18/6/92

SA CANE growers could receive R130m in drought relief aid from government, SA Cane Growers' Association chairman Lawrie Gordon-Hughes said yesterday.

Gordon-Hughes announced in Durban details of a government relief plan designed to ease the plight of the drought-devastated cane-grower.

"The relief measures will assist in supplementing the growers' cash flow and survival, but at a cost — loans have to be repaid." He said the average farm's indebtedness of R500 000 was at a level which gave "great cause for concern".

In terms of the drought relief scheme, the grower would be eligible to borrow up to R190 000 of crop loss relief. The farmer would be obliged to replant, at a cost of more than R3 500 a hectare, those parts of his farm where the cane had died.

"In total, we estimate relief loans required could amount to as much as R130m."

Gordon-Hughes said the average commercial grower, who normally produced close to 8 000 tons of cane, could face a 60% crop drop due to the drought. He added the result could be a revenue loss of more than R200 000 for each farmer after taking into

MEREDITH JENSEN

account variable cost savings.

Gordon-Hughes said current production of close to 1,5-million tons of sugar could easily meet domestic demand, but exports would be badly affected.

The association's report says export losses for the industry may cost cane-growers R300m, as sugar production came in 750 000 tons short.

As a result, SA has had to import sugar at sky-rocketing world market prices to meet its export commitments. And, the industry price of sugar shot up 14,5%, passing on a 24c increase to the consumer.

The SA Sugar Association denied the price increase resulted from the importation of sugar. An association spokesman said, at the time, the sugar industry had annual price increases which were unrelated to world prices.

□ Our Durban correspondent reports that the R15m second phase of a major sugar growing project in north Pondoland, which will create 400 new sugar farmers and eventually generate R14m a year, was launched this week at a ceremony at Bizana, near the Natal-Transkei border.

Mandela pays visit to Malawi

81 Day 18/6/92
ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday paid a one-day visit to Malawi, a staunch supporter of SA through the apartheid years.

The ANC confirmed the visit but would not comment further on a report from the official Malawi news agency that Mandela was in the country to meet Malawian President Kamuzu Banda.

Banda has come under international criticism for his government's repression of protest. Up to 38 people were killed in May when police fired on an anti-government demonstration.

Mandela was reportedly received at Blantyre's airport by Banda's likely successor, Minister of State John Tembo.

The visit is liable to provoke controversy as Malawi, aside from its human rights record, is the only African country to have kept full diplomatic ties with SA throughout its isolation.

Mandela this week snubbed Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi on his visit to SA, because Moi had met President F W de Klerk to become the first African head of state to meet an SA leader in SA since Banda in 1971. Kenya yesterday defended the meeting. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

Hopes raised for future of negotiations

~~11A~~ 11A BILLY PADDOCK ^{8/Day}
and PATRICK BULGER 18/6/92

CAPE TOWN — Hopes for the future of constitutional negotiations were raised yesterday when it was learned that working group 2, which proved to be the sticking point at Codesa II, was set to reconvene.

Government and the ANC confirmed yesterday that they had also scheduled bilateral talks for next week in another bid to break the negotiations deadlock.

And Sapa reports President F W de Klerk said last night Parliament would be recalled for a second session in October. Earlier Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius said government would do all in its power to accommodate agreements reached in Codesa by convening another session.

De Klerk said the purpose of the session would be to consider any legislation which might result from progress in the negotiation process, but would take place regardless of progress in constitutional negotiations. This would give Parliament an opportunity to be informed and consider steps which government might take.

He said it was envisaged that the session would start on October 12.

The Codesa management committee's next meeting has been brought forward to June 29 when it will consider a report from working group 2 chairman Miley Richards. The report will detail agreements reached in the group so far and will form the basis of the bid to reconvene working group 2.

This could facilitate full agreement at Codesa and open the way for interim government arrangements to be implemented, Richards said yesterday.

Delport said yesterday there was no possibility of an interim government operating under a new constitution in the next two months. However, an agreement at Codesa could lead to the setting up of a transitional executive council.

□ To Page 2

Negotiations ^{8/Day} 18/6/92

~~11A~~ 11A Speaking at a briefing on negotiations, Delport said talks were on hold until June 29 and it was obvious "to all and sundry" that ANC demands for agreement on interim government by the end of the month would be impossible to meet.

He said it was also too late to avert July's planned mass action of boycotts, strikes and disruptions by the ANC and its allies. However talks with the ANC and other parties had been planned for next week.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation did not expect an interim government to be in place by the end of June but wanted a real commitment, "something with meat on it", by then.

At his briefing Delport backed Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer's contention that government had documentary evidence of progress made in bilateral talks, but he refused to divulge this without the permission of the ANC.

He did say: "I think at least — and that is very, very important — we have a very clear idea now of what the issues are."

From now on Codesa would have to negotiate draft agreements in the "cold light of day" and stop glossing over diffi-

~~11A~~ 11A □ From Page 1

culties, he said. "I think there was a tendency at Codesa to draft agreements in such a way that all of us could live with them."

He said government had been ready at Monday's Codesa management committee meeting to reach an early agreement on how to deal with the problems in working group 2 and avert the mass action. But other parties said they did not have a mandate to clinch a deal.

Delport said it had been decided that a report on the work of working group 2 would be tabled and it was likely the group would be reconvened soon after June 29.

He warned that such an agreement might be delayed by the ANC's insistence on restarting from square one.

Delport said government wanted an interim constitution to determine the functions, powers and lifespan of a constitution-making body. The ANC wanted an open-ended constitution-making body that would sit until a new constitution had been agreed to. The ANC said after Codesa II that it was reconsidering the need for an interim constitution.

● See Page 4

Cops face ANC wrath on IFP arms

THE ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the police for distributing dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP this week that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional

weapons - which he described as "shields and sticks" - were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner Major-General Kobus Malan.

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the Na-

tional Peace Accord.

The seizure of the weapons including AK-47 assault rifles, from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto on Sunday, was sharply criticised by IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza.

He said the displaying of the confiscated weapons to ANC supporters was "provocative" and exacerbated the already volatile situation in the township.

Sowetan 18/6/92
By Sowetan
Correspondent

ANC reacts to 'cynical link' to 17 deaths

Sowetan 18/6/92 (11A) ~~247~~

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent ~~247~~

THE Government was manipulating the death of innocent black people by linking the violence in the country with the ANC's "non-violent" campaign of mass action.

This reaction came from ANC official Mr Ronnie Kasrils, to a remark by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel earlier yesterday, that the police were investigating a link between what he called the senseless murder of 17 people on Tuesday night to the ANC's passive resistance programme.

Kriel was "cynically manipulating" a situation which had existed for more than two years especially "because of a low-intensity terrorist campaign against the people that is being waged by the State," Kasrils said.

However, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, yesterday said while the negotiation process was being jeopardised by mass action, the process could not continue without the ANC.

Bilateral discussions between the Government and the ANC were being planned, and Codesa's management committee would meet on June 29, a day before the ANC's deadline.

Old one-eye is hammered

Sowetan 18/6/92 ~~247~~

By DON SEOKANE

THE Media Workers Association of South Africa yesterday made an impassioned plea to owners of TV sets to support the striking Mwasa members and stop "the rot" at SABC.

Mwasa secretary-general, Mr Sithembele Khala, was addressing a rally at the SABC offices in Pietersburg during a march by 1 000 employees of the corporation and sympathisers through the town's streets amid heavy police presence.

Khala said the SABC was "a one-eyed giant" and licence holders were in possession of the ammunition to deal with it.

He disclosed to Sowetan

that during negotiations last Thursday with SABC management the union had proposed a compromise of 11 percent now and the remaining 9 percent to be negotiated between now and the end of August.

However, the corporation refused and urged the union to review its position. Khala said the SABC has declared a "hefty" profit of R34 million and yet refuses to pay its workers.

The strike was left with 970 days to go and the union was not going to review its position to suit the whims of the SABC.

a s

Moi 'deserved' snub

Sowetan 18/6/92

MOST of the callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night supported ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's decision to snub Kenyan President Mr Daniel arap Moi during his recent visit to South Africa.

Bruce of Cape Town said Mandela was right to snub Moi because Kenya had, like South Africa, a complete disregard for human rights.

Bheki Mkhathshwa of Katlehong said it was premature for African leaders to visit South Africa because they were giving the Government the respect it did not deserve.

"For development purposes, there should be contact between African coun-

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO

TALKBACK



tries but it should not be at leadership level," he said.

Solly of Germiston said the time was not ripe for African leaders to visit South Africa. He said they should wait until an interim government was in place.

"Mandela had no alternative but to snub him (Moi)," he said.

John of Soweto said it was not the right time for international leaders to visit South Africa.

African leaders, faced with internal problems, were forging links with the Government in the hope that the international community would accept them.

He also spoke against local leaders visiting foreign countries.

David of Umlazi said South Africa was the only hope for poverty-stricken African states.

Prince of Daveyton said the visit by foreign leaders, particularly African, was a ploy to give an impression that there was positive changes in the country. He said they should continue to isolate the Government.

Thabo of Cape Town rejected foreign visitors, saying they boosted the Government's image.

Today's talkback topic

11A
**ANC probes
return of**

IFP weapons
STRAN 18/6/92
Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC is seeking legal advice with a view to bringing charges against the South African Police for the distribution of dangerous weapons.

This follows confirmation by the SAP yesterday that weapons seized from Inkatha supporters on Sunday were handed back to the organisation the next day.

Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tienie Halgryn said traditional weapons were handed back to the IFP on the instructions of Soweto regional commissioner, Major-General Kobus Malan.

Indictment

In a statement issued yesterday, ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this was a violation of the National Peace Accord.

"This revelation is yet another indictment on the impartiality of the security forces."

Mr Mamoepa said the ANC PWV region was seeking legal advice with a view to laying charges against the police.

The weapons were seized from Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally at the Phomolong stadium in Soweto.

Alexander charged by CP

Starr 1816192
The CP had laid charges against PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander for promoting armed attacks against the security forces, Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) said yesterday. He said the CP was under the impression that Mr Alexander had not been indemnified. Charges were laid on May 4.

Mass action to shift power - ANC

Sowetan 18/6/92

(1/A)

THIS week's planned mass action was not to break the Codesa logjam but was aimed at the transfer of power, according to African National Congress PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

He said an ANC regional conference last Saturday had endorsed mass action plans and a decision had been taken to immediately consult various Mass Democratic Movement and Patriotic Front forces.

"This will take place shortly."

Speaking a day before the action was due to start, Azanian People's Organisation Transvaal vice-president Mr Victor Dhlamini said Azapo had not yet been consulted, but hoped the ANC would still come forward.

Dhlamini said reports thus far had given the impression that successful mass action, as far as the ANC was

concerned, would lead to a revived Codesa, a forum in which Azapo has taken no part.

"If the action is in line with Azapo's resolution to seize power, then we will support it. But if it is just meant to revive Codesa, the answer is no."

Clarifying Azapo's plans for June 16, Dhlamini said his organisation would be treating it as an official public holiday, and this was not to be confused with support for mass action. Asked to comment on Azapo's interpretation of the ANC's plans, Mamoepa said: "I think they were too hasty to comment. The action is not aimed at unlocking Codesa. It is aimed at the transfer of power."

The Pan Africanist Congress, the other key player in the ailing Patriotic Front, was not immediately available for comment. - *Sapa*

Battling for a place in the South African sun

Sowetan 19/6/92

THE deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages, but the nature of democracy itself. The National Party wants a system where people vote and the result is fixed beforehand.

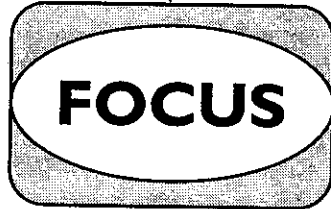
These words by African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, perhaps sum up most succinctly the (only partly expressed) objective of mass action, the uncertainty and confusion prevalent at grassroots surrounding deliberations at Codesa.

It also brought to the fore the ugly chasm between the aspirations of black and white, the very thing which negotiations at Codesa set out to bridge.

The two positions that have crystallised over the past weeks are distinctly familiar in that they represent, very much, the South Africa which so many people are trying to ignore.

They represent perhaps a South Africa where naked racism has been exchanged for economics. They also represent the clash between black and white perceptions of democracy.

Whites in South Africa have enjoyed a unique kind of "democracy", which for them worked remarkably well. Through this "de-



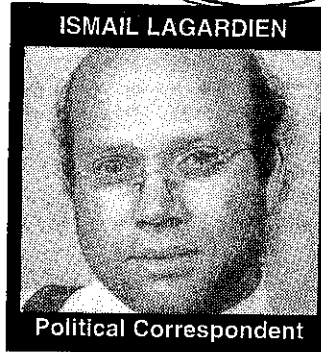
mocracy" they attained political, economic and social power.

Black people on the other hand were almost non-existent, or more like features in the topography of the land. In fact, Parliament and the prevailing policy worked, almost exclusively, to remove black people from the political (and geographic) landscape.

When black people protested or petitioned for power or self-determination, they were met with brute force and subjugation.

Today it seems, nothing much has changed for black people; they still don't have the vote, political or economic power, and in some way or another, the Government's multiparty conference (Codesa) appears to be no more than a continuation of the long-standing effort to get rid of that which black people represent.

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ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

no different from its response to similar protests before Codesa.

By holding on to absolute power in the run up to the (actual) interim phase, the Government can, among others, send the President overseas to sell his honest intentions; keep a tight reign on the security forces and deploy them when and where necessary and absolve itself from any problems (including violence) on the grounds that apartheid legislation has been abolished.

The propaganda windfalls of marching across Red Square, or having tea in the White House and at 10 Downing Street, are great victories, whichever way they are looked at.

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And with such power, De Klerk can impose any form of democracy on the country. Hence Mandela's statement on Tuesday.

The blame for this lies perhaps in the overrated power and signifi-

cance of Codesa.

Not a single party in Codesa has yet faced a nonracial and democratic election, while everyone there knows the ANC represents the majority view.

The Government's spokesman on Codesa, Dr Tertius Delport, admitted this on Wednesday, saying it would be futile to continue in the convention without the ANC.

The deadlock at Codesa has similarly been misinterpreted or, at best, grossly oversimplified.

The deadlock is simply not about percentages, as Mandela has said, but about political power; about who will get it and who will lose it, as the Conservative Party's Mr Andries Bester has said.

The ruling National Party, by the admission of their leaders, are not prepared to hand over power - "they want to share it".

At Codesa 2, when the second plenary session was being delayed, a Cabinet Minister told a handful of journalists in the corridors of the World Trade Centre: "We will not let this place go the way Rhodesia went."

And this Minister is perceived as one of the more liberal NP persons.

De Klerk himself is of the view that "minorities have done a lot to develop this country" and deserve a special place in the new South African sun.

Thus black people, in terms of the expressed ideals of their political representatives, want a democracy where they can have a say in determining their own future.

White people, in terms of the expressed ideals of their political representatives, want a democracy where they will have a say in determining the future of the country.

Black people only have their feet to vote with - hence mass action. Whites still have their Parliament and their (internationally victorious) President.

'The deadlock at Codesa is not about percentages, but the nature of democracy itself. The National Party wants a system where people vote and the result is fixed beforehand.'

Good day for a carnival — but the mission's far from frivolous

W/Mail 1916-2516192.



ACARNIVAL atmosphere reigned among the crowds wearing colourful African National Congress T-shirts, ribbons and headbands as they jiggled and danced in unison at various points around Soweto on Tuesday, marking the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising and the launch of the ANC's mass action campaign.

But for ANC leaders looking to a "Leipzig option" — a reference to the sustained popular upheavals which toppled East Germany's communist regime — the campaign's launch must have been a disappointment. Thousands of people joined marches and flocked to Orlando Stadium for a rally, but the turnout — about 45 000 people — was not on the scale of the heady Defiance Campaign marches that preceded President FW de Klerk's watershed February 1990 speech.

As on most national holidays, those seeking leisure outnumbered the politically active. Many residents stood outside their homes or gathered at street corners, watching the proceedings with detached interest.

But even those on the periphery responded to the mythical appeal of ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Men, women and children grabbed each other in excitement and climbed on to fences and roofs, straining to catch a glimpse of Mandela as he and other ANC and South African Communist Party heavyweights led a march from Ikwezi Station near Dobsonville to the stadium.

Many employers granted workers the day off with full pay; other employees took it off anyway. More than 90 percent of workers on the Reef stayed away; in Durban, Cape Town and other cities, the stay-aways ranged from 50 to 90 percent. Bus and train services in most city centres ground to a virtual halt.

Repeated appeals for "discipline and order" were made throughout the day. At the Orlando Stadium, Mandela devoted a large part of his speech to issues of discipline, stressing that people should resist the attempts of agents provocateurs to draw them into violence.

"The people should observe absolute discipline and should also resist pressure for the armed struggle to be reinstated," he said. He cautioned against the desire of some supporters to take the struggle into white areas.

ANC marshals were obsessive in their attempts to restrain the marching crowds, but they needn't have both-

There was an air of gaiety on Soweto Day — but it did not detract from the significance of commemorations, or the seriousness of the mass action campaign.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

ered. Everyone was in the mood for peace — except for a few youths who hurled stones at an armoured police vehicle near the crowded site in Orlando West where a memorial stone for Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 uprising, was unveiled by Mandela.

The rally, addressed by Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, was a festive event, with music, dancing and the smell of cooking food — giving the day an air of celebration rather than mourning. Outside the grounds, hawkers sold an array of wares, included "June 16" souvenirs: mugs bearing the famous picture of Petersen carried in the arms a grieving youth, a weeping young woman running alongside.

The tuneless singing of a nervous women who led the crowds through the verses of *Nkosi Sikile! iAfrika* caused ripples of mirth among ANC leaders on the podium, especially executive member Thabo Mbeki.

The highlight of the musical performances interspersing the speeches was provided by funky pop artist Siphiso "Hotstix" Mabuse and his

band, who inspired all the leaders, including Mandela, to join in the dancing. As people streamed out of the stadium, the stirring sounds of Abdullah Ibrahim's *Mannenberg* filled the air, a reminder of the sad memories of June 1976.

A jarring note was struck by large groups of more traditional-looking ANC supporters, many of them blanketed Xhosa-speaking shack-dwellers brandishing "cultural" weapons — a lethal array of axes, pangas, knives and spears. Were it not for their ANC headbands, they could have been mistaken for Inkatha supporters. After the rally, about 100 Pan Africanist Congress-supporting youths, some carrying wooden AK47s, spontaneously marched outside the stadium, chanting "one bullet, one bullet" and



Joy ... A child joins in the dancing at the ANC's rally in Orlando Stadium
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

aggressively firing imaginary machine guns at white photographers.

The *Weekly Mail* journalists were ordered to leave a low-key Inkatha meeting at Mzimhlope Hostel in Meadowlands, attended by a few hundred people. Speakers paid tribute to the victims of the Soweto uprising and slammed the ANC's mass action campaign.

The day was marred by an increased intensity of gun attacks and by isolated killings which left at least 30 people dead in the 24-hour period from Monday to Tuesday night. But most of the incidents, perpetrated by "unknown gunmen", could not be directly linked to the mass action campaign. These included:

●Nine people were killed in Soweto's Jabulani Flats, when about six men opened fire on pedestrians and commuters.

●Nine people were stabbed or shot in isolated incidents in Vaal and East Rand townships.

●Violence plagued commemorations in Vosloorus, where 10 people were killed at a gathering in a house fired on by men in a white minibus. Police had earlier dispersed marching Inkatha hostel-dwellers. Youths set a councillor's house alight and damaged several others.

The attacks were blots on an otherwise remarkably peaceful campaign launch, considering that thousands of people took to the streets nationwide.

None of the South African Defence Force troops on standby was deployed and Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe issued a statement thanking those who "made a contribution to the fact that it all occurred peacefully".



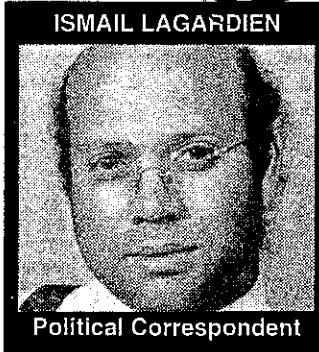
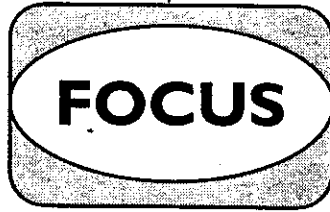
Nelson Mandela

Battling for a place in the South African sun

Sowetan 19/6/92

200A 11A

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

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Building Organisation

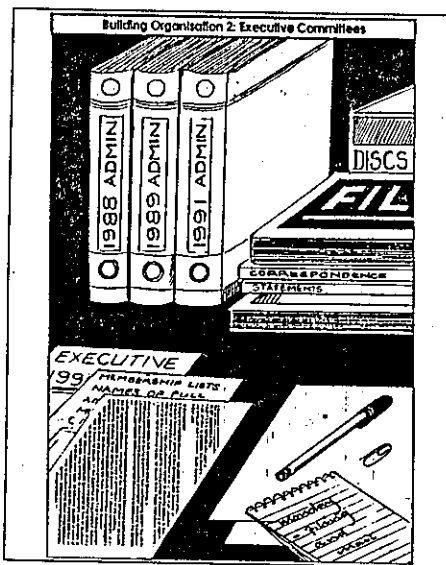
The Executive Committee: 2

Portfolios

New N (Learning N) 19/6-25/6/92. (11A)

Last week we looked at the role of the executive committee in organisation. This week we focus on the different portfolios* that can make up an executive. It is important to see this article as a guideline for your organisation, and not as the final word on the subject. As membership you must decide whether you want these portfolios in your organisation. The portfolios your organisation decides on must take into account how large your organisation is and your role in the community. In this article we will look at the most common portfolios, namely:

- Chairperson
- Secretary
- Treasurer
- Publicity Secretary



Chairperson



Executives work well if somebody takes responsibility for thinking about the executive and planning their meetings. This person is called the Chairperson. A Chairperson is an important position, and should be elected by the entire membership of the organisation. The duties of a Chairperson can differ from one organisation to the next. Your organisation must decide what you want your Chairperson to include in their portfolio. Here are some common duties of a Chairperson, which your organisation can use as a guideline:

- Convening and chairing meetings of the executive.
- Chairing the organisations meetings.
- Preparing an annual report for the organisation. (This is a report about what the organisation has done in the year, and what it plans to do the following year).
- Speaking at public meetings on behalf of the organisation.
- Working with the media along with the Publicity Secretary.

Large organisations such as civics or political organisations create a Vice Chairperson portfolio to help the chairperson in his/her work.

Secretary



The Secretary does the administrative work of the organisation. This work includes:

- Taking the minutes of meetings.
- The minutes are a record of everything that happened at the meeting. Minutes are important because they can be used to remind the organisation of decisions taken. The minutes must include the agenda, when and where the meeting happened and who was present at the meeting. Details such as who gave their apologies for not attending the meeting and what decisions were taken at the meeting are very important. The names of members mandated to do tasks must also be included.
- Keeping records of membership in the organisation.
 - Writing letters to other organisations.
 - Informing the membership of when and where meetings are taking place. This can be done by phoning members or sending letters to them with the date, venue and the agenda of the meeting. Placing an advert in a newspaper is another way of doing this.
 - Dealing with correspondence. This includes reading all incoming mail, answering letters and

writing letters from the organisation. The Secretary has an important position in the organisation, but often members do not recognise this. It is important for the organisation to elect a committed member into this position, and to give them support. For example, when advertising the following meeting, members should not expect the Secretary to put up the posters as well, other members could take posters with them and put them up on the way home.

Treasurer

The Treasurer is responsible for finances within the organisation. This includes:

- Drawing up a budget for the year.
- Keeping a record of all the money that comes in and goes out of the organisation.
- Issuing receipts for incoming money.
- Paying all the bills for the organisation.
- Collecting subscriptions from members.
- Ensuring that money spent is within the budget.
- Keeping the members informed about the finances of the organisations.
- Preparing an annual financial report.



Publicity Secretary



Every organisation needs to think about popularising itself in the community. Some organisations elect a Publicity Secretary onto the executive to help do this. One of the ways of popularising organisation is to convene press conferences to deal with important issues. Another way of doing this is to release press statements and brief journalists. Press conferences and press statements should only be used when the organisation has something important to say. If they are used too often, journalists will not take them seriously and will not come to the conference. The Publicity Secretary must work closely with the Chairperson, who is usually the main public figure of the organisation. The Publicity Secretary deals with:

- The press, radio and T.V.
- Public meetings.
- Advertising. Make sure that your organisation chooses someone who likes working with people for this portfolio. Your Publicity Secretary must be confident and diplomatic*. If your Publicity Secretary is aggressive with the press, the community will get a bad impression of your whole organisation.

Conclusion

We have looked at the portfolio of Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and Publicity Secretary in this article. However there are many other portfolios which your organisation could create if you needed them. It is important to remember that an executive that does not have a clear role for itself could make the organisation less democratic, productive and efficient. Creating portfolios on the executive can help each executive member by giving them concrete tasks to do.

New Words

Diplomatic: A diplomatic person works with people skillfully in an unaggressive way.

Portfolio: A specific responsibility and area of work in an organisation or business.

Questions for Readers

Does your organisation have these portfolios in your executive? Does someone in the executive take responsibility for the tasks mentioned in this article?

Why are minutes important in an organisation? How can they help you in your organisation?

How can the Secretary inform members of the next meeting?

Resource List

The Human Awareness Programme has more information on building organisations. You can contact them at the following address:

The Human Awareness Programme
4th Floor Conlyn House
156 President Street
Johannesburg
2000

Their telephone number is (011) 337-8716

This is the last article in the Building Organisations series. We hope that your organisation has found it useful.

Mandela in surprise meeting with Banda

ANC president Nelson Mandela met embattled Malawi president Hastings Banda on Wednesday on an unscheduled visit diplomatic observers said could be linked to Malawi's recent decision to pay outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee.

The Malawi embassy yesterday refused to comment on the visit, which took observers by surprise. Malawi was the only African country with Pretoria ties.

It is understood Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu had been sent invitations to meet Banda, who faces intense pressure from Western donor nations over Malawi's human rights record. A Malawi government message with the invitations

(11A) PATRICK BULGER (EB)

said it would pay its outstanding dues to the OAU liberation committee.

OAU officials said recently the liberation committee was still assisting the ANC and the PAC. Malawi has played an insignificant role in OAU activities.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday that Mandela had undertaken to visit all African countries on his release. His Malawi visit was part of this plan. However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mandela's diary had had to be changed to accommodate the unscheduled visit.

17/6/92
B Day

Benny cocks a snook at CP

PAN Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander was unrepentant yesterday despite charges laid against him by the Conservative Party for

Sweetan 19/6/92
promoting attacks against the security forces.

CP MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs said in Parliament on Wednesday charges had been laid

against Alexander on May 4 as the CP was under the impression he had not been indemnified.

In a statement, the PAC official described himself

as "incurably addicted to the proposition that the armed struggle is legitimate".

"I am surprised at the statement of charges laid against me as no legal documents to this end were served on me nor was the matter brought to my attention. (IA) [redacted]"

"Besides, following confessions of senior CP leaders of their direct involvement in bombings, the CP is the last to point a finger at somebody who is not directly involved in armed activity. I will not be intimidated by self-confessed terrorists," said Alexander. - SA Press Association.

Govt must resign

By PHANGISILE

19/6/92

11A

MTSHALI
CALLERS to the Sowetan/
Radio Metro Talkback
Show last night called for
the resignation of the Gov-
ernment following Wedn-
esday night's Boipatong
massacre.

Some said Codesa must
be dismantled as the Gov-
ernment had not shown any
willingness to stop the vio-
lence.

"The ANC and IFP do
not know what they are
doing. The peace accord
has failed," a victim of the
recent Alexandra Town-
ship violence said.

Thomas of Ratanda,
Heidelberg, said he was
angry and frustrated at the
ongoing violence.

George of Moutse, ac-



cused the IFP and a third
force for the violence.

He appealed to the ANC
to abandon negotiations at
Codesa and revive the Pa-
triotic Front with the PAC
and Azapo.

He warned the ANC
would lose its membership
if it did nothing concrete to
stop the violence.

Dube of Molapo said he
was deeply concerned at
the violence.

He said the Government
was out to destroy the
ANC.

He said the ANC must
abandon Codesa proceed-
ings because they were not
bearing fruit.

Keith Montsisi of
Vosloorus said the Govern-
ment must resign because it
had failed to protect its citi-
zens.

Dennis Mdlalose of
Soweto said the Govern-
ment had been involved in
civil wars in Angola, Na-
mibia and Mozambique.

Mbulelo of East London
blamed the IFP and the
Government for the vio-
lence.

He urged victims to de-
fend themselves and pre-
pare for a full scale civil
war.

Colin of KwaThema said
negotiation was the only
answer to violence.



Defiance ...
Children
throw stones
at a retreating
police vehicle

Photo:
BLAKE OWENS

Monsters, a midnight caller and a Messiah

AN outer-space visitor attending the Pan Africanist Congress' Soweto rally this week would have been forgiven for believing the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was the worst thing to happen to the country since the 1948 National Party election victory.

Lightening up an otherwise dull affair, the sloganeering and militant rhetoric delivered a virulently anti-Codesa message. Speaker after speaker castigated Codesa for seeking to perpetuate "the subjugation of the African masses under a racist, colonialist regime". Codesa was dubbed a "product of the fascist regime" by PWV official Ntsudeni Madzunya. It was labelled a "rot" and a "monster" by other speakers.

Even the posters condemning Codesa outnumbered those denigrating the "regime". "Codesa has no mandate from the Azanian people," declared one.

The correct approach — the message from the podium repeatedly proclaimed — lay in Carlson Zimbiri, the Azanian People's Liberation Army commander who often claims responsibility for attacks on black policemen in midnight calls to the press. His "sterling"

Amid the rhetoric and militant chants of 'one settler, one bullet' the Pan Africanist Congress used June 16, usually a day of mourning, to slam Codesa, the 'regime' and the ANC's mass action campaign.

MONDLI MAKHANYA reports

achievements were routinely applauded by the gathering.

The PAC's assertion that it would only participate in the negotiating forum if it was held at neutral venue under a neutral chairman and the only issue under discussion was a non-racial one-man one vote for a constituent assembly was reiterated.

This hardline sentiment was summed up by PAC president Clarence Makwetu — "the commander of the most disciplined army in the world" — who said the mere fact of Codesa participants' "screaming their lungs out while

pointing fingers at each other" vindicated the PAC's scepticism.

Secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions' Cunningham Ngcukana also registered the federation's rejection of Codesa. He announced that Nactu, the country's second biggest labour federation, had resolved not to support the mass action campaign as long as it was linked to progress at Codesa. Nactu would also oppose an unelected interim government.

"We will resist any interim government and create a situation of ungovernability in the country once it is installed," Ngcukana threatened.

This pits Nactu against the Congress of South African Trade Unions, with whom closer links are being forged in preparation for a single federation. Cosatu is demanding the call for an interim government to be in place by July and is also the engine behind the ANC's mass action campaign.

Also not feasible in the light of this clash of views is the prospect of reconvening the still-born Patriotic Front — whose urgency PAC speakers stressed as the only way of achieving a constituent assembly.

Ngcukana elicited great applause from the

crowd when he rejected the idea of a white veto on the grounds that "we have the right to mismanage our country if we want to".

But the star of the day was undoubtedly the PAC's West Rand deputy secretary Phillip Dlamini, who kept the 5 000-odd crowd on their feet with calls of "one settler, one bullet" and "settler settler, bullet bullet". He boasted that the slogan was the most "humane and religious" mankind had ever formulated.

"We believe every man is made in the image of God and we do not want to brutalise that body by pumping 1 000 bullets into it. We would also not like to denigrate it by burning it with a tyre," explained Dlamini.

The toyi-toying youths singing "Saddam, Saddam: Ke motho wa kgotso" (Sadaam is a man of peace) loved it all. After all, it is what they have grown accustomed to hearing.

But for the leadership, all doors leading to Codesa were shut. For there is no way a constituency nurtured on anti-Codesa rhetoric would ever allow a retreat from the present position.

For now Carlson Zimbiri remains the Messiah.

W/mail 19/6-25/6/92

JIA

NP, LP battle for brilliance in Diamant

A DESPERATE tug-of-war is going on for the coloured voters of Kimberley among the National Party, the Labour Party and the African National Congress.

The NP is contesting a House of Representatives seat for the first time in the mis-named Diamant constituency — 32 550 voters living in anything but sparkling townships housing over 100 000 mainly Tswana-speaking people, including over 50 000 coloureds. The NP is throwing R300 000 into a bid to show a high level of coloured support for the government by winning the seat from the Labour Party.

The inexperienced and youthful local ANC leadership has been toying with support for the Labour Party, driven by their shared hatred for the NP, and came perilously close last weekend to a full endorsement for John Scholtz, the ex-school principal standing for the LP. They issued an official ANC pamphlet calling on people to “not vote for the NP candidate”.

A timely visit by ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa reversed this. Ramaphosa came to an ANC gala banquet, with over 100 couples paying R200 a ticket on Saturday. Scholtz sat on the platform alongside him but Ramaphosa made no mention of the by-election campaign in his speech. He spoke to the local ANC leadership and advised them to back away from their flirtation with the LP, arguing that they were not part of the ANC's tripartite alliance and the ANC should not involve itself in an ethnic election.

This sparked discussion at an ANC mass rally on Sunday, ending with the ANC leadership saying from the platform — shared with LP officials —

A by-election in Kimberley is providing the first test of coloured support for the National Party — and some sharp dilemmas for the ANC.

DONALD SIMPSON reports

that they could not endorse the LP. “Don't vote at all in the election, which is a discredited one ... Maybe the LP candidate should withdraw himself,” ANC regional secretary Willem Steenkamp told the rally.

LP stickers were worn extensively at the rally and Labour campaign vehicles are sporting both ANC and LP posters. The LP desperately want to show tacit ANC approval to get into the areas housing 8 000 voters in Galeshewe, 2 000 in Greenpoint and 1 000 in the Roodepan flats. The ANC could swing many of these voters behind the LP if it chose.

“Kimberley is more conservative than Cape Town, but the ANC could still win 40 percent of the vote when an election comes. And the NP will not get all of the rest,” said Solly Legodi, president of the ANC-aligned Northern Cape Civics Association.

Tswana-speaking residents of Galeshewe speak enthusiastically of Labour holding Diamant, the 1989 constituency with the second highest Labour vote, and rolling back the NP's undoubted challenge to draft the coloured people into its laager. They ignored the fact that it was a “dummy” apartheid institution election.

The LP won the seat at the last election by a majority of about 5 000 votes in a relatively respectable 31 percent poll. Its candidate, Howard Isaacs, is

now standing for the NP.

Can Labour win again? It is unlikely. Isaacs, who left the LP only a few months ago, is 2 000 votes ahead of Stoltz, with 7 000 votes cast (22 percent of total poll) and one week of special votes remaining.

Despite Desmond Lockey, Labour MP for the neighbouring northern Cape seat, linking Isaacs to the Resthaven old age home funds misappropriation in the House of Representatives last week, Isaacs is pushing ahead and will win. The retirement funds scandal involved former MP Les Abrams and led to his resignation.

Based on previous analysis of by-elections the final result is likely to be 9 000 NP, 6 000 LP. This would keep the percentage poll just below 50 percent and allow the ANC to claim its support in this area is similar to that which the NP has demonstrated.

This scenario could change drastically if the protests in Kimberley about Codesa's deadlock end violently. If the police shoot the demonstrators, the pre-1990 pattern of tricameral politics will return and the voters will boycott the polls and De Klerk.

The likely outcome, however, is that the LP, slowly haemorrhaging to death in the House of Representatives, will make its last stand in the heartland where it was born 25 years ago. Kimberley is where Sonny Leon won a “white” seat on Kimberley City Council in 1969, under the Cape's colour-blind municipal franchise and gained support for his LP.

This fight, which Allan Hendrickse took over and won in 1984 to start eight years in power, had a pinnacle of power when Hendrickse took on PW Botha and became the only person

who could block racial legislation.

None of this cuts much ice with the voters of Diamant. There is a strong feeling that the LP has not played its cards right since 1990. Labour could no longer deliver any political goods to its people and the type of scandals that rocked the House of Delegates from its inception have occurred once too often in the House of Representatives.

If Labour is defeated in its once rock-solid home territory, the House of Hendrickse will be down to various family members and its loyal retainers and servants. Its presence at Codesa will become a shadow and the dream of it winning one million votes in the first non-racial election with 25 MPs and a key role will remain a dream.

The government has announced R23-million for House of Representatives housing for the coming year, R12-million of it for Kimberley, has reduced the gap in pensions between coloureds and whites to R27 and steam-rolled the city into South Africa's only multi-racial municipal council — though along ethnic lines.

The NP have brought in their top Cape organiser, Charl de Beer, who has built an NP machine in Diamant in brilliant style.

Kimberley is an unusual platteland town. It has a relatively liberal history, with mixed churches and mixed suburbs, justifying its reputation as the “Cape Town of the North”. There clearly was a respect and trust here that did not exist in many other similar towns.

When voters go to the polls on Wednesday, they will be deciding whether this tradition is best preserved through the new-look NP, seeking its votes for the first time, or the old-look LP.

W/Mant 19/6-25/6/92

11A

De Klerk gave little away at Ulundi, argues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatumba

ANC-bashing — but no pacts

STAR 19/6/92

KWAZULU Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might not admit it readily, but he and his followers gained precious little from President de Klerk's controversial visit to the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi this week.

The visit — surprisingly scheduled on the 16th anniversary of the Soweto uprising — was ostensibly meant to afford the State President an opportunity to address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the exclusion of KwaZulu and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Although Chief Buthelezi spent the second half of his speech on the "main issue" — the first half having been devoted to excoriating the ANC for its mass action and "total dishonesty" — Mr de Klerk barely mentioned it.

In a six-page speech, he devoted a mere paragraph to King Zwelithini's exclusion from Codesa. And when he did deviate from his speech to respond directly to Chief Buthelezi's emotional appeal, he stated that "the Zulu na-

tion", like other "nations" in South Africa, had an important role to play and had to be accommodated in a future dispensation.

Consummate politician he is, Mr de Klerk, who also used the platform to spell out his party's constitutional views once again, left his listeners feeling happy without actually giving them anything concrete to be happy about.

Much of the day's proceedings were taken up by an issue on which both sides did agree: the need to attack the ANC.

In his opening address to the assembly, meant to welcome the State President, Chief Buthelezi lambasted the ANC for its mass action, saying it was "totally irresponsible" of the organisation to call for mass action "which will be backed by harsh intimidation at this time when there is an upward spiralling of violence".

Chief Buthelezi said the National Party leader was "a man of integrity and political honour". He said it was "a hideous distortion of the negotiation process" to suggest that the Government was responsible for the deadlock in Codesa 2, and stoutly defended the NP team's performance there.

On these issues Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk were speaking the same language, mutually patting each other's backs.

When he stood up to talk, President de Klerk thanked Chief Buthelezi for putting the Codesa deadlock "in its right perspective", called on all leaders to stand against violence, outlined the actions his Government had taken to deal with violence, and went on to extol regionalism/federalism.

But on the question of King Zwelithini, subtle differences began to emerge.

Chief Buthelezi had accused the Government of giving in to ANC demands far too easily, and said it had been naive in the bilateral discussions held with the ANC before Codesa 1 last year. He called on Mr de Klerk to "act as State President", and tell the ANC and other Codesa delegates that, willy-nilly, KwaZulu, King Zwelithini and the IFP would be allowed to send three separate delegations to Codesa.

The Chief Minister alluded to a long-standing friendship between Zulus and Afrikaners, and referred to his own co-operation with the Government in the past

— at the risk of being called "a stooge". He expressed the wish that these good relations might yet again be revived.

Here he was merely giving expression to what many political observers had long believed would happen: that the IFP and the NP would sooner or later enter into an alliance of some kind against the ANC-SACP-Cosatu axis. Mr de Klerk did not respond enthusiastically to this implied request, suggesting that — at least for now — the long-expected formal *toenadering* is not on the cards.

Mr de Klerk said the question of King Zwelithini's participation in Codesa would have to be addressed by the multi-party negotiating forum. He and his Government did not need to be convinced of the importance of Zulus, he said, nor of the contribution they could make. But just as Zulus and their king had to be involved in negotiations that affected them, so too did other "nations" and their traditional leaders.

The President said: "It is regrettable that Codesa was unable to reach agreement on the inclusion of His Majesty the King of the Zulus, and his own delegation,

as participants in their own right.

"Notwithstanding all our efforts, including my own constructive involvement, the matter remains unresolved." The best he promised to do was to redouble his and his Government's efforts in working for King Zwelithini's inclusion.

This will not have been welcome news to Chief Buthelezi. But while the De Klerk visit did not have all the desired results, it demonstrated most lucidly — if such a demonstration were needed — the convergence of views between the NP and the IFP.

Moreover, many believe that for Chief Buthelezi to have scheduled a sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16 — a day widely revered in the black community for its historical significance — is one thing, but for him to have chosen that day to invite President de Klerk to Ulundi, and for President de Klerk to have accepted, amount to little less than frightening callousness.

To make matters worse, not once did either man refer to the day, apart from observing that it had been chosen by the ANC-led alliance for the launch of its mass action campaign. □



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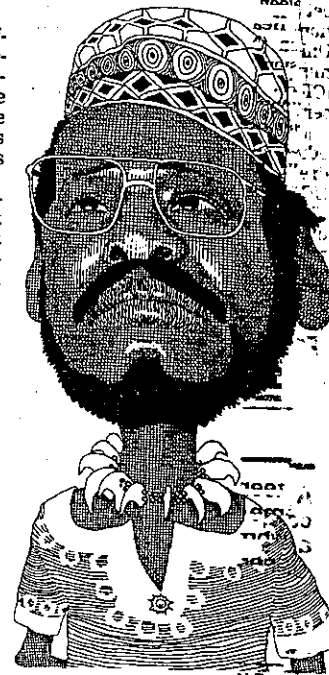
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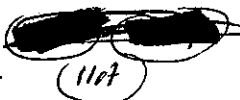
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Buthelezi ... mass action "totally irresponsible"

MASS ACTION FM 19/6/92

Knives and bottom lines



June 16 has become a de facto public holiday. Most Cosatu members are covered by industrial council agreements to that effect. How many other workers took the day off, and precisely why, is difficult to establish, which is why Sacob did not monitor the extent of absenteeism. It looked pretty near total in Johannesburg but somewhat less so in Durban and Cape Town. On Monday the JSE took a dip in anticipation of the stayaway, as business leaders warned that billions stood to be lost to the economy if the ANC plans continued.

By kicking off its mass action on June 16 the ANC-alliance virtually guaranteed itself a show of massive support. This could then be interpreted as backing for its pressure campaign against government "intransigence" at Codesa, where the negotiations remained deadlocked despite a series of bilateral talks between government and the ANC last weekend. And after Monday's meeting of the Codesa management committee, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "Unless the deadlock in Working Group Two is resolved, the future of this country is at stake." However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer disagreed, saying there had been "positive development."

There seems to be an element of theatre and double agenda to it all. "Real mass action," as a Cosatu spokesman explained, really only gets under way at the beginning of July. That was the deadline formally set by the ANC at its recent policy conference, for government to show more flexibility in its negotiating stance. It specifically wants agreement on the pivotal issue of an elected constitution-making body. Failure to agree on this point is what is holding up the installation of an interim government, because the ANC believes (not without justification) that the NP aims to prolong such a government for as long as possible, while Codesa, rather than an elected body, draws up a new constitution.

So it seems fair to say that the negotiating process sits on a knife's edge. Power sharing, not a transfer of power to the majority, is government's bottom line. This is at the root of the Codesa impasse.

A neglected point about the mass action campaign is that, even if the negotiators find a breakthrough on the current sticking point, and even if an interim government — the basis of which has been agreed — were to be set up by the June 30 deadline, the campaign is intended to "roll" on — until government "exits." That would be the culmination of the ANC's grand-sounding but ill-defined four-stage mass action campaign, planned to climax in a general strike in August. Phase

One, starting this week, will see a series of local and regionally planned protests, which are generally meant to escalate.

Whether the ANC leadership actually believes the plan will succeed, or that its supporters could sustain a no-work, no-pay strike for more than a few days, is debatable. But there are clearly complex motives at work.

There are different groupings within the ANC alliance, with different motivations. One faction, including the militant youth



wing, sees mass action as the way to force government's capitulation, East European-style. Others see it as a lever or pressure tactic to be used in conjunction with negotiations.

Yet others see mass action as a morale-building exercise and a means of keeping the organisation together. In this sense it serves to test the organisation's capacity for disciplined mobilisation, not least as a kind of trial run for electioneering.

It is significant that ANC president Nelson Mandela, opening an ANC Women's League meeting in Durban last weekend, made the astonishing off-the-cuff remark that the ANC "could lose" an election to the Nats, because they had vast experience, good organisation and powerful backing (or words to that effect). The ANC should mobilise and educate its followers in order to win a future election, Mandela said.

For all their different reasons, however, all sections are serious about the campaign, observes Wits University political historian Tom Lodge. He further points out that it is not being pressed upon a reluctant ANC leadership or its negotiating team, who share the frustration and impatience of the rank and file with government's delaying tactics.

This is clear from the tone of its statements since the failure of Codesa 2.

One aim of mass action, Lodge suggests, is that it may be a way of bringing SA back on to world TV screens. A few years ago this led to international pressure being brought on government (which now of course believes that pressure is off) to release, unban and negotiate. Hence the element of theatre.

Roelf Meyer claimed the ANC-alliance had decided to embark on its mass action campaign even before Codesa 2. The campaign had nothing to do with the negotiations but was being used "to build their own political power base." What concerned government was the "disruptive nature mass action can develop into and the violence that it could cause," said Meyer.

Ensuring peace

Ramaphosa gave an undertaking that the ANC was committed to a peaceful campaign: "We will ensure on our side that there is no loss of life." The ANC, he added, was "concerned about provocation from the security forces which the government is deploying in an unprecedented manner. We have reason to believe that the government is whipping up the emotions of our people and may try to disrupt the rallies that are going to take place."

The ANC says that mass action was always regarded as part of the negotiation process and that it is being only more actively pursued at this particular stage. It is a component, not an alternative to Codesa.

While the ANC will quite easily be able to claim victories from the campaign — assuming there will be movement at Codesa — there are also risks. Mass action means mobilising followers and this has not been easy, less so in a disciplined way. Here the role of Cosatu is vital in providing a communications network, and for this it will expect some pay-off — possibly in economic policy formulation in future.

Adding to anxiety about the campaign is Inkatha's opposition to it and the potential this has for intensifying conflict between the IFP and ANC. On the far Left, the PAC and Azapo have rejected any campaigns "aimed at making Codesa succeed."

While government has accepted the right of peaceful protest, President F W de Klerk said: "Protest actions of the extent and nature which are envisaged do not accord with the spirit of honest negotiation. They are also at variance with the spirit of the Peace Accord." De Klerk saw "no reason to assume that we cannot continue in the foreseeable future to build successfully on the good progress already made with negotiations regarding the transitional phase. Similarly, nobody

CURRENT AFFAIRS

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doubted any longer the irreversibility of the reform process, and it was untrue to allege that government is clinging to power at all costs as long as possible. "The government is committed to instituting transitional government in a justifiable manner as soon as it is practicable," said De Klerk.

"Within this framework the planned actions of the ANC and its allies are untimely, uncalled for and, given the present climate of violence, irresponsible." Government will not be intimidated, but persist in its efforts to remove remaining obstacles to constitutional reform through discussion and negotiation. It will continue doing everything in its power to see that law and order are maintained and that disruption is kept to a minimum, said De Klerk.

The DP said the actions planned to disrupt the economy and the likely intimidation and violence and loss of life "should be condemned in the strongest possible terms." Decisive measures should be taken by all sides to prevent their occurrence, said Law & Order and Justice spokesmen Peter Gastrow and Tony Leon in a joint statement. ■

ANC presses for urgent election the Nats could win

STAR 19/6/92

AN APPARENT contradiction lies at the heart of the African National Congress's campaign of mass action.

Initiated on June 16 by nationwide protest marches and mass rallies to commemorate the 1976 revolt by black students, one of the campaign's declared aims is to force the De Klerk administration to agree to "democratic elections for a constituent assembly" by the end of the year.

But against that there is Nelson Mandela's startling admission that the ANC is concerned that it could be defeated by President de Klerk's ruling National Party in a nonracial election. He cites as reasons for concern the NP's electoral experience, organisational ability and resources.

Given the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and its retention of nationalisation as a policy option, NP resources are likely to be augmented by a sizeable sector of the business community.

On the face of it, the strategy of using mass action to compel Mr de Klerk to agree to hold elections for a constituent assembly is irreconcilable with anxiety about losing the election.

The apparent incongruity is even more striking when the high stakes involved in a constituent assembly elections are recalled. The primary task of a democratically elected constituent assembly will be to draft a constitution for a democratic and nonracial South Africa.

A theoretical explanation can be offered: Mr Mandela's admission was a ploy to lure President De Klerk into agreeing to earlier elections.

But there is too much evidence of genuine concern in the ANC about the elections for that to be plausible.

To begin with, there is the frank acknowledgement in the past general-secretary's report that the ANC has not won major support in the white, coloured and Indian communities. Re-

A conundrum is embedded in the ANC's mass action programme. Its aim is to force President de Klerk to agree to elections for a constituent assembly before the end of the year, even though Nelson Mandela has admitted that the ANC could lose the elections. PATRICK LAURENCE offers an explanation.

cent opinion polls have shown that the general secretary's report, presented to the ANC general policy conference last July, was not alarmist: the ANC is traing the NP by substantial, even alarming (from its point of view) proportions in these communities.

Then there is, too, a paper by the ANC's department of political education. Entitled "Mass Organisation is the Key to Victory", it identifies several ANC weaknesses in the election battle.

The paper refers to the distribution of potential voters before observing that in "many of the areas" where the concentration of potential voters is greatest, the ANC is organisationally weak and its membership is low. It cites Natal and northern Transvaal specifically.

The discussion paper then adds a corollary. Many of the areas with a high concentration of voters fall under black governments hostile to the ANC and this restricts the ANC's freedom to organise. It mentions KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, whose leaders, Manosuthu Buthelezi, Oupa Gqoza and Lucs Mangope, recently presented a joint memorandum to President de Klerk.

The paper pinpoints two more weaknesses in the ANC:

- Its vulnerability to attack by the NP as a communist-controlled movement.
- Its susceptibility to a "massive barrage" by the established media, big business and foreign governments.

The De Klerk administration has charged that the ANC is afraid to submit itself to the "democratic process".

Minister of Constitutional De-

velopment Roelf Meyer has said the ANC decided on such action before negotiations deadlocked at Codesa, inferring it was negotiating in bad faith.

The NP's interpretation is based on the false premise that there is a contradiction between argument for early elections at the negotiating table and agitation for them in the streets.

Negotiations and mass action are not mutually exclusive in the ANC's view: they are both "terrains of the struggle". It is true that the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, were drafting a plan of action even before the deadlock at Codesa.

But the programme has since been revised to take account of the ANC's failure to realise its "bottom lines" at Codesa — an interim government of national unity by the end of June and elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year.

A programme of action, if not the final programme, has been in the offing for some time, not as a substitute for negotiations but as a supplement to them.

The programme of action, moreover, has been designed specifically to link the ANC's election and mass action campaigns.

The contradiction between mass action and concern about weaknesses in the ANC election machine is thus more apparent than real.

South Africa is witnessing a bid by the ANC to mobilise "the people" for two overlapping objectives: to force the De Klerk administration to agree to early constituent assembly elections and to prepare for the elections themselves. □

NIEL BARNARD, the government's head spook now recast as a negotiator, sidled up to a senior African National Congress member in the corridors of the World Trade Centre shortly before last month's deadlock at Codesa II.

"Go and tell Madiba he started the whole thing," said Barnard. "He must tell your people we are talking about power sharing."

The ANC official got the distinct impression that the government, through its spokesman Barnard, was expecting ANC president Nelson Mandela to deliver on some secret promise of power sharing.

Rumours of a "deal" between Mandela and President FW de Klerk's government, given grist by the tendency of the two men to retreat behind closed doors every time there is an impasse, have circulated for two and a half years.

Perhaps we will never know exactly what was said at the meetings between the ANC prisoner and National Party cabinet ministers in Mandela's last days in jail. But the two letters from Mandela to the government which were published at the time, pleading for reconciliation, do not support Barnard's inference that Mandela conceded power sharing as a compromise arrangement.

Careful rereading of the documents show that it is not Mandela who has violated any trust, but the NP which, by rejecting democracy as it is internationally accepted, has made the current mass action campaign inevitable.

"Two political issues will have to be addressed at such a meeting," Mandela wrote. "Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

"The most crucial task which will face the government and the ANC will

While the generals dither, troops return to trenches

W/Mail 19/6-25/6/92 (11A)

This week's launch of the mass action campaign is a return to the source of the African National Congress' strength: the streets.

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
looks at the reasons behind the strategy

be to reconcile these two positions."

While Mandela was clearly offering some form of quid pro quo, there is no evidence he accepted what the government is now demanding: the constitutionally entrenched right of the NP to representation in government.

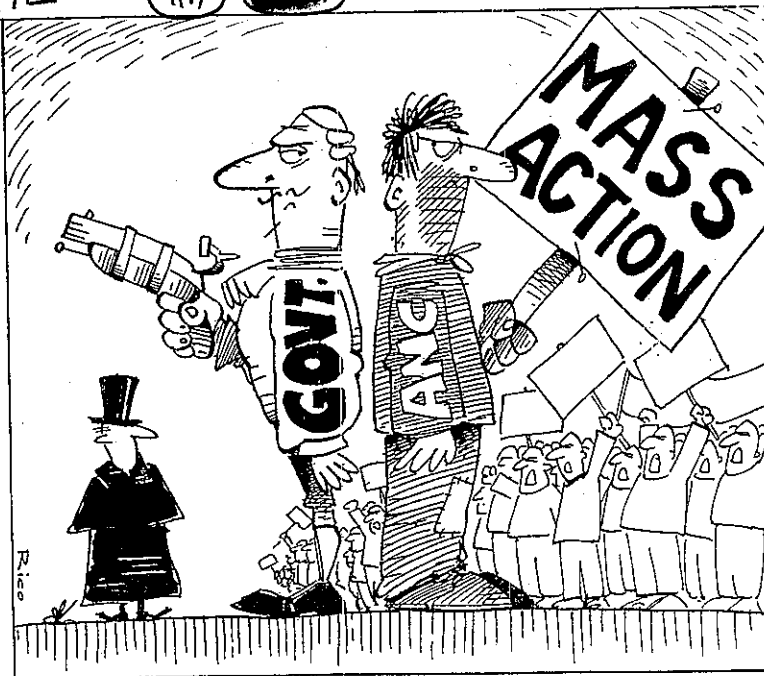
What Mandela was pleading for was a gesture of public spiritedness to cut through the conflict and confrontation that was propelling the country towards a bloodbath. It was a statesmanlike act that put his own political career at risk.

The idea was that rational people could get together, state their concerns and differences and build a structure, a gateway to democracy, that would address these concerns.

That was the theory. Rationalists, such as those most closely involved with the negotiations, believed that the ANC could win the day with the superior logic of its arguments.

However, the hope that reason and persuasion, and the mere act of showing up NP arguments as shoddy, would prevail, was dashed at Codesa II.

While there remain differences of emphasis within the ANC's national



executive committee (NEC), few voices were raised at last week's NEC meeting against the mass action campaign. Even the strongest advocates of the rationalist approach were silent, or actively enthusiastic about the campaign.

This week's launch of the mass action campaign is a return to the source of the ANC's strength: the streets. It is an admission, ANC activists say, that in putting its faith in Codesa the movement cut itself off from its power base, while the government retained its hold on, and continued to abuse, state power.

"We need to be more vigilant than we've been, less accepting of the government's good faith," says Frene

Ginwala, head of the ANC's department of research.

"We're now into deploying our power in a number of ways other than pure logic," says Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's political education department.

Suttner says the movement tended to separate Codesa from the general struggle for power. But "in South Africa, the language that matters is the language of power", he says.

The NP made a huge blunder by not settling on the very generous terms it was offered at Codesa II. The NP might have felt that a slight delay could help it, but it appears to have squandered its chances of the gentlemen's agreement, or an accord between the

elites, that Mandela was offering.

"Mass action is a threat to any deal at the top," says Suttner. "The ANC is reasserting its democratic character. What brought the government to the negotiating table was Cuito Cuanavale, the failure of the State of Emergency, the atmosphere of semi-insurrection and ungovernability."

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils says mass action will continue no matter what deals are struck at the negotiating table. "In the negotiating process, we've tended to consider mass action a deadlock-breaking mechanism: we've used the metaphor of a tap that you turn on and off.

"There is an important interaction between negotiations and mass action, but we must be careful not to see it in an opportunistic way."

Kasrils says he has tested the temperature of the people and is confident of the success of the campaign: "What we're talking about is a spiral, of building up our forces from about a million in the build-up phase to the active involvement of 10-million in phase four. We're looking at the possibility of the Leipzig option.

"The decision is that we now utilise mass action until we reach the stage where De Klerk is propelled out of the exit gate."

Suttner believes in "permanent mass action" as a way of democratising the country for the future as well as now.

In fact, the mass action campaign could also be seen as a build-up to an unspoken but inevitable fifth phase: the election campaign itself.

Suttner talks about the huge task of bringing to the polls 13-million people who've never voted before. "The election campaign can become the biggest national mass campaign in the country's history," he says.

The mass action strategists are not rejecting the negotiations, but hoping to create a completely new balance of power at the table.

This brings another potential headache for the NP: instead of a slight delay, which might have been to its advantage, we could now be in for a long haul before there is a final settlement.

Ginwala says there can be no compromise on the fundamental issue of democracy. "The people are fighting and dying for democracy, and do not want to be short-changed."

She believes that even those areas of consensus which have already been reached between the ANC and the government could be overturned and predicts that by October or November, in the absence of any agreement, the ANC will abandon De Klerk's proposal of an interim legislature to rule the country while the constituent assembly draws up the constitution.

"Mass action may not do it instantly, but how long can this government continue to rule this country?" says Ginwala.

Which brings one back to Mandela's jail initiative. He proposed the need for negotiations between the ANC and the NP in the national interest to break the stalemate on the ground between the two forces.

In all probability, the country is heading dangerously back into that arena where angry armies on the ground dictate the terms of the contest.

With every public statement, the government appears to dig itself further into the trench of "power sharing", hoping to convince the people of South Africa that it is an adequate substitute for democracy.

De Klerk would do well to reread Mandela's document: "Majority rule and internal peace are like the two sides of a single coin, and white South Africa simply has to accept that there will never be peace and stability in this country until the principle is fully

US blacks settle scores

Sowetan 19/6/92

Sowetan Foreign Service

NEW YORK - There are both remarkable similarities and distinct differences in the racial dilemmas facing South Africa and the United States.

Yet the similarities seem to be becoming more and more pronounced as each country grapples with the problems of race, undoubtedly this century's most pernicious, unresolved social issue.

Thus it is perhaps not entirely coincidence that at a time when the African National Congress has launched its supporters on a campaign of "mass action", American blacks are being urged by their leaders to do exactly the same.

Though obviously not directly linked, the two campaigns have almost identical aims and almost exactly similar techniques.

The black American campaign is to be launched today - a day chosen by the Reverend Jesse Jackson

and other black leaders because it is the anniversary of the day in 1865 when black Texans learned for the first time that President Abraham Lincoln had freed the slaves some two years earlier (and some 29 years after slavery had been abolished in the Cape).

Freedom

That day, now widely observed among American blacks as a milestone of freedom, will this year be marked as "a day of absence" - an almost exact replica of the ANC's Soweto Day call this week.

To mark what black leaders say is the "continuing burden of racism in America" they are calling on fellow blacks to stay at home, boycott white-owned businesses and avoid conversations with whites - even more radical

steps than those called for by the ANC.

In individual cities, local leaders have taken the call for action further. In New York black church leaders have urged blacks "to demonstrate our anger and outrage against police brutality, racial violence, political injustice and economic exclusion".

They specifically link their campaign to the recent Rodney King verdict, which acquitted four Los Angeles policemen of beating him in a video-taped incident seen round the world.

What gives the American Day of Absence a new dimension is the appeal to racism it evokes.

Not only are demonstrators called on not to go to work and to boycott shops, but are being urged not to spend money and not to use

the telephone - the latter because it is seen as a white-owned business.

Specifically, demonstrators are exhorted to patronise black-owned stores.

"Money is a powerful weapon," says one campaign leaflet being distrib-

uted by black church groups.

If there are similarities between the US and ANC campaigns, there are also differences.

The most noteworthy difference - and in it lies a curious irony - is how the

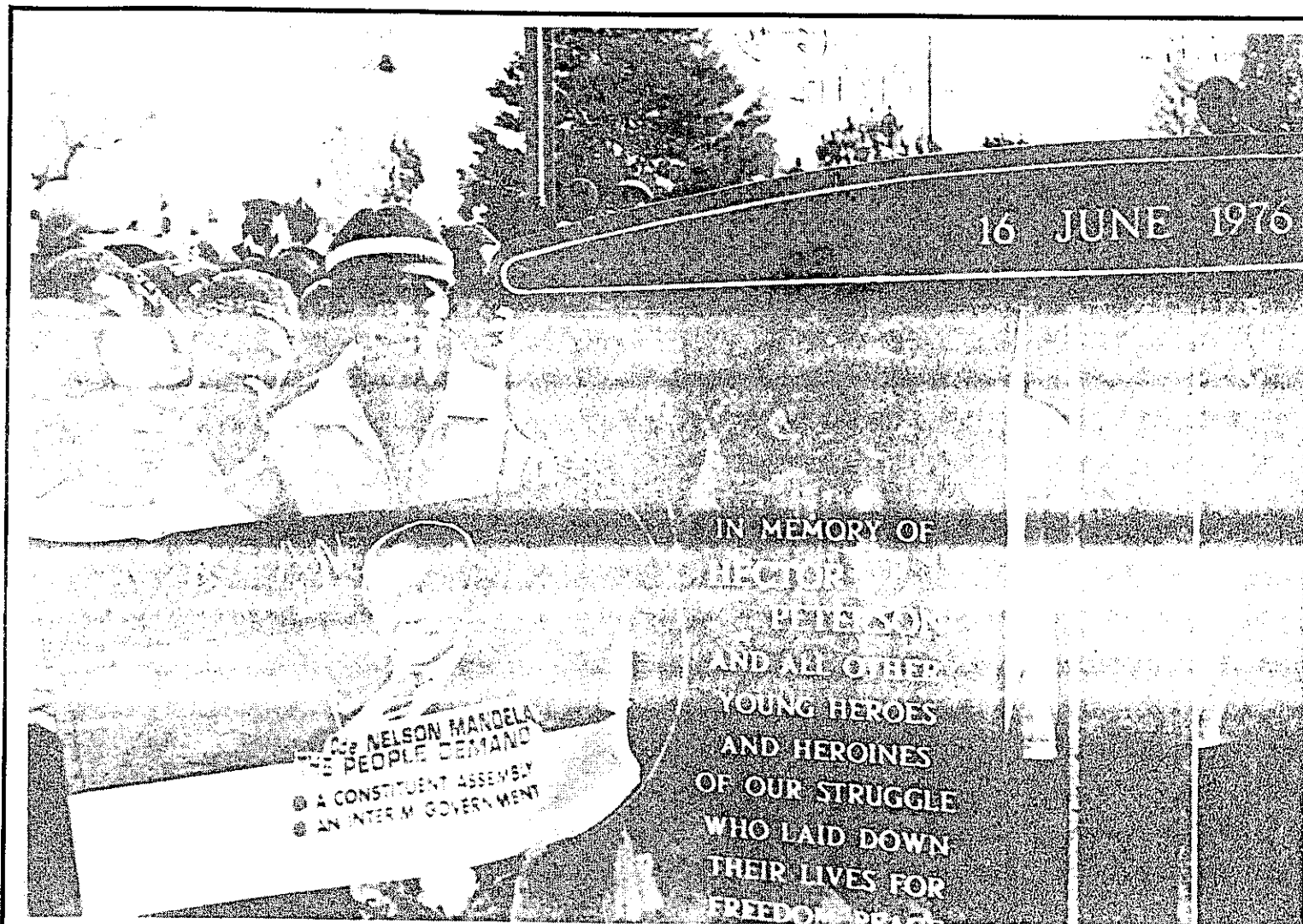
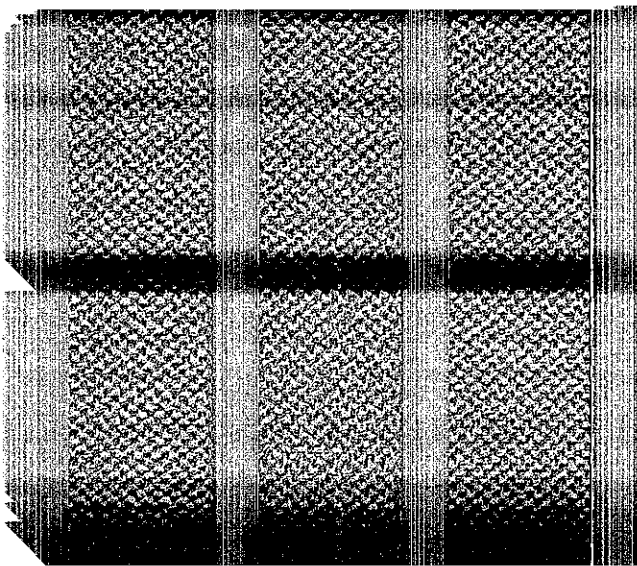
two campaigns are presented publicly.

In South Africa, a country moving slowly towards democracy, the ANC campaign has been widely publicised - a front page subject of national debate.

In the United States, a

country proud of its democratic system, a Day of Absence that reflects the welling anger of many of its black citizens, merits only a paragraph on the back pages of newspapers and hardly any reference at all on the air waves.





IN MEMORIAM; This tombstone was unveiled on Tuesday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela near the place where Hector Peterson, the first victim of the 1976 uprising was shot on June 16

Photo: Dynamic Images

'Tide of action will roll De Klerk towards sea'

By Quentin Wilson

IF THE mood of about 10 000 people at the June 16 commemorative rally in Nyanga was anything to go by, the ANC in the Western Cape can expect a massive turnout for their mass action campaign in the coming weeks.

The packed Nyanga Soccer Stadium erupted in enthusiastic applause when new uMkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Mr Siphwe Nyanda, declared: "This mass

action must end at Pretoria's Union Buildings when Mr Nelson Mandela becomes the first genuine president of this country.

"The tide of mass action will roll (President FW) De Klerk towards the sea. He has no alternative but to hand over the reigns of power to the people."

Mr Lizo Nkonki, SACP Western Cape general secretary, said: "We are here for one reason and that is to launch the offensive on the NP government. This rolling mass

action will start in Cape Town, continue to Port Elizabeth, then to Durban — until power is transferred to us."

"We need to prepare for July. Some day in July we must take control of the city — everything must come to a standstill that day.

"We have nothing to fear, we will occupy the government offices, we will control the councillors' offices and then prepare for a prolonged general strike — until the Boers bow to our demands."

An ANC national press statement said rallies took place in villages and towns which seldom appeared on maps. A rally in Ritchie drew 400 people and in Hotazel, 2 000 people.

"We are most happy at the success of the rallies because the government and the media created hysteria around the possibility of violence, aimed at intimidating those who wanted to participate," the ANC said in its statement.

● See page 9

11A

SOUTH 20/6-24/6/92

The ANC's mass action planned to bring the government to its knees could be the biggest challenge the organisation has ever faced, reports

Rehana Rossouw:

BILLED as the "final offensive" against President FW de Klerk and the National Party, the ANC leadership faces the mammoth task of translating their threats into organised and disciplined action.

In the Western Cape the organisation is not ready to announce its plans for the weeks ahead. It is still trying to hammer out a strategy to bring mass action to the region by July 1.

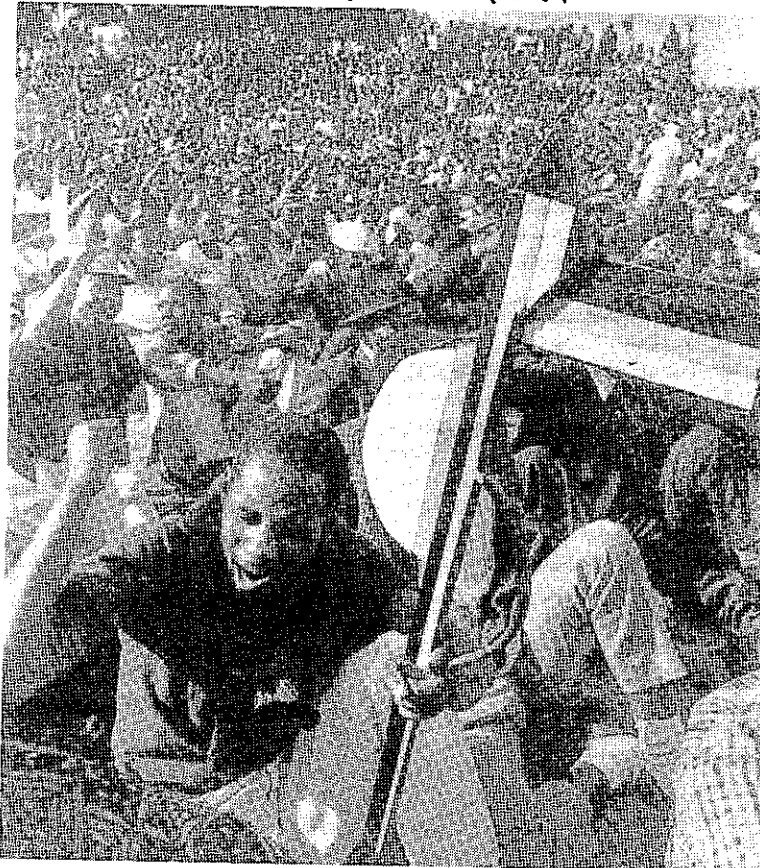
After that they face the tasks of preparing their activists to sell the idea of mass action to local areas and devising creative campaigns to capture the imagination

The region's "transition to democracy" campaign will kick off after the organisation has completed a rigorous programme of consultation and careful planning, the organisation's regional general secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni said this week.

Yengeni said the ANC's seven rallies in the Western Cape on June 16 had been an important start to the programme of mass action. It had given the organisation an opportunity to gauge the mood of supporters.

ANC's 'final offensive' has still to be finalised

SOUTH 20/6-24/6/92



RARING TO GO: June 16 rally-goers at Nyanga vote for action

"People are very excited. The mere mention of mass action at the rallies had them on their feet.

"Our operation started on June 16 and will only end the minute democracy is installed in our coun-

try. The campaign's time-frame is not based on whether the deadlock at Codesa is broken or not, but on whether De Klerk is removed and a new government is in place."

Yengeni was responding to questions about what the region had planned after the ANC announced that its campaign of mass action would start on June 16.

A day later the organisation had no plans to announce and it now appears likely that a programme of mass action for the Western Cape will only be drafted in two to three weeks.

Sources in the ANC said that since the decision to embark on mass action had been taken at the ANC's policy conference two weeks ago, branches were only invited to one meeting to discuss the issue. This meeting failed to produce concrete plans.

A spokesperson for the ANC's Youth League said their "supplementary campaign" would only be discussed at their regional general council in two weeks.

"We've only just begun to prepare ourselves for mass action in the Western Cape," Yengeni said.

"Our regional leadership has yet to discuss the programme and it is likely that we will use Cosatu's plan for a general strike as an opening shot for the campaign in the

region."

Yengeni said the ANC would meet its allies to discuss what local issues should be included in the campaign.

Because parliament was a major focus in the national plans for mass action, the Western Cape region would have to be well-prepared to tackle that institution, Yengeni said.

"This campaign will challenge the power relations in the country, and the Western Cape is going to play a major role in that challenge.

"The ANC is going to organise people on the same scale as protests in eastern Europe, on a massive scale right in the city centre."

Because this would be the ANC's "ultimate campaign" the organisation would have to plan it carefully and mobilise thousands to support it, Yengeni said.

"It is going to be rolling, unprecedented and ongoing mass action. There is no need to rush into it."

Yengeni said activists would be trained as campaigners and political agitators to launch and sustain the mass action from local and branch level.

"Picketing, marching and handing over memoranda is not going to be enough this time round.

"It seems as though the government has created a wall around itself and these types of action no longer threaten them.

"We are definitely no longer going to ask for permission every-time we want to march, organise a sit-in or occupy their institutions."

The campaign would have nothing to do with anarchy and violence.

"We are going to use force, of course we are, but this will be used in a militant, peaceful and organised manner," he said.

drive to rebuild their village from rubble.

● Photograph: ANDREW BANNISTER

gives the people of Mogopa security on their own land."

Zwartrand, nearly nine years

Confusion over mass action's opening shots

SHARPLY conflicting assessments have created confusion about the launch of the ANC mass action campaign to force the Government's resignation.

ANC campaigns organiser Ronnie Kasrils said mass action, launched at Soweto Day rallies on Tuesday, was not expected to take place on a daily basis.

The ANC has described the launch as successful and insisted that the mass action was not the cause of any violence.

The next landmark in the programme's first phase — the mobilisation period — will be June 26, the day the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955.

Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel, however, said on Wednesday that no stayaways had occurred.

Kasrils said: "No actions were planned for June 17."

SACP leader Chris Hani told the Saturday Star that, in line with the first phase of mobilisation, the commemoration of the 1976 uprisings had been used to mobilise members and supporters for mass action.

He described the launch as a "roaring success", noting that the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance had not asked people to stay away — which would have happened in any event because of the commemoration — but to

attend marches and rallies. These had been well attended.

In an interview with Saturday Star this week, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa said the tripartite alliance's demands for an interim government by the end of the month and elections for a constituent assembly in December were not new.

These demands, he said, were first made last December, and were outlined in the ANC's New Year speech and restated in April during Cosatu's Freedom Now campaign.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

The first phase is set to run until the end of June and will focus on regional and local issues, such as the violence.

Demonstrations are planned for Monday by the Paper, Print, Wood and Allied Workers' Union against paper production giant Sappi. The National Union of Metalworkers' Transvaal region is also planning marches on that day.

The deadline for the alliance's demands is June 30, and if they have not been met, the second phase — the national offensive — will start on July 1.

Shilowa said Cosatu still thought it was possible for the Government to meet the de-

mands at this late stage, if it had the political will.

Should the demands not be met, "it means De Klerk has declared war on us".

The general-strike phase is set to start on August 1 and will include factory shut-downs, the occupation of factories and government buildings, marches, stayaways and the strategic occupation of city centres.

The start of the last phase — "Exitgate" — will depend on when the strike will be called off, Shilowa said.

Preparations for elections for a constituent assembly would be made during this phase if the demands had been met.

Frogmarching on freedom road

By FRED KHUMALO *CIP news 2/16/92*

YOU'VE heard of people being kidnapped, well, how about activists being comradenapped? That's exactly what Azapo supporters claim happened to them amid the June 16 euphoria in Durban this week. (11A)

While the ANC's mass action got on to a triumphant start on Tuesday, with less bloodshed reported than had been expected, Azapo members say they were bundled on a bus and forcibly taken to toyi-toyi at the ANC's mass action march in the city centre.

The Azapo claims were rejected by southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe who said they were devoid of the truth and were an attempt to besmirch the name of the ANC.

However, Azapo regional organiser Patrick Mkhize had a different version of events: "Not only were our members stopped from attending rallies organised by Azapo, but they were literally bundled into buses and transported to Durban where they took part in the ANC's mass action march in the city centre."

In Umlazi township, members of Azapo who tried to board trains to go to an Azapo rally were turned back from the station, said Mkhize.

He said members of the organisation in Inanda were forced into buses going to the ANC's rally which culminated in a march snaking along the city's main street right up to the city hall where a memorandum was handed over to Durban operational officer Lt-Col Johan van Wyk.

He said the subtle campaign of intimidation and intolerance also saw members of Azapo, who had booked a hall at the Ecumenical Centre which houses "progressive" organisations, being locked out of the hall they had already paid for.

Mkhize saw the closing of the hall as an ANC plot to muffle voices of dissent as Azapo had planned to use June 16 rallies to discuss its attitude towards mass action which it has thus far refused to endorse.

Responded the ANC's Radebe: "How could we possibly force people into a bus and take them to a march attended by so many people, in the presence of so many members of the police force? It's all lies. About the hall at the Ecumenical Centre, all I can say is that we have no control over it whatsoever. We could not collaborate with the authorities at the centre because we were busy with our own rally on that day."

After a flurry of activity on the part of Azapo officials, the hall was opened and the commemoration proceeded. But by that time many people had become fed up and left. Only about 400 stayed for the meeting, claimed Mkhize.

"The acts of intolerance are increasing," claimed the Azapo activist.

The ANC rally was a resounding success, with over 15 000 people turning out.



The keynote speaker was ANC leader Trevor Manuel, who said some of the demands of ANC followers as they started the mass action were:

- An end to the murder of political activists by security forces;
- An end to government corruption and the swindling of taxpayers' money by government officials;
- The immediate abolition of the 64 apartheid Acts still contained in the country's statute books and the subsequent dismantling of apartheid.

Striking SABC workers took the rally as an opportunity to call on the masses to support the strike by launching a boycott of payment for TV and radio licences.

No incidents of violence were reported during or after the rally.

■ See Page 13

Mandela hits out at ANC bullyboys

By FRED KHUMALO

(1A) CIP/MS 21/6/92

ANC president Nelson Mandela came out strongly against young, intolerant members of the organisation who go around harassing Indian businessmen and demanding money from them.

Speaking at the opening of the ANC Women's League regional conference in Durban last week, Mandela said the intolerance of young ANC members was bringing to Indians a flood of memories of the 1949 slaughter of Indians by Africans in Durban and surrounding areas.

"When they think in terms of a democratic government likely to be dominated by Africans, they get scared," he said.

He said the ANC had a big task of translating their preachings of non-racialism and tolerance into reality in order to allay the fears of minorities.

Before addressing the Women's League conference, Mandela made a flying visit to Westville Prison where he had an hour-long talk with ANC bomber Robert McBride who is serving life imprisonment.

"Robert McBride is a worthy soldier of Umkhonto weSizwe ... Although he is behind bars alone, he must be made to feel that he has the overwhelming support of his comrades," said Mandela.

He said McBride had some problems which needed to be addressed at the highest level of the ANC.

In an earlier address, Mandela reiterated the ANC's warning that it was planning to take millions of people out on to the streets to force an end to the deadlock in negotiations.

Kimberley poll battle turns ugly

CIP news 21/6/92

By DONALD SIMPSON

PRESIDENT De Klerk's son, wife and Erica Adams have become major issues in the struggle between the ANC, Labour Party and National Party in Kimberley's latest election battle.

The so-called coloured folk of the city live in the unsparkling Diamant constituency of 33 000 voters. They have been inundated with cheaply photocopied Labour leaflets attacking Marike de Klerk's treatment of her proposed daughter-in-law, her attitude to people of colour and her public utterances over many years.

The "brown" Nat response to this attack by Labour candidate John Scholtz has been a stream of obscene abuse outside the special votes polling station. Police with dogs, whips and sticks have raced in to stop fights between election workers.

All this keeps the voters away and has an uncertain effect on the final election votes. Charges have been laid against NP candidate Howard Isaacs, one of the most controversial people to stand for parliament for a major party in recent years.

Isaacs is a recent convert to the NP, having been a right-hand man of disgraced former MP Les Abrams in the Labour structure.

Hendrickse's party is the gladiator certain to fall unless the ANC gives it a thumbs up. Labour's minibuses have been stoned out of the ANC's not inconsiderable areas of support. A third of the potential voters live in areas supporting the ANC.

Labour's loss of power and many alleged scandals have hurt Scholtz, its

decent candidate.

ANC posters now adorn Labour party vehicles in a bizarre display of apartheid and liberation politics. Labour got barely 200 000 votes in 1989 countrywide, while the ANC could win 12 million in a non-racial poll.

The bright, idealistic and youthful ANC civics in Kimberley have gone dangerously close to supporting the Labour candidate in their anger at the NP tactics. However, the ANC could badly burn its fingers if it allows the Labour Party into its rock-solid areas of support like Galeshewe to collect voters who are really ANC despite their "coloured" apartheid tag.

Previously these people were told to "not vote for racist structures" by the ANC and its allies.

Unusual

Kimberley is an unusual city. Its "white" suburbs were becoming integrated before the Group Areas Act was repealed. Its other suburbs are remarkable monuments to resistance to racial categorisation.

Its churches and schools are colour-blind. Its Cape municipal franchise was until 1972 colour-blind too. The poorer suburbs elected Sonny Leon and others who held the balance of power between the white Nats and white United Party councillors. This enraged the Vorster government which destroyed the structure.

The city has adopted a "nationalist" plan for the first "multiracial" city council. It still has 50 percent white members, but decisions are taken by - guess what - a 66,7 percent majority dreamt up before it was turned down by the same Nats at Codesa.

Education holds key



In an open letter to South Africa's political leaders, **BOGIE MH MABOGOANE**, a well-known industrial chemist and honorary chairman of the community-based East Rand educational group, **Educational Catalysts of SA**, pleads for one education department in SA.

CIP/ren
21/6/92



DEAR leaders,
The anniversary of June 16 has

come and gone, but the picture of that tragic Wednesday in Soweto is still vivid in my mind.

I was on my sales round and fortunately I was using a sedan instead of the sign-written delivery van. It was impossible to get out but I was near a friend's place, Dr AJ Kgomo, which was two streets away from ANC president Nelson Mandela's former residence.

As everybody knows, that Wednesday was the turning point in SA history.

In the 80 years since our struggle was formalised in Bloemfontein the progress made in the last 16 years has been far greater than that achieved during the previous 64 years. Indeed, *siyafika ePitoli* - we are getting to Pretoria.

Soon after June 16 we ceased to be visitors in 87 percent of our country.

Better school premises were erected and the material conditions of services for our teachers improved.

There was some upward mobility in commerce and industry and Africans in the urban areas were again allowed to form business partnerships and companies.

You will agree, however, that those enjoying the fruits of the struggle today are the haves among our people.

Many of the 1976 students live in mkhukhus

(shacks) today because the government, at national and local levels, never fulfilled its obligation to provide low-income houses.

The worst deprivation for the majority of our people is in "the most important activity of modern man", namely education.

We seem to have forgotten that June 16 was precipitated by our children's demand to learn. They could not do so effectively in the language they least understood and which was also a problem to their teachers.

Those brave boys and girls went a step further. They rejected bantu education and later called for the liberation of their leaders. The latter has been achieved but an Education Department they have no confidence in is still in place.

When Mandela urged the pupils to return to school, the pupils said: "We cannot understand Mandela. We fought for his release to help us fight for a better education. Now he urges us to go to school to get the inferior education we do not want."

It was not only the idealistic students who were against bantu education. The young teachers, who were in the frontline in 1976, were against the present system and reluctant to teach it.

The union has it written in bold letters on their letterheads: "Forward to

one department of education."

Yes, we all know there is no bantu Newton's Laws, bantu Pythagoras theorem, or bantu Shakespeare, but it is extremely difficult to convince those idealistic and influential students and teachers, that today, there is no difference between African, Indian, coloured and white education.

I have tried but failed. In 1977 and 1985, parents and teachers in Kwa Thema asked me to liaise with student leaders to help resolve boycotts.

"We do not want bantu education," was the answer given by students.

It was difficult and the system made it even more difficult when they petrol-bombing our homes and those of student leaders.

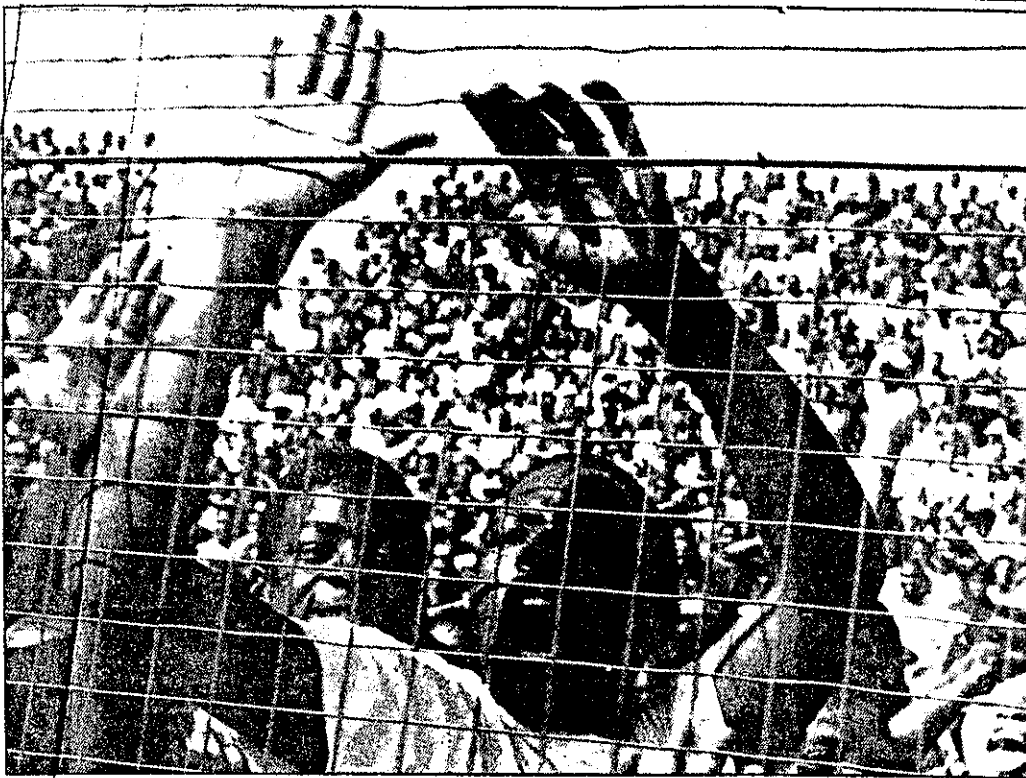
Former British Prime Minister Lord Attlee said: "Wars are started in the minds of men and it is in the minds of men that peace must be settled."

Bantu education was in the minds of our children when they took up stones in 1976.

This must be removed from their minds for our schools to be effective.

In view of this, I appeal that you urge the present parliament to legislate this coming October for one education department.

Your failure to help these children from disadvantaged backgrounds will cause resentment in the future of children from better backgrounds.



LOST IN THE MUSIC . . . Youths bob to the good sounds at a June 16 rally at Orlando Stadium — but how much do they know about Hector Peterson? ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

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So trivialised, even Nats n



PAYING RESPECTS . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela greets Hector Peterson's mother, Dorothy. ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

C/press 2/16/92 (11A)
By **SEKOLA SELLO**

JUNE 16 has come and gone. Next year, another round of commemoration services will be held countrywide.

Yet one cannot help feeling that something has gone terribly wrong with the event.

Fact is that it has been going wrong for some time now. The occasion is no longer the sombre affair it was in past years.

Then, one could feel a sense of oneness among blacks. There was a palpable bond of shared grief.

Today, June 16 has become a rather grotesque parade of party political flags. That mood of mourning, of oneness, it now seems, belongs to the past.

Instead, political egos are flying high. It's now become a question of who had more followers, who could bus them in in ever-greater numbers, who attracted which celebrities and who had the purest line of them all.

No longer do we hear the names of Mandela, Biko and Sobukwe invoked jointly at a June 16 gathering. Rallies are now platforms to vilify opponents.

Hector Peterson and the other martyrs of June 16 must be turning in their graves to see

grown men cheapen deaths like this.

Whereas in the past a mood of thunderous defiance, today things are different. Today the trendy, pop and fickle.

Even the police now show the murderous aggression of a few years ago. There was a teargas canister fired in — perhaps De Klerk's measures have percolated to the *manne* in blue.

This absence cannot be marked.

Adding to this sense of unreal, the occasion is being turned into a battle of party bands. They will be Bayethe. So we will have Sakhile. And they, in turn, bring in the sounds of Dube or Miriam Makeba.

There is nothing wrong with these musicians performing at political rallies, but where the impression is created that they are the main attraction, something is seriously wrong.

Some (unconvincing) say there is nothing wrong about this. Such divisions, they said, are not peculiar to South Africa. If anything, they show the political development of our country.

The argument goes that the liberation movement, banned, it was only logical political activity would

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SOMBRE REFLECTION ... A section of the crowd in attentive mood at a PAC-hosted rally. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

might hold June 16 rally

C/P/ND 21/6/92

cheapening their his. In the past there was numerous black de-y things are sadly today the mood is and fickle.

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this sense of the occasion is now be- into a battle of the y will bring in y we will bring in they, in turn will sounds of Lucky iam Makeba.

nothing wrong with ans performing at les, but when the created that they 1 attractions, then seriously amiss.

convincing) voices nothing unusual uch divisions, it is peculiar to blacks. hey show the logit- ent of our politics. ent goes that when movements were s only logical that vity would be con-

ducted under the banner of the Black Consciousness Movement, which was then the only political organisation not restricted.

It is said that when the political terrain was freed in a series of events leading up to February 1992, it was to be expected that the various strains would increasingly go their separate ways.

It is said that even the beleaguered Afrikaner are just as divided. Take a look at the Day of the Vow. The National Party commemorates this event separately from the Conservative Party. Even the rightwingers occasionally cannot agree to hold joint services.

Yet, one could argue, June 16 should inspire a greater sense of bringing blacks together. It is in death more than anything that our *Ubuntu/Botho* emerges. It is when death has visited your family that neighbours who have not been talking to each for years, come together, bury their differences and help each other to make light the burden of losing a beloved.

No one is hankering for political uniformity. The existence of Azapo, ANC, PAC and Inkatha are realities which cannot be wished away.

One may even argue that such diversity indicates political

maturity.

Uniformity can be stultifying to the mind. Political differences on the other hand are healthy. But petty political divisions should not be taken for diversity of thought.

In fact, there is something really sickening when Azapo, the ANC and PAC - all three generally regarded as custodians of the spirit of Hector Petersen and other martyrs - cannot come together even for just a few short hours.

June 16 should be a unifying symbol. The fact that the day was spearheaded by the BC movement does not detract from the need for it to be a unifying factor. This holds true for Sharpeville (March 21).

If we go on the way we are, future generations will not know even basic things, such as the name of June 16's first casualty. Is it Petersen as it used to be spelt in the past or is it Peterson as to be found on his new headstone unveiled this week.

Some cynics say the way things are going, what with everyone trying to pin the day to his party sleeve, the time is not far off when even the National Party will hold a June 16 rally.

If June 16 and March 21 cannot be such symbols and join blacks even if momentarily, then, it seems, nothing will.



CROWD APPEAL ... PAC president Clarence Makwetu greets the crowd. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

Military honours for slain MK soldier

ST 22/6/92
(11A)

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The slain chairman of the Transkei regional branch of the South African Communist Party, and uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldier, Mr Fani Johannes Jiba, 36, was buried with full military honours at the Cambridge cemetery here yesterday.

Members of MK in full military uniform acted as pall bearers, followed by a cortege of more than a thousand mourners, mostly ANC and SACP members. ANC marshals controlled the crowd.

Mr Jiba was gunned down at a Butterworth taxi rank on June 3. Transkei police said at the time a Transkei Road Transport Corporation security guard had been arrested.

Massacre stalls talks

By Brian Sokutu
and Esther Waugh

ANC to review participation in Codesa

STAR 22/6/92

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended bilateral talks with the Government and announced that the organisation was to review its participation in Codesa — plunging the negotiations process into its most serious crisis since its inception two years ago.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said after paying a visit yesterday to the site of last Wednesday's massacre of squatters at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle.

Addressing thousands of ANC supporters at Evaton, near Vanderbijlpark, yesterday, Mr Mandela said an emergency meeting of the full ANC national executive committee had been called for tomorrow to review its participation in Codesa.

He said he had also instructed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to cancel a bilateral meeting scheduled for tomorrow with the Government.

Last night, Government spokesman on Codesa and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport told The Star

that the ANC was looking for a reason to suspend talks with the Government.

"They have their own agenda for doing so. The tragic events in Boipatong have made it more imperative that all parties talk about the future," he said.

"It has been obvious the past couple of weeks, especially on June 15, that the ANC was reluctant to resume talks at Codesa," Dr Delport said.

Should the ANC decide to suspend its participation in Codesa, the Government would continue talking to those who wanted to have

discussions with it, he added.

Speaking after touring the massacre scene at Boipatong and Slovo Park, Mr Mandela said he could "no longer explain to my people why we continue to talk to the regime which continues to murder our people".

According to the ANC, at least 43 people died in the attack, blamed on Inkatha supporters.

Angry youths called for the resumption of the armed struggle as Mr Mandela told the crowd at Evaton's stadium: "We're now back to the Sharpeville days, and the

gap between the oppressor and the oppressed has overnight become unbridgeable."

He reacted strongly to Mr de Klerk's statement on Saturday about possible new measures to curb violence.

After being driven from Boipatong by angry crowds, Mr de Klerk said further steps would be considered if the violence did not end.

He said that declaring a state of emergency was an option, but not one he would readily consider.

Yesterday Mr Mandela said: "Let me warn him. The introduction of anti-demo-

cratic measures will result in a defiance campaign, with me leading that defiance campaign."

The ANC leader added that the organisation would continue its campaign of mass action.

Arriving at Boipatong, Mr Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and other ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leaders were greeted with placards held by militant youths which read "Codesa, a white elephant, let's fight", "Mandela, we want arms now", and "Mandela, give us permission to kill our enemies".

Mr Mandela cautioned the militants.

"As we brace ourselves for

● To Page 2

P.O. →

Talks suspended in wake of massacre

From Page 1

what lies ahead, we must call for discipline among our ranks. Don't allow yourselves to be provoked into unplanned violence.

"Be careful of agents provocateurs. We have won many battles because of discipline.

"When conflict looms on the horizon, that discipline becomes the life-blood of the democratic movement.

"I can see from your expressions that you want to fight."

Mr Mandela said South Africans held the Government responsible for Wednesday night's massacre.

Mr Mandela also said the ANC would declare the day of the mass funeral — which is still to be decided — to be "a day of mourning throughout the country".

He said health workers would be exempted from such a stayaway.

He called on the international community not to relax sanctions on South Africa before there was an interim government of national unity in place.

The Government and ANC differed sharply last week on

progress, or lack thereof, in bilateral meetings and at Codesa.

While Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said progress was being made, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa insisted that no progress was being made and that some of the bilaterals had been "a total waste of time".

Mr Ramaphosa said they had only discussed points of difference and that the Codesa management committee was nowhere near discussing the deadlock in negotiations.

The crisis in constitutional talks arose at Codesa 2 last month when the two sides could not agree on who should write a final constitution.

This had resulted in the other agreements reached by Codesa working groups being shelved until the deadlock was resolved.

SACP leader Chris Hani last night told The Star he understood and supported Mr Mandela's decision to cancel tomorrow's bilateral meeting.

The SACP central committee had held a "balanced discussion" on pulling out of Codesa but decided it could not

take such unilateral action and would have to consult with the ANC and Cosatu, he said.

One senior ANC member said there were strong feelings of anger among grassroots members about the intolerable high levels of violence.

They also felt the Government was responsible for the deadlock in negotiations and had declared war on mass action, he said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "I understand the rage on the ground, but will still appeal to the ANC to stay in the negotiation process," adding: "There is no way out of this for all South Africans other than the negotiation process."

Dr de Beer said he would continue to work towards getting constitutional talks back on track.

Commenting on Dr Delport's statement that the Government would continue constitutional talks with whoever wanted to talk to it, Dr de Beer said such an exercise would be meaningless as the essential relation was between the Government and ANC.

Cold war grows chillier

NEGOTIATIONS have not only been jeopardised, but last Wednesday's Boipatong butchery also poses a moral dilemma for the black leaders involved in the Codesa process - ostensibly those of the African National Congress.

In fact, people are talking in the townships, on the streets.

They are saying the ANC should get out of Codesa and mobilise its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Conversely, not only has the Government's credibility plunged over the latest mass deaths of blacks.

State President FW de Klerk's personal standing among blacks suffered a further setback when police bullets killed three people during his abortive "mercy" mission to Boipatong on Saturday.

This incident - in which the State President was chased away by about 3 000 residents - was the climax to events in the Vaal township, and indeed the whole country, since Wednesday when 39 people were killed in the worst single carnage in recent times.

Pointedly, the ANC's political game plan has been put to the test as the Government's main negotiating partner in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

A pertinent question raised by ANC's supporters and adversaries alike, even by the ANC's leadership core itself, is: Why pretend things are on course? But are things really on course?

Mr Saki Macozoma, the ANC's spokesman, might have touched a raw nerve in a radio interview on Friday. "I personally think we are witnessing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word," he said.

Earlier this month Mr Nelson Mandela was criticised for telling an overseas audience that blacks were being killed because they were black and for equating the spiralling mass black killings with the Holocaust - the massacre of Jews in Nazi Germany.

Also, was it simply emotional oratory by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, when he said on Friday: "The ANC places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Mr FW de Klerk, who declared in Tokyo recently that his Government had a plan to counter (the ANC's programme of) mass action."

And in a hard-hitting speech at Boipatong, South African Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, questioned the Government's sincerity and said action would have been prompt if whites had been killed in a similar bloodbath.

The coming few days are indeed going to be crucial in determining whether the ANC and its allies remain in Codesa as calls for it to pull out by other liberation groups, Azapo and the PAC, grow louder.

Already one of the ANC's allies, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, has called on all organisations involved in talks with the Government to withdraw immediately

‘The ANC places blame squarely on the shoulders of FW de Klerk.’

SAF 22/6/92

The shocking killings of innocent people in Boipatong and other Vaal areas last week has placed a lot of strain on the relationship between the ANC and the De Klerk Government, with growing calls for the ending of negotiations and a return to militant struggle. **THEMBA MOLEFE** of our political staff assesses the situation.



because of the alleged insincerity of the De Klerk administration.

In its initial reaction to the Boipatong massacre Azapo was forthright and called for black political organisations to stop any dealings with the Government.

While it is unlikely that the ANC will pull out of Codesa, one of its most viable options would be to intensify its mass action.

The organisation's executive committee member, Mr Mac Maharaj, remarked on Friday that "negotiation is a slim thread that holds the political process together".

It is with this notion in mind that the ANC's national working committee meets this week to discuss how the slayings impacted on negotiations.

What is certain, though, is that the cold war between the ANC and the Government has never been chillier.

Harsh words have been said all round as a result of the massacre and more are to be expected this week.

On the one hand the ANC, as a liberation movement, is responsible to its grassroots membership.

If the hundreds who forced De Klerk to flee on Saturday are supporters of the ANC, then the message is clear: the shaky marriage should end.

On the other hand, the Government has to back its words and ensure that police produce results.

It is not enough just to deny allegations of police collusion in this and other massacres while no action seems to be taken to at least apprehend those responsible.

‘ I personally think we are experiencing a genocide and I know the dictionary meaning of the word. ’

MADAM GETS SATISFACTION FROM HER MALE DOMESTIC

A prominent black businesswoman is completely satisfied with her male domestic servant. What makes this unusual relationship work?

TRUE LOVE gives you valuable tips on what you can do to keep your job when everybody around you is losing theirs.



ANC halts talks with government

B/day 22/6/92

11A

DUMA GQUBULE

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday suspended his organisation's participation in constitutional negotiations.

Mandela told 20 000 people at a rally in Evaton township near Vanderbiljpark he had called an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee to "examine our options in the light of what has happened".

However, ANC delegates to Codesa would attend today's scheduled meetings but an emergency ANC NEC meeting tomorrow will review the ANC's position on Codesa, Mandela said.

His speech came after angry Boipatong residents chased President F W de Klerk out of the township on Saturday, and as weekend violence pushed the unrest death toll in the past week to 112.

Mandela said: "I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiations process is completely in tatters."

Mandela said he had cancelled a meeting between the ANC and government scheduled for tomorrow as a result of last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He warned De Klerk: "Let me warn him the introduction of anti-democratic measures today will result in a defiance campaign with me leading it."

The ANC leader's remarks followed a statement from De Klerk on Saturday after his visit to Boipatong that the authorities would have to "look beyond present measures to maintain law and order".

Some observers interpreted this to mean that a return to a state of emergency could

be on the cards. However, government sources said an immediate imposition of the emergency seemed unlikely yesterday as De Klerk left for a scheduled visit to Spain where he will meet Spanish king Juan Carlos.

Mandela said: "One thing is clear, we are back in the Sharpeville days. The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr De Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa but to the NP. He wants to keep it in power by brute force."

Mandela added the ANC would continue its campaign of peaceful mass action.

The ANC expected the funeral of the 39 massacre victims, still to be announced, to be declared a day of national mourning.

In fresh outbreaks of unrest, five people — two of them women — were killed during a raid by armed men on the Dobsonville Hostel in Soweto early yesterday.

Inkatha Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu said the five were Inkatha members who had been attacked by armed ANC members.

Police reported one death at Boipatong on Saturday. However, media reports yesterday said three people died and about 20 were injured in Boipatong on Saturday when President F W de Klerk was chased out of the township by angry supporters of the ANC and PAC.

The full police report on Boipatong states: "A group of about 15 black youths threw stones at members of the SAP. The police were also attacked with pangas. One

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ANC

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□ From Page 1

black man over 18 years was wounded and arrested.

"A black man attacked another with a panga. The SAP member shouted a warning whereupon the man attacked the SAP member and was shot dead.

"Also at Boipatong, unknown persons fired a number of shots at the police. No-one was injured. Later, unknown persons again fired at the SAP. One member was wounded. The SAP returned fire and a number (unknown) of persons were injured."

□ New Zealand's opposition leader Jim Anderton yesterday urged his country's rugby officials to reconsider the upcoming All Black tour of SA because of the violence, Sapa-AP reports.

Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon and New Zealand Rugby Football Union chairman Eddie Tonks said there were no plans to reconsider the tour at this stage.

Meanwhile, PATRICK BULGER reports leaders of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance said at the weekend mass action was not directly linked to the Codesa dead-

lock.

ANC campaigns co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils, Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa, and ANC national executive members Mac Maharaj and Pallo Jordan told a briefing that with the suspension of the armed struggle, negotiations had become a site of struggle.

They outlined a four-phase campaign to link local civic and labour disputes to the central demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

Phase one entailed mobilisation around local issues. Phase two would include mass marches in city centres, demonstrations against the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments and factory sit-ins.

Discussions in the alliance at the beginning of August would determine whether to proceed to a general strike.

In the fourth phase, "Exitgate", "the government must go". Even if there was an agreement on time frames for elections, mobilisation would ensure government did not renege.

● Picture: Page 3

PAC works on exile repatriation

THE PAC was meeting the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to make arrangements for the return of up to 10 000 exiles, PAC exile co-ordinator Peter Mabe said at the weekend.

The UNHCR had agreed to give assistance to returning PAC exiles when the PAC was satisfied they could return, Mabe said.

The UNHCR would be leaving the country at the end of the year, and it was necessary to make arrangements for the repatriation of PAC members.

Mabe said he hoped the UN would agree to make a new appeal for funds when people were ready to return.

The PAC would hold discussions with the UNHCR to secure about half of the R30m budget it was using to repatriate about

20 000 ANC exiles.

The PAC people would return when there was an agreement on a constituent assembly.

"The PAC in principle has not been repatriating people. We have the major part of our organisation outside the country.

"They will be brought in when there is a visible improvement in relations between the PAC and the SA government," Mabe said.

The PAC had advised its exiles to register with the UNHCR.

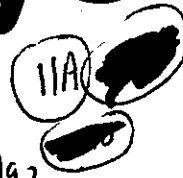
While about 2 000 PAC exiles had returned, about 12 000 remained abroad.

Repatriation did not currently affect members of the PAC's armed wing.

PATRICK BULGER (11A)

22/6/92
P. Dwyer

Mandela says talks are off



By SONTI MASEKO

TALKS between the ANC and the Government were temporarily suspended by Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, when he accused State President FW de Klerk of complicity in the massacre of 42 people in Boipatong last week.

Mandela, addressing tens of thousands of supporters in Evaton Stadium, declared that South Africa "will never be the same again" after the massacre, which he described as the work of beasts and not human beings.

Mandela said his coming to the Vaal had "nothing whatsoever to do" with De Klerk's disastrous visit to Boipatong on Saturday.

Earlier he told Boipatong residents that "in the course of our future political work, we will not forget what De Klerk, the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party have done to our people. I have never seen such cruelty," he said.

He told the seething crowd, waving posters and chanting: "We want arms" that he had called off a planned meeting tomorrow between the ANC and the Government.

"The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he said.

"On Tuesday the ANC and the regime were supposed to have a meeting. After the murder of our people I instructed Comrade (Cyril) Ramaphosa that he and his delegation will not hold any further discussions with the regime."

He announced that the ANC would also be holding an emergency meeting tomorrow to discuss the future of negotiations and to explore other options.

Mandela also announced that the ANC would call for a national stayaway, "a day of mourning throughout the country" on the day of the burial of the victims of Boipatong, as soon as the date was announced.

On the international front, Mandela announced that he would request the United Nations to call a special session of its Security Council which he would address.

Mourners told about role of 'sellouts'

Sowetan 22/6/92
By MOKGADI PELA

TODAY's activists mistook collaboration with the imperialists for statesmanship, a top trade unionist told mourners at the funeral of community leader Mr Kaizer Makapane in Garankuwa on Saturday.

Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, the National Council of Trade Unions' first assistant general secretary, told more than 3 000 mourners that such politicians were content with receiving accolades and doctorates from the imperialists "when they are clearly selling our people on the altar of neo-colonialism."

Makapane (38) was chairman of the Garankuwa branch of the Azanian People's Organisation.

Azapo official Dr Gomolemo Mokae also paid glowing tributes to Makapane who died last week after a long illness. He described him as a visionary who died without having compromised his principles.



GOMOLEMO MOKAE

Mokae called on Garankuwa residents to reject the coming Bophuthatswana elections. He also vowed that Azapo would work tirelessly to smash the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Mr Siphon Maseko, president of the Azanian Students Convention, blamed "white racists" for the deaths of black people in the trains and taxis.

"We as black people should avenge the deaths of our people. We must ensure that when we bury one person, they bury three on their side," he added.

African National Congress official Mr John Mosupye described Makapane as a person who could have easily crossed ideological hurdles. He called on Azapo's Garankuwa branch to follow his example.

The president of the Metal and Electrical Workers Union of SA, Mr Raymond Khoza, said the big crowd that attended Makapane's funeral bore testimony to the leadership qualities he displayed.

New players for Codesa?

Sowetan 22/6/92

(11A)

THE recent revelations of informal meetings between the Government and the Azanian People's Organisation were signs that the "radical left" was gradually moving towards entry into Codesa.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

This view is contained in a commentary in the *Southern Africa Report*, a weekly newsletter published by former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Mr Raymond Louw.

"The Government will gain recognition for being a sincere proponent of a negotiated settlement. It will be noted that it went out of its way to play out the tortuous charade demanded by Azapo of meeting at neutral venues under independent chairmen and so on."

In an article in the latest issue, based on an exposé by *Sowetan* two weeks ago, the SAR says the informal contacts between Azapo and representatives of the Government were significant as it also showed that the Government wanted to bring new players into Codesa to bolster its delaying tactics.

It argues however that because the Government was meeting resistance to reform at grass roots level of its white constituency, it may be wanting to lure Azapo into Codesa to "merely add another element to the negotiations to enable the issues at that exercise (Codesa) to become more diffuse and thus able to be dragged out yet further".

SAR argues that should the Government succeed in persuading Azapo to enter Codesa, it would have achieved "a considerable coup ... as it will have broken the resistance of the hardcore left to negotiations.

Azapo national media spokesman, Mr Khangale Makhado, discussing the SAR interpretation, said Azapo had agreed to meet with the "regime because the process we are engaged in has nothing to do with Codesa".



Pik calls for urgent talks with ANC

ACTING State President Pik Botha has called for urgent talks with the African National Congress to consider the facts and issues surrounding last Wednesday's Boipatong massacre.

He issued a statement reaffirming the Government's commitment to negotiations after ANC president Nelson Mandela suspended bilateral talks at a Vaal Triangle rally on Sunday. *Sowetan 22/6/92*

Meeting

Botha, acting State President while Mr FW de Klerk is on a private visit to Spain, said a Government representative suggested to a senior ANC member yesterday that there should be a meeting to discuss Boipatong.

He suggested the meeting take place the same day, but the ANC had not reacted to the proposal.

"I repeat our proposal," Botha said.

"Urgent talks are necessary to discuss all the factors and the facts concerning the Boipatong tragedy."

Threats were not going to produce solutions.

"The Government remains committed to finding solutions through discussion," Botha said.

Mandela asks UN to intervene

ANC decides today on its 'signal to SA'

(11A)
B/Dam 23/6/92
ALAN FINE
and ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC national executive committee (NEC) today has to choose between continued attempts to end NP rule through "gentle persuasion" or bringing about its collapse through the force of public pressure, ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

The emergency NEC meeting has been called to enable the ANC to consider its response to last week's Boipatong massacre.

Jordan said that regardless of the decision a signal had to be sent to the people of SA, government and the world that it could not be "business as usual".

The massacre and the shootings after President FW de Klerk's visit to Boipatong on Saturday were "a watershed event".

It was also announced yesterday that De Klerk was cutting short his visit to Spain because of the crisis triggered by ANC president Nelson Mandela's threat to cancel negotiations.

Mandela asked the UN yesterday to help solve the crisis, a UN official said.

Mandela telephoned secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to ask the security council to find "ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in SA" and try to save negotiations, said security council president Paul Norderdagne.

A senior member of the ANC's PWV regional office said a suspension of Codesa was likely, and a complete break-off was possible. If Codesa was suspended, the resumption of negotiations would depend on the success of mass action in winning concessions from government.

These would possibly include the launch of an independent investigation into Boipatong, the suspension of police officers involved, the invitation to SA of an international peace-keeping force, the closure of hostels and some demands linked to a timetable for interim government.

All Codesa discussions and meetings scheduled for this week were postponed by the ANC yesterday pending the outcome of the NEC debate.

Drawing on events in Iran in 1979 as an example, Jordan said it was possible, although not probable — a "long shot" — that the government could be forced to resign through the force of public pressure.

He recognised the possible negative consequences of this course. But it was also arguable that a long period of "attrition" in which government had a free hand to continue as now could also have horrendous consequences, particularly in terms of exacerbating black/white polarisation.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the organisation's membership was becoming increasingly frustrated with government's stalling in negotiations, as well as the spiralling township violence. "The mood of the people is becoming 'otherwise' and as we are a mass organisation it is our duty to respond."

Sexwale said the ANC leadership had been criticised at several rallies over the weekend for behaving "like lambs when people are dying".

ANC NEC member Mac Maharaj said yesterday it had become increasingly "dif-

□ To Page 2

ANC B/Dam 23/6/92

difficult to explain to people why we are negotiating when things such as Boipatong happen". It was the NEC's task not just to look at Codesa but also at the situation in the rest of the country, including the violence. At the same time it was the ANC's "responsibility to show the way forward".

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday that government would not be pressured and bullied into resigning.

He said any suspension of negotiations would be merely an interlude. "Whatever happens, we will eventually have to sit

down and talk. Deep down, the ANC knows it has no choice but to negotiate."

Commenting on implied threats that the state of emergency could be reintroduced, Delport said cancellation of talks would not in itself necessitate a state of emergency. Such a decision would depend on grass-roots conditions. "But it would never be the first option. The first prize is to talk."

Sapa reports that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday called for an urgent meeting with the ANC.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 10

(11A) □ From Page 1

ANC, PAC call for day of mourning

Sowetan 23/6/92

THE ANC and the PAC have called for "a national day of mourning" next Monday, when victims of the Boipatong massacre will be buried in a mass funeral.

ANC Vaal leader Mr Ernest Sotsu announced at a meeting at the Boipatong Stadium yesterday that the 42 victims would be buried jointly.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said the organisation would take part in funeral arrangements.

By KENOSI MODISANE

Moseneke said the PAC had set up a trust fund to which the organisation had donated R20 000.

"The PAC is not calling for a stayaway on Monday. Workers will decide how they mourn the day," Moseneke said.

The ANC at the weekend set up a trust fund to which they donated R100 000.

A funeral committee appointed by the Vaal Council of Churches announced yesterday that a memorial service would be held at the NG Kerk on Thursday at 2pm.

The PAC said it would also hold a memorial service on Friday at St Mary's Anglican Cathedral in Johannesburg.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus yesterday said: "We are not calling for a stayaway on Monday. We are calling on the nation to observe the day as a day of mourning."

In another development, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) reached a deadlock with Iscor officials over the future of KwaMadala Hostel.

Numsa yesterday announced that workers would not report for work until KwaMadala Hostel dwellers are evicted and the building demolished.

Iscor could yesterday not comment on the union's demands. Spokesman Mrs Carol Ferguson said: "We will release a statement after investigating the demands."

US official warns of SA bloodshed

WASHINGTON - The United States Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, warned yesterday of "massive bloodshed" in South Africa if change did not take place peacefully.

He urged all parties to resume the negotiating process as soon as possible.

Commenting on the ANC's decision to suspend negotiations with the Government following the massacre at Boipatong, Baker told a television interviewer that in the light of the "extraordinary courage" shown by President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in proceeding with negotiations so far, it was "very regrettable" to see the talks broken off.

"I think change is going to come in South Africa, and if it does not come peacefully it is going to come with massive bloodshed. So I think it is incumbent upon all of us, myself included - the United States - to do everything we can to get these negotiations resumed," he said.

Asked whether he accepted the ANC's claim of Government involvement in the Boipatong massacre, Baker said: "I do not know that that is true and I do not know that it is not true. I simply do not know. There have been suggestions to that effect in the past when there has been black on black violence in the townships, but I am not in a position to say."

Sowetan Foreign News Service

Sowetan 23/6/92

Meanwhile, in London Mandela's dramatic break with the "murdering" South African Government has swept even the first day of Wimbledon off the front pages of the British Press.

Most serious newspapers make the abrupt halt to the peace talks their main news item, as have both radio and television newscasts. Several papers also carry leading articles trying to make sense of how the dream of a "new" South Africa seems to have been killed off.

The Boipatong violence, too, has been extensively and soberly covered, with strong warnings that South Africa might be on the point of losing all the ground it has already made in its drive for a peaceful and democratic future. Television coverage has been particularly powerful and harrowing.

The Times, which carries three reports on the latest development, says an atmosphere now rules in South Africa in which "precise questions of evidence seem almost not to matter".

At the same time, an article by RW Johnson claims there is "absurdity" in blacks blaming whites every time violence breaks out in the townships. "Nobody has more to lose than De Klerk."

The Independent's leading article looks at the stresses within the ANC, including growing conflict between the young "comrades" of the townships and the leadership, and Winnie Mandela, who is "still a loose cannon".

It believes that a shrewd mixture of private persuasion and international exposure can still help arrest the drift to disaster, but expresses disquiet at alleged police involvement in township violence which, it adds, indicates either that De Klerk is playing a "double game", or that rogue elements within the security forces are now out of control and increasingly blatant in encouraging black on black violence.

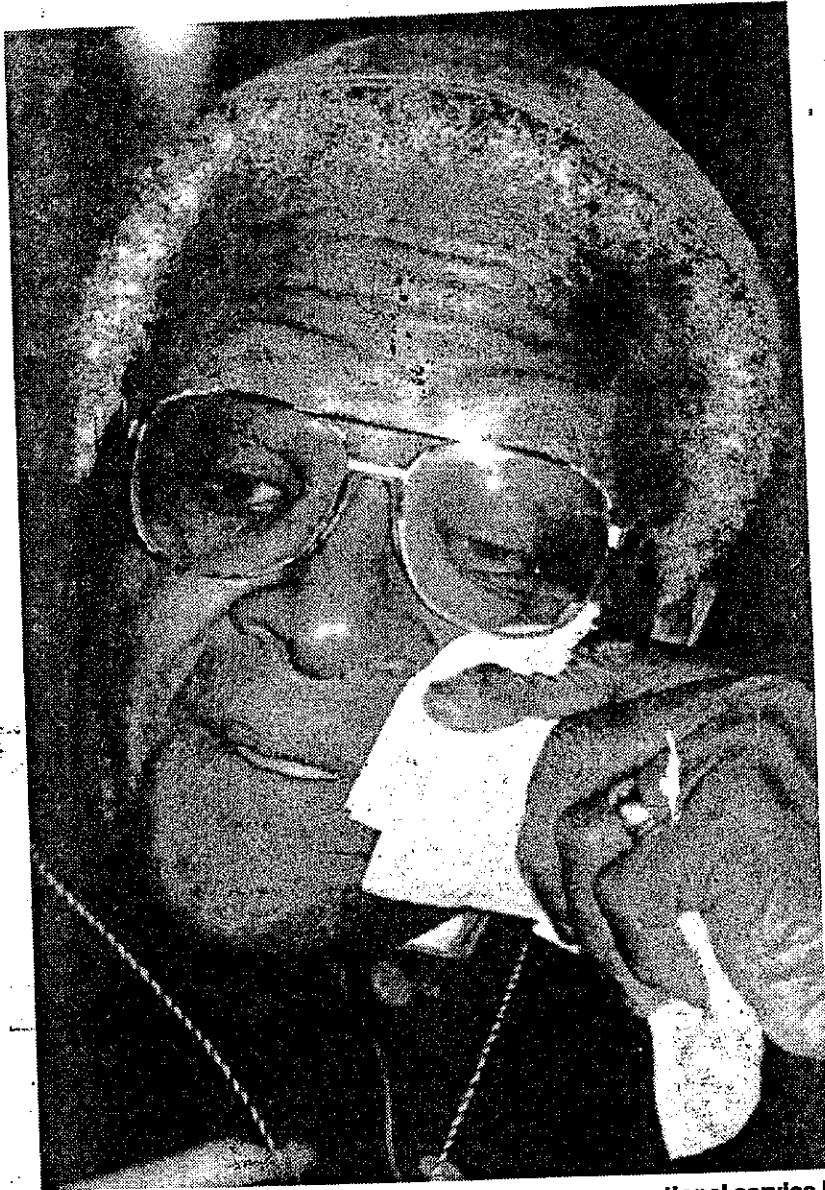
The Guardian, for its part, is hopeful that the talks have only been suspended, not terminated, but calls on De Klerk to "change course very fast".

Despite his achievements, he is still not curbing "the enemy within" and the possibility of racial civil war has now become very real.

The Guardian also calls on world governments to "speak very clearly" to De Klerk and for De Klerk himself to apprehend and charge those within the security forces responsible for the destabilisation.

Philip Gawith, writing in *The Financial Times*, points to the frustration of black South Africa at the fact that nearly two years after Mandela's release, the ANC and its allies are as far away as ever from running the Government.

However, it sees no alternative for the ANC leader but to return to the negotiating table. "The ANC is outgunned by the security forces, and trade sanctions are a dead letter," he says.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu wipes his eyes during an emotional service in Cape Town yesterday for the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

More support sports ban

Southern 23/6/92 *UFA*
CALLS by the African National Congress for the international community to reimpose the ban on sporting links with South Africa following the Boipatong massacre have received mixed reactions.

The call was also made by the Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu yesterday, who challenged President FW de Klerk to meet three conditions in response to the massacre or he would call for South Africa's withdrawal from the Barcelona Olympics.

At a lunchtime service at St George's Cathedral,

Tutu demanded justice against those responsible for the massacre, an international peace monitoring force and multiparty control of the security forces.

"...I am calling today on our friends around the world to begin a campaign to achieve that end," Tutu said.

ANC sports spokesman Mr Steve Tshwete said there was a strong feeling for the moratorium and that police and defence force members should not be considered for tours.

Azapo's spokesman for the cultural secretariat, Mr

Oupa Ngwenya, said: "We can't be lifting or imposing the boycott on the basis of the tragic presence of abnormalities as indicated in Boipatong or in the absence of such tragedies."

IFP spokesman Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said: "All we need is to negotiate whatever problems arise," Ndlovu said.

Mr Waters Toboti, PAC director of publicity and information, said: "The PAC once more calls on the international community to cut all links with the racist South African regime in played sports and culture."

Worried FW cuts short Spanish trip

Sowetan 23/6/92 (1A) (20A) (20B)

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday decided to cut short his trip to Spain as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa teetered on the brink of collapse.

And, the ANC has dismissed a statement by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that it had rejected a call for urgent talks to discuss the Boipatong massacre.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had instead told Botha it would refer his invitation to its national executive committee which meets today.

She said: "We, however, feel there is nothing to say but investigate the massacre.

If the Government wants to act on Boipatong then it has to start with a proper, open, public and independ-

By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

ent investigation into the police force."

In a statement to Sapa, Botha, who is acting State President, said De Klerk's decision follows the ANC's national executive committee's plan to convene today in the wake of last Wednesday's Boipatong carnage.

The ANC is to decide today on its future participation in Codesa as the negotiation process faces a severe crisis as a result of the killing of at least 43 Boipatong residents.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has called off today's bilateral talks with the Government, saying that "the negotiation process is in tatters".

It seemed to be this statement that inspired De

Klerk's decision to cut short his trip. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told *Sowetan* that the Codesa talks "need not break down because much was at stake".

"The ANC will be insistent that urgent steps be taken to install an interim government which is more urgent now in view of the crisis surrounding last Wednesday's killings," Niehaus said.

Also expected to feature at the ANC's meeting is De Klerk's hint of re-introducing the state of emergency.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the ANC's suspension of talks with the Government was insufficient to protest against the massacre.

The ANC should commit itself to the Patriotic Front alliance of liberation movements, the PAC said.

'Let's go back to Front' plea by irate blacks

Sowetan 23/6/92

11A

By IKE MOTSAPI

CALLERS to the *Sowetan* Radio Metro Talkback Show last night stressed the need for the revival of the Patriotic Front in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

Some made an impassioned plea to the African National Congress to withdraw from Codesa and revive its armed struggle.

Mhlupheki said he was appalled at the police's "lack of interest" in arresting those responsible for the violence.

He said this had led to people not coming forward with evidence.

"How can one give evidence to the very same policemen who have been indoctrinated into disregarding black lives?"

"Black organisations must review the Patriotic Front and, most importantly, the armed struggle. The ANC should withdraw from Codesa," Mhlupheki said.

Julian September said elections for a new government should be held "as a matter of urgency."

He said the killings of innocent people, especially pregnant women, were horrific.

SOWETAN
Building the Nation

RADIO METRO
TALKBACK

Hope Pago said the police wanted to project themselves as the custodians of peace "whereas they were, in fact, not."

He said: "Not all policemen are committed to a new South Africa. They are racists."

David of Orlando East suggested that stayaways be called whenever people were killed.

Peter of Mitchells Plain said the killing of three more people in Boipatong would not have occurred had State President FW de Klerk not visited the area. De Klerk knew he was not welcomed there, he said.

Turning to another issue, Dennis Mdlalose of Orlando West, Soweto, wanted to know why the strike by the Media Workers Association of South Africa was not covered regularly in the media.

He said the SABC and some newspapers seemed to show bias on the issue.

NP has two-pronged strategy to weaken us, claims ANC

STAR 23/6/92

11A

Political Staff

The ANC last night released allegations that the National Party was pursuing a "chilling" two-pronged plan which involves death squads and which has the ultimate aim of preventing the ANC from forming a government.

It said the report was based on information "from sources within government circles and the ANC's intelligence department".

The report, due to appear in the July issue of the ANC mouthpiece, *Mayibuye*, and released last night "as an item of interest in the present political climate", said the plan was entitled both "Operation Thunderstorm" and "Operation Springbok".

The ANC said in a statement the final aim of the strategy was to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition

with, at least, the NP.

"Operation Springbok is complex but, simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake. It is meant to wreak havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok," the ANC said.

A senior official of the ANC intelligence department said in *Mayibuye* that the plan involved weakening the ANC so that it was eventually forced into a constitutional coalition.

"At the heart of the

plan is the NP goal to be the main partner in a future government, controlling all levers of power — particularly the army, police and intelligence. The process of change, according to NP calculations, should be controlled, contained and regulated by the Government. This is with the understanding that the status quo, with limited adjustments, would remain intact and protected," the publication said.

The ANC said Operation Thunderstorm was designed to weaken the organisation through violence and create a climate of uncertainty.

The organisation said Operation Thunderstorm was left in the hands of the Department of Military Intelligence (DMI).

"The main strategy of Operation Thunderstorm is to unleash violence using secret networks of the DMI and the 'former'

Security Branch of the SAP."

The ANC claimed: "Operation Thunderstorm aims to root the idea of 'black-on-black' violence in local and international public opinion.

"Random shootings, which appear not to be linked to any political rivalry, form part of this strategy. To confuse matters further, the professional hit squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC. The train and vigil massacres and, more recently, the murder of 18 people on the eve of June 16 are an example."

The ANC also claimed common criminals released under Government amnesties had been recruited "to take part in the violence".

No Government comment was available last night.

Govt's 'secret agenda exposed'

THE ANC claims it has uncovered a secret plan by the Government aimed at weakening the organisation in order to forced it into a coalition with the National Party.

The allegations are contained in the July issue of the ANC's *Mayibuye* magazine. The organisation claims the secret plan was hatched shortly after the release of political leaders.

The report says: "From sources within Government circles and the ANC's intelligence department, *Mayibuye* has unearthed a chilling two-pronged plan of the NP regime for the transition - 'Operation Thunderstorm' and 'Operation Springbok'.

"Worked out to deal with the post-February 1990 period, the final aim is to force the ANC into an entrenched coalition with at least, the NP.

"'Operation Springbok' is complex, but simply stated, it aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. Normally this would not be sinister. It would be fair competition where a party strives to attain maximum advantage in a democratic dispensation.

"The difference in this case is the existence of Operation Thunderstorm. As its name suggests, this operation seeks to devastate the country in its wake."

Graham Linscott says if you want to know the score, know whom to ask

Our top 'grocer' a bold prophet

STAR 23/6/92

AS ANY foreign correspondent will tell you, if you want to find out what's going on in a country you ask a taxi driver.

He is likely to be able to tell you such things as: "No, the generalissimo will not launch his campaign against the revolutionaries this week because he has taken his mistress away to his holiday retreat for a reconciliation after the furious row they had two days ago after she smashed every piece of crockery in their love nest."

Or: "No, the dockworkers will not go on strike this week because their union leader has recovered from his stomach ache and is now in a very good temper."

Taxi drivers know what is going on, always. They have the basics.

Hotel concierges are pretty good also, but barmen are suspect. They can be carried away by having an audience and can also be in the pay of the secret police, there to pass on disinformation.

In South Africa, though, you ask a grocer if you want to know what's going on. All right, Raymond Ackerman is a pretty Big League Grocer, but a grocer nevertheless. And he says this mass action is all a lot of politicking — everything is still on track, Codesa hasn't failed and we'll have an interim government in six weeks.

This is fairly startling stuff and, were Mr Ackerman a professional political analyst and not a grocer, one might be sceptical. After all, the ANC and Cosatu spokesmen are talking about sit-ins, confrontation, a transfer of power — not about getting negotiations going again.

But then why has President de Klerk recalled Parliament for a special session in October? To transfer power to the street mobs? Unlikely.

It is a great puzzle, not least because mass action has so far been such a low-key affair. One always has to keep the fingers firmly crossed when writing such a thing, because all kinds of ugliness can and does blow out of absolutely nowhere as last week demonstrated, but so far mass action has been nothing near as angry and confrontational as many had feared or expected.

Police have been firm but low-

key. Protest marches have tended to be street theatre rather than anger. Without attempting to minimise the tragic deaths in the Vaal Triangle (apparently not directly related), the worst friction between the authorities and the mass activists so far has been verbal — foolish taunting by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel about the low turn-out for mass action and some equally school playground-like responses from the ANC.

Could it be that the African National Congress and its allies are going through a necessary process of blowing off steam before Codesa goes into its next phase? That the lower echelons of ANC leadership, who have been bottled up in frustration for two years now, have to be given the opportunity to show their strength — numbers — and toyi toyi in the main streets of the major cities.

If that is so, the ANC's top leadership surely deserves a little more sympathy and understanding from those who automatically oppose and condemn mass action as a political tactic, unpredictable and dangerous though it certainly is. They really have little else and they have little choice when lower leadership demands that the card be played.

If this argument is correct, a point must eventually be reached where boredom sets in or hunger takes over, as pay is shut off, or the whole thing begins to look futile as it becomes clear that the Government is not about to topple — or a combination of all three.

At this point, the percentage quibble over the majority needed to adopt a new constitution begins to be seen for what it is — a quibble. People start talking again.

That's the theory anyway — it could be wishful thinking and entirely wrong. Yet it does seem to be borne out by the predictions of an eminent grocer.

But an interim government within six weeks?

That does seem a tall order, especially as President de Klerk has called the special session of Parliament only for October.

Perhaps Mr Ackerman's prediction needs to be cross-checked with a taxi driver. As I explained, taxi drivers are infallible. □

Mandela asks UN chief to intervene in SA

By Mike Littlejohn
Star Bureau

STAR
23/6/92

NEW YORK — Nelson Mandela has asked the UN Security Council to intervene in "the deteriorating situation in South Africa", according to council president Paul Noterdame, the chief delegate of Belgium.

But no formal meeting is in prospect until Mr Mandela has

discussed the question with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Dakar.

Both men will shortly be attending the OAU summit session in the city.

Mr Noterdame said that the ANC chief telephoned the secretary-general yesterday morning to report on the events at Boipatong and the suspension of negotiations with the Govern-

ment.

He had asked Mr Boutros-Ghali and the council to "try to find ways and means to normalise the deteriorating situation in South Africa and try to resume the negotiations which have broken down," the ambassador added.

A UN spokesman confirmed the conversation had taken place but gave no details.

Thus, it was unclear what Mr Mandela expected of the UN since it was the ANC that had pulled out of negotiations.

However, the events were seen at the UN as a sharp setback for the transition process and as a likely death blow to any hope that South Africa would be able to resume its General Assembly seat this year.

ANC, Inkatha wrangle over unionists' gathering

By Michael Sparks

A heated argument erupted yesterday between the ANC and Inkatha after a "panic call" by IFP Transvaal leader Themba Khoza to a news agency claiming scores of ANC supporters had occupied the IFP's Johannesburg offices.

It subsequently emerged that scores of National Union of Metalworkers of SA members had gathered at the Union's Kerk Street offices — close to those of the IFP — for a planned

and highly publicised protest march.

Mr Khoza was quoted by Sapa as having called up the news agency with a panicky report that "more than a thousand" ANC supporters had occupied the IFP offices.

He later claimed he had been misquoted, and did not know how Sapa had come by its information.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, Mr Khoza said the marchers had made it impossible to work and had obstructed people who wanted to enter the IFP offices.

The ANC accused Mr Khoza and the IFP of issuing "highly provocative statements calculated to incite violence".

When The Star visited the IFP offices shortly after the Sapa report was sent out, the people present all said they were IFP members.

IFP Reef secretary Humphrey Ndlovu seemed confused when asked about the reported occupation. "Do you see any ANC people in here?" he asked. "They would never occupy our offices, that would be a disaster, a catastrophe."

Government tactics have sparked anger and defiance in the ANC, writes Colin Legum

SA on course for a collision

SMC 23/6/92



JULY looks like being another turning point in South Africa's road towards a non-racial democratic society.

Unless a compromise becomes possible, the ANC and its principal ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, are committed to launching what promises to be the most serious protest campaign in the country's history.

Two principal points of conflict are at the core of the crisis. First, what appears to be a Government decision to slow down the negotiating process in order to gain time to absorb the changes already agreed by the 19 parties engaged in Codessa, and to build up its own electoral strength.

Second, there is the continuing deadlock over the voting power of the National Assembly which is to be elected on the basis of proportional representation and a universal franchise.

Then there is the question of violence — and the massacre in Botjapong last week which has resulted in the ANC suspending bilateral talks with the Government.

A decision on whether to continue negotiations at Codessa was expected to be taken today.

On the issue of slowing down the process of negotiated change, the Government blames the ANC for having set its own timetable for implementing the agreements reached at Codessa.

The ANC's demand was for the necessary legislation to be passed by the end of June. This objective seemed to have been realisable until deadlock was reached over voting powers of the new National Assembly.

The Government remains adamant that a 75 percent vote should be required in the assembly to approve articles in the new constitution. The ANC at first offered a compromise of 70 percent, but as this was rejected it has fallen back to its original demand of a two thirds majority.

Narrow as the difference is between the two positions, the Government's refusal to agree to the lower figure can only be because it feels more confident that, with its allies, it can achieve at least a 25 percent blocking vote, hence its insistence on a 75 percent majority.

For the Government this is crucial if it is to be sure of having a decisive say in determining the division of power under the new constitution.

It has now become transparently clear that the Government wants more time to build up its electoral strength, hence the wish to slow down negotiations.

The evidence for this is provided by a statement of Pik Botha, who was recently elected chairman of the Transvaal region of the National Party.

"It is our purpose," he said, "to become the majority party and I believe we need another 10 percent to add to the 10 percent we have already gained; we will then approach the 50 percent plus situation. When we are the majority party we will still have to share power with the minority parties."

Mr Botha made it clear that the NP did not expect to get a clear majority on its own, but would depend on support through an alliance with three or four other parties. These are Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, Chief Mangope's party in Bophuthatswana, the ruling regime in Ciskei, and two parties

representing Indians and coloureds.

Judging by recent polls, it seems possible that a majority of Indian and coloured voters will support parties opposed to the ANC and its allies. What is more doubtful is the actual voting strength of Inkatha and the two regimes in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei in free and fair elections.

However, the National Party is not counting only on the support of its putative allies, but is engaged in a major campaign to win non-white members. Somewhat daringly, Mr Botha has told his party faithful: "It is logical that the NP, the traditional party of the Afrikaners, could have a black leader in the future."

Meanwhile, the ANC has set into motion its plan of mass action which includes nationwide strikes, sit-ins and demonstrations. The aim is to paralyse the country for several weeks in order to demonstrate the ANC's actual strength.

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa blamed the Government for having "plunged the negotiation process into a crisis and set itself on a confrontation

course with our people". The crisis, he said, afforded the ANC the opportunity to "use its power on the ground and to force the Government out of power". He went on to say "there is no alternative to negotiations".

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer declared that it was "most irresponsible" of the ANC to "push up the political temperature at this stage", considering the present level of violence and the impact mass industrial action would have on the precarious economy with its already high level of unemployment. There could be no assurance that the campaign would not turn violent beyond the ANC's ability to control it.

Mr Coetzer said that "ultimatums cannot be part of negotiations. If one wants to negotiate, one must make compromises". The ANC reply to this is to point out that the compromises must be made by both sides; it had offered a compromise of 70 percent over the voting power of National Assembly; it was the Government which had refused to compromise.

Prof H W van der Merwe of the Centre for Intergroup studies at

the University of Cape Town, like other experts in the dynamics of negotiation, forecast that where parties of unequal strength are engaged in negotiations, the weaker party is likely to use whatever power it has to increase its bargaining strength. Since the Government controls all the constitutional instruments of power, it is predictable that its opponents would mobilise their non-governmental power which resides in mass resistance.

There can be no mistaking the mood of militancy among the rank-and-file of the ANC. This was demonstrated at the recent conference of the ANC where the principal item on the agenda was the movement's economic policy. Although there was a significant shift towards moderating the ANC's programme of economic reform, this was not matched by the 600 delegates' overwhelming enthusiasm for taking a much stronger line against the Government. Critics of Nelson Mandela and his senior colleagues complained that they had proved themselves to be too accommodating in the Codessa talks. □

PAC calls for urgent revival of patriotic front

THE PAC yesterday called for the urgent revival of the patriotic front alliance with the ANC, saying that a Lebanon-type situation existed in South Africa.

PAC national publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said yesterday that negotiations with the state in Codesa were unacceptable on present terms.

He said there was a case for "two-sided" negotiations between the regime and the liberation movements.

He said he was hopeful that in the wake of the Boipatong massacre the ANC leadership would be "mindful of the feelings of the people on the ground".

(11A) CT 24/6/92

No talks 'until demands are met'

B/day 24/6/92

11A

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC yesterday formally suspended negotiations with government and said constitutional talks would remain on hold until a series of violence-related demands were met.

In an apparent reprieve for the negotiation process, however, the ANC said it remain committed to a negotiated settlement. ANC president Nelson Mandela would meet President F W de Klerk shortly to convey the demands decided at a day-long meeting of the national executive committee (NEC) yesterday.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night he had already spoken to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer to arrange a top-level meeting between the ANC and government.

The ANC said De Klerk had to agree to a democratically elected constituent assembly and the installation of an interim government but laid down no deadline for these.

"The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process," the NEC statement said.

A senior NEC member described the NEC decision as a "reprieve" for negotia-



● DE KLERK

● MANDELA

tions and said De Klerk should have little difficulty in meeting the demands which were:

- An end to covert operations including hit squad activities;
- Disarming and confining to barracks of special forces and detachments made up of foreign nationals;
- The suspension and prosecution of all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence, and;
- Ensuring an end to repression in the self-governing and independent states.

The ANC said it wanted an international

commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre, the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of all repressive legislation, including laws passed during the last days of Parliament.

The NEC also demanded the implementation of agreements reached with government a year ago, including implementation of the programme to phase out hostels and convert them into family accommodation, the installation of fences around hostels, permanent guarding of hostels, regular searches with the participation of multilateral peace structures and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The statement said that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks by hostel dwellers on township residents which had led to 1 027 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

A senior NEC source said the ANC was having difficulty justifying to its constituency continued negotiations. The demands and the suspension of talks were intended to show government that the ANC-led alliance had to be taken seriously.

The ANC said the NP regime had "brought our country to the brink of disaster. Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy. It pursues a strategy which embraces negotiations, together with systematic covert actions, including murder, involving its

To Page 2

Talks on hold

B/day 24/6/92

11A

From Page 1

security forces and surrogates.

"We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of state power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence," Ramaphosa told a news conference last night. He was joined on the platform by homeland leaders from the Transkei, Lebowa, KwaZulu and Kwandebele as well as Cosatu and the SACP.

Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said only eight of the original 19 groups in Codesa remained.

The ANC called on the international community to "compel the De Klerk re-

gime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles". It said the UN Security Council should convene and take measures to stop the violence.

"The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codesa negotiations. The NEC will be keeping the situation under continuous review. The response and practical steps taken by the De Klerk regime to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and speed with which bona fide negotiations can take place," the ANC said.

● Comment: Page 8

NAIROBI - The surprising cancellation by ANC leader Nelson Mandela of his scheduled meeting in South Africa with Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi on June 15 was more than just another setback in the uneasy relations between Kenya and the ANC.

The latest rift could be a fatal blow to a relationship which appears to have been influenced by emotional factors on the ANC side but by pragmatism on Nairobi's side.

Political observers in Nairobi talk of decades of tension and of suspicion of Kenya within ANC ranks.

The ANC is thought to have felt that Kenya, despite its public pronouncements, was never fully committed to the liberation goals of South African blacks.

Kenyan government sources insist that these suspicions were unfounded and suggest they may have arisen from the lack of a clear policy in Nairobi.

Until Mandela's release in February 1990, Kenya's attitude to South Africa overtly recognised the stances adopted by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations.

At the same time an impression was created by some policy makers in Nairobi that the South African liberation struggle, though politically and morally justified, had only remote possibilities of success.

Crucial decisions involving support for the South African liberation movements were, therefore, often made haphazardly and without a clear sense of direction, while the Frontline states and other African countries took leadership positions.

Bursaries

Rather than giving material and financial support for ANC guerrilla operations, Kenya offered bursaries to South African students and asylum to political refugees.

It also provided financial support to the ANC's office in Kenya.

Nairobi kept its contributions secret - and the ANC no doubt assumed that this was to conceal their inadequacy.

The release of Mandela, though long predicted, caught Kenyan policymakers by surprise.

The reforms initiated by President F W de Klerk threw Kenya into an even deeper dilemma as Pretoria made Nairobi the target of one of its most ambitious diplomatic offensives in Africa.

The man largely responsible for the moderate Kenyan policy on South Africa is believed to have been the urbane former Attorney-General, Charles Njonju.

He pursued this goal in total disregard of ANC sensitivities and is said to have maintained friendly links with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha and heart transplant pioneer Chris Barnard, who became a frequent visitor to Kenya in the 1980s.

A casual, laissez-faire atmosphere was thus created which allowed Kenyan merchants to trade se-

ANC, Kenya ties at all-time low

Sowetan 24/6/92

cretely with South Africa.

None of this escaped the attention of the ANC and fueled its suspicions. After De Klerk paid a two-day visit to Kenya last year, during which agreement was reached on air links, the ANC quickly sent Mandela to Nairobi to express its displeasure.

The Kenyan leader insisted, however, that Pretoria had gone far enough in

THE uneasy relations between the Kenya government and the ANC may have been fatally damaged by Nelson Mandela's sudden cancellation of his scheduled meeting with President Daniel arap Moi, JOE KHAMISI reports for the Argus Africa News Service.

meeting black demands - one of which was the release of Mandela himself - to justify Nairobi's attitude.

Sources here say that despite his disappointment at this, Mandela politely

accepted a R10 000 donation from Moi.

For almost a year the ANC watched as Kenya's posture towards Pretoria became increasingly moderate.

Nairobi still felt sufficiently uncomfortable, however, and has vacillated in putting an air links agreement into practice.

It was not until nearly six

months after South African Airways had begun flying to Nairobi that Kenya Airways reciprocated.

With this came the easing of visa regulations and the opening of a South African diplomatic office in Nairobi at representative level.

These moves resulted in vigorous exchange of businessmen and tourists. But it was the signing a month

ago of an agreement normalising relations between Kenya and South Africa that signalled that something big was afoot.

So, when Moi made his unannounced stop-over in Cape Town to call on De Klerk on the way to the Earth Summit in Brazil, he must have left no doubt in ANC minds that the decision to normalise relations was irreversible.

The ANC's sudden decision to cancel the meeting with Mandela on Moi's return journey is thought in Kenyan government circles to have been made in anger.

Yet Kenyan officials say the ANC had been informed in advance about the talks with De Klerk when the appointment with Mandela was made.

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	Regular Cardigans by Spirito 109,99	82,49	27,50	
	GIRLS			
	Fashion Jackets by Sail Boat 99,99	74,99	25,00	
	Fashion Jackets by Spirito 89,99	67,49	22,50	
	PRE-SCHOOL			
	Girls Crewneck Tops by Elsi-Jo 59,99	44,99	15,00	
	Girls Knitted Jackets by Spirito 99,99	74,99	25,00	
	Boys Fashion Jackets by Portobello's 89,99	67,49	22,50	
	Boys Fashion Jackets by Giulio 119,99	89,99	30,00	
	BOYS			
	Knitted Jackets by Portobello's 99,99	74,99	25,00	
	Knitted Cardigans by Portobello's 79,99	59,99	20,00	
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SA faces two-pronged mass action campaign

By IKE MOTSAPI

SOUTH Africa is at present faced with a massive two-pronged mass action programme which is escalating by the day... on the labour and political fronts.

While trade union movements demand that employers pay their members "living wages," better working conditions, and a moratorium on retrenchments, these requests have been linked to the mass action campaign called by the African National Congress and its tripartite alliance.

This trend seems to be growing as unions affiliated to the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions engage in battles with employers for better wages and working conditions.

Unlike the ANC, the Pan African Congress has declined to take part in mass action campaigns to break the deadlock at Codesa because they do not recognise the body.

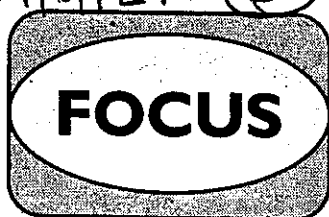
However, there is talk that Nactu trade unions are likely to join hands with Cosatu in fighting the bosses for better salaries and working conditions for workers.

This unified industrial action is seen as an attempt to show the employers that workers are serious in demanding a fair deal for themselves.

This unity will be greatly focused on the metal industry with a threatened national general strike scheduled to start on August 1.

On June 30 workers in the metal industry affiliated to the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa have been asked to start forming strike action committees.

The campaign by the tripartite alliance is for the total abolition of apartheid laws, the establishment



of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly which will see the removal of the present Government from the position of power.

The trade unions, together with the ANC and the South African Communist Party have linked up in a mass action campaign they describe as "Operation Exit".

While the ANC and its allies have not yet started in earnest with their campaigns which were launched on June 16, trade union movements have already started to embark on daily mass demonstrations throughout the country.

Since the end of May this year when the ANC announced its campaign to break the deadlock that resulted after the failure of Codesa 2, Cosatu, although having a different programme of action on labour issues, agreed to link up with the organisation during protest marches for political demands.

The ANC's campaign will start in earnest on July 1. This will be preceded by a huge countrywide mass demonstration by more than 1,3 million Cosatu members in support of strike action by workers belonging to Numsa, the Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union and others next Monday.

The march, which it is said will be one of the biggest ever to be witnessed in the country so far, is regarded as the start of the real mass action campaign against the intransigent bosses at the workplace and

It is clear that workers will not be treated as pawns to be replaced and shifted around at workplaces as management deems it fit.

the Government.

Mr Rob Rees, national organiser of Ppwawu, said: "It is clear that workers will not be treated as pawns to be replaced and shifted around at workplaces as management deems it fit.

"Workers are going to fight back fiercely around their needs and their demands. They want the right to determine their future.

"It is also clear that these workers' actions are going to fuel the mass action campaign of the ANC, which we support.

"Ppwawu is fully committed to the demand for an interim government and a constituent assembly made up of delegates democratically elected and fighting for 'he needs and demands of the rank and file,'" Rees said.

He said Ppwawu is presently engaged in what he described as a "bitter battle" with Sappi on two issues.

He said: "Firstly that there should be a moratorium on retrenchments and secondly that Sappi commit itself to an industry bargaining forum. They have so far refused and more than 2 000 of our members have been retrenched."

The main demands by trade unions are:

- Better wages.
- Better working conditions.
- A moratorium on retrenchments and;
- No more job losses.

Mr Tony Ruiters, regional secretary of Numsa, after delivering memoranda to the employer body, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa regional minister of the Department of Manpower and the National Industrial Council for the Motor Industry, said: "This action shows our anger and determination to fight, using our power as workers, if negotiations are not concluded fairly and speedily.

"We will no longer tolerate delays and sufferings of metalworkers whether inside or outside of the main agreement.

"We are all the same workers suffering from high food prices, high transport prices, high rents and electricity. Delays cause hardship," Ruiters said.

Employers have adopted a no work no pay policy on days of marches.

However, this has not dampened the spirit and determination of the unions, who like the ANC and its allies, believe their actions will result in victory in the end.

ANC pulls out

of

Codesa

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

The ANC last night broke off talks with the Government and withdrew from the Codesa constitutional negotiations forum.

However, ANC leaders are expected to meet President de Klerk within the next two days to discuss a list of demands which the ANC wants the Government to meet before negotiations can resume.

The announcement of the withdrawal of the ANC and its eight allies from Codesa was made at a press conference after an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC made clear that it would be prepared to resume talks if significant progress was made towards satisfying its demands.

Its withdrawal along with major allies such as the Congress of SA Trade Unions left Codesa in tatters.

The demands the ANC has made are:

- An interim government of national unity and a dem-

ANC's full statement
- Page 5

Anatomy of atrocities
- Page 16

ocratically elected constituent assembly be established.

- The Government must immediately stop "its campaign of terror".

- Government must terminate all covert operations, including hit-squad activity.

- It must disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces, as well as detachments comprising foreign nationals.

- It must suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence.

- The Government must ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing territories and homelands be ended.

- The Government must immediately implement a programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family units.

- The Government must install fences around hostels.

- Security forces should guard hostels permanently.

- Hostels must be searched regularly by multilateral peace structures.

- The carrying of all dangerous weapons in public must be banned.

- An international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence must be set up.

- All political prisoners must be released at once.

- All repressive legislation must be repealed.

If the Government took practical steps to meet all the demands negotiations would be re-started, said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa - while ANC president Nelson Mandela said that if its most important demands were met, the organisation would re-examine its position.

Speaking in Spain before jetting back home last night to address the crisis, Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "dramatic" decision was based on a fundamental untruth: that the Government was responsible for the violence.

"I and the Government absolutely reject any inference that the Government is involved in this act or in any other acts of violence."

Mr de Klerk said while various options would be considered, a final solution

● To Page 3

ANC pulls out of negotiations

From Page 1

could not be attained only through security measures.

"We need a change of hearts and minds," he said, adding that the Government rejected foreign intervention in South Africa.

Announcing the ANC's demands at a Johannesburg press conference last night, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC could not tolerate a situation where the Government's control of State power allowed it "the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence."

"The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the F W de Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability," he said.

The ANC has laid the blame for the massacre of at least 39 people at the Boipa-

tong squatter camp in the Vaal Triangle last week on the Government.

Mr Ramaphosa said South Africans were compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear. Between July 1990 and April 1992, 261 attacks had been carried out by hostel residents on township dwellers, leading to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries, he told the press conference.

The ANC's major allies, including Communist Party, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transkei, pulled out of Codesa along with the ANC.

Last night the ANC also announced that it would consult other organisations about the holding of a summit to unite and mobilise against white minority rule.

It called on the international community to compel the Government to bring violence to an end, and urged the UN Security Council to undertake measures "which will reinforce our efforts aimed at

bringing about a democratic order".

Acting State President Pik Botha said last night that it was a pity that the ANC had broken off negotiations.

"I stand by my viewpoint that there is no alternative for finding a solution to our differences than through the negotiation table.

"The causes of violence are complex. What is needed is that the truth of the causes should be exposed.

"Unless we are prepared openly to negotiate with each other regarding this matter, public accusations will only lead to a worsening of the situation."

Mr Botha said the Cabinet would meet today after the return of President de Klerk to consider the implications of the ANC decision.

After initially expressing shock at the ANC's decision, the National Party said later that there some cause for hope in the ANC statement.



GRIM-FACED: ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, flanked by president Nelson Mandela, announces the movement's withdrawal from Codesa. Pic: JACOOB RYCLIFF

ANC pulls out of Codesa

Sowetan 24/6/92

THE African National Congress yesterday pulled out Codesa and broke off bilateral talks with the Government.

The far-reaching announcement was made by ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at a Press conference in Johannesburg after an emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee.

The meeting was convened by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, in response to the Boipatong massacre.

The organisation will convey the decision to

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

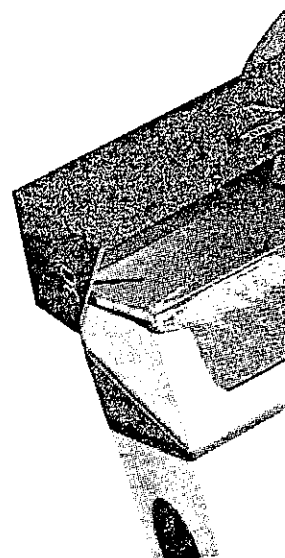
the Government in the next two days. Ramaphosa said on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night.

The ANC said the Government had brought the country to the brink of disaster. The organisation accused it of being "determined to block any advance to democracy".

"The ANC re-affirms its commitment to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace

To page 2

World
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Sowetan P.T.O. X

ANC pulls out

Sowetan 24/6/92
 ● From page 1

and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process," Ramaphosa said in a statement after the meeting.

The ANC's decision comes on the eve of a special Cabinet meeting called by De Klerk to discuss the negotiations crisis spurred by last week's massacre.

ANC's demands to the Government included:

- The creation of a sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution;

- The establishment of an interim government;

- The disarming, disbanding and confinement to barracks of all special forces;

- The suspension and prosecution of all officers and security personnel involved in the violence;

- The immediate implementation of agreements on curbing the violence. These incorporate the phasing out of hostels and converting them into family housing;

- The implementation of the demand to establish an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC also appealed to the international community to act in solidarity with the Boipatong victims on June 29, the day the ANC declared as a national day of mourning.

It called on "workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods". The ANC said it would review forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

- The PAC has welcomed the decision and said it would consult the ANC's to revive the Patriotic Front.



LOOKING AHEAD ... The leadership of the African National Congress pose for the Press at the end of a five-hour emergency meeting held in Kempton Park yesterday. Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

Officers to be fingerprinted

810 ay 24/6/92

POLICE would take fingerprints and handwriting samples from more than 30 people, including two of its own senior officers, in the presence of an independent forensic expert employed by the family of assassinated ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Judge B O'Donovan, who is hearing the inquest into Mlangeni's death, was told this was one of the terms of an agreement between lawyers acting for the police and those representing the Mlangeni family.

Counsel for the family, Gys Rautenbach, submitted a list of 34 names on Monday from whom fingerprints and handwriting samples were wanted.

It includes police forensic chief Lt-Gen Lothar Neethling and Col Wahl du Toit.

Mlangeni was killed at his home in February last year when he activated a booby-trapped portable cassette player meant for former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee.

The tape recorder and a cassette marked "evidence of hit squads" were

~~SUSAN RUSSELL~~ SUSAN RUSSELL ~~252~~

posted to Coetzee in Lusaka. He did not collect the parcel, which was redirected to Mlangeni, who was listed as the sender.

Coetzee has claimed that his former colleagues at Vlakplaas were responsible for sending him the package and has implicated Du Toit as a suspect.

Rautenbach said Col Jacobus Hattingh would take the samples in the presence of independent forensic expert Dr David Klatzow and attorney Peter Harris.

He said Klatzow would be allowed to determine the identity of each person from their identity book.

Each person would have to write his name and provide a full set of fingerprints.

A copy of the specimens would be lodged with the Attorney General for safekeeping. Rautenbach said Klatzow would be allowed to examine the specimens in Hattingh's presence. Each of several experts would then make the results of their analysis available to the other.

The inquest has been adjourned to July 6.

Police smash five car-theft syndicates

FIVE vehicle-theft syndicates have been uncovered and 18 members arrested in a weeklong crackdown on vehicle robberies in the northern Transvaal.

Police said yesterday 63 vehicles worth more than R4m were recovered.

In addition, a further seven people were arrested for vehicle thefts and cars to

STEPHANE BOTHMA

the value of another R900 000 were recovered, the SAP motor vehicle theft unit in Pretoria said.

The police also said 463 arrests had been made by the child protection unit last month. This included 126 rapes, 80 indecent assaults and 49 assaults on children.

During May the diamond and gold unit arrested 235 people and took possession of diamonds, gold and other gems valued at R1,3m.

The commercial branch charged 338 people in cases involving R6,3m.

The narcotics bureau arrested 2 145 people and confiscated more than 1-million mandrax tablets.

NP appeals to Potchefstroom blacks

POTCHEFSTROOM — NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe addressed an incident-free meeting for the first time in the black township of Ikageng, on Monday night, as part of the NP launch in the area.

Arriving in a black taxi, without a police or body-guard escort and accompanied by six white NP supporters, Van der Merwe addressed the lively audience of about 300.

However, the residents

forced him to abandon the Afrikaans/English format after a vote in favour of an English speech with Tswana interpretation.

Members of the ANC and PAC later strongly criticised him and government for the logjam at Codesa, the Boipatong massacre and the failure to implement an interim government.

Van der Merwe said "I refuse to apologise for

apartheid. I did not cause it ... I am very sorry for it, but all my political career, I have fought for its downfall."

Asked about relations with the ANC now that it had partially suspended talks with the government, Van der Merwe said: "We cannot negotiate in this manner with the ANC. Let us work together, win together for a rich nation."

"If we keep fighting, we will all lose." — Sapa.

SAP and SADF deny claims

6/10/92 24/6/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN ANC claim that the NP was planning to provoke black-on-black violence to prevent the ANC coming to power was denied by SADF and SAP spokesmen yesterday.

The allegations, due to appear in the next issue of the ANC's publication *Mayibuye*, claim the NP has a "chilling two-pronged strategy" aimed at forcing the ANC into a coalition government.

Operation Thunderstorm, the first prong of the strategy allegedly conceived by the Department of Military Intelligence, was designed to weaken the ANC through violence and through the creation of a climate of uncertainty, an ANC statement said.

The statement suggested that Thunderstorm involved blaming the

ANC for violence. It also involved random shootings, the selective arrest of ANC members and the possible restriction of newspapers critical of the government. (11A)

The second prong, Operation Springbok, was designed to force the ANC into a coalition government with the NP, it said.

A senior ANC intelligence official said "every plan and action — particularly on the question of violence — is aimed at weakening the ANC so that it is eventually forced into a constitutional coalition".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police had no knowledge of the two

operations. "We have no knowledge of any plan by the government or involving government agencies to commit widespread murder and mayhem and destabilisation, or to initiate violence and anarchy".

Kotze suggested the ANC should take its findings to the Goldstone commission of inquiry.

The ANC claimed the Northern Transvaal had been singled out as the area suitable for the first stages of Operation Thunderstorm.

"We can only surmise that the strength of the extreme right wing might have led to its selection as a pilot area," the ANC statement said.

A defence force spokesman said the SADF had no knowledge of the plans outlined by the ANC.

RIGHTS

Suspend SA from Games, says PAC

Sowetan 24/6/92
 DAKAR (Senegal) - The Pan Africanist Congress has called on the International Olympic Committee and all other sporting bodies to suspend South Africa's participation in the Barcelona Games.

This would force the South African Government to agree to a speedy implementation of majority rule.

The call was made by Mr Gora Ibrahim, the PAC's spokesman on foreign affairs in his address to African foreign ministers in Dakar on Monday.

He said the suspension of South Africa from the Games was a peaceful tool which he was confident would have the desired impact.

Ibrahim urged African countries to take the issue of violence in South Africa - especially in the wake of the Boipatong massacre - to the UN Security Council, a call which was supported by the Namibian foreign minister, Mr Theo Ben-Gurirab, who said State President FW de Klerk should not be allowed

11A
 Sowetan Africa News Service

to get away "scot free" without blame on the question of violence.

Ben-Gurirab said words could not adequately describe the ferocity of the carnage that had been "unleashed" on people living in black townships.

Unless the violence was arrested immediately, Ben-Gurirab said, Codesa stood no chance of succeeding.

Ibrahim, who was addressing the meeting on behalf of both the PAC and ANC, said the Boipatong massacre was not an isolated incident. Since De Klerk delivered his historic speech more than two years ago, he said, an average of seven black people had been killed every day.

The priority should be the early convening of the Patriotic Front to decide on a common strategy and united action against the Government, he said.



RAMAPHOSA



HOLOMISA



SLOVO

Allies back ANC

Sowetan 24/6/92

11A

SEVERAL organisations represented at Codesa have supported the African National Congress's decision to break off multiparty peace negotiations.

On the platform with ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and president Mr Nelson Mandela were the organisation's most visible allies - the Congress of South Afri-

can Trade Unions and the SACP.

Cosatu was represented by its deputy secretary-general Mr Sam Shilowa and the SACP by chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Also present were Transkeian military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa, Transvaal Indian Congress president Mr Cas Saloojee and repre-

sentatives of Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Dr Pravin Gordhan, who is a member of the Indian Congress formation and has been the chairman of the Codesa management committee, was also there.

Gordhan said Codesa had, with the decision last night, lost nine of its participants. - Sapa.

The long road to deadlock

Sowetan 24/6/92

THE African National Congress' decision to pull out of democracy negotiations yesterday halted a process that began early in 1990.

Following is a chronology of key events and meetings between the Government and the ANC leading up to the current standoff:

1990:

● February 2 - President FW de Klerk legalises the ANC, its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, the South African Communist Party and other banned opposition groups in a prelude to all-party democracy negotiations.

● February 10 - De Klerk meets ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the Tuynhuys presidential office in Cape Town and agrees to release him the next day.

● May 4 - The ANC and the Government meet for the first time at Groote Schuur presidential residence in Cape Town and agree to a framework for the release of political prisoners, indemnity for exiles and a joint commitment to end violence.

● August 6 - The two sides meet again in Pretoria. The Government agrees to ease emergency rules and the ANC suspends its 30-year armed struggle against apartheid.

1991

● April 5 - Mandela accuses De Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and sets a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure continuation of "talks about talks".

● April 9 - Mandela and De Klerk rescue talks in a five-hour crisis meeting

that results in ban on cultural weapons.

● September 14 - ANC, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party sign a national peace accord to reduce tension and set up mechanisms to resolve disputes.

● November - ANC, Government, Inkatha and others agree to start power-sharing talks the following month. The right-wing Conservative Party and far-right groups boycott and the Pan Africanist Congress walks out.

● December 20 - Nineteen parties launch the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at a plenary meeting dubbed Codesa 1, the first real attempt to negotiate a transition to democracy.

The two-day conference ends with agreement to begin bargaining in March on a constitution giving blacks equal political rights.

1992

● May 16 - Codesa 2 fails to resolve differences between the Government and the ANC over minority powers and protection in a democratic South Africa.

● June 16 - ANC launches mass action campaign of strikes, boycotts and rallies to force the Government to speed up political reform.

● June 17 - At least 39 people are butchered in Boipatong in the Vaal. Residents accuse supporters of the IFP for the massacre.

● June 21 - Mandela accuses De Klerk and his Government of complicity in the attack and orders ANC negotiators to suspend bilateral talks with the government.

● June 23 - ANC leaders meet in Johannesburg to review their role in talks about the dismantling of white rule and decide to pull out of the talks. *Sapa-Reuters*

Pullout stuns Government

Sowetan 24/6/92.



ACTING State President Mr Pik Botha last night said it was a pity the African National Congress had pulled out of negotiations.

"I stand by my viewpoint that there is no alternative to finding a solution to our differences but through negotiations," Botha said in a statement.

"We in South Africa have no alternative," he said.

Botha said the Cabinet would discuss the implications of the ANC decision today when President FW de Klerk had returned to the country from a visit to Spain.

De Klerk cut short his trip after the ANC suspended bilateral talks with

the Government at the weekend, and announced it would review its position on the full negotiation process, including Codesa.

"The causes of violence in this country are complex," Botha said in his reaction.

Chaos

"What is needed is that the truth surrounding the causes of violence should be brought to the fore.

"Unless we are ready to openly discuss with each other these issues, public accusations will not help but in fact only worsen the situation," he added.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said he was

stunned by the ANC's decision.

When told that attached to the ANC's announcement was a string of demands before the organisation could re-enter the negotiation process, Delport said: "Well at least it seems as if they will return eventually".

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder welcomed the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations, saying the Government's policy of handing power over to create third-world chaos had been averted.

He said the ANC's withdrawal had abated the fear of millions of people. Sapa.



Pallo Jordan, Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela at the ANC press conference last night. Picture: Jacob Rylkiff

Full text of ANC statement

The statement issued last night by the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

The National Party regime of F W de Klerk has brought our country to the brink of disaster. Riddled with corruption and mismanagement, the regime is determined to block any advance to democracy. It pursues a strategy which embraces negotiations, together with systematic covert actions, including murder, involving its security forces and surrogates.

This subversion of political processes to destroy the democratic movement in South Africa, led by the ANC, cannot be allowed to prevail any longer. We cannot tolerate a situation where the regime's control of State power allows it the space to deny and cover up its role in fostering and fomenting violence.

The Boipatong massacre is one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions of the De Klerk regime. Before the people of South Africa and the Bar of international opinion, it cannot escape culpability.

What is at issue is more than the crisis of the negotiations process. The fundamental reason for the deadlock is whether there is to be democratic change, or white minority veto powers. There is only one way forward. It is a road which must unmistakably and unequivocally lead to the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

To this end it is necessary that the De Klerk regime agrees to:

- The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.
- The establishment of an interim government of national unity, which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country shall have moved decisively to end white minority rule.

Demands on the regime:

- The regime must immediately end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement. In this regard it must immediately carry out the following measures:

in the violence.

- Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing states, and in the so-called independent states, is ended forthwith.

Our people are compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear — be it in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment. This is the stark reality.

Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago. In particular:

- The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation.
- Installation of fences around these establishments.
- Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.
- Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures.
- Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions, including so-called cultural weapons.

We insist that the regime agree to:

- The implementation of the universal demand requiring at least the establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence as well as international monitoring of the violence.
- Release all political prisoners forthwith.
- Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of Parliament.

Call to the people of South Africa:

The crisis caused by the regime constitutes a challenge to all South Africans to unite in a broad movement for democracy, peace and justice now. We all, black and white together, share the responsibility

struggle remain the surest basis for realising peace and stability.

We call on the entire people of our country, including the business community, to join in observing June 29 as a national day of mourning and solidarity with the victims of the Boipatong massacre as the dead are buried.

Appeal to the international community:

The National Party regime is acting in contempt of the wishes of the international community for a speedy end to apartheid. Now, more than ever, the international community is required to compel the De Klerk regime to bring violence to an end and to commit itself to solutions based on internationally accepted democratic principles.

In consultation with sporting bodies, we shall be reviewing the forthcoming international sports engagements involving South Africa.

We appeal to the United Nations Security Council to convene as a matter of urgency to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order.

We call on the international community to act in solidarity with our people on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre. In particular we appeal to all workers throughout the world not to handle South African carriers and goods on this day.

On negotiations:

The ANC reaffirms its commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country which would bring about democracy, peace and justice. The refusal of the regime to accept such a settlement compelled the NEC to review the current negotiations process.

The ANC has no option but to break off bilateral and Codesa negotiations.

The NEC will be keeping the situation under continuous review. The response and practical steps taken by the De Klerk regime to these demands will play a

Mandela, Botha to see UN chief

De Klerk asks ANC to meet govt for talks

b/day 25/6/92.

(11A)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night signalled increased international involvement in SA's political transition and invited the ANC to meet government for two full days of talks.

De Klerk, speaking at a news conference in Pretoria after the Cabinet met to discuss the ANC's withdrawal from constitutional negotiations until a series of violence-related demands were met, opened the way for international monitoring of political violence. This has been a key ANC demand as violence has escalated.

He said Foreign Minister Pik Botha would meet UN secretary-general Boutros-Ghali in an unnamed African country.

A diplomatic source confirmed Botha would meet Boutros-Ghali who will be in Dakar, Senegal, for the OAU summit early next week. ANC president Nelson



DE KLERK

PATRICK BULGER

Mandela and PAC president Clarence Makwetu would also meet Boutros-Ghali.

It is understood the ANC and PAC leaders will try to persuade him to convene a meeting on SA of the UN Security Council. The diplomatic source said Botha would oppose the move and that he would probably be backed by Britain, a permanent Security Council member. He might suggest a compromise in the form of a UN violence-monitoring team which could be in SA within weeks.

The ANC's Gill Marcus confirmed Mandela would discuss convening a UN security council meeting with Boutros-Ghali.

De Klerk said last night a senior Commonwealth diplomat was planning to visit SA. It is believed he was referring to Canadian foreign minister Barbara McDougall, chairman of the Commonwealth foreign ministers' committee on SA.

"The government reiterates its firm stand against foreign interference in SA's affairs," said De Klerk. "We, however, welcome the international community's interest in developments in SA."

"The government has nothing to hide. It is helpful that members of the international community acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions."

To Page 2

F W invites ANC

De Klerk said he had asked Judge Richard Goldstone "to arrange for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor". The SAP had suggested the judge invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy.

De Klerk called for two full days of talks with the ANC. "We believe that fundamental discussions must be held on the obstacles which have been raised in their statement and also on the obstacles which the government has identified, which include:

- The consequences of the ANC's plan for mass action;
- The current violence in SA;

- Inflammatory and unacceptable rhetoric; and
- Defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

The ANC said in reaction last night Mandela would meet De Klerk only to place the ANC's demands before him. The ANC said De Klerk's proposed summit had only propaganda value and would serve no useful purpose. "The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC. Democratic change, and an end to violence, is possible if the steps proposed in the NEC statement are fully addressed," an ANC statement said.

See Pages 4 and 8

From Page 1

CP: State of emergency now

PAC: Return to struggle

Political Staff

(11A) (11A)

The Conservative Party yesterday called for the imposition of a state of emergency and the Pan-Africanist Congress called for intensification of the armed struggle against the Government.

"We must intensify the political struggle, the international isolation and the armed struggle against the apartheid regime," PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim said in Senegal, where he was attending a preparatory meeting for next week's Organisation of African Unity summit.

The campaign should continue until the establishment of an elected constituent assembly in South Africa, he said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the Government should declare a state of emergency and, with the CP as well as national leaders, create a forum for negotiation different from Codesa.

He told a news conference in

Pretoria that the CP had warned the Government that Codesa would end in deadlock because of the way it had been constituted.

The United States government has urged the Government to arrest and prosecute those responsible for last week's killings in Boipatong.

In a statement issued by the US embassy in Pretoria, the US government called on all parties to work towards a negotiated settlement, saying negotiations offered the only way forward for South Africa.

● The South African security forces should, with immediate effect, be placed under the joint control of Codesa, the western Cape region of the ANC Women's League said on Tuesday.

● Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the ANC's withdrawal was "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

The IFP would call for a ple-

nary session of Codesa to review its aims and objectives.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, we must re-examine our options and recommence negotiations on a different tack," said Chief Buthelezi.

● The Azanian Student Convention yesterday congratulated the ANC for pulling out of negotiations.

"We can only hope this is not just a ploy to appear radical in front of our people, but is a genuine intention to pursue the struggle for liberation," said its president Siphosiso Maseko.

● The political chaos besetting South Africa and the low confidence in the country demanded urgent measures to counteract the slump in the economy, CP economic affairs spokesman Daan Nolte said.

"Strong action" to maintain law and order would contribute to restore and strengthen confidence, both locally and internationally, he said.

STATE 25/6/92

11A

World offers to lend hand

Political Staff ^{STAR} 25/6/92

International efforts to resolve South Africa's deepening political crisis are being mooted.

The Commonwealth is considering sending an observer team and the chairman of the US Senate's foreign relations committee, Senator Paul Simon, has urged Pretoria to consider how the UN could help.

The moves follow the ANC's decision to break off talks with the Government and to withdraw from the Codesa negotiations forum.

Australian Foreign

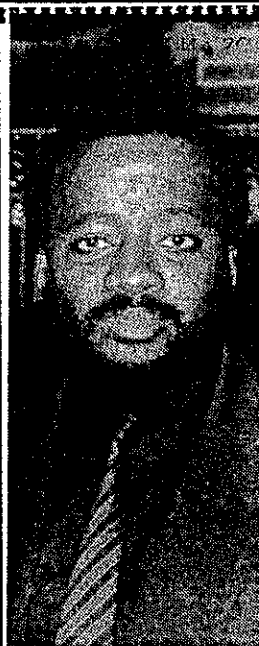
Minister Senator Gareth Evans emphasised in Canberra yesterday that any Commonwealth observer team would not be involved in monitoring the negotiations process.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday an international entity could not resolve a dispute which the people of a country could not resolve among themselves.

On the other hand, the Government had welcomed the initiatives of the international community on certain issues and interests, he said.

"We think it is helpful that members of the international community should acquaint themselves with the circumstances surrounding the violence through fact-finding missions with the view to making an independent and objective assessment of facts and realities surrounding that violence."

● African foreign ministers meeting in plenary session in Dakar, Senegal, have unanimously agreed to call for an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the violence in South Africa.



PALLO JORDAN

Union hits ANC for crossing the line

Sowetan
25/6/72
Sowetan

Correspondent

DR PALLO Jordan's SABC appearance on Sunday evening's Agenda has caused concern to Mwasa members as to what they perceive as the ANC's "crossing of the picket lines".

According to Mr Tsidiso Ralitaba, Mwasa Southern Transvaal chairman, an understanding had been reached that political organizations - including the ANC, PAC, SACP and AZAPO - and trade unions would maintain a "no-interview" stance in support of the Mwasa labour strike action.

In a meeting between ANC and Mwasa officials, it was agreed that the news embargo on the SABC would hold, except where the ANC was not able to refuse - namely in policy matters and press conferences.

In the light of the gravity of the events of the last week in Boipatong, Dr Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's department of information, said it was necessary for the ANC to express their concern and communicate their position.

Although aware of the news embargo, it was important that the ANC put their point of view across to avoid a "monopoly of the airwaves", he said.

In the broadcast Jordan expressed that the suspension of yesterday's talks with the Government did not signify the ANC's termination of negotiations, and that the urgent need for a solution to the violence had become even more immediate.

He said further that the credibility of the Government was again called into question and repeated the ANC's call for a coalition government.

Mwasa, whose strike has entered its sixth week, is demanding a 20 percent across-the-board increase and a R1 500 minimum wage.

The SABC is offering an 11 percent increase and a R1 300 minimum wage. -

Winnie to face probe by ANC

Political Staff

STAR 25/6/92

Winnie Mandela is to face a commission of investigation into allegations that she organised a sit-in at the ANC headquarters.

The Star understands that the national executive committee decided at its meeting this month that Mrs Mandela was to appear before members of a commission.

Members of the PWV women's regions held a sit-in at the ANC Johannesburg headquarters, demanding the reinstatement of Mrs Mandela as the head of the ANC's department of social welfare with Dali Mpofu as deputy.

Eyeball to



FW DE KLERK



NELSON MANDELA

eyeball

Sowetan 25/6/92

(25/6/92) 11A

AS the country reels in shock after Tuesday's withdrawal by the ANC from Codesa, the organisation today meets President FW de Klerk to give him its list of demands if it must return to Codesa.

Depending on the level of delegation, talks may be held with the Government, which has expressed its disappointment at the ANC's withdrawal.

And last night, De Klerk told a hastily convened international media conference that the

Government and ANC should meet as soon as possible for two full days in order to get negotiations back on track and to break the current impasse.

Commitment

He said the Government would continue with all its energy and full commitment to secure a negotiated settlement in the interests of all South Africans.

International reaction has also varied and indications are that sanctions may be reimposed by some countries in one form or another to speed up the transition to democracy.

● Full reports on page 2

Winnie to face probe by ANC

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11 P

STAR 25/6/92

The political impasse remained unresolved last night when proposals put forward by President de Klerk were immediately rebuffed by the ANC.

Addressing a press conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk proposed a two-day summit between the Government and the ANC, and opened the door to international involvement in investigating political violence.

He was responding, after a Cabinet meeting, to the ANC's decision to pull out of all talks until its demands were met.

More reports —
Pages 3, 6 and 20

An ANC statement described the President's response as paltry, and said the proposed summit would serve no purpose.

The ANC said it wanted a meeting with Mr de Klerk only to present its demands.

Mr de Klerk told the press conference the Government had asked for an international assessor to serve on the Goldstone Commission and international experts to evaluate police investigation of the Boipatong massacre.

He said the proposed summit would discuss 14 demands made by the ANC as well as obstacles which have been identified by the Government — mass action, violence, inflammatory rhetoric and defamatory and false accusations against political leaders.

These talks should have as their purpose the resumption of negotiations to bring about a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, as soon as possible.

Responding to the ANC's demand for international involvement, Mr de Klerk sharply rejected "foreign in-

terference in SA's affairs". But he welcomed the international community's interest in developments in South Africa and said it was helpful for them "to acquaint themselves with the facts surrounding the violence, inter alia through fact-finding missions".

He had asked Mr Justice

Goldstone — chairman of the commission of inquiry into political violence — to start his probe into the Boipatong massacre as soon as possible and to arrange at his discretion "for a suitably qualified person of international repute to join his commission as an assessor."

He said the SAP had asked

that "I should request Mr Justice Goldstone to invite one or more experts of international standing to evaluate police investigations of the Boipatong tragedy".

He said charges of Government complicity in the massacre "are without any foundation whatsoever and we find it reprehensible".

The ANC statement issued in response to his proposals said the proposed summit "has only propaganda value and will serve no useful purpose. The starting point must be addressing the real issues placed before the regime by the NEC of the ANC."

It said the Government's rejection of a meaningful

role for the international community in monitoring the violence confirms that they have a lot to hide.

Describing Mr de Klerk's response as "paltry", the ANC said "we express our concern that this statement is a diversion from the real plans the Cabinet was hatching throughout the day".

FW's reply

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

shot down

THE paradox in the ANC's decision to call off talks and yet still want to inform President FW de Klerk personally of its demands reflects the tenuous position in which the organisation finds itself two years after its unbanning.

Having tried the full gamut of strategies to force the government from power, the ANC leadership finds itself trapped between the militancy of its followers and the obstinacy of government.

The paradox manifests itself at a number of levels. The armed struggle has been suspended, yet ANC officials are killed at will. Exiles are returning, only to face police harassment at home. To cap it, in the midst of the ANC's misery, De Klerk is fêted around the world.

The ANC thrashes about in this political no man's land — issuing ultimatums, making demands yet urging reasonableness. Its resources strained to the limit, its patience tested and its moderates embarrassed, the ANC casts a nervous eye at its constituency and fails to recognise it through the fog of political uncertainty.

A senior national executive committee (NEC) member relates how ANC leaders, facing township audiences, are confronted by new songs — which the leaders do not recognise — calling for guns. In the face of this grassroots militancy, the ANC has little option but to suspend negotiations. It does so, however, with the claim to being the custodian of negotiations, a graphic admission that a negotiated settlement is in the interests of its leadership.

Two visits to Boipatong at the weekend illustrated the challenges and the problems facing the negotiation process.

De Klerk's face-to-face meeting with black anger — an encounter no other NP leader of government has yet experienced — taught government several lessons that will have an impact on negotiations. Astute politician that he is, De Klerk under-

Caught between militant supporters and obstinate govt

11A
Blodan 25/6/92
PATRICK BULGER *(11A)* *(BULGER)*

estimated black anger at the continuing carnage in the townships and at him as head of state. NP hopes of putting together a winning election alliance appeared in that fleeting visit to be ill-considered. The pressure on government to remove itself from power with the remaining grace it can summon is imperative as black anger rises by the day.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit the following day and the rapturous welcome he received illustrated just as graphically that the ANC and its leader is the only political force in the country with the capacity to control the townships. The alternative is ungovernability and unpopular security measures.

These are hard political facts for the NP to swallow. Yet, even harder to swallow, for the country as a whole, is an agreement with a political leadership divorced from its constituency. This is what government's campaign to undermine the ANC could come to, and it is a development that can only set SA on course for a disastrous confrontation between white diehards and township radicals with nothing to lose.

The ANC's demands contained in this week's NEC statement are "eminently reasonable", secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said. In



□ RAMAPHOSA

essence they are similar to those linked to the ultimatum the ANC made last year, regarding security matters, and in some respects put SA back to the pre-Codesa era.

Codesa had come to a virtual standstill since the May plenary session and it was generally accepted

that progress in bilateral talks between the ANC and government was necessary before there would be progress at Codesa.

The political challenge facing SA now lies in the resumption of the negotiating process. The ANC will find it difficult to find solid reasons for restarting talks unless De Klerk acts on at least some of the demands presented to him. As with last year's impasse, the demands require that De Klerk puts a distance between himself and the security forces and that he show himself to be impartial in regard to security force conduct.

Whether he is willing or able to do so remains one of the big unanswered questions in SA political life. As with a year ago, Mandela maintains that either De Klerk is behind the violence or that he has no control over his security forces.

Codesa made some progress on the question of joint control of the security forces, but negotiations will remain bedevilled as long as there is a perception that the security forces are less than wholeheartedly committed to a negotiated solution.

It has become a truism to say that negotiations offer SA the only route to democracy. But negotiations can take place both before and after civil wars.

In the next few days government and the ANC will attempt to restart talks. In the meantime, SA's participation in world sport and its return to the international community will remain under threat. The economy will wither as political uncertainty drags on.

The ANC's long-term demand for a democratic constituent assembly is not going to be forgotten or dissipated in compromises that offer anything less than full-blown majoritarian democracy. Government will sooner or later have to test its strength among the electorate. De Klerk's Boipatong visit suggests he has no time to waste.

For the ANC, difficult months lie ahead. It will have to persuade its followers — against all the evidence to the contrary — that government is serious about a negotiated transition to democracy. It will have no chance of success should the township killings continue and should the security forces appear partial to political groupings.

Government will be hard pushed to persuade the international community of its sincerity. It faces a renewed loss of standing among world leaders who effectively granted government a last chance to negotiate itself out of power when De Klerk unbanned the ANC.

De Klerk cannot continue to live on international goodwill indefinitely. The mood of black South Africans is ugly — it will take more than smiles and kind words on his part.

Over the next few months, the militants in the ANC will take maximum advantage of the suspension of negotiations to prove the correctness of street-based confrontation. Should their methods of protest prove more effective in moving government, they will argue strongly against a resumption of negotiations.

In the chaos and economic debilitation that will accompany mass action, precious time will be ticking away. With the negotiators outwitted by circumstance and hidden agendas, it will be left to the warlords to pick up where they left off.

ANC wants to oust us - Bop

THE African National Congress plans to topple the Bophuthatswana government through violence and mass action, according to the homeland's leaders.

Bophuthatswana's Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Amon Segoe, claimed in Mmabatho yesterday that the ANC planned to march to their consulates in South Africa and forcefully occupy them. *Southern*

He claimed information indicated the boycott would target products to and from Bophuthatswana, and companies dealing with the homeland. *25/6/92*

"We view the information at hand extremely seriously, particularly in view of the undertaking given personally by (ANC president) Nelson Mandela to our government last year that underhanded methods of undermining the administration would cease," said Segoe.

He warned that the "fullest force of the law" would be used "to nip any such mischief in the bud". - Sapa.

ANC meets FW today

Sowetan 25/6/92



By THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff

THE African National Congress meets State President FW de Klerk today to give him a list of demands to keep Codesa on track.

The ANC announced its decision after an emergency national executive committee meeting on Tuesday.

De Klerk last night told a hastily convened international media conference that the Government and the ANC should meet as soon as possible in order to get negotiations back on track and to break the current impasse.

The Government would continue with all its energy and full commitment to secure a negotiated settlement in the interests of all South Africans, De Klerk said.

No date had been set for the talks as the Government did not want to unilaterally set a specific date. The date had to be mutually agreed on with the ANC.

De Klerk said Boipatong was a tragedy and the Government shared in the grief of those who had lost loved ones. However, he rejected the ANC's allegations of State involvement in violence as without foundation.

He rejected "constant insinuations that the Government is involved in violence". He said the Government had nothing to gain from it.

De Klerk said it would be a tragedy if all the work done at Codesa was nullified.

He rejected charges that the Government wanted to cling to power and said protracted negotiations would only play in the hands of radicals.

Meanwhile, local and international support for the ANC's decision grew as threats of renewed sanctions surfaced yesterday.

South Africa's participation in international sport was in jeopardy as the ANC joined Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for the withdrawal of the country's team from the Barcelona Olympic Games.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi attacked the ANC for withdrawing from Codesa and described it as "the worst kind of political tantrum imaginable".

Overseas reaction varied from outright threats of sanctions to caution and disapproval of the ANC's stance.

Sweden said its intended removal of commercial sanctions against South Africa could be delayed as a result of the ANC's withdrawal from democracy talks, reports Sapa.

In Washington, South Africa's ambassador to the US Mr Harry Schwarz said the only way to solve the country's problems was by negotiation.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said the ANC had to realise it could not win the battle against the regime alone.

Locked within a balance of terror

Sowefem
25/6/92.
THE South African Government and the African National Congress are locked into a balance of terror.

The one is hinting that it will reimpose a state of emergency, the other is threatening to pull out of constitutional talks.

If one presses the button it is almost certain that the other will follow suit. Either way, instability and destruction, a return to the dark ages of the PW Botha era, are guaranteed.

What makes each pause, as Government and ANC officials acknowledge, is the response of the international community, the fear of isolation.

What, then, is the public to make of the conflicting rhetorical barrage? Where lies the truth? In the Government's contention that last week's killings are, as Mr Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Police, said on Monday, the direct result of the ANC's campaign of "mass action"?

Or in the ANC's claim that the Government has opted for brute force as the only means of retaining political power?

It is best to answer these questions by going back to May 16 when the Codesa talks broke down.

Why did they break down? The ANC proposed

11A
The victims of Boipatong died because of a constitutional disagreement in South Africa, writes JOHN CARLIN

70 percent as the required majority to approve a constitution in an elected constituent assembly, the Government proposed 75 percent, and neither side would budge.

The ANC wants the proposed constitution to entrench a system of majority government. The Government rejects majority rule. State President FW de Klerk says that the Western world's "50 per cent plus one" formula would be "simplistic" in the light of South Africa's diversity.

His solution is "powersharing", a system in which the "domination of the past" is replaced not with a new form of "majoritarian domination", but with a Government of "checks and balances" with "minority protections".

It sounds complicated but can be reduced to a demand for a veto over the decisions of the majority. De Klerk is responding to the whites' terror of being ruled by blacks.

The ANC responded with outrage to the Government's refusal to accept less than 75 percent, and declared the time had come

for a test of political strength on the streets.

The first day of "mass action" was marked by marches around the country, all of which, according to the Commissioner of Police, went off peacefully.

Kriel, his political chief, disagreed, blaming the deaths of 34 people on Monday and Tuesday on the ANC campaign, and warning of more deaths.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, warned on Tuesday, when he shared a podium with De Klerk, that people would lose their lives.

The Government and Inkatha prophecies came true on Wednesday night when hordes of Inkatha warriors rampaged through Boipatong while police in armoured vehicles looked on, according to numerous witnesses.

Had the ANC accepted the Government's powersharing solution, mass action would not have been necessary and the security forces and their Inkatha allies would not have responded the way they all but promised they would. - *The Independent, London.*

Statesmanship is needed as time is running short, argues Hans Middelmann

The two men who can give South Africa a future

STAR 25/6/92

11A

SOUTH Africa urgently needs a political arrangement to give us a credible government representative of the entire population — a black-white coalition of national unity that has both Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk in the leadership.

This is only possible if these two main players on the political scene commit themselves jointly to the basic rules of parliamentary democracy to which they have pledged themselves separately. They should make a personal, unprecedented and visible statesmanlike gesture before it is too late.

It has been said that an economic upswing is a prerequisite for a political solution. The steadily declining path of our economy suggests the opposite. No lowering of interest rates, no "kick-start" or any other gimmick, is likely to make our economy take off while uncertainty about the succession to the present minority government persists.

The longer this uncertainty lasts, and the greater it becomes, the greater the danger of the economy suddenly sliding further. Another setback could have tragic consequences when set against the background of the falling gold price, persistent inflation and the drought.

The State President and Mr Mandela still travel the world separately, which forces them to highlight their differences. They would both be far more convincing about South Africa's future — to their respective hosts and to the South African public — if they were seen working together, despite disagreements on many issues.

In the words of Mr de Klerk's landmark speech in February 1990, we must have "a dispensation in which every inhabitant will enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour — constitutional, social and economic".

He added that the country's fu-

ture was "linked inextricably to the ability of its leaders to come to terms with one another".

Codesa 1 and 2 nearly arrived at this result, but too many cooks (and perhaps too many advisers) have spoilt the broth. At the very moment when — in line with world developments — there was near agreement on how to level the playing field and on the rules of play, we are sliding back alarmingly towards ideological confrontation.

To have abolished practically all apartheid legislation is a truly remarkable achievement by a government and party which put the policies on the statute book. But to remove something that obviously had broken down is only part of the answer to our problems.

As long as the government does not include people legitimately elected by the yet-voteless blacks it will remain unrepresentative. On the other hand, any future majority government would be

equally unrepresentative if it were constituted to exercise unrestricted rule. Yet this concept of unrestricted rule heads the agenda of many leaders of the voteless.

Entrepreneurs, investors, call them what you will — the people of enterprise and innovation who alone create employment and real wealth — will not start or expand activities in times and areas of uncertainty. The wealth they manage to create is the only source of taxation which pays for education, health and other state services. There is no other source. But such people put their skills, savings and borrowings at risk only if there is a reasonable expectation that the State and government are likely to remain stable.

South Africa's greatest enemy is poverty. To reduce, or possibly eliminate, it must be our principal aim. It cannot be done by government edict, whatever government is in power. It can only be done by

work and wealth creation. Those who are anxious, willing and able to get the economy going — and that includes the workers and the unemployed — have little say in the matter. They depend entirely on the politicians to create the conditions of confidence and stability without which progress is impossible.

South Africa has everything going for it. In the last two years almost unbelievable progress has been made in bringing people of all colours together in common endeavours to mutual benefit.

The country is poised to give added momentum to these efforts. The outside world is ready to assist. Yet all this progress can be lost if the near agreement at Codesa is not taken to a successful conclusion.

Two great South Africans, F W de Klerk and Mr Mandela, have shown exceptional statesmanship in taking their constituencies to the present position. Will they be great enough to take what was



Greetings . . . 1
of Codesa? 2

begun two years
where the new
comes a reality?
Hans Middelmann
president of A

p is needed as time is running short, argues Hans Middelmann

Two men who can give South Africa a future

STAR 25/6/92

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Greetings . . . before the start of Codesa 2 on May 15.

begun two years ago to the point where the new South Africa becomes a reality? □

↳ Hans Middelmann is a past president of Assocom.

ANC calls for day of mourning

Staff Reporter ^{STAR} 25/6/92

The ANC has called on the "entire people" of South Africa, including the business community, to observe Monday as a national day of mourning and solidarity for the victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The 43 victims will be buried on that day.

The call, made on Tuesday by the PWV ANC region, and which included a call for a stayaway from work, was later endorsed by the national executive committee.

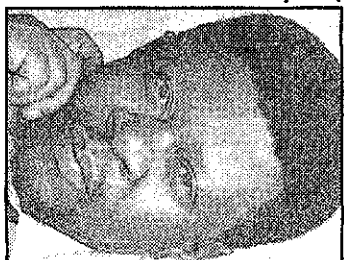
The organisation also called on the international community to act in solidarity, and appealed to workers worldwide not to handle South African carriers and goods on June 29.

● KwaMadala hostel, widely believed to have been the base for last Wednesday's slaughter, is no longer being held under a police clamp.

The ANC withdrawal from Codesa was inevitable, argues Joe Latakomo

Pace too fast for followers

STA-2 25/6/92



AS SOUTH Africa reels from the political crisis brought on by the African National Congress decision to withdraw from both Codesa and bilateral talks with the Government, the question now is what alternatives there are, and whether South Africa can survive those alternatives.

It was inevitable that the ANC would, sooner rather than later, withdraw from Codesa. The organisation seemed to be waiting for an event which would give it the courage to do so, while still retaining the moral high ground.

Signs of dissatisfaction over the organisation's role within Codesa had begun to emerge months ago. The feeling was that while the leadership bargained and negotiated on the various issues, there was little reporting back to its constituencies. This meant that while the organisation was moving forward in agreements, a large body of its constituency was

being left behind.

Clear signals that grassroots support of Codesa was not forthcoming were noticeable in constituencies like the Natal Midlands region, under the leadership of hardliner Harry Gwala, and also in Transkei and the eastern Cape, where the ground was becoming more and more fragile under the feet of even the regional leadership over the Codesa issue.

The ANC negotiators were accused of being "salesmen with briefcases who are selling out the black cause". Indeed, briefcases were derisively called "Codesas".

In the Natal Midlands and the eastern Cape, preference for addressing rallies went to Chris Ham, Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela, rather than Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa.

The leadership, however, clearly realised they would need a major issue to break off talks.

Simply quitting would seem to vindicate the Pan Africanist Con-

gress, which had held that while it believed a settlement could be negotiated, Codesa was not the appropriate forum.

The organisation was also too deeply involved simply to get out and scupper the talks. As Ramaphosa pointed out, the process was started by the ANC, not by the Government, even before the organisation was unbanned and Nelson Mandela was released.

By all accounts, much headway had been made, to the extent that predictions were made of an interim government before the end of the year.

But that also created resistance from their supporters. There were those who believed that there was too much urgency to "get to Tynhuys", with a perception that this was being done "at any cost". The ANC was perceived to be compromising far too much too quickly, while the regime had done little in return.

This view was reinforced after

the white referendum. Among Codesa delegates, the feeling was that before the referendum, the Government was moving fast to obtain the best possible deal for whites.

However, after the referendum a hardening was perceived; the Government was sure of its support — even though this was a misjudgment — and began to dig in its heels.

The ANC had not tested its own constituency. That is why the need for mass action arose, as the only test of support, and a way of showing the Government its strength so that the balance on the scales can be brought back to equilibrium.

At about this point, terms like "white minority regime" and "illegitimate regime" began to re-enter the language of the ANC leadership.

The Government clearly underestimated the pressures on the ground that the ANC had to deal

with. They believed that the ANC would not — could not — quit Codesa. Quite rightly, they pointed out that only negotiation can bring about the desired democratic state, and that the alternative was a slide to anarchy.

In any event, both had no practical alternatives to negotiation.

A major factor which undoubtedly changed support for Codesa to resistance was the violence, perceived to be State-sponsored or Inkatha-inspired.

How could the ANC leadership, people asked, talk to the people who are responsible, directly or indirectly, for the killing of innocent people on trains, in their homes, in the streets?

In the period since Codesa, hundreds of people have died. The view that a "third force" — determined to wreck Codesa and the negotiation process — was involved, is often reinforced by the nature of the killings: clinical, random, well-planned operations

done with military precision and efficiency. If that is the case, then they have achieved their objective. Their next step would then be to spark off anarchy.

The ANC, in its list of demands to be met by the Government before it can reconsider its position, has left many escape routes for itself.

As Ramaphosa said, the demands are "eminently reasonable", and the Government, for its part, can act swiftly on all but the matter of an interim government, which, it can rightly point out, was a subject for Codesa negotiations.

By quitting Codesa, the ANC has sent out two messages: one to the Government that the organisation demands more urgency in the move towards a democratic government; and, second, to its own grassroots supporters that the pace of the process was not going to be dictated by "the white minority regime". □

MASS ACTION

FM 26/6/92

~~ANC~~ ~~SA~~ ~~11A~~ ~~1200~~

View from the trenches

The campaign of mass action launched by the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party with a series of rallies on June 16 "is not linked directly to the Codesa deadlock." This was revealed by a senior Cosatu member at an ANC press briefing last Friday. He pointed out that when the ANC suspended its armed struggle, it insisted that mass action would not be incompatible with negotiations.

The admission seemed to bear out statements by government spokesmen who have slammed mass action as having nothing to do with the Codesa impasse. Related to the ANC's own mobilisation programme, it gives the branches something to do and serves as a dummy run for elections.

Asked if the objective of mass action is to drive President De Klerk from power or to induce him to be a more flexible negotiator, an SACP spokesman said it was to "involve and encapsulate people's demands for an interim government and elected constituent assembly." The Codesa deadlock has merely shaped the nature of the action, which was planned beforehand. The shape and direction of events will henceforth "also be determined by De Klerk reacting to us."

But would the ANC not have joint control of government and the security forces in an interim government? "We cannot at this stage board a train without knowing its destination," said the spokesman, referring to an ANC suspicion that government would like to drag out the life of an interim government while getting Codesa to draw up a new constitution.

Had the meetings between government and the ANC, before their suspension, made any progress?

No, said the alliance. There had been three such meetings. At the first, government criticised the mass action programme, while the ANC explained the responsibility it had to its people to move things along. Their second meeting merely set the agenda for the third — at which government again presented its case for a rotating executive, power-sharing, federalism, a veto for the senate and Codesa writing the new constitution.

"The government is seriously misreading the situation regarding commitment to democracy. What they want is the shell of democracy devoid of all its content."

Outlining the ANC-led four-phase mass action plan, it was stated that the alliance is

involved in a mobilisation campaign.

Its focus, firstly, is on day-to-day issues such as corruption, food prices, a living wage — various local issues related to the existence of apartheid that "needed to be brought out on to the streets." This was viewed as a "warm-up" phase. June 16 and 26 (Freedom Charter Day) were points around which the campaign must gravitate. There are to be



rallies on June 26 in the style of "people's assemblies." The ultimate aim was to speedily bring about an interim government.

July 1 will mark the second phase of the campaign. The leadership will consider a response to the failure to create an interim government by June 30 — the ANC's original deadline — and decide on the question of a strike and its duration. A "national offensive" is to be launched in July in which various local and regionally based disputes and protests would be pulled together in a national perspective. The intention is basically to raise the tempo of protest. The strike by hospital workers, it was explained, is not related to the campaign; they were on a go-slow strike before it began.

This phase seems to have gone off earlier than planned, with marches led by the metal workers (Numsa) in central Johannesburg on Monday and Tuesday — which raises the question of how much the ANC can control what it initiates.

August would mark the start of the third phase of mass action, "where we may have to go on a general strike." It was hoped by August to see "millions" engaged in action. This is referred to as "the Leipzig option," referring to the East German protests — "praised by De Klerk and the West" — that ushered in democratic governments in eastern Europe.

Business leaders are called upon to play the kind of role they played in support of a "yes" vote in the March referendum. Business will have to state publicly its position on:

- A government of national unity;
- A constitution-making body with sovereign powers over the drafting and acceptance of a new constitution, except for those princi-

ples agreed on at Codesa;

- Holding discussions with President De Klerk to urge him to move ahead; and
- Factory shutdown periods (to accommodate protest actions).

The fourth and final phase of this rather ambitious plan is dubbed the "exit gate" when "the government must go," though of course the NP can continue to exist.

Spokesmen rejected the charge by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Foreign Minister Pik Botha that mass action will lead to violence. They say the campaign is based on the universal right to protest and demonstrate peacefully — and mass action is based on a "very angry mood among our people who feel that apartheid still lives on." The idea of rolling mass action had emerged because turning the tap of protest on and off created problems in relation to negotiation. "We see this releasing of people's energies as being necessary."

Whether the economy can afford the diversion of people's energy into rolling mass action is a question that does not seem to have occurred to the alliance. ■

FEDERALISM FM 26/6/92

Not so fast

Peace, but not at any price: that seems to be the position of KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He is stepping up pressure for a new constitution embracing devolution and federalism.

In the presence of President F W de Klerk in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, Buthelezi warned that though he had been committed to peace throughout his 30 years in politics, he could see a "dark cloud on the horizon" and, if the position persisted, he could see himself "leading his people through those dark waters."

He accused the ANC of reducing delicate negotiations to mob politics. Those in the political know, he said, are aware that calls for strikes, stayaways and boycott action fail in SA unless accompanied by intimidation and disruption of public transport. He said it was totally irresponsible to call for mass action at a time of escalating violence.

While endorsing the right of the ANC and its allies to protest, Buthelezi added that "we also claim the right to protest and demonstrate our anger at political injustice . . . to this end, the Zulu nation will resort to every possible course of action to oppose Codesa decisions to which we are not party."

"We already have the complication that mobilisation of mass opinion in support of KwaZulu's participation (at Codesa) will

Azapo gives support to day of mourning

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

STARZ
26/6/92
(11A)

Azapo yesterday threw its weight behind the call to observe Monday as a national day of mourning in honour of the victims of last week's Boipatong massacre.

Similar calls have been made by the ANC, PAC, trade unions, churches and other organisations.

A mass funeral will be held for the victims on Monday.

Azapo vice-president for political education Molatlhegi Tlhale told a press conference in Johannesburg that Azapo would consolidate its alliance with "all organisations of the people that are fighting to overthrow the (De Klerk) regime".

He said Azapo would accelerate its "village to village,

township to township" mobilisation programme to unite organisations outside of Codesa to fight the Government and its reform programme.

Achieve

The programme, Mr Tlhale said, would lead to black majority rule, self-determination and self-reliance, the return of the land to the black majority and the redistribution of wealth.

It would also achieve the dismantling of the "Bantustans" and the tricameral Parliament, and lead to the formation of a new Azanian army formed out of a merger between the Azanian National Liberation Army of the Black Consciousness Movement, the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army.

PRAVIN GORDHAN

FM 26/6/92

(11A) (2000)

Controversial committee man

"Anti-Communist" of Chatsworth wrote to the *Tribune* recently asking about the political affiliations of Pravin Gordhan, the Durban-based social activist catapulted into the national limelight when he succeeded Zach de Beer as chairman of the Codesa management committee and voice of the SA negotiations process.

Gordhan (43) replied that he is a member of the Natal Indian Congress (of which he is a delegate at Codesa), the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

"I am a socialist who will resist oppression in any form," wrote Gordhan, whose politics spring from a deep involvement in extra-parliamentary civic organisations. This, he says, takes up most of his time and began with resistance to the Tintown removals to Phoenix in 1976, three years after he graduated as a pharmacist from the University of Durban-Westville. He has been secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee, which he helped found, since 1980; and this year, PG — as colleagues know him — was elected vice-chairman of the southern Natal region of Sanco, the national body of civic organisations. He also chairs the ANC's national education committee.

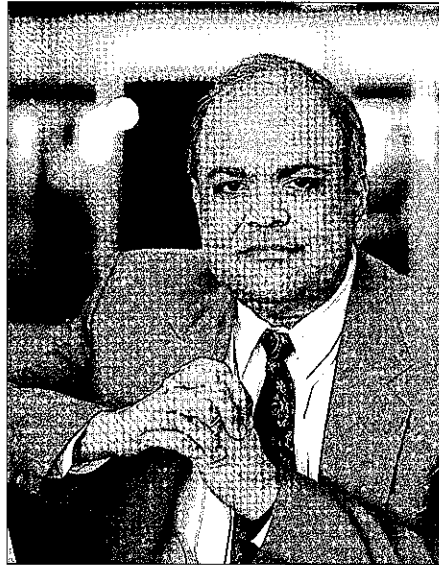
Gordhan's political views do not make it any more difficult to deal with the man, says De Beer, pointing out that if Codesa means anything, then anyone there has the right to be chairman — an appointment made by consensus.

It wasn't long ago that, within the liberation movement, Gordhan's name was mentioned as part of an alleged Leninist "cabal". He, of course, dismisses any such suggestion. Some who know his background as an agitator are astonished at how well he comes across in his new diplomatic role in Codesa, as though to the manner born.

Running such a large committee, comprised of representatives of the 19 parties haggling over big stakes, is a daunting task. It's difficult trying to project a Codesa message as opposed to political perspective, Gordhan admits. In De Beer's view, Gordhan has been an extremely good chairman. He is calm, intelligent and articulate and does well synthesising the various positions and proposals of a divergent political bunch. The only hint of opposition to his chairmanship has come from Inkatha.

His elevation to the job came as something of a surprise: "After all, we were supposed to be the street brawlers," quips Gordhan. Only in March was he granted indemnity against charges in relation to Operation Vula, an alleged plot of ANC subversion for which he spent four months in jail 18 months ago.

While he remains optimistic about the talks, Gordhan, pressed, has no doubt where



Gordhan ... from street brawler to diplomat

blame lies for the deadlock: "The refusal of the NP to subscribe to internationally accepted norms in constitution-drafting and adoption is a clear signal that this party is not willing either to share power or to create the conditions for a genuine democracy to emerge in SA. The NP's insistence on a veto, dressed in various forms, can only be a very serious threat to both the progress and positive outcome of the negotiation process." ■

IAN THOMPSON

If the shoe fits

Though outgoing Sales House MD Ian Thomson has turned down two international job offers within the last year, the challenge to turn round the UK's largest footwear retailer was "irresistible."

Thomson is leaving SA shortly to take the helm at the British Shoe Corporation (BSC), with roughly 2 000 outlets and an annual turnover of around R3bn. It is part of the Sears group, which also owns the Selfridges group.

"I was only prepared to leave Sales House for a company which gave me a bigger stage," he explains. By comparison, Thomson notes turnover at the 113-outlet Sales House, in the Edgar's stable, is roughly R470m.

Trading profits at BSC, with roughly 18% of the UK market, has plunged to £10m from an historic peak of £50m, indicating the potential at the seven-chain group. But he believes turning BSC round will be diffi-

cult, adding "for those who think we are having a recession in SA ..."

As BSC is cash-rich, Thomson reckons there will be significant room for expansion in the UK and Europe, though only after the current operations have been rectified. There could also be avenues in the Selfridges group, which owns one of the world's largest department stores, as well as the Miss Selfridge and Wallis chains.

The successful headhunting means Thomson goes back home, so to speak, as he was born and raised in Aberdeen, Scotland.

Ironically, he was headhunted to SA 16 years ago by Edgars, having been with the House of Fraser group for 13 years before that, ending his time there as a general merchandise manager.

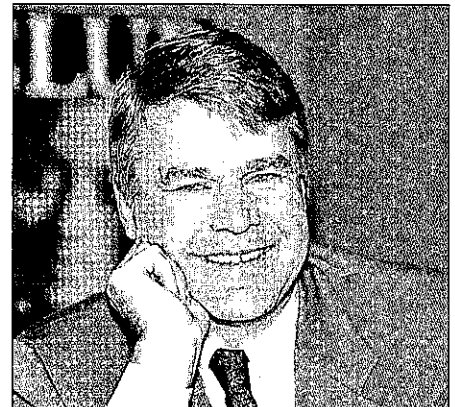
He is not a university graduate. "I had the qualifications but not the inclination," he explains, despite having briefly considered teaching history after completing school.

Instead he fell into retailing by accident, becoming a trainee manager at House of Fraser "and realised retailing was for me."

Thomson reckons he will miss "the people" most, adding Sales House had established a great team, largely explaining why the business has been a success at a time other local retailers are struggling. He believes local retailers seriously underrate themselves. "Apart from the outstanding systems, very few international retailers market themselves as well as SA retailers."

As BSC's head office is in Leicester, Thomson says home will be "somewhere around Leicester." His wife, Jacqui, a fashion consultant, has also been approached by international firms. Though originally from Bournemouth, the two met in SA. "As Jacqui makes as much money as I here, I hope this will be the case there too," he jokes.

Their weekend home at Hartbeespoort Dam won't be sold, maintaining the SA link. ■



Thomson ... looking for a bigger stage



ANC decision hailed 11A

THE right to engage in mass action would be enshrined in the new constitution when a democratic government took over in South Africa, Mr Essop Pahad of the South African Communist Party said last night.

Pahad, the SACP's director of international affairs, was a guest speaker on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

He told listeners that mass action would continue to be used as a means of demonstrating the feelings of the majority, regardless of who ruled the country.

"We must develop a culture of mass action to ensure that the people's desires are met. Workers must have a right to strike," he said.

The majority of callers supported the ANC's decision to withdraw from Codesa.

Sowetan
26/6/92

Massacre

Others called for the ANC to resume the armed struggle to force the Government to commit itself to a democratic government based on one-person, one-vote.

The recent Boipatong massacre had evoked strong feelings and was quoted as a good reason for the ANC to pull out of the talks.

Nick of Johannesburg supported the ANC's decision.

Moshe of King William's Town felt that mass action led to people being killed. He said the only solution would be to resume the armed struggle.

Lucas of Diepkloof, Soweto, called on the ANC to "go back to the bush".

Josiah said the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa was a clever move. "We are sick and tired of dying", he said.

Mzimkhulu also expressed his support for the withdrawal.

"Now the world knows that there is confrontation in this country. I think mass action will produce the desired results", he said.

THE National Party's new national headquarters are in a white-washed, mock Cape Dutch complex of buildings the sections of which are named after the great Cape wine estates: Boschendal, Nederburg, Delheim...

The offices are lined with soft grey carpets, cocoon-like. The atmosphere is quiet, the furniture new and unsoiled. The party's occupancy of the premises is so recent that there is not even a portrait of the leader, President FW de Klerk, on the wall.

Unsurprising that the party should select a setting reminiscent of its new heartland, the western Cape, the one region that the NP could win in universal franchise elections.

Perhaps it simply reflects a nostalgia for the faded Cape summer and the parliamentary session that ended last week, bringing the civil servants back to the Highveld like migratory birds, back to the heart of the crisis beating in the 100km arc of the PWV.

The angry world of township politics is as remote as if the building were in Malmesbury or Wellington. And yet De Klerk saw that world through the windscreen of his BMW on Saturday, a fleeting 15 minutes in the hell of Boipatong and the South Africa that it represents.

I have driven to this building in Pretoria to get the NP perspective of the political crisis.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe has agreed to fit me in for a half hour, but keeps me waiting 10 minutes and then apologises in advance that he will have to cut the interview short because something else has cropped up.

So we start in right away: What went wrong? How did the mood of optimism in March that a deal was imminent collapse into the crisis of June?

"I think firstly the optimism was not altogether justified," he says softly. "We made spectacular progress up to a certain point but that was because we tackled the easier things first. When we came to fundamental divisions between the African National Congress and the National Party we got stuck.

"Also, we feel that the ANC took much too heavy a position. We ran into a deadline and then it was difficult to reach understanding on a few points whereas a large number of agreements were already in place.

"They were adamant that there must be agreement on those last few points before Codesa II, otherwise the whole thing would be off.

"From our point of view that was not justified. We felt that it was a conscious strategy to put us under the pressure of a deadline. And then one ran into a situation where the temperature inside the negotiating room became overheated and we were under the glare of publicity.

"Everyone knew what everyone was saying and it was all written up in the papers. In that manner neither the NP nor the ANC could afford to make meaningful concessions because then either the one or the other was going to lose.

"If the ANC had just calmed down and continued the negotiations after Codesa II on those points of dispute, keeping all the other points in place, then we could have had agreement by now."

Van der Merwe is one of the

A weary Stoffel van der Merwe tries to explain: What went so wrong?

W/MAIL 26/6-2/7/92

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK visits the National Party's new headquarters in search of the official version of how the peace process turned sour



smarter, smoother Nats. He is certainly more convincing than colleagues such as Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpoort who was savaged by ANC Information chief Pallo Jordan on Radio 702 on Monday night in what came across as a philosophical debate between a second hand car salesman and Socrates.

Asked about Boipatong and the conflicting claims between the NP and the ANC over the causes of the massacre, Van der Merwe sighs and says: "The general temperature was definitely elevated by the run-up to the mass action campaign and it is not impossible that it was the last straw for a number of individuals who were already feeling very threatened."

But the mass action campaign has been peaceful, I reply. What could be the logical connection between that and a group of people

going out and murdering, in brutal fashion, a community that isn't even necessarily ANC?"

"Ja." Van der Merwe pauses and slumps into silence for a moment.

"Sorry for taking such a long time to think," he says. "My brain is a little slow today, not having had much sleep." (He had in fact been addressing an NP rally in Ikageng, the black township outside Potchefstroom, the night before, as part of the NP's new fangled recruitment campaign.)

"How that would work, according to my estimation of the situation, is that the whole tenor of the mass action campaign is an aggressive tenor. Maybe not physically aggressive, but it is an aggressive tenor in the sense of saying: you didn't want to listen to reason at the negotiating table, now we will take the power.

"This is how people on the ground level experience it. This is the interpretation you will find among many whites."

But they don't pick up spears and axes and AK47s and go out and massacre people, I say.

"You are dealing with less sophisticated people who have been living in a very physical environment and their only response to that feeling of threat is in a physical manner."

Why had the NP not criticised the Inkatha Freedom Party, its alliance partner, given that the kwaMadala Hostel where the murderers came from was an IFP stronghold?

"You are dealing with less sophisticated people who have been living in a very physical environment and their only response to that feeling of threat is in a physical manner."

"I keep my options open regarding that. I do not deny the possibility that it was IFP members, but I doubt very much that this was done on the instructions of the IFP.

"What we do condemn is the deliberate, well-considered policy of mass action by the leaders of the ANC. They are responsible people who, even if they do it peacefully, know the chances are that people will respond in an aggressive manner."

Following on from De Klerk's threats on Saturday, after he was ejected from Boipatong, under what conditions would the NP support a State of Emergency, I ask.

"The only consideration would be whether it can help to stop the killing of people.

"The government and the leadership of the National Party are exasperated that all measures taken so far cannot stop the killings. The breakdown of the negotiations coupled to the aggressive mass action campaign makes an already very difficult situation that much more difficult."

Would you accept other solutions such as international monitoring of the violence?

"That would take a lot of persuasion. If you take what is happening in Eastern Europe, the peace-keeping forces are not in a position to stop the killing."

By this time I am trying to cram in as many questions as possible. The answers are growing more and more perfunctory. Van der Merwe's smartly attired, efficient secretary has taken to reminding him that it is time to go.

Would the NP make a constitutional deal excluding the ANC and its allies?

"Not the sort of settlement one would like to see. One can try something without the ANC, but that is not the way to go. We have not even considered it."

Would the NP accept a final constitution that had anything less than power-sharing in it?

"The shape of the final constitution is very open still, so there's no reason why one can't have different arrangements in the final constitution than in the transitional constitution.

"One needs to be satisfied that such a constitution will ensure continued democracy. We don't want a situation where you slide from pseudo-democracy to one-party rule to dictatorship, as has happened in countries dealing with similar problems."

Van der Merwe removes my microphone from where it is latched on to his top pocket, smiles a charming smile, says "I owe you one" and gets up to leave. On the way out a colleague makes as if to delay him further.

At this his clearly overwrought secretary flips completely, says "Oh no", and, in a gesture of exasperation, flings Van der Merwe's attache case on the floor. I leave Pretoria, with 15 minutes of insight into NP thinking.

It is a 45-minute ride to ANC headquarters at Shell House. Getting inside it these days involves standing in as many queues as at customs at Lusaka airport. The once zooty downtown building has become slightly frayed, now bearing the unmistakable stamp of the many activists that go tramping through its revolving gates.

The ANC National Executive Committee is still meeting. The fury of Boipatong has left its imprint. They are about to announce the suspension of talks.

ANC calls off talks but door still open

Sowetan 26/6/92

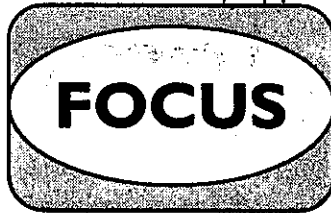
THE African National Congress walked out of constitutional negotiations with the Government on Tuesday. But it did not slam the door shut.

An emergency meeting of the ANC's national executive committee avoided issuing an ultimatum in a statement setting out its position in the light of what it perceives to be the Government's murderous double agenda.

Instead of the word "conditions", the statement used the more open-ended "demands". And, as ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told reporters, if the demands were "sufficiently met", the ANC would review its position on negotiations.

The door, then, is open to compromise, to the Government meeting the ANC half way.

That, a senior NEC member said on Wednesday, was the political rationale behind an otherwise heated document, which blamed



the "FW de Klerk regime" for the massacre in Boipatong township last week and for bringing South Africa "to the brink of disaster".

The problem, the ANC man acknowledged, would come in interpreting what is "sufficient".

De Klerk might be persuaded to agree to a phasing out of the squalid single men's hostels, so many of which the Inkatha Freedom Party have converted into de facto barracks.

Many attacks on township residents - such as the one in Boipatong - have been launched from these hostels.

A ban could be imposed on the carrying of dangerous weapons, a measure that would be aimed di-

rectly at Inkatha.

He might also entertain the possibility of international peace monitors or fact-finders. But this would be complicated as, first, the Government rejects any political intervention in its internal affairs and, second, it would not be easy to find a foreign personage or an organisation considered credible and independent by all sides.

The other ANC demands are the termination of all covert operations, including alleged security force hit squads; the disbanding of the army's Special Forces, South Africa's SAS units; the suspension and prosecution of officers involved in political violence; the release of all political prisoners; the repeal of repressive legislation.

For the Government to accede to these demands would amount to admitting that it has been conducting a duplicitous strategy of negotiations on the one hand and calculated mass murder (7 000 having died in political violence since

early 1990) on the other.

Compounding the difficulties in finding "sufficient" compromise is that after Boipatong political decisions can no longer be taken behind closed doors by men in suits. The political temperature outside is near boiling point and no insulation can stop the heat from penetrating the negotiating salons.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the ANC's most powerful ally, has been issuing statements this week significantly more hardline than its parent political organisation.

Pressures on the Government side not to compromise come, first, simply from its own political need not to be seen to be bowing to "the communists"; second, from its security forces, whose most powerful and sinister elements still pursue a policy of open season on the ANC; and, third, from its Inkatha allies, whom the Government cannot afford to antagonise unduly. - *The Independent*, London.

FW and Mandela meeting is not on

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk would not meet today as speculated earlier. ^{Sometime} 24/6/92

The ANC last night said the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, yesterday contacted the organisation saying De Klerk would not be able to meet the ANC leader "until sometime next week".

Mandela is due to leave for the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

The ANC said an official of the organisation would therefore deliver a memorandum containing its demands to the State President's office today.

"We have requested that Mr De Klerk reply in writing to our memorandum, so that the NEC (national executive committee) of the ANC can consider his response," the organisation said in a statement.

Stalled (IA)

Meanwhile Reuters reports that De Klerk and top advisers met yesterday to find ways of reviving the stalled negotiations.

But the ANC ruled out any resumption of substantive negotiations.

The ANC said it was trying to arrange a meeting with the Government only to present demands for an end to township violence.

The organisation said it would not discuss how to repair the rapid deterioration in their relationship over the township violence for which the ANC says security forces were largely to blame.

A Government spokesman said he was meeting senior Ministers to discuss the crisis. A Government source said these included Meyer and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma denied a Reuter report from Senegal that Botha and Mandela would meet in Nigeria tomorrow.

ANC, Cosatu condemn Bill

THE ANC and Cosatu condemned the tabling of the Technikon Amendment Bill in Parliament and demanded it be withdrawn immediately. (1/17) (SAP)

The ANC and Cosatu in a joint statement yesterday also demanded an "unconditional undertaking" from government not to proceed with the Bill without proper consultation being held.

The Bill was another unilateral act by government, they said. (SAP) 2/6/72

The ANC and Cosatu supported the Committee of Technikon Principals in its concerns raised regarding the Bill. — Sapa (SAP)

89 women walk free

By Gien Elias
West Rand Bureau

11A
STAN
26/6/92

Charges of trespassing and disturbing the peace were withdrawn against 89 women in the Carletonville Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Their court appearance followed their arrest at a protest sit-in early last month at the Khutsong Council offices.

The women, accompanied by an ANC delegation headed by Winnie Mandela, sang and danced outside the court building before filing into the courtroom.

The Carletonville branch of the ANC Women's League said in a statement it appreciated the action taken by Boipatong residents when President F W de Klerk was chased out of the township on Saturday.

The statement said the Women's League was endorsing the suspension of talks with the Government as the ANC could not negotiate with the "racists and murderers of our people".

Mrs Mandela addressed the women before and after the court proceedings. The crowd then dispersed.

The victory FW's been waiting for

STAR 26/6/92

~~ST/30/11A~~ (11A)

THE LABOUR Party would lose every seat it holds in the House of Representatives with this gigantic swing against it of 55 percent across the country. No "white" by-election has ever shown a swing of this size.

This is the end for Labour as any kind of political force. And it is no good LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse blaming the previous MP or anything else. This is the political earthquake President FW de Klerk has wrought in this country — and this election is undeniable proof.

The NP would win all 80 seats in the House and would take the five nominated seats as well. Labour would lose every one of the 69 it won in 1989.

It is likely that more than 70 percent of the coloureds would vote Nationalist. The main drawback to this prognosis is that the Diamant constituency is a country constituency, with some local factors. This could mean a slightly smaller swing nationwide than the 55 percent seen, but it is marginal.

Mr de Klerk is a political genius. He has achieved the impossible in two years. People of colour are flocking to vote for the NP in great numbers but Mr de Klerk has held on to the most conservative of white voters who see him as their only hope.

If Mr de Klerk can win a third of black votes, he will have enough with the tricameral votes to win a non-racial election and rule South Africa against the ANC.

The National Party's victory in this week's House of Representatives by-election shows that the majority of coloureds will support the NP in a nonracial election, writes political scientist DONALD SIMPSON.

Nevertheless, 70 percent of coloured people look set to vote NP and over 85 percent of Indians would also do so. The Democratic Party is evaporating. The Conservative Party cannot poll its full vote in a nonracial election, but some of its voters, opinion polls say, would vote for Inkatha rather than the NP.

In an election under universal franchise, with proportional representation, the NP would win 20 of the 26 seats that coloured voters could expect to "win". The ANC would get only six of these. The LP would not qualify for any seats under a 1 percent threshold, and would cease to exist in the new South Africa.

What a narrow escape the inexperienced young Kimberley ANC branch had. They got into bed with Mr Hendrickse and performed an unnatural political act with the electorally wise LP.

They might well have contracted a terminal political illness. In this new permissive climate for liberation movements, doing previously forbidden things, this is very exciting but potentially very dangerous.

The ANC can claim convincingly that the missing votes — 20 000 — are all ANC supporters heeding its equivocal message not to vote. However,

in Kimberley, this most liberal of platteland cities, many NP supporters did not want to support "South Africa's last ethnic election". Certainly in the very mixed suburbs of Kimberley, to go to vote when your wife and neighbour do not have the privilege is not quite yet on.

The ANC did increasingly back the LP, but its supporters and the voters of the Diamant constituency showed more wisdom and maturity. They kept out of the artificial and irrelevant poll, as they did in 1984 and 1989. They are waiting for the real thing, where their votes will not be able to be analysed on a racial basis.

The extraordinary performance of mixing liberation and tricameral politics, in a vain bid for a short-term political fix, makes them look reassuringly much like their Afrikaner NP brothers.

Will the LP be able to function at Codesa? It is the apartheid creation with the most credibility; it stopped PW Botha where no one else could. It was independent to an extent.

However, all the parties at Codesa, except the NP and the ANC, know that they are going the way of the LP. We are heading for a two-party system, unless the Azanians win a few seats to balance the CP. □

More whites favour shared rule — poll

11A
SUN 26/6/92

Codesa is in trouble, but the man-in-the-street remains firmly committed to shared rule, according to a Gallup poll among 1 300 blacks and 1 000 whites.

The poll, by the Markinor research group, shows that most blacks and whites favour a government in which power is shared by all population groups, and in which no one group dominates another.

The proportion of whites favouring shared rule has risen from little more than half (55 percent) in May 1991 to more than two-thirds (69 percent) in May this year. The proportion of blacks favouring power-sharing remains constant at 84 percent.

About 12 percent of blacks

want all power in black hands — up from 9 percent in 1991.

Nearly a third of whites (29 percent), however, would prefer whites to have a greater say in government than other groups "because they have more experience and knowledge of how to run the country". Last year this figure was 44 percent.

Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner said black perceptions remained fairly constant over the year, while white perceptions had undoubtedly been influenced by media coverage of the negotiations process.

"More and more (whites) have come to realise that their fortunes hinge on working out a viable political system in a shared South Africa," she said.

The poll showed Xhosa-speakers to be the most polarised group, with 16 percent favouring a black government, compared to 9 percent of Zulu-speakers.

Income also affected attitudes, with 17 percent of blacks earning less than R700 a month wanting power in black hands, compared to 8 percent of those earning more than R1 250 a month.

Among whites there was also a language divide, with 78 percent of English-speakers and 57 percent of Afrikaans-speakers in favour of power-sharing.

More people in Natal and the Cape want a balance of power (76 percent) than in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (64 percent). — Sapa.

PAC decides to cancel service

STAR 26/6/92
The Pan Africanist Congress,
after an emergency meeting
yesterday, has decided to call
off a memorial service for the
Boipatong victims. (11A)

"The PAC campaigns committee felt that at this crucial moment of the struggle in our country, unity of all the oppressed forces was of paramount importance," a PAC statement said. (11A)

The organisation said that because of the service in Boipatong today, it had decided to cancel its own service. — Sapa.

No end to stalemate

(11A) ~~SECRET~~
S-TAR 26/6/92
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Attempts to set up a meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk collapsed yesterday as the crisis in the negotiations process continued.

The ANC announced last night it had been informed that Mr de Klerk would not be able to meet Mr Mandela before the ANC leader left for an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Dakar on Sunday.

Instead, an ANC official will today deliver the ANC's 14 demands, formulated on Tuesday, to the State President's Office in Pretoria.

Breaking off negotiations with the Government on Tuesday, the ANC stressed it would meet the Government to hand over its demands, but would not enter into any discussions.

**More reports —
Pages 3, 7 and 14**

In his response after a Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, Mr de Klerk proposed a two-day summit.

The ANC immediately rejected the proposed meeting — it is bound by a decision taken on Tuesday at an emergency national executive committee (NEC) meeting not to enter into any talks with the Government until sufficient progress has been made by the Government in meeting the ANC's demands.

The ANC said last night several telephone discussions were held between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer to arrange a meeting where Mr Mandela could present the Government with the ANC memorandum, but Mr Ramaphosa had been advised yesterday that Mr de Klerk was unable to meet Mr Mandela "until some time next week".

The organisation has asked Mr de Klerk to reply in writing to the memorandum, so that the NEC could consider his response.

The ANC has also denied reports that Mr Mandela was to meet Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Abuja.

Mr Mandela will meet Mr Boutros-Ghali in Dakar next week, then visit Nigeria and Tanzania.

In a related development, diplomats yesterday told The Star that serious consideration was being given by foreign governments on what kind of foreign presence might be needed in South Africa given the Boipatong massacre and the breakdown of negotiations.

McKeed Kotlolo reports that Mr de Klerk yesterday expressed concern about attempts in Codesa to impose unrealistic time restraints for the implementation of agreements. The time frames put pressure on participants and complicated the already difficult task, he said.

In a speech read by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar to the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly, Mr de Klerk said: "We have deliberately and systematically closed the book on apartheid, and the process of constitutional reform got under way in a short time."

He said "delays, disappointments, differences and even deadlocks are bound to occur from time to time".

ANC due to hand demands to FW

8/10 am 26/6/92

11A 300A

PATRICK BULGER

A GOVERNMENT-proposed summit with the ANC remained in the balance yesterday, but the ANC said an official would hand over its demands to President F W de Klerk's office today.

The ANC said it expected an answer in writing to the violence-related demands. This response would be considered by the ANC's national executive committee.

Telephone conversations between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa failed to come up with a time for a De Klerk-Mandela meeting before Mandela leaves for the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, on Sunday.

The ANC has not rejected the De Klerk-Mandela summit outright, but has said it wanted its demands met before talks could restart. Diplomats were hopeful foreign mediation could help bring them together.

LINDA ENSOR reports that ANC NEC member Pallo Jordan said in Cape Town the ANC would resume negotiations with government once it gave a clear indication of its bona fides.

"De Klerk's response to our demands will determine how soon we can get discussions back on course again," Jordan said.

Ramaphosa confirmed that the ANC

was investing considerable energy in securing international involvement.

He said the ANC was examining De Klerk's offer of an international jurist to sit as an assessor with Judge Goldstone, and his welcoming of an international violence-monitoring mission.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha is due to meet UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and outgoing OAU chairman Gen Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja, Nigeria, tomorrow to discuss UN and OAU intermediary efforts. Mandela will meet Boutros-Ghali in Dakar on Sunday, when he will argue for the UN Security Council to convene on the SA issue.

Diplomats said it was significant that De Klerk appeared to be opening the door to international mediation.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that a British embassy spokesman said it was in contact with all parties.

De Klerk said in his response to the ANC's demands he would not allow government sovereignty to be compromised.

It is believed government will agree to an international violence-monitoring team working alongside Goldstone.

Mandela calls a halt to talks

Guardian/W (in W/Mail) By David Beresford in Johannesburg

11# 

THE CRISIS in South Africa over the latest security force and Inkatha massacres worsened on Sunday when Nelson Mandela — declaring the police were not fit to be regarded as human — announced the ANC was calling off talks with the government.

“I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people,” the ANC leader told a rally.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would be reconsidering participation in multi-party talks at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) and he would also seek to address a special session of the UN Security Council on the violence.

“We are now convinced that his [President De Klerk’s] method of bringing about a solution to this country is war,” the ANC leader said. “We are going to respond to that.”

The foreign minister, Pik Botha, appealed to the ANC for an urgent meeting to discuss the massacre, saying “there is no alternative to negotiation.” In Washington, the US secretary of state, James Baker

called for a resumption of the talks.

The ANC decision came after an extraordinary succession of events in the Transvaal township of Boipatong beginning with last week’s massacre of 42 people by Inkatha and culminating on Saturday with police killing three more residents in front of the world’s press after President de Klerk had been forced to flee (report, page 17). Mr Mandela announced the suspension of talks during a visit to Boipatong. Touring the houses and shacks where the massacre took place, he was surrounded by crowds singing: “Mandela, give us guns.”

Several thousand dancing supporters gathered on the township’s dusty sports field to hear him say of the police: “I am convinced that we are no longer dealing with human beings, but with animals.” He added that he had never seen such cruelty as had been carried out at Boipatong.

At a bigger rally later, Mr Mandela said: “The negotiation process is completely in tatters.” The country was back in “Sharpeville days,” he added.

“The gulf between the oppressed and the oppressor has become unbreachable. Mr de Klerk owes his loyalty not to the people of South Africa, but to the National Party. He wants to keep it in power by brute force.”

In an apparent reference to a possible state of emergency Mr Mandela warned Mr de Klerk that the introduction of anti-democratic measures would result in his leading a defiance campaign.

The suspended talks are thought to be the most important forum for the constitutional talks going on. But Codesa has more symbolic importance and an ANC decision to pull out of it could force its collapse, and effectively end negotiations.

There had been horrific scenes in Boipatong the day after the massacre as police and mortuary attendants carted away corpses of men, women, and children. Stunned residents washing blood off their floors and boarding up broken windows described how relatives and friends died.

Belina Lerobane, aged 58, said she was hiding under her bed when

she heard her aged mother being stripped by the killers before being stabbed to death. “I heard the man say they wanted ANC [African National Congress] members.”

Elizabeth Kolatswewu said her sister-in-law, Elisa Mbatha, banged on her door. “I could hear her children crying next door. I opened my door and she fell on the floor. She had been stabbed and chopped on her neck. She died there on the floor.” Her baby was strapped to the dead woman’s back.

In another street a mother was lying with her nine-month-old infant clasped to her breasts; both had been stabbed to death. On the next block a year-old child lay dead.

Mr de Klerk expressed revulsion at the “mindless killing” and said: “We will not rest until we have found the perpetrators of this shocking act and have brought them to justice.” Police and government inquiries are planned.

A spokesman for the ministry of law and order said the ANC’s recently launched mass action campaign “undoubtedly created a climate in which it is easier for such incidents to take place”.

LP's Diamant wasn't forever

W/mail 26/6-2/7/92



THIS week's National Party victory in the Kimberley House of Representatives by-election is likely to herald the early demise of the Labour Party and represents another lurch by South Africa down the road of political polarisation.

The Nationalists returned a 2 892 majority in Diamant, a formerly safe LP seat won by the latter in 1989 by an overwhelming majority of 8 000. The NP was yesterday celebrating the outcome as a major breakthrough in its strategy to "go multiracial", and a recovery from the setback represented by President FW de Klerk's humiliation in Boipatong.

In fact, the result appears to represent a stampede by the coloured community — seemingly divided by a generation gap — into ANC and Nat camps. Labour leader Allan Hendrickse was conceding before the polls had even opened that he was heading for defeat and that time was running out for his party.

The significance of the Kimberley by-election is confused by a number of factors which affected the result, notably allegations of financial corruption and an inept performance by the ANC in deciding how to exercise its influence over the contest.

The election was precipitated by the resignation of the last MP, Les Abrahams, on charges of defrauding an old age home (his trial is still proceeding). Allegations were flying and documents circulating during the campaign purporting to show that other prominent politicians involved in the electoral battle had also been involved in ripping off the old folk.

Although Labour is part of the Patriotic Front, the ANC managed to tie itself in knots trying both to show its disapproval of the Tricameral event and to ensure the Nationalists were defeated. The formula it eventually adopted was a call for a boycott of the election, coupled with an appeal to those who felt compelled to vote not to give De Klerk a victory. It illogically refused to endorse Labour's John Scholtz — who was, after all, the only other candidate in the election.

The extent to which an open ANC endorsement would have boosted Scholtz's chances is questionable; in the eyes of too many anti-apartheid activists Labour is seen as opportunistic and a child of apartheid. But, superficially at least, the LP campaign was conducted with high-minded gusto which would have done the ANC itself proud.

The Labour Party loss to the Nats in the Kimberley by-election could signal the end of the party and a split in the coloured community.

Weekly Mail Reporter

From a quotation taken from a Dachau death-camp memorial ("those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it") to those unforgettable remarks by De Klerk's wife Marieke (coloured people are "non-persons", the "left-overs" of creation) Labour's posters and pamphlets ravaged the Nationalist camp.

"The NP says forget about the past. Can you forget how they stole our homes under the Group Areas Act? Destroyed our communities? Shot our children? Jailed our parents? Can you trust the Nats?"



Allan Hendrickse

It was not enough for Labour. But Hendrickse — in the constituency to help with the campaigning — was philosophical about defeat. Conceding that the days of the LP, launched in Kimberley more than a quarter of a century ago, were numbered, he said: "I have no doubt the future of the Labour Party lies with the ANC." But he added: "At the moment we still have a role to play in terms of weaning the coloured people away from the National Party

and the Afrikaner."

Whatever happened in the Kimberley by-election, the Nationalists had been fatally crippled as an electoral force outside the white community by Boipatong, Hendrickse declared with apparent satisfaction. "De Klerk was destroyed there as (South Africa's political) Messiah," he said. "It will have a domino effect."

A couple of blocks away outside a busy polling station, Hendrickse's successor as South Africa's "coloured prime minister", Jac Rabie, was brimming with confidence as a "new Nat" and dismissive of Boipatong. "The (National Party) strategy with regard to canvassing members in the black community hasn't changed at all," he said of the fallout from the massacre.

"I think in fact what happened to the state president in Boipatong is an inspiration for us, because if you believe in democracy you do not allow some people to visit the bereft families and deny others the right to do so."

CONSPIRACY THEORY

(11A)

FM 26/6/92

The ANC claims it has unearthed an NP plot to prevent the ANC from ever governing on its own. In an article to be published in the July edition of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, it is claimed that there are two linked covert operations, code-named Springbok and Thunderstorm, and run by the Department of Military Intelligence.

The operations allegedly aim to weaken the ANC physically through sowing black-on-black violence and creating a climate of uncertainty. This would then be perceived by blacks as being the direct result of the ANC's unbanning. The result would be to weaken the ANC and force it into a coalition.

The source of the conspiracy claim is an unnamed ANC intelligence official.

A spokesman for Defence Minister Gene Louw says he has "no knowledge of these so-called plans." Law & Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze says he has no knowledge of a government or NP plan to orchestrate violence and promote destabilisation and anarchy. "In fact it is our avowed intent to do exactly the opposite," says Kotze.

He adds that the ANC should submit any evidence of operations of this kind to an independent body such as the Goldstone Commission and that it is particularly important to avoid unsubstantiated claims in the present tense climate.

NP, ANC at odds over vote result

STAR 06/6/92
The National Party victory in the Diamant by-election in the House of Assembly showed that the writing was on the wall for the Labour Party, the NP said.

The NP said its majority of 2 892 in the election was overwhelming confirmation by voters that negotiations should be continued.

But the ANC said the low percentage poll of 35 percent showed that the majority of coloured voters in the constituency had heeded the organisation's call to boycott Wednesday's by-election.

"The ANC's support remains unshaken by the results in spite of the massive resources and propaganda machinery of the NP," the ANC said.

The organisation added that the true representation of the constituency had yet to be proved in one person, one vote democratic elections.

However, the NP said its victory was "much more remarkable when it is seen against the background that the ANC climbed in wholeheartedly with the LP against the NP".

● The victory FW's been waiting for — Page 15

ANC and allies plot mass action

Sowetan 26/6/92

(VA)



Sowetan Correspondent

SUSTAINED mass action, which could become a permanent feature of South African life, will be mapped out by representatives of the African National Congress/Cosatu/South African Communist Party alliance at a "People's Assembly" in Durban tomorrow.

At a Press conference yesterday, spokesmen for the three organisations said that tomorrow's celebration of the anniversary of the signing of the Freedom Charter in 1955 would take the form of a "People's Assembly for Democracy" where representatives from democratic organisations would chart a programme of action.

In a statement, the tripartite alliance said that the "double-edged" strategy of the De Klerk regime of talking peace and negotiations with the ANC while at the same time allegedly unleashing systematic violence and murder had to stop.

Angry and tired

ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said that people were angry and tired of the violence and were refusing to negotiate with the Government.

"It is therefore imperative that the democratic movement harnesses and channels this anger and ensures that the confidence of the people is not undermined."

Radebe said that it was even more crucial that a pro-democracy front be created in this region "in order to defeat De Klerk's scheme of perpetuating white minority rule".

The alliance said that the People's Assembly, which will be held at the DLI Hall, Epsom Road, at noon, would galvanise the broadest range of anti-apartheid and pro-democracy forces into concerted action to effect the im-

mediate installation of democracy in South Africa.

Tomorrow's meeting will determine whether the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation, which rallied to the ANC's side after the announcement that the ANC was withdrawing from negotiations with the Government, will be part of this broad front.

ANC Southern Natal secretary Sbu Ndebele said that it was unlikely that the Inkatha Freedom Party would be invited. Ndebele said the ANC should perhaps accept blame for pursuing negotiations and participation in structures like the Regional Dispute Resolution Committees without an accompanying mass action programme to press home the demands of the people for an end to violence.

"Most of the violence, corruption, shortage of housing, and so on have gone on because there has been no action on the ground," Ndebele said.

Radebe said that some actions being considered included a referendum of the people to coincide with the ANC's drafting of a Transition to Democracy Act aimed at exercising the will of the people.

Meanwhile, ANC members in Maritzburg will hold their own "people's assembly" in Churchill Square behind the city hall at noon tomorrow.

The programme includes a motorcade of local leaders to the Mountain Rise cemetery where wreaths will be laid at the graves of three leaders who were at the historic adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

People will then converge on Market Square where the programme will include mock "trials" of people like State President FW de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and alleged warlords.

Government

ANC's memorandum is delivered to De Klerk

STAR 27/6/92

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has outlined, in a memorandum to President de Klerk, several incidents which "proved" Government collusion in the ongoing violence.

The memorandum was delivered to De Klerk's office in Pretoria yesterday after attempts to arrange a meeting between the two leaders collapsed. The ANC, in breaking off negotiations on Tuesday, said it would hand its demands to the Government but would not enter into any discussions.

South Africa was on the brink of disaster because of the crisis in the negotiation process and "the continuing direct and indirect involvement of the NP Government, the State security forces and the police in the violence".

Failure to act

Mandela said the Boipatong massacre was a tragic culmination of the Government's practices and policies. "Ministerial defences of the SAP and your Government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make Government collusion an inescapable conclusion," he said.

The Government, he said, had legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons and the majority of deaths had been caused by cultural weapons.

"In those few instances where security force personnel and police, or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?"

Mandela noted the acquittal of seven accused in the Sebokeng trial and the evidence of the investigating officer in the Trust Feed massacre trial which showed extensive cover-up.

"The evidence shows that either the NP Government, even at its top

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

levels, sanctions such activities or that it is powerless to restrain the very force it created," he said.

All religions recognised reconciliation and repentance, he said. Mandela added: "I have avoided imposing such requirements in the hope that you and your Government would reach that recognition on your own."

The Government's persistence in portraying the crisis as a creation of the ANC was "unhelpful and extremely dangerous". Mandela accused the Government of placing party political interests above national interest by trying to minimise the seriousness of the crisis.

Mandela said the crisis in the negotiations process stemmed primarily from the Government "pursuing the path of embracing the shell of a democratic South Africa while seeking to ensure that it is not democratic in content".

He noted that in a letter, written from prison in 1989, he said the two issues which had to be reconciled were the demand for majority rule, as well as the insistence by whites for checks and balances which would mean that majority rule was not domination by blacks.

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations was the failure of the Government to face up to the need for the conciliation of these two issues. Mandela said the Government had chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which defined a democracy — by equating majority rule with black domination.

The negotiations deadlock would remain unresolved for as long as the Government insisted on a minority veto. "We are of the view that the response and concrete steps by your Government to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and pace with which bona fide negotiations can take place."

collusion 'proved'

ANC calls for a day of mourning

By Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH 27/6-1/7/92

MONDAY has been earmarked for a possible work stayaway in the Transvaal and a day of prayer in the Cape to mark the burial of the victims of last week's violence.

The ANC has called on whites to join blacks in a national day of mourning.

In a statement after a NEC meeting on Tuesday, the ANC said the government had brought South Africa to the brink of disaster.

The Boipatong massacre was "one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions

of the De Klerk government".

The organisation noted that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

"In no modern state would any government survive if that was the situation," said ANC NEC member Mr Reginald September.

"We cannot talk to the government while the lives of black people are thought to be so cheap," said ANC Western Cape chairperson,

Dr Allan Boesak.

"Boipatong is not just a place — it is a condition of our people and our situation."

ANC Codesa negotiator Mr Kader Asmal said the government had shown it was unwilling and incapable of controlling township bloodshed.

Instead of bringing to book the killers, it had resorted to declaring Boipatong an unrest area.

Journalists had been prohibited from taking photographs at Boipatong and had been instructed by police to leave the area.

THE ANC is calling for:

- The creation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution; SOUTH 27/6-1/7/92
- The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity;
- Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity;
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces and detachments of foreign nationals;
- Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence;
- Ensure all repression in the self-governing states, and the so-called independent states, is ended;
- Start phasing out hostels and

ANC demands

- convert to family accommodation;
- Install fences around these establishments;
- Guard hostels with security forces permanently, monitor through multi-lateral peace structures and expel those who occupy them illegally;
- Ban cultural weapons in public
- Establish an international inquiry into Boipatong and international monitoring of violence;
- Release all political prisoners;
- Repeal all repressive legislation, including that recent passed.

Interim Governmental structures should be set in place

Nats must hear 'voice of own pain'

SOUTH 27/6-11/92



LET'S face it, the nationalist government has never willingly made concessions to the democratic movement. Reform initiatives under former President PW Botha addressed the symptoms rather than the cause of the country's problems — attempts to ease international pressure, sanctions and a failing economy.

Every step of the way, the Nats had to be bullied and cajoled into reform. Without any vision, they slowly adopted opposition party programs, piece by piece — keeping the NRP, PFP and now DP on the run.

Unable to take his "reform" any further than the tricameral system, Botha did not have the staying power to see the process through. Having risen through the ranks of the Nationalist Party, are there any indications that President FW de Klerk will be different?

After De Klerk's watershed speech of 1990, it looked like a change of heart and a good start. But even the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC (amongst others) were obvious moves that showed little imagination.

With the Codesa initiative, the Nats had at last come as far as the Progs of the seventies. Now, facing another crisis, De Klerk resorts to threats of "emergency regulations" — the old tendencies are starting to show again.

Fact of the matter is, power-sharing (never mind a transfer of power), is alien to the Nats. Through the years of apartheid they methodically and resolutely entrenched their control — in government, the judiciary and local government. Quite simply, any serious opposition was not tolerated.

When the Nats went to the negotiating table, the single purpose was to secure guarantees of minority rights for whites. And while the ANC argued for a simple transfer of power, the national liberation movement still made a number of compromises.

With those compromises rejected, the deadlock resulted. The ANC opted for mass action. The government's reaction was to call up the reservists and commandos.

Clearly, the government will not accept majority rule. At every stage they have been exposed in their attempts to force the ANC into an unholy alliance — as though trying to co-opt the ANC leadership.

Through decades of apartheid, the nationalist government met resistance with authoritarian measures. Now President F W de Klerk has threatened a state of emergency. Political correspondent TED MAGILL argues that the government cannot come to terms with the prospect of losing power:

This possibility the PAC is well aware of. Objectively, the interests of the government and ANC are inextricably linked. The ANC need the Nats to facilitate their smooth transition to power; the Nats cannot continue to rule without the ANC.

The Nats are playing "hard ball". Arrogant and completely recalcitrant, they went to Codesa 2 with an artificially strengthened hand. With sanctions lifted and De Klerk welcomed in the international community, it would appear the Nats felt that all was forgiven and they could enter negotiations on equal terms — conveniently forgetting the Trust Feed killings, corruption in the Department of Development Aid, Inkathagate, Goniwe, etc.

In the face of these scandals, nobody resigns, nobody is subjected to the process of law. Everything just carries on, setting a dangerous precedent for a future government.

And in parliament, the most outspoken ANC MP, Mr Jan van Eck, is suspended — by invoking some ancient parliamentary rule not used in over 100 years. When he requested two minutes of silence, to remember the victims of apartheid, they laughed him out of the house.

Add to this the Defence Amendment Bill which was recently bulldozed through parliament — in contempt of Codesa, after the ANC security commission objected.

And of course there was the referendum

result which the Nats interpreted as support for De Klerk's reform initiative. Now, there is talk of the Nats going into a democratic election, TO WIN.

De Klerk's visit to Boipatong was not out of concern for the victims of the violence, but rather an attempt to familiarise himself with the people from whom he naively hopes to win votes.

And with Angolan elections set for late September, one wonders whether the Nats are not hoping to see Savimbi into power with some or other covert South African aid, which would not so easily be achieved under the multi-party eyes of an interim government. This is reported to be a real possibility, according to former military intelligence operative Mr Nico Basson, who played a central role in South Africa's intelligence during the Namibian elections.

Are the Nats simply incorrigible? Anyone would think THEY were leading the liberation struggle. Are they completely insensitive to the pain and suffering, the pent-up anger, pain and frustration, of millions of disenfranchised South Africans?

It would seem the answer is "Yes".

De Klerk comes out of Boipatong, as though suddenly confronted for the first time, with the anger of black South Africans. His reaction — emergency regulations! Is he not capable of moving forward and leaving behind the authoritarianism?

Let's face it, the Nats have never apologised for apartheid. Everytime the subject is brought up, they say apartheid did not work, implying there was nothing morally wrong with it — it was just another system which failed. And they try to avoid the matter, saying it will not help to "dig up the past".

"Nobody said it was going to be easy," everybody is now saying. In the light of the government's arrogance, intransigent and recalcitrant attitude, those words are well-spoken — and the ANC's mass action campaign is not a minute too soon.

Given the history of the nationalist government, there is no indication of a softening heart, no sign of remorse or apology. The Nats, as usual, will only respond to the force they know best — and it's not the voice of reason — it's the voice of their own pain, that they must be made to hear.

'Yes, there is a war in SA'



READY TO KILL: State President FW de Klerk's bodyguards close ranks around his motorcade as Boipatong residents vent their grief and anger

By Rehana Rossouw

IS THERE a war in South Africa? Violence monitors, political activists and township residents say there is.

The slaughter of over 80 people in PWV townships in the past week, with the highest death toll at Boipatong, have left residents with little doubt they are under serious attack.

The massacre, coupled with recent evidence to the Goldstone Commission that officers of 32 Battalion — made up of Angolan mercenaries — believe they are "at war" with township residents have left black residents in the PWV region fearful of another bloodbath.

"Death haunts them every minute of every day, people in this region have not led normal lives for a long

time," said ANC PWV spokesperson Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

The Human Rights Commission (HRC) recorded 106 deaths and 83 injuries in the past seven days.

"It's difficult to find words strong enough to describe the emotions of a community which has witnessed the slaying of a nine-month-old baby," said Ms Ventia Govender, co-ordinator of Peace Action, a violence monitoring group.

"The Boipatong massacre was carried out with military precision, leaving residents with very little idea of what has happened to them, and more importantly, why.

"It has left Boipatong reeling. The community has been completely dehumanised.

"They tell us they feel their lives mean nothing to anyone, that they

were treated like dogs."

Peace Action was caught up in the thick of the massacre. Their 24-hour paging service was used by Boipatong residents to report the invasion of the township.

The first call was received on Wednesday night, when a Sebokeng resident warned Peace Action he had been tipped off that there would be "trouble" in the area that night. The caller said he had difficulty in getting a positive reaction from the police in his area.

A second caller said she had been tipped off by somebody who had been told by Inkatha members that "the ambulances must be on standby. They are going to be used".

Peace Action reported the warnings to the police, with the caller's name and telephone number. Police

SOUTH 2716-117192

agreed to "take over" the matter.

From 4am on Thursday, Peace Action received eight telephone calls from Boipatong, reporting that the police had moved into the area and were teargassing residents, that Inkatha had moved in, that people were being killed and that police were shooting at residents.

"The callers were in a state of absolute panic, fear and frustration. They said they couldn't get police to help them and that they wanted help immediately," Govender said.

"It was the worst incident we had ever dealt with."

Peace Action has organised counsellors to assist Boipatong residents in the aftermath of the killings.

Mamoepa said in the immediate aftermath of the Boipatong slaughter residents were baying for blood.

"Immediately after Boipatong we had people asking us to resume the armed struggle, people wanted the ANC to fight back in the war in the townships," Mamoepa said.

"When Nelson Mandela visited the area on Sunday people were demanding guns, asking the ANC for permission to fight back.

"People asked the ANC why they must behave like lambs when they were being slaughtered.

Mamoepa said a number of township parents had contacted ANC structures following last week's bloodshed and offered their children to assist with patrolling their townships.

Schooling in most areas had broken down and in some areas families slept in shifts — some standing guard to warn of another attack.

ANC calls for a day of mourning

By Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH 2716-117192

MONDAY has been earmarked for a possible work stayaway in the Transvaal and a day of prayer in the Cape to mark the burial of the victims of last week's violence.

The ANC has called on whites to join blacks in a national day of mourning.

In a statement after a NEC meeting on Tuesday, the ANC said the government had brought South Africa to the brink of disaster.

The Boipatong massacre was "one of the most chilling instances of the consequences of the actions

of the De Klerk government".

The organisation noted that between July 1990 and April 1992 there had been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

"In no modern state would any government survive if that was the situation," said ANC NEC member Mr Reginald September.

"We cannot talk to the government while the lives of black people are thought to be so cheap," said ANC Western Cape chairperson,

Dr Allan Boesak.

"Boipatong is not just a place — it is a condition of our people and our situation."

ANC Codesa negotiator Mr Kader Asmal said the government had shown it was unwilling and incapable of controlling township bloodshed.

Instead of bringing to book the killers, it had resorted to declaring Boipatong an unrest area.

Journalists had been prohibited from taking photographs at Boipatong and had been instructed by police to leave the area.

THE ANC is calling for:

- The creation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution; SOUTH 2716-117192
- The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity;
- Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity;
- Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces and detachments of foreign nationals;
- Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence;
- Ensure all repression in the self-governing states, and the so-called independent states, is ended;
- Start phasing out hostels and

ANC demands

- Convert to family accommodation;
- Install fences around these establishments;
- Guard hostels with security forces permanently, monitor through multi-lateral peace structures and expel those who occupy them illegally;
- Ban cultural weapons in public
- Establish an international inquiry into Boipatong and international monitoring of violence;
- Release all political prisoners;
- Repeal all repressive legislation, including that recent passed.

SHOULDN'T WE ALL BE INVOLVED IN DRAWING UP THE NEW CONSTITUTION?

You will certainly say "Yes".

Because you care and would like to see ...

- an end to corruption, murder, and mismanagement
- democracy, justice, and good government

The ANC wants the new Constitution to be drawn up by a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly. The De Klerk Government prefers to settle details about the future in dark corners.

This is the actual deadlock at Codesa.

The National Party's Excuses

- The NP wants Codesa to carve up the country into little Independent States.
- The ANC says that the boundaries, powers and functions of regions should be decided by elected national & regional representatives.
- The NP wants to make it impossible for the constitution-making body to take decisions. The country will then be subjected for many years to a "transitional constitution".

Time is of the Essence

South Africa cannot afford a prolonged transition.

Violence and corruption must be ended as soon as possible. Interim Governmental structures should be set up as a matter of urgency.

Uncertainty and lack of investor confidence must be checked.

Constituent Assembly elections must be held by year-end.

How can this be achieved?

1. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY:

- elected on the basis of one-person one-vote through proportional representation
- a single chamber not subject to veto by any other body
- decisions by a two-thirds majority
- a specified time frame agreed to by Codesa
- methods to ensure progress if the Assembly cannot reach decisions

2. FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS:

- multi-party executive structures to control security forces, public finances and other relevant areas
- independent commissions to run elections and supervise state media
- people in the TBVC territories must have the right to take part in the interim structures and the elections
- immediate release of political prisoners
- repeal of laws which do not allow free political activity
- monitoring of violence and the elections by the international community

3. INTERIM GOVERNMENT:

- all legislative powers will be vested in the Constituent Assembly
- the Assembly will appoint an interim cabinet drawing on the best talent available from all elected parties
- local and regional administrations will fall under the Interim Government.

It does not require a special effort to reach these agreements. That is, if no-one wanted to cling to power.

What about Constitutionality?

Yes, there should not be a constitutional vacuum. Codesa agreements must be effected in legal and constitutional amendments. A transition to the Democracy Act must embody:

- measures needed to govern the country in the transition
- time frames for this purpose
- principles which will form the basis for a new constitution.

Where to now?

Can you trust the NP to continue governing a minute longer? To sit back would be to betray our country and its people. The NP Government needs to be helped to accept democracy and its consequences.

What you can do.

The ANC is embarking on peaceful mass activity. This is your opportunity to tell the government that the people should take part in writing the new constitution.

You have the right to stop the NP from acting as a law unto itself. It is your duty to stop corruption and murder.

To those who voted "Yes"!

You were told that if you voted "No" there would be unprecedented mass action. Yet it is the NP's own actions which have led to precisely this.

You have reason to feel betrayed. And you are right.

You voted for change, stability, and a New South Africa.

Now your vote is being abused.

Instead of negotiating in good faith, the NP Government has become more arrogant, more inflexible and ever ready to resort to old habits of force, call-ups, bugging of the National Party's political opponents, and muzzling the Press. You can insist on genuine negotiations!

Big welcome for Mandela in Dakar (11/1)

ANC president Nelson Mandela can expect a hero's welcome when he arrives in Dakar today for the OAU summit. *CP news 28/6/92*

An organisation called the Nelson Mandela Foundation is at the forefront of the welcome and has called on people to line the streets from Dakar airport. Dreadlocked organisers said they would hold a private gala in honour of Mandela.

KOEVOET IS UNDER FIRE

By DESMOND BLOW

THE ANC will bring more witnesses before the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria tomorrow to substantiate allegations that former Koevoet counter-insurgency members were involved in the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC's attorney, Peter Harris, said yesterday that the ANC had informed him they would produce more witnesses.

This follows the startling evidence given before the commission on Friday by a witness produced by the ANC, "Ace" Mngomezulu, a security guard at Greenside Collieries mine where the former Koevoet unit was housed.

Mngomezulu told the commission that one of the former Koevoet members, Jeremiah Sekongu, had admitted to him in Sotho that the unit had taken part in the massacre.

While the hearing was in process, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, held a press conference placing the blame for the killings squarely on about half the residents of the KwaMadala Hostel.

He said that the trunk of arms found at the premises of the former Koevoet-unit were arms for the policemen in charge of the unit.

In reply to a question by City Press as to how a

Massacre: ANC has more witnesses

CAPRES 28/6/92
 crowd of 200 to 300 armed men had descended without warning on Boipatong from KwaMadala hostel, which was a fair distance away, the general said they had apparently crossed an open field.

Rev Paul Verryn of Peace Action earlier told City Press that he had passed on two warnings to Colonel Zik Gouws of Crime Intelligence shortly before the raid on Boipatong.

He said he had told Gouws one call was from Boipatong and the other from Sebokeng.

When pressed by City Press on why Colonel Gouws claimed he had only received a single warning about Sebokeng, when in fact he had received two warnings, Van der Merwe said that the SAP were investigating this as part of allegations that there had been a dereliction of duty.

Mngomezulu, a member of the ANC and the National Union of Mineworkers, said the mine's white security chief had also told him the unit had taken part in the killings.

But when Sekongu, a Namibian, later gave evidence he denied ever

speaking to Mngomezulu, saying he did not understand Sotho.

Earlier Sekongu was identified by Mngomezulu at an identity parade held at the commission's offices.

Referring to this process Sekongu said: "I told him (Mngomezulu) not to let politics confuse his head. I told him politics was making him sick."

He said Mngomezulu had told him during the meeting that he (Sekongu) should confess everything about Boipatong. If he did, Mngomezulu said, he would make sure that the ANC would look after him and that he should join the ANC.

"That (last remark) made me very angry," said Sekongu.

A second security guard also denied the allegations.

He said that he had attended the meeting with the white mine security chief when the police, together with the Goldstone Commission, had raided the Koevoet living quarters.

He denied that the security chief had said that Koevoet had taken part in the massacre.

Lawyer Harris said yesterday that even if

there was no evidence to prove the former Koevoet unit had participated in the massacre, he found the circumstances of their presence in the nearby area very suspicious.

Meanwhile, a Boipatong resident who could be a key witness in the massacre is believed to have gone into hiding in fear of his life writes **MONWABISI NOMADOLO**.

Meshack "Teenage" Theoane, a petrol attendant at Trek Filling Station near KwaMadala Hostel, was intensively questioned by police about the tragedy. Two days after the massacre he drew his pay and then disappeared.

According to his niece Mapontso Theoane, her uncle told the family that he saw the assailants on the Wednesday night.

"He told us that around 8 pm he saw a group of heavily armed men moving into Boipatong from the hostel.

"Minutes later, realising the murderous aims of the group, he pressed an alarm at the garage to alert police," said Mapontso, a 19-year-old matric student.

Theoane told her that police arrived but had ignored his information and went off in another direction.

It is believed he told this to police who questioned him later.

SAP spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said yesterday he had no knowledge of the Theoane claims, but would make inquiries.



HEROES' WELCOME ... ANC veterans Oliver Tambo (left) and Andrew Mlangeni salute the crowd.
 ■ Pict ANDRIES MCINERKA

Echoes of 1955 in Kliptown

By MOSES MAMAILA *(M)*

MORE than 10 000 ANC supporters yesterday gathered at the Freedom Square in Kliptown outside Johannesburg to celebrate Freedom Charter Day. *CAPRES 28/6/92*

The open field, the scene of the adoption 37 years ago of the ANC's manifesto, the Freedom Charter, was turned into a hive of political activity.

The crowd was emotionally charged and ran around the field when ANC

veterans arrived, led by the organisation's national chairman Oliver Tambo.

"It was at this spot that we held the Congress of the People, and adopted the Freedom Charter in June 1955," one veteran said.

Elderly people, ANC activists in the 1950s, were given "special" accommodation. Remembering the old days, the veterans sang their famous song: *Koloi ena ha ena mavili, Sutha wena Strydom*.

OUR country is on the brink of disaster. First there is the crisis in the negotiation process itself. The central blockage stems from the refusal of the NP government to move together with all of us in the process of truly democratising South Africa.

The continuing direct and indirect involvement of the government, the state security forces and the police in the violence as well as your unwillingness to act decisively to bring such violence to an end has created an untenable and explosive situation.

The government persists in portraying the crisis as a creation of the ANC. This attitude is unhelpful and extremely dangerous. The government is placing party political interests above national interests by trying to minimise the seriousness of this crisis.

Attached to this memorandum is the statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC adopted at its emergency meeting on June 24. This explains the basis on which the ANC decided to break off negotiations and contains a set of demands.

We are of the view that the

Why the ANC stopped talking (11A)

SITimes 28/6/92

On Friday the African National Congress delivered its memorandum to President FW de Klerk setting out the reasons for its decision to break off negotiations. Here is an abridged version ...

response and concrete steps by your government to these demands will play a critical role in determining the direction and place with which bona fide negotiations can take place.

The negotiation crisis

IN MY letter to you written from prison in 1989 I outlined the kernel of the political problem which the government and the ANC would have to address. I stated: "Two political issues will have to be addressed. Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africa over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority

rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks. The most crucial task ... will be to reconcile these two positions."

The crux of the deadlock in negotiations lies in the failure of the government to face up to the need to reconcile these issues.

In the first place, you have chosen to reject internationally accepted democratic principles which define a democracy. You have chosen to equate majority rule, which is the quintessential hallmark of democracy, with black domination. In the second place, you have interpreted the "structural guarantees" as establishing a white minority veto.

The government positions have been directed basically at subverting the sovereignty of the constituent assembly, subjecting it to the veto of a second House and ensuring that a minority in the constituent assembly shall be able to frustrate an overwhelming majority.

The government and violence

THE negotiations crisis and the issue of violence, particularly with regard to the government's involvement in it, are inter-related.

The Boipatong massacre is but a tragic culmination of policies and practices followed by the government. In this instance, the wilful negligence on the part of the SAP in relation to the KwaMadala hostel is extensively documented. Ministerial defences of the SAP and your government's failure to act against the KwaMadala hostel make government

collusion an inescapable conclusion.

It is your government which legalised the carrying of dangerous weapons, under the pretext of their being cultural weapons, in 1990. The fact that the majority of the deaths and injuries have been caused by these so-called "cultural weapons" has not moved you to restore the ban on carrying them in public on all occasions.

How do we explain the failure of such a formidable force such as the SAP to arrest people involved in the massacre?

In those few instances where security force personnel and police or IFP members have been arrested, how do we explain the fact that inadequate police investigation is the basis for their acquittal, laughably light sentences and ridiculously low bail?

We believe your failure to acknowledge the centrality of apartheid in

violence can no longer be ignored.

You ignore the reality that if security forces and the police are the products of apartheid, have been trained in the ideology of apartheid, deployed in its defence, brutalised by that experience and nurtured to see the ANC, its allied organisations and black people in general as the enemy.

This basic failure by you and your government induces you to perceive the political rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC as the central cause of the violence.

Conclusion

NONE of us can escape the gravity of the crisis facing our country. The point has been reached where your responses will be looked at by us to determine whether you are taking concrete measures to terminate forthwith the involvement of the government, the state security forces and the police in the violence.

Similarly, specific measures are expected of you to make negotiations a bona fide exercise in charting the way to a democratic South Africa.

Stop the fight: I have to study

11A
CIP/MS-
28/6/92

By MOSES MAMAILA

IT'S extremely rare that released political prisoners should want to be placed back in their cells.

Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre Jaki Stone Seroke is the exception.

Seroke, who was released recently while serving a 10-year jail term for military activities, said he was disappointed over his "untimely" release from prison.

"I was studying for a Bachelor of Arts degree and had already passed four courses when I was released nine years early.

"It's much more difficult to concentrate on studies here because I have a lot of other things to do," explained Seroke, who was an APLA political commissar.

The Alexandra-born Seroke joined the PAC and its military wing in 1980 at the age of 20 and received his military training inside the country.

On September 9 1987, Seroke was detained with two foreign-trained APLA combatants in the western Transvaal.

"It was just after midnight when our car was stopped at a roadblock. There was virtually nothing we could do. They found explosives, grenades and a number of Scorpion machine guns.

"Our mission that day was to transport arms from the Botswana border to the township to arm our people," he said.

"What followed was the usual torture that left one of us in the enemy camp - he defected to become an Askari," said Seroke.

Seroke spent a year in custody during his trial. He was finally convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years on Robben Island at the end of 1988.

In prison he continued with PAC activities, and also joined the Patriotic Front, and the General Recreation Committee, composed of ANC, BCM and PAC members.

Although he was unable, for security reasons, to detail military contacts with the security forces, Seroke revealed that he formed an underground



NO PEACE ... The PAC's Jaki Seroke needs a quiet space to learn. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEMA

network which is still functional.

"We did the groundwork which ensured that our military operations were successful.

"APLA has been responsible for several attacks recently on the police and security forces. Very few of our cadres can be traced because of

the strong network we have established long ago in the mid-eighties," he said.

Shortly after his release from prison with other political prisoners, Seroke resumed the struggle for liberation.

He holds the post of PAC secretary for political affairs.

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Why ANC man's son joined KGB

S/Times 28/6/92

11A

By ERIC SINGH in Berlin and CHARIS PERKINS

SOUTH African-born Stephen Laufer, convicted as a Soviet agent in Berlin this week, was drawn into the KGB spy web by his Johannesburg jeweller father.

Laufer, 38, told a Berlin court this week that before he joined the Soviet secret service his father had accused him of not doing enough for the people of South Africa.

Mr Laufer was sentenced to 18 months suspended imprisonment and fined DM20 000 (R36 000) for supplying classified information to the KGB.

He told the court his upbringing in South Africa had played a major role in his decision to join the KGB.

He said that when he tried to leave the service of the KGB in 1990 he was blackmailed to stay on to protect his parents.

Conspiracy

His father, Mr Erich Laufer, the son of German Jewish immigrants, grew up in South Africa and was a staunch member of the SA Communist Party — which went underground after it was banned in 1950 — and the African National Congress, which was banned 10 years later.

Stephen Laufer said repression under apartheid and his parents' involvement in covert politics had brought him face to face with conspiracy at an early age.

The Laufers went into exile in the early 70s, settling in Frankfurt in West Germany, where Erich Laufer worked as a representative of a South African diamond firm.

Stephen was educated at the Odenwaldschule where, he said, he was exposed to Marxism.

He subsequently became a firm believer in the theory of a classless society.

In 1977 the family moved to East Berlin, where Erich Laufer worked as a translator. Stephen decided to live in West Berlin where he studied history at the Free University. He later continued his studies in Coventry, paid for by his parents.

Communist Party stalwarts in South Africa said this week there had been a suspicion that Stephen's parents were spies, but there was no hard evidence

to prove it.

They both died in the late 80s.

The German state alleged that Laufer was in the pay of the KGB between 1977 and 1990.

It alleged he began his KGB activities while he was a student at the Free University.

Later he worked as a reporter in the popular press, on the titles Abend and Bild-Zeitung.

His job brought him into contact with leading personalities and politicians of the city.

His biggest break came in 1984 when he was appointed Lord Mayor Eberhard Diepgen's speech-writer, a post he held until Mr Diepgen's defeat in 1988.

Denied

He was then appointed deputy spokesman in the press section of the US mission in West Berlin.

The state alleged that Laufer used these two positions to supply the KGB with secret information.

Laufer, however, denied it. He admitted working for the KGB, telling the court

he met his handler six times a year in East Berlin at a year in East Berlin at was paid DM5 000 (R9 000) at each meeting.

He rejected the allegation that money was the motivating factor in his dealings with the KGB.

He said his guiding light was that the Soviet Union was a strong pillar of support for his people in South Africa in their fight against the apartheid regime.

His cover was blown when a former officer of the Stasi, the East German secret police, changed sides. Laufer was arrested in January 1991.



BUSH TREATMENT: Vet examines wild dog

Vet says wild dog

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UN CHIEF Boutros Boutros-Ghali yesterday accepted an invitation from South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha to visit South Africa. (1/A) ~~(1/B)~~

The decision followed nearly three hours of talks between the two men in Abuja, Nigeria, about the political crisis in South Africa caused by the rupture between the government and the ANC. ~~(3/2)~~ ~~(4/2)~~

Mr Botha went to brief the UN secretary-general about the situation in the country and ask that Codesa parties be allowed to take part in any UN Security Council meeting on South Africa.

It will be the UN secretary-general's first visit to South Africa. No official statement has yet been made about his itinerary or the timing of his visit, but it is understood he will consult all major parties to acquaint himself with the current crisis.

Mr Botha also met Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and the country's foreign minister. The meetings between Mr Botha and the Nigerians were immediately slammed by the ANC's director of external affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"We don't understand why this meeting should take place in Nigeria," said Mr Mbeki. "Presumably the Nigerians will explain."

Jockeying

Mr Boutros-Ghali, meanwhile, is also due to meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela in Dakar, Senegal, today where the heads of African states are gathering for the annual Organisation of African Unity summit. Mr Mandela will tell Mr Boutros-Ghali tonight that he wants the UN Security Council to approve the sending of an international peacekeeping force to South Africa.

A delegation of top Inkatha officials, headed by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also arrived in Abuja yesterday for talks with Mr Boutros-Ghali.

The jockeying for international support follows a week of intense political activity in South Africa during which the ANC broke

BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS: P25

off all negotiations with the government until it meets a series of demands aimed at installing an interim government and controlling political violence.

Yesterday, to underscore the point, Mr Mandela told 10 000 cheering supporters at a gathering in Kliptown, Soweto, commemorating the 37th anniversary of the Congress of the People, that the ANC National Executive Committee had decided that there would be no further talks with the government until all the ANC demands were met.

"If the regime insists on invoking white minority rule and opposes genuine democracy, there can be no negotiations," he said.

Mr Mandela will instead propose to the

UN secretary-general in Dakar tonight that an international monitoring group along the lines of those deployed in Angola and Namibia should be sent to South Africa. It would consist of a permanent group capable of determining possible areas of conflict and, once conflict occurred, of determin-

Dramatic move as ANC-government struggle goes abroad

UN CHIEF VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

S.Times 28/6/92

ing who was responsible. It would liaise closely with Peace Accord officials. The ANC will also call for strict adherence to the phased lifting of sanctions subject to the installation of an interim government. The ANC was involved this week in a round of briefings of foreign diplomats in Johannesburg prior to Mr Mandela's departure for the OAU meeting. Aides said yesterday that Mr Mandela would also use the opportunity at the OAU summit to appeal

To Page 2
P.T.O.

— P

Struggle goes abroad

□ From Page 1

for increased pressure on Mr De Klerk's government to accede to the ANC's demands for an interim government.

Both sides said this week they regarded international support for their positions as crucial in the coming weeks.

Mr De Klerk, in an important shift from the country's earlier isolationist stance, invited foreign participation in the Goldstone Commission and hinted that fact-finding missions would be welcome. Mr Botha wrote to 50 foreign ministers on Friday defending the government's position at Codesa and repeating the invitation for foreign fact-finding missions.

He said: "In general the government has done well in fact-finding missions and therefore I am in favour of more such visits because it is in our interests that the truth comes out.

"We are struggling to get the truth known. I am afraid that in this regard we are in a manner still paying the price for apartheid. Some parties overseas find it difficult to accept that apartheid is finally past."

He said the government

believed its strength lay in the support it could expect in the international community. (IA) (2007)

Last night, in apparent response to the government's initiative, the European Community urged the ANC to resume talks with the South African government on a new non-racial constitution and expressed concern about continuing violence in the country.

The EC said it was vital for the negotiations, broken off by the ANC five days ago, to continue.

The EC leaders said in a statement following their two-day summit in Lisbon that all parties should return to Codesa and work towards setting up a transitional government.

They noted Pretoria's willingness to allow foreign observers to take part in an investigation of the Boipatong massacre and said this could be discussed during a forthcoming visit to South Africa by three EC ministers.

Demands

The effort by both sides to glean foreign support came as formal contact between the government and the ANC effectively ceased.

An ANC messenger delivered a memorandum to Mr De Klerk's office on Friday and a copy to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, spelling out the organisation's demands before negotiations can resume.

They included the creation of a sovereign Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution and the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

Specific demands on the control of violence include the control of the security forces, the control and phasing out of hostels and international monitoring of the violence.

Mr Meyer said President De Klerk would respond to Mr Mandela's memorandum by the end of the week. (2007)

The reply is expected to contain a response to the 14 demands contained in the ANC's memorandum and to express the government's own concerns about violence which it wants the ANC to address.

Mr Meyer said people would have to judge who was being constructive in their approach to breaking the impasse — the ANC or the government.

● The foreign ministers' meeting at the OAU, after much heated debate, yesterday adopted a proposal for the creation of an all-African peacekeeping force to be used in civil wars on the continent.

Poll result shifts battle front to ANC and Nats

SI Times [Cape Metro]

11A 28/6/92

THE National Party's victory over the Labour Party in the Diamant by-election is set to spark a renewed battle between the Nats and the African National Congress in the Western Cape. 28/6/92

With 1,2 million "coloured" voters — based on the 1989 voters' roll — in the province and most of them in the Western Cape, the ANC and the NP are acutely aware that the party that gains the most support will dominate the region in a new parliament.

The NP's strength among African potential voters in the Cape is undetermined, although the ANC appears to be in a position to capture most of their votes.

The ANC's membership among coloureds and Africans in the Western Cape — which stretches from the Cape to the Namibian border — is 56 000 votes, according to the movement's sources.

In the 1989 election, about 200 000 coloureds voted, most of them for the LP.

The LP is expected to disappear in the wake of the Diamant by-election.

The NP, with 45 seats against Labour's 35, already has the majority in the House of Representatives.

Another by-election is pending in the "safe" Labour seat of Border, vacated by the resignation of Mr Peter Mopp, who was returned unopposed in 1989.

However, a Labour Party source said it was unlikely to contest the seat.

Morale in the LP caucus is at its lowest, MPs say, and many of them predict a further defection of their numbers — including senior parliamentarians close to party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse — to the NP.

It is understood that several LP MPs, most of them in Western Cape seats, have been waiting only for

**By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter**

the Diamant result before making up their minds.

Media spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said yesterday he did not expect resignations from the party.

Asked if the LP would reconsider its future, he said it would discuss the Diamant result at its annual conference in December.

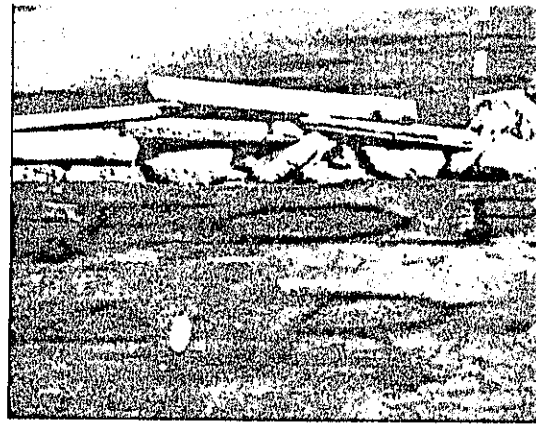
It regarded the result as "only one battle lost in a war still to be fought for total liberation and democracy".

Mr Hendrickse was uncharacteristically reticent about the ANC's involvement in the by-election, but conceded that it had given "moral support".

"We obtained stickers from the ANC and we used them on our combis and cars, but the ANC did not involve itself organisationally, nor did it canvass on our behalf. All it did was call on the people not to vote for the NP."

The ANC's spokesman for Kimberley, Mr Pakes Dikghetsi, also denied the movement had been involved officially in the by-election.

Hope rises out of Boipatong



BOIPATONG BARRICADE ... A defenceless com

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE tragic deaths of 45 people in the sleepy Vaal township last week that shocked the world could signal a turning point in negotiations for SA's future.

Following the failure of Codesa 2 and subsequent trading of accusations between Pretoria and the ANC, there was general consensus that the government was prepared to hang tough against the ANC's mass action campaign.

Several government spokesmen left little doubt that they were bracing themselves to meet the ANC head-on - which would have delayed movement towards resolving the constitutional impasse.

Ironically, Boipatong has changed all this.

Although no solid evidence has emerged linking the government to complicity in the killings - save claims by residents that the killers were ferried to Boipatong in casspirs - there is no doubt that the government has taken a serious knock over this tragedy.

International condemnation of Pretoria, particularly by Western Europe and the United States, has been muted, but it is there nonetheless.

A leading ANC official told City Press that "important voices among SA's major trading partners", have told the government that the Boipatong outrage does not inspire investor confidence and cannot be tolerated.

In a matter of days following Boipatong, State President FW de Klerk found himself forced to plug a burst dam of anger with his fingers. Apart from international censure, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (the country's barometer of stability) took a dip and the participation of our sportsmen in international events including the Barcelona Olympics, was threatened.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu,



"GO AWAY MURDERER!" ... FW de Klerk was forced to flee Boipatong in the wake of the massacre when enraged chanting youths besieged his car. Shots were fired after the presidential party left and three more people were killed.

who has been quiet since the start of negotiations, has threatened to mobilise international pressure to exclude SA from Barcelona unless certain steps are taken to end the violence and achieve a political settlement.

The cumulative effect of all this means that, if in the weeks before Boipatong the onus to get the talks back on track lay principally with the ANC and the government, it is now the government which must deliver a lot more to save the process.

With its back against the wall the government will, in the next few weeks or even days, take a

serious look at how far to go in rescuing the talks.

Having built an impressive image locally and abroad as a reformist, De Klerk will have to take drastic measures to keep his image. His immediate task is to address the ANC demands.

An angry ANC national executive committee - after meeting for several hours in Kempston Park near Johannesburg - has come up with 14 tough but by no means unreasonable demands (see box) the government must address if the talks are to resume.

The organisation says it is willing to return to the negotiat-

ing table if significant progress can be made in satisfying - not necessarily meeting (our emphasis) - the demands.

That the ANC is in an angry mood is understandable. Its political standing has also taken a knock in recent weeks. Internally the organisation is faced with a restive membership (even some leadership) which questions the wisdom of placing too much faith in negotiations.

Externally, since the impasse at Codesa, the organisation has had to live with the constant refrain from rivals (PAC and Azapo) that De Klerk had sold them (ANC) a dud cheque.

The rejoinder by PAC and Azapo - "We told you so!" - must have been rankling to the ANC leadership, especially, Nelson Mandela, who has placed so much faith in Codesa and the integrity of De Klerk.

While the ANC was still trying without much conviction to justify participation in Codesa - along came Boipatong. The organisation was under even more pressure.

At the same time the ANC was painfully aware that they had to do something urgent or risk losing support to their rivals. The sight of desperate Boipatong residents demandin-

C/Press 28/6/92

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BOIPATONG BARRICADE ... A defenceless community tries to protect itself against night attackers.

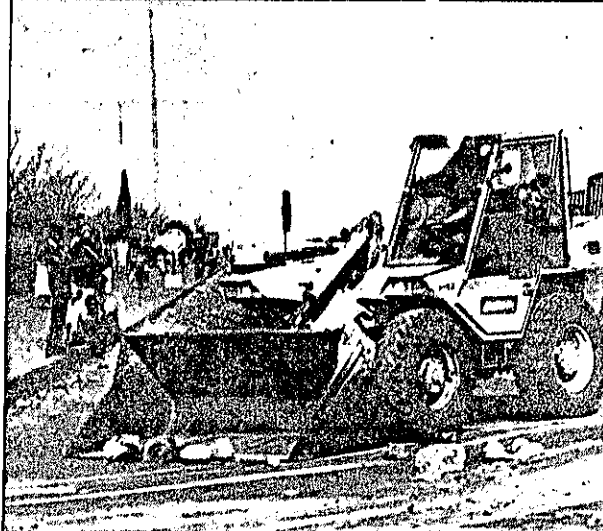
Boipatong ashes

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flee Boipatong in the wake of the massacre when enraged the presidential party left and three more people were killed.



IN THE WAKE OF SLAUGHTER ... Municipal bulldozers clear away the makeshift roadblocks of concrete and rubble erected by Boipatong residents after the night of death.
 ■ PICS: ANDRIES MCINEKA

It's up to FW to break the political deadlock

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The rejoinder by PAC and Azapo – “We told you so!” – must have been rankling to the ANC leadership, especially Nelson Mandela, who has placed so much faith in Codesa and the integrity of De Klerk. While the ANC was still trying without much conviction to justify participation in Codesa – along came Boipatong. The organisation was under even more pressure. At the same time the ANC was painfully aware that they had to do something urgent or risk losing support to their rivals. The sight of desperate Boipatong residents demanding

weapons from Apla, the PAC's military wing, must have been unsettling. After much agonising, withdrawing from Codesa and cancelling all bilateral talks with the government was the only route left for the organisation. Yet, Boipatong may in fact save the negotiations. De Klerk is now placed in a situation where he must seek a political understanding with the ANC. The ball is now firmly in his court to break the deadlock. As one senior ANC official stated: “After Boipatong, the government is now forced to take demonstrable action to curb the violence and also resolve the impasse at Codesa.” By cutting short his trip to Spain where he was to open a South African exhibition, De Klerk has shown that perhaps

he has now grasped fully the magnitude of the problem. On arrival in Pretoria, he announced at a hastily convened international media conference that the government and the ANC should meet as soon as possible to break the current impasse and get the negotiations on track. He has proposed that the two meet over two days. The date and venue of such a meeting – it is a moot point whether they will take place – has not yet been agreed. But such a meeting, brought about as a result of Boipatong and its aftermath, may well determine the future of the negotiations. This will of course depend on whether De Klerk will satisfy in a significant way the ANC demands – especially the curbing of the slaughter.

Long before Boipatong, the seeds had already been sown for THE CRISIS

S/Time 28/6/92.

**EDYTH BULBRING and BRIAN
POTTINGER look at the rapid
unravelling of months of careful
political negotiations** (11A)

FIFTEEN minutes after appearing on television on Tuesday night to announce the ANC's suspension of talks, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa telephoned Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at home.

"What the hell do you think you are doing?" asked Mr Meyer.

"Well, the good news is we still want to talk," replied Mr Ramaphosa. He was serious.

Earlier that day 70 members of the ANC's national executive committee held an emergency meeting to decide the course of action following the Boipatong massacre. Most of those present had already made up their minds: talks should be suspended.

But how this should be done was at issue. Some wanted the ANC to break off talks unconditionally and indefinitely until mass action had taken its course. Others wanted the ANC to pull out of the Pretoria and DF Malan Accords. Still others felt talks should be suspended until the government had addressed certain demands. After five hours of debate, those in favour of conditional suspension won the day.

The decision was swiftly endorsed by the ANC's alliance partners and by Patriotic Front members. What has become known as "the crisis" was at hand.

The Boipatong massacre was clearly the catalyst for rupturing negotiations this week. But the seeds of crisis had been sown long before.

For some time the ANC had felt the government's referendum victory in March had created a dangerous sense of triumph and arrogance in the National Party. The result, felt the ANC, was foot-dragging and an attempt by the De Klerk administration to cling to power.

The deadlock at Codesa 2 over the government's insistence on a minority veto over the final constitution signalled to the ANC that it would have to take negotiations back to the streets to

force the government's hand. The decision to revert to mass action held an inherent threat of a deterioration in the negotiating climate. Suspension of talks was, therefore, always a possibility.

The government, for its part, believed the ANC had decided long before Codesa 2 that it no longer wanted multilateral negotiations. It believed radical elements within the ANC had ensured no agreement could be reached. Boipatong, argued the government, gave the ANC the excuse to suspend talks and then resume them, on its own terms.

For many in the government, the ANC's announcement was reminiscent of April last year, when the ANC suspended talks about talks until the issue of violence was satisfactorily addressed.

At the time a senior government negotiator remarked, prophetically, that negotiations would not collapse because violence then was hurting both major players equally. Equally prophetically, he observed that when a point was reached that either of the major players felt it was hurting far worse than the other, a crisis would be reached.

WITH the white right routed in the referendum, and opinion polls showing the NP making major advances in the Indian and coloured communities, things were going swimmingly for President FW de Klerk before Codesa 2. He might have been appalled at the continuing violence in black communities, but it did not have a direct impact on his political base.

The exact opposite held for his counterpart, Mr Nelson Mandela. Every violent township death brought renewed accusations that the ANC was selling out its supporters. Boipatong was, for Mr Mandela, the final straw.

Addressing a meeting in nearby Evaton last Sunday,

Mr Mandela was confronted by an angry crowd which demanded arms and accused him and the ANC of "acting like lambs while the enemy is killing our people".

He realised then that negotiating in this climate could put the ANC in serious danger of alienating its support.

"I can no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government which is murdering our people. The negotiation process is completely in tatters," he told the crowd.

It was not an off-the-cuff remark. Mr Mandela had consulted trusted lieutenants soon after the massacre and the overwhelming response, even from moderates, was that a dramatic gesture was required from the ANC. The crowd's response merely confirmed his opinion and he left it to the NEC to endorse.

For the government, the crisis did not become apparent until later this week. Having experienced a suspension of talks over a year ago, there was a sense of *deja vu*.

President De Klerk left for Spain on a prearranged visit, despite some misgivings by members of his cabinet. When the seriousness of the ANC's position became known, Mr De Klerk belatedly cut short his visit.

He flew back to a sombre cabinet meeting on Wednesday. The strategy that was thrashed out rested on two pillars — a play for international support, and a simultaneous signal to the ANC that the government was prepared to meet for talks, but on its terms.

In a press conference later

that day Mr De Klerk offered a two-day summit to deal with the impasse and made some minor concessions on the admission of foreign observers. The real thrust of the attack lay elsewhere — an appeal to world sentiment, over the heads of the ANC.

The government decision was bolstered by reports from the Department of Foreign Affairs which suggested that the international community was leaning towards the government. Subsequent reports would suggest a misreading on the part of the department.

Nevertheless, on the day, the cabinet was persuaded by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to seek greater foreign

involvement in unravelling the negotiations deadlock.

On Friday Mr Botha sent letters to 50 foreign ministers outlining the government's position and repeating the President's invitation for fact-finding missions.

Mr De Klerk's offer to the ANC of two days of negotiations failed to draw the desired response. Unlike last year, the ANC leadership would not be allowed by its constituency to creep back into negotiations without concrete proof that its demands were being taken seriously.

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Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer made fruitless telephone calls to each other trying to arrange a meeting between the principals — Mr

Mandela and Mr De Klerk — to deliver the memorandum.

While Mr De Klerk indicated that he would be available on Friday morning, Mr Ramaphosa told Mr Meyer on Thursday that the memorandum would be ready only by 2pm on Friday.

The ANC had decided that such a face-to-face meeting could be construed by its membership as too akin to talks. There was, the ANC felt, nothing to talk about. In the end, the ANC sent the 15-page document to the President's office by messenger. It was a signal of its determination not to engage the government.

But if the government was slow in realising the depth of

feeling on the ANC part, others were not.

Mr John Hall, the top businessman who heads the beleaguered National Peace Committee, was so appalled by Boipatong that on Sunday night he planned to go on television to call for the immediate formation of an emergency government of national unity involving the major parties. Political confidants persuaded him not to.

Nevertheless, he appears to be one of the few still optimistic. "Nobody in his right mind is going to let this situation get out of control, because if it does, the way back will take many years and leave an economic wasteland."

ANC (1/A) 

demands:

1. The creation of a democratic, freely elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution.

2. The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity which is the only way all South Africans will recognise that the country will have moved decisively to end white minority rule. *Open 28/6/92*

Demands on the regime: The regime must immediately end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement.

In this regard, it must immediately carry out the following measures:

1. Terminate all covert operations, including hit-squad activity;

2. Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made-up of foreign nationals;

3. Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; and

4. Ensure that repression in some of the self-governing states and in the so-called independent states, is ended.

Our people are compelled to live in a perpetual state of fear — be it in their homes, on their way to work, in trains and taxis, at funerals and vigils, at their places of work and entertainment.

This is the stark reality. Between July 1990 and April 1992 there have been 261 attacks on township residents by hostel inmates, which led to 1 207 deaths and 3 697 injuries.

We further demand that the regime implements agreements on curbing violence reached with the ANC almost a year ago. In particular:

1. The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation;

2. Installation of fences around these establishments;

3. Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multilateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally;

4. Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multilateral peace structures; and

5. Banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public on all occasions, including so-called cultural weapons.

We insist that the regime agree to:

1. The implementation of the universal demand for the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, as well as international monitoring of the violence;

2. Release all political prisoners forthwith; and

3. Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament.

'We must remember the atrocities'

By FRED KHUMALO

PAST imbalances and atrocities committed against blacks should not be swept under the carpet but should be examined with frankness and openness if SA is to enter a new era that is truly devoid of racial discrimination.

This was the general consensus at a two-day conference titled "Telling It Our Way" held at Durban's Technikon Natal this week.

"The history of mankind is full of warnings for us about what can go wrong. For instance, a new Germany arose out of the tragedy of World War II, and prospered, not because the Holocaust was forgotten, but because it was remembered," said conference organiser Shirley Bell of the Creative Communication Unit at the technikon.

In the new Germany, disquieting shadows are creeping back in the form of a rising neo-Nazism because despite attempts at material restitution, there was insufficient understanding of the deep-seated emotions, fears and prejudices that had made the Holocaust possible in the first place.

What was missed out in the aftermath of guilt and the desire to make restitution was "the need simply to listen to each other's stories, the histories of wounds," said Bell.

The conference itself was exactly about that: the addressing of the histories of wounds; blacks were telling the story of their suffering and making known their hopes and aspirations.

One of the speakers, Professor Vincent Maphai of the University of the

Western Cape, said white living standards in SA were artificially high because they were subsidised by a system of institutionalised slavery.

It was the duty of the future black government, he said, to aim at reasonable, affordable but equally effective standards. This could be achieved through affirmative action which he described as "not simply a matter of raising black standards to white standards". *CP/en 286/92*

The standards themselves were suspect and had to be reviewed as they could be too high or too low, or simply irrelevant. Whites were living beyond their means at the expense of blacks, he said.

He said affirmative actions was one of the ways of addressing the imbalances.

However, Professor Maphai said, it was critical that all South Africans understood affirmative action was not a principle but a strategy.

"You can't abandon a principle, but you can abandon a strategy. Affirmative action will be a major pre-occupation in the future. In the US, affirmative action was primarily about how to absorb blacks and other minorities into institutions whose legitimacy was not in question.

"In SA, affirmative action is about transformation of institutions from a sexist and racist culture. To truly South African institutions affirmative action should not be reduced to mere tokenism - it should be a tool of empowerment," he said.

ANC action could spark civil war, says Buthelezi

B1 Day 25/6/92
INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned yesterday that the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its mass action campaign could lead to civil war.

He called the ANC's actions "the worst kind of political tantrum" imaginable.

He said, in Ulundi, that Codesa was the "only show in town" and thwarting Codesa was akin to trying to thwart mainstream politics. He said the reconstruction of the negotiation process would take place only at tremendous national cost.

"This cost will have to be paid firstly in terms of a tragic loss of life in what could emerge as a civil war."

Enormous economic hardship would result from the ANC's actions which would also impair a future democracy, he said.

Codesa should continue its tasks and the management committee should not cancel its scheduled meeting. Inkatha would call for a plenary session to review what the convention stood for and how to proceed following the latest developments.

"If Codesa is so vulnerable that we cannot proceed without the ANC, then we must re-examine our options and re-commence negotiations on a different tack," said Buthelezi.

He accused the ANC of portraying the negotiation process as simply between itself and government, when in fact it was a multiparty affair.

Government, the DP and at least seven other parties will attend a Codesa management committee meeting on Monday.

Meanwhile, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday the committee's fate was still to be decided on the basis of consultation with the various participants in Codesa.

He said the ANC's withdrawal was a serious blow to the negotiation process and every effort had to be made to resolve this impasse quickly.

B1 Day 25/6/92
DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday there was no question of the party withdrawing from Codesa. "If there is a management committee meeting, we're going."

B1 Day 25/6/92
Government sources also voiced their intention of attending the June 29 meeting, although they were doubtful whether there would be a quorum of two thirds of the 18-member committee.

De Beer said it seemed the ANC remained fully committed to negotiations.

He said in a statement the DP was deeply distressed to hear the ANC was withdrawing from Codesa. "However, this morning's media accounts put matters in a better perspective. It seems the ANC remains fully committed to negotiations, and has already been in touch with government for this purpose. This clearly means that all is not lost."

DP national council chairman David Gant said yesterday the party would hold talks with all political groups to get talks back on track.

He told a meeting in Somerset West the DP was determined to prevent a continuation of the unhealthy, antagonistic political rivalry between the ANC and the NP.

"The intransigent style of the Nationalist government at Codesa, its ramming of bad legislation through Parliament at the last minute, its indifferent attitude towards its accountability for corruption, and its apparent inability to deal with the perpetrators of violence, raise questions as to its competence to govern for another single day and its bona fides at Codesa," Gant said.

"The response by the ANC and the return to protest politics and mass action is short-sighted, dangerous and unconstructive. It may appeal to the masses today, but they will suffer the most from the consequences tomorrow." — Sapa.



Live frugally and esteem learning above all else



STimes 28/6/92

AT THE end of a week in which political leaders squeezed every possible advantage from the massacre of innocents at Boipatong, and every last drop of bathos, the impression that remains is nausea: a lingering taste of foulness on the tongue, a scent of decay in the nostrils.

Allowances must be made. The anger of the crowds was greater than the anger of the leaders who addressed them, and new dangerous voices — among them a man who professed to be a minister of the church — were calling black people to a race war. The PAC began to reap the harvest of its own intolerance as the ANC leader was denounced, with a poetic inversion that was surely unconscious, as a lamb leading his people to slaughter.

Radicals are displacing moderates. Winnie Mandela for Nelson Mandela, Chris Hani for Thabo Mbeki, hot-headed Peter Mokaba for Cyril Ramaphosa, PAC for ANC, and a new breed of violent radicals lurk at the corners of the stage. The ANC leaders had plenty of reason for a show of ferocity, and their political demands were not, if you examined them closely, outrageous.

Yet Mr Mandela's accusation that President De Klerk was, like a Nazi, allowing black people to be killed because they were black was untrue, recklessly intemperate, and calculated — whether deliberately or not — to whip up racist feelings. His habit of resorting to extravagant invective is, in a leader of his stature, a weakness.

Chris Hani leaped into the fray with a fresh flood of warlike rhetoric, and Mr Ramaphosa's lugubrious descriptions of Boipatong were so transparently manipulative and politically expedient as to raise the suspicion that the ANC leaders were not altogether displeased to have more blood for the cause. The IFP's Thembu Khoza was not slow to take the gap by suggesting — without evidence — that the ANC itself might have perpetrated the massacre.

Of course, the international anti-apartheid movement, anaemic and close to death after two years of negotiations, was revived; its glee was palpable as it launched into a new campaign for sanctions, sports boycotts, and the

renewed isolation of South Africa. Not surprisingly, the first victims were the usual soft targets, innocent sportsmen and desperately conciliatory businessmen.

So far, the ANC's methods have all displayed more theatricality than threat. There is a curious dissonance between the ANC's strategy, which rests on the myth that the Nationalist government is a pushover, and its tactics, which are evidence of impotence. Propaganda, boycotts, sanctions, stayaways, strikes, international pressures — these are the methods of the weak.

Strip away cheap political theatre, and what is left is the ANC's real dilemma: it faces a government which is too weak to govern, and too strong to be overthrown. Trapped between an immovable National Party, and an irresistible tide of anger rising on its left, the ANC needs evidence of success if it is to continue negotiating.

The ANC's dilemma? It is South Africa's dilemma.

President De Klerk has done much in three years to strengthen his party and to widen its power base. The core support consists of half the Afrikaners and most of the English whites; the remaining Afrikaners, scattered in disarray on his right, have nowhere else to go in a pinch. A majority of the coloured people, and probably of the Indians, and a scattering of black people now lean towards the National Party.

THIS is not to say the Nationalists will win an election — I am sure they would lose — but that they are in a much better position at home to resist the ANC than they were when Nelson Mandela came out of prison.

Abroad, too, they are in a much stronger position, not only because Mr De Klerk has assiduously gathered diplomatic support. The national reserves of gold and currency, which dropped steadily until mid-1989, have risen since then from practically nothing to about R10-billion; foreign debt shrinks steadily.

In his hands, President De Klerk has an array of immense powers: control of

the money supply and the budget, of borders and of tariffs, of transport networks and vehicle fleets, of taxation and expenditure, of the appointment of judges and the deployment of public prosecutors, of police, army and bureaucracy. It is only the inevitable tide of demography, of numbers, that ensures the eventual defeat of his party.

Indeed, his position might seem well-nigh impregnable, except that this mighty array of powers does not, ironically, enable him to govern wisely or well — or, in some case, to govern at all. The bureaucracy is so overblown, so corrupt, and so determined to defend its own privileges that perhaps it is beyond rehabilitation.

WHAT Boipatong has shown, above all, is the cost of a police force which nobody trusts, which does not investigate with vigour, which cannot prevent its own members from opening fire at the most disastrous moments, which will not disband its covert units, and which does not even suspend an officer found by a court, on balance of probability, to be a poisoner.

If the ANC's dilemma is that it lacks the power to achieve its strategic aims, the dilemma of the government is that it cannot direct its power to its own strategic ends. The result is confusion, mayhem and political cynicism. As John Hall lamented this week, we need statesmanship, and we have none.

For the ordinary citizen, chilled by the shadow of anarchy, the only sensible course of action is to batten down. In capricious times, go back to old truths: live frugally, without ostentation; neither a borrower nor a lender be; make your home your castle, or your fortress; avoid the limelight, travel with care, take no risk; cultivate disbelief and caution; prepare for the rainy day but disperse your savings and trust your family above your bank; take a lesson from the world's greatest chroniclers of insecurity, the Jews, and esteem learning above all else.

Hope will return. Until then, take care to survive.

KEN OWEN

Mobilisation priority - Mandela

By Jo-Anne Collinge

(11A)

On the eve of his departure for Senegal and the Organisation of African Unity meeting, ANC president Nelson Mandela declared that mass mobilisation had become "priority number one" for the ANC and other democratic forces.

"Those who say there can be no alternative to negotiations do not want us to expose the regime; they do not want us to fight back against a regime that is intransigent," Mr Mandela told thousands of supporters who gathered on Saturday at Kliptown, south of Johannesburg, on the dusty field where the Freedom Charter was adopted 37 years ago.

The proposition that negotiations were the only route to political change was based on the mistaken assumption that the interests of whites were paramount. No "genuine freedom

fighter" could accept such an argument, said Mr Mandela.

The campaign for mass action should take on a new dimension, he told the crowd. Bilateral talks with the Government as well as multiparty negotiations were off until the demands registered by the ANC last week were met, Mr Mandela reiterated. These demands related mainly to the Government's role in combating political violence and the institution of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Mr Mandela flatly denied press reports that he would meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Nigeria.

Mr Mandela placed particular emphasis on the ANC's desire to see the Government concede the central political question of majority rule. "Not only must the Government negotiate in good faith but it must accept without reservation the instal-

STAN 29/6/92
lation of genuine democracy in the sense that it is understood throughout the world," the ANC president said.

"Let Mr de Klerk accept that the era of a minority dictating to a majority has passed, never to return."

The large crowd surrounded the platform enfolding bands of armed men and youths, who moved in formation carrying sticks, axes and pangas.

Congress of South African Trade Unions general-secretary Jay Naidoo echoed Mr Mandela's call for action. "The time for talking has come to an end. It's back to the people, back to the streets and back to the barricades," he said.

So did former ANC president Oliver Tambo. "Now more than ever before, we are called upon to rise in our millions with the fury of a storm in order to accelerate the pace of the rising sun of freedom."

Political might will be illusion

Sowetan 29/6/92

BLACKS in South Africa have been making some political strides, but professional and economic barriers still make true power a long way off.

African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The right to vote, even when we have won it, will remain something of a shell unless our people are economically empowered."

The ANC, the country's main black opposition group, has some power. But it put political negotiations on hold after blaming the Government for the June 17 massacre of 47 blacks.

Its leaders are an exception in a country where the five million whites have dominated 30 million blacks for generations.

More typical are 30 000 State health workers who went on strike two weeks ago for more money and benefits. The mostly black employees include hospital cleaners and porters earning R550 a month.

"Obviously that is not enough for them to meet their needs," said Vusi Nhlapo, vice-president of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union leading the strike.

Since President FW de Klerk took office in 1989, apartheid laws have been scrapped, black political groups have been legalised, and negotiations were launched to end white-minority rule.

South African blacks have a per capita income of more than R3 000 a year, one of the highest figures in Africa.

More than a million blacks from neighbouring states work in South Africa, which offers more opportunities than other countries in the impoverished region.

But South African blacks still may not vote, and though they now have the legal right to live where they choose, few can afford to move from their violent, impoverished townships.

Blacks account for just 14 percent of the country's high-level professions, such as doctors, lawyers and accountants. They provide 96 percent of unskilled and semi-

skilled labour while holding just 143 of the top 3 239 civil service jobs.

The first two black police generals were named in March. There are two black foreign ambassadors, and just one black judge who was appointed less than a year ago.

All political groups agree there's a problem, but few offer specific solutions.

"There needs to be affirmative action, but it needs to be looked at," said ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus. "You've got to study each sector - health, education - and pick something that's going to work for that sector."

The Government's Ministry of Manpower says there's a need for affirmative action but that employers must not be expected to employ or promote people without proper qualifications.

Black business groups, such as the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, also stress that affirmative action should not result in lower standards.

The black-white gap begins not in the workplace but in schools and townships, where black children face great obstacles.

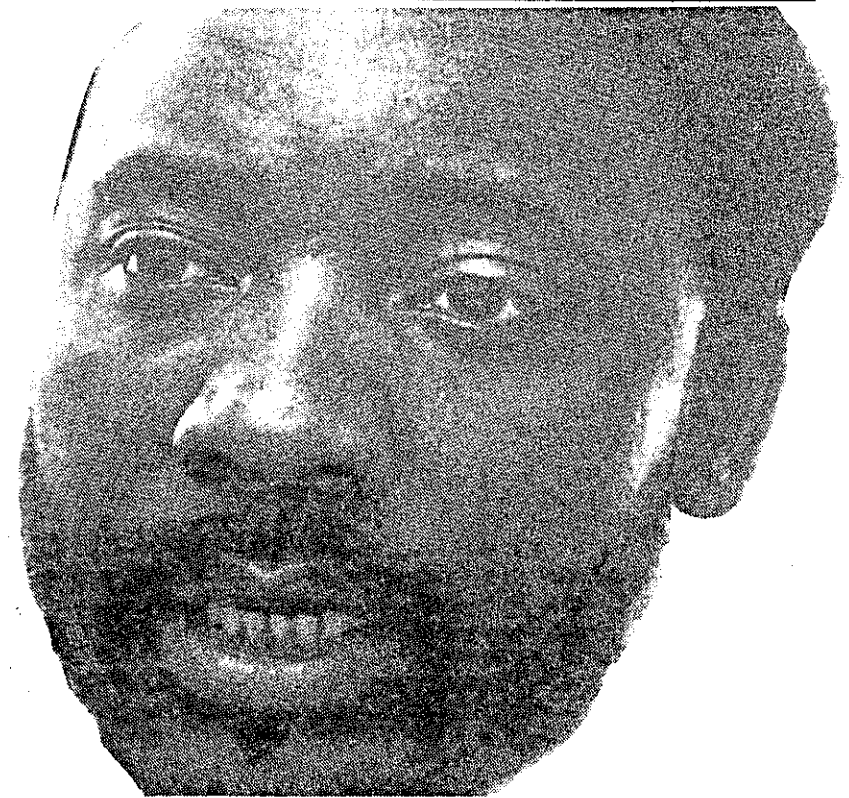
Although some white public schools have opted to allow blacks, most remain segregated. Black children often attend overcrowded, under-equipped schools lacking such basics as modern textbooks and desks.

Political violence often forces schools to close, as in Boipatong where schools shut for several days after the June 17 massacre.

In addition, the ANC for years staged school boycotts to protest against the fact that the government spending per student is almost five times greater for whites than blacks.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela urged a halt to school boycotts after leaving prison in February 1990, but the failure rate for black high school seniors taking their final examination is about 60 percent.

A three-year-old economic recession has added to the problem. In agriculture, the largest employer of blacks, there have been widespread layoffs due to the worst drought in southern Africa this century. - *Sapa-AP*.



Cyril Ramaphosa ... the right to vote will remain something of a shell.

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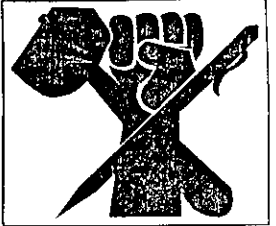
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MEETING PROCEDURE

WHAT IS IT, AND HOW DOES IT HELP US?

Last week we looked at planning and chairing meetings. This week we look at meeting procedure. All the members of an organisation or structure should learn and understand the purpose, aims and method of running meetings. This is what meeting procedure is all about. We will look at the following procedures this week:

- procedural points in meetings
- decision-making in meetings

Sometimes our meetings get stuck and go around in circles. Members can also be undisciplined and disrupt the meeting. Some members like to hear the sound of their own voice in a meeting, and talk often. Meeting procedure can help sort these problems out if the procedure is known about, and is followed. The points mentioned below are the most popular procedural points in meetings:

● Point of order:

This is an important procedural point. It should be used when a member feels that meeting procedure is not being followed, and they want the meeting to return to the correct procedure. For example when an individual is speaking totally off the point another member can interrupt the speaker, saying "Comrade chair, a point of order", and ask that the speaker sticks to the issue being discussed. Remember to talk to the comrade chairing the meeting when making this point. The point of order must not be seen as an attack on the member speaking. The comrade chairing the meeting can and should make this point as well if the member is not talking on the right issue, or following the correct procedure.

● Point of information:

When you want more information on the issue being discussed, but it is not your turn to speak, you can ask the comrade chairing the meeting for a "point of information."

● Out of order:

When a member is being rude, shouting out or misbehaving, or not sticking to meeting procedure, the

chair can rule him/her "out of order". The member must then stop talking and sit down.

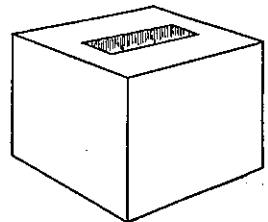
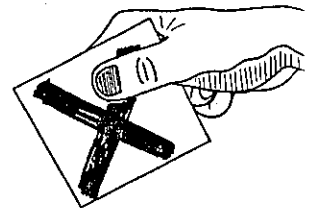
● Protection:

If a speaker is being shouted at or interrupted, they can ask for "protection" from the chair.

● Point of exigency (point of urgency):

A comrade who needs to make an important point unrelated to the agenda or discussions taking place, can make a point of exigency. A point of exigency must contain urgent information from the member which cannot wait until the end of the meeting. For example if a comrade finds out that there is trouble or danger outside the meeting itself, they should raise a point of exigency to tell others about it.

If your organisation does not use these procedural points then suggest that they are used at your next meeting. It would be helpful to discuss beforehand what the various points are used for in a meeting. They can help make your meetings more efficient and productive.



New Words

Procedure: A way or order of doing things in meetings which all members agree with, and do themselves.

Questions for readers

Question 1:

If a member of your organisation shouts at you while you are speaking to the meeting, do you say:
a) "Point of information comrade chair".
b) "Comrade chair, protection for the speaker".
c) "Out of order!"

Question 2:

If you are chairing the meeting and a member is talking on the wrong issue, do you say:
a) "Point of order".
b) "Point of information".
c) "Protection for the speaker."
d) "Point of exigency."

The answers are at the bottom of this page.

Resource List

The Human Awareness Programme (HAP) has a lot of information and advice on meeting procedure and on building organisations. You can contact them at the following address:
The Human Awareness Programme
4th Floor Conlyn House
156 President Street
Johannesburg
2000
their telephone number is (011) 337-8716

Answers to questions 1 and 2

Question 1: (b)

Question 2: (a)

Next week we look at the role and function of Executive Committee's in an organisation.

Decision-making procedures

Arriving at decisions which take the organisation forward is one of the most important tasks of any meeting. Decisions are arrived at through two main ways, either by 'consensus' or by voting.

Consensus:

This means reaching decisions through discussion and general agreement. Members do not need to vote in this case.

Voting:

People vote for a particular proposal. Usually one person will put forward a proposal and someone else will support it. If someone supports a proposal we say that they are "seconding" a proposal. Then people will vote for the proposal. If the proposal is accepted by the majority of people, it then becomes binding on the organisation. Voting can either be done by:

- 1) a show of hands
- 2) a secret ballot.

Here are the different procedures for voting in an organisation:

Show of hands:

The comrade chair will call for voting to take place through a show of hands when a proposal is made, and a decision needs to be reached. The comrade chair will ask members to raise their hands to show their support for or against a proposal. These votes are then counted, and a majority decision will decide whether the proposal stands, or falls away.

Secret ballot:

Each person is given a piece of paper where they write whether they support a particular proposal or not. Secret ballots are useful when voting in elections for new leadership of your organisation. Members vote more honestly when no one else can see who they are voting for.

Boipatong a blow for the pro-Pretoria lobby at OAU

By **BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI**
Argus Africa News Service

DAKAR - African heads of state assemble here today for the 29th summit of the Organisation of African Unity with a trayful of intractable problems awaiting their attention.

But the South African issue is no longer one of them.

A mighty dust-up had been expected as some African countries lobbied for a South Africa made respectable by reform and Codessa to be allowed to attend this year's summit as an observer.

Certain countries seemed prepared to stage a showdown over the issue.

However, the Boipatong massacre seems to have come to the OAU's rescue by pulling the rug from under the feet of the pro-Pretoria lobby.

Rumours persisted early last week that South African Director-General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden was in Dakar waiting for a call from the summit (although this was officially denied by his department in Pretoria).

Issues

In his Press briefing at the beginning of the week, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim left South Africa out of his list of important issues to be discussed. It was only after he was prodded that he condemned the violence in South Africa.

The massacre and Salim's uncompromising language have now put paid to any chance of any country standing up for South Africa.

The foreign ministers, who meet in the week preceding the summit to prepare its agenda, were unanimous in their condemnation of the Pretoria government and closed ranks behind the ANC and PAC position.

Massacre

ANC representative Joe Modise told reporters that the massacre had made it easier for the ANC to persuade certain states to stop supporting Pretoria.

The massacre had dealt President de Klerk's personal image a severe blow, he said. The PAC's Gora Ibrahim made a similar assessment.

Whereas the ANC campaigned at last year's OAU summit in Abuja for certain sanctions to be lifted, it is presenting a position simi-

lar in many ways to that of the PAC this year.

The PAC has always maintained that Codessa was not the right forum for constitutional talks. It wants to resuscitate the Patriotic Front with the ANC.

Though they may have been let off the South African hook, the African leaders still face other tough problems.

Anarchy reigns in Liberia and Somalia with thousands killed and millions of others displaced. In addition, almost a dozen low-level conflicts continue on the continent.

Drought

Then there are the issues of economic decline in most countries, the Aids epidemic and the unprecedented drought gripping most of east and southern Africa.

Southern African countries have called for greater co-ordination of drought relief.

Because of the venue of the summit, West African concerns will tend to take

Sowetan 29/6/92
‘The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of ordinary people is almost nil.’

pride of place. The civil war in Liberia is uppermost in many participants' minds, especially for the host country, Senegal, which has lost several troops serving with Ecomog, the peace-keeping force in Liberia.

There are fears that the Liberian civil war could engulf the whole region. It has already led to the overthrow of the government of Joseph Momoh in Sierra Leone.

Agreement

This summit will have to decide what to do about Liberia, especially about

Charles Taylor, the rebel leader who has broken every agreement reached with him. This week Ecomog threatened to impose an embargo on the country to force a settlement.

In Somalia, different parts of the country are controlled by different armed militia.

This week, some of the factions turned up in Dakar, each claiming to be the legitimate government.

Salim has complained that the international community has not always responded to African tragedies with the same speed

as it has elsewhere. He contrasted the UN Security Council's reaction to Somalia with that in Yugoslavia where Western countries were quick to react.

‘The world is not interested (in Africa) any more,’ he said, adding that from now on, Africa would have to depend on its own resources to solve its own problems.

Problems

The OAU's impotence to deal with the continent's problems is something that has long bothered many of its supporters. Its capacity to make even a tiny difference in the daily lives of

ordinary people is almost nil.

For the organisation just to be able to exist has in itself been some achievement.

It is a victim of the end of the Cold War. Gone are the days when Soviet envoys used to lurk in conference corridors ready to put aspin to every policy decision in exchange for armaments and easy terms of trade. Now the scattered remnants of what was the Soviet Union are joining the queue for international aid. What is annoying the Africans is that these newcomers are allowed to jump the queue.

Poverty

OAU officials are saying that colonial emancipation having been attained, the time has now come for economic independence, for the continent to be rid of poverty, disease and illiteracy.

The signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja last year is seen as signalling the second phase of the continent's liberation. But the governments know that without stability, it will be almost impossible

to pull Africa out of the economic quagmire.

Salim wants some mechanism for resolving conflict to be discussed at this summit.

He is keen that the summit should decide on how to build the OAU's capacity to handle conflicts both between and within states.

Conflict

He has already created a new division on conflict management within his secretariat.

But some countries are expected to resist this development because it seems to go against the OAU canon of non-interference in the affairs of member states.

If the suggestion is adopted, it will mean the organisation has at last been given some teeth.

Funds

The OAU faces another sub-issue in that it is also now frequently being asked to observe elections in member countries, but it cannot do so adequately for lack of funds.

It is R1 026m in the red and 25 states - almost half the OAU membership - have yet to pay their contributions.

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Squatter camp's move on hold

Sowetan 29/6/92

THE settlement of the Zevenfontein squatters was suspended for at least 14 days on Friday after the Crocodile Valley Authority obtained the required support for its moratorium proposal.

This was said by Transvaal Provincial Administration spokesman Mr Olaus van Zyl in a statement issued in Pretoria.

The CVA received the support from, among others, the Zevenfontein community, the Randburg and Sandton town councils, and affected residents' associations. This was done before the TPA's 4pm Friday deadline, Van Zyl said.

The planned squatter settlements at Diepsloot West and Nietgedacht would proceed should the CVA not find an alternative site acceptable to all the concerned parties within the two weeks, he said. - Sapa

SOWETAN
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Braving the cold



Thousands of people, including this girl in African National Congress regalia, braved the chilly weather to attend the Freedom Charter mass rally at the Kliptown Square on Saturday.

I will lead defiance campaign - Mandela

Sowetan 29/6/92 (11A)

By VICTOR TSUAI

AFRICAN National Congress' president Mr Nelson Mandela dared the Government to re-introduce a state of emergency during the Freedom Charter rally at Kliptown Square on Saturday.

He reiterated his earlier warning that he would personally lead a defiance campaign to bring National Party rule to an end.

Mandela later jetted off to Dakar in Senegal for talks with United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali before the all-important Organisation of African Unity conference.

The 37th anniversary rally was attended by more than 12 000 enthusiastic ANC supporters, including many of the old guard who were given a place of honour.

The veterans, who received a tumultuous welcome from the crowd, were led by ANC chairman Mr Oliver "OR" Tambo and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Andrew Mlangeni.

Mandela, whose organisation pulled out of negotiations at Codesa last week, said it

would be futile to pursue the talks.

"We would like to make it clear that unless the Government is prepared to meet our demands, there will be no further talks. The ANC would, however, get back to the negotiations if its demands were met," Mandela said.

The Charter celebrations coincided with the call for a mass action campaign which Mandela said would be used fully to bring the Pretoria regime to its knees and for the introduction of an interim government.

Mass action

Cosatu official Mr Jay Naidoo condemned the Government for the Boipatong massacre and said it was actions such as these that gave rise to mass action.

Naidoo called on all the workers to observe the Day of Mourning and to join in today's mass action which will take the form of marches.

Raids on PAC homes

Sowetan 29/6/92



By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE homes of two executive committee members of the Pan Africanist Congress in Dobsonville were raided by police last week.

Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, also the general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, said about five Casspirs and some private cars arrived at his home about 10am on Thursday.

Mr Carter Seleke said the raid by five Casspirs and six cars was at about 3pm.

Both said they were absent at the time.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said several houses near the Dobsonville Hostel were raided.

"I don't even know the names of the owners whose houses were searched,"

Halgryn said.

According to Ngcukana, the police said they were looking for arms.

Seleke's mother, Mr Martha Seleke, said she signed a piece of paper saying they did not find anything.

The PAC's director of Information and Publicity, Mr Waters Thoboti, said police were trying to intimidate them.

Ngcukana said: "There is an orchestrated campaign to harass me. Twice in March and April shots were fired at me by unknown people. Now this."



PIK BOTHA

ANC Govt still talk

11/18
Sowetan
29/6/92

BEHIND the scenes talks with the African National Congress continue despite the suspension of the constitutional negotiations, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He was speaking to journalists on his return to South Africa with Constitutional Development colleague Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday after their meeting with United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Nigeria.

Boutros-Ghali, who also held talks with an Inkatha Freedom Party delegation in Abuja, asked if apartheid be eliminated more quickly, Botha said.

The South African delegation also met the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

Boutros-Ghali will hold talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela at the OAU summit which begins in Dakar, Senegal today. An ANC delegation will attend the ministers meeting which will precede the summit meeting. - Sapa

The ANC quitting Codesa won't help the PAC or Azapo, argues Kaizer Nyatumba

Waiting in vain in the wings

STAR 29/6/92

11A



THE ANC decision to withdraw from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been greeted with mixed reactions here and abroad.

Although some foreign governments have expressed understanding for the ANC's frustrations as a result of the ongoing violence and Pretoria's apparent inability — some even say reluctance — to deal with it satisfactorily, they have nevertheless urged the organisation to return to the table.

For the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo), the ANC decision should come as a boon and, consequently, go a long way towards enabling these organisations to attract to themselves disgruntled ANC supporters.

The two organisations have so far refused to participate in Codesa, pointing to a number of inadequacies with the negotiating forum's structure.

Predictably, they have reacted to the ANC's decision with glee,

saying it had vindicated their views that Codesa, as presently structured, was heavily flawed and could not lead to "the transfer of power to the oppressed".

But there seems to be no reason to believe a large-scale exodus of disgruntled ANC supporters will take place.

At best, the two organisations could hope for a trickle of support from the embattled ANC.

If that trickle should materialise at all, there is no precedent suggesting that the PAC and Azapo can turn it into a flood.

Azapo and the PAC have been very critical of the ANC for its involvement in "exploratory talks" with the Government in May and August 1990 to pave the way for negotiations, and accused the organisation of having "sold out" in the struggle for majority rule.

The criticism grew louder after the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle as a result of the Pretoria Minute, and relations between the ANC and the PAC were severely strained when then South

African Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo, speaking for the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, said the PAC's armed struggle had existed in name only.

It was around this time that a new slogan "One negotiator one bullet!" was heard chanted with the same enthusiasm at PAC rallies as the familiar "One settler one bullet!"

Commentators believed then that the two organisations to the left of the ANC, especially the PAC, would gain support at the expense of the ANC if negotiations ever floundered.

The PAC, it was argued, would mobilise vigorously in the black community and present itself as the "real" liberation movement which had not rushed into talks with Pretoria to conclude deals which fell short of meeting blacks' aspirations.

The ANC has since suffered a number of embarrassments, but the PAC and Azapo have, through lack of either organisational skill or the requisite will, failed to take advantage of those situations.

Shortly after the signing of the Pretoria Minute, violence — until then been confined to Natal — spilled over into Transvaal townships.

Whole communities, including ANC members and sympathisers, were affected and the ANC appeared vulnerable to the PAC.

But neither they nor Azapo made any major inroads into ANC constituencies.

Since the beginning of tete-a-tete between the ANC and the Government at Groote Schuur in 1990, there has been a widespread perception in the black community that Pretoria has outsmarted and outmanoeuvred the ANC all the way. And where the Government has made concessions, it has been slow to implement them.

Throughout this period, however, there is no evidence that the ANC has lost some of its support — even among the radical elements in its ranks — to Azapo and the PAC. There is no reason, therefore, to believe now that last week's killings in Boipatong, and the ANC's subsequent decision to

pull out of Codesa temporarily, will give the PAC and Azapo any significant advantage.

For a change, it can be argued that by pulling out of Codesa, the ANC is responding to sentiments expressed by its general membership on the ground and therefore wisely eschews any erosion of its support.

That does not, however, explain why organisations to its left have failed to capitalise on the situation.

At least two reasons can be advanced: the PAC and Azapo are not as organised as the ANC — whose sophisticated propaganda machine they lack — and they take for granted that they will be able to mobilise vigorously when the right time comes.

Although its own and Nelson Mandela's allure is no longer what it used to be, the ANC can still attract crowds to its rallies and protest marches, and can count on a huge contingent of the local and international media to attend and cover its activities. Not so Azapo and the PAC, whose crowd-pulling

does not compare to the ANC's.

And if time will ever be right for Azapo and the PAC, it is now. Azapo has spoken of a nationwide "village to village, township to township" recruitment campaign, evidence of which has yet to be seen.

The best the PAC could hope for, then, is the revival of the Patriotic Front (PF) formed in Durban last year, so that it and the ANC would confront the Government with similar demands.

But the ANC, which is likely to return to Codesa shortly once President de Klerk's Government has addressed some of the demands it made last week, does not share the PAC's enthusiasm for the PF. Nowhere in the ANC NEC's statement was reference made to the PF and the need for its revitalisation.

Indeed, the ANC, whose main intention appears to be to jolt the Government and rid it of its complicity in negotiations, has left the door wide open for its imminent return to Codesa.

ANC would sway me, says US governor

STAR 29/6/92
By Carina le Grange

Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder said in Johannesburg last night that any decision of his on lifting sanctions would be "very, very heavily influenced" by the ANC.

Mr Wilder, head of the first trade and cultural mission from his state to sub-Saharan Africa, will today attend the funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre.

The Virginians are guests of the ANC, but will meet a wide range of people, including President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi "if it could be scheduled", said Mr Wilder.

The mission is to investigate trade oppor-

tunities, facilitate cultural exchanges and improve government communications.

Speaking at a press conference last night, Mr Wilder said leaders of other African states he had visited had all stressed the importance of the resolution of South Africa's problems to the ultimate mutual benefit of many nations. Among those countries already visited are Senegal, Nigeria, Angola and Zambia.

On racial problems in the US, he said that the Los Angeles riots were an aberration and not descriptive of its people. He did not claim his country was perfect but it tried to achieve as much as it could.

Tambo's



**wife hits
STAR 29/6/92
at violence**

Star Bureau

LONDON — Adelaide Tambo says Alan Paton was wrong — the time to cry for South Africa is now, not when he wrote his novel 44 years ago.

The wife of the ANC life president was in London to receive a Masters degree in social policy and gerontology from Keele University.

In an interview at the weekend, Mrs Tambo said she was nauseated by the violence, which she said was being planned by people loath to see an end to apartheid.

She said: "There must be someone who is orchestrating this violence, and it must be someone who does not want a settlement and who gains from the perpetuation of apartheid."

ANC won't talk (11A)

Soweto 30/6/72
THE African National Congress' Stanger branch in Natal has broken off talks with the local town council, citing the political crisis in the country triggered by the Boipatong massacre.

The two sides were to meet today to discuss demands that include the bringing of local townships and the white town under one council.

"The Stanger branch believes there can be no local democracy if there is no national democracy," local ANC chairman Mr Riaz Meer told the council in a letter. - *Sapa*.

Patriotic Front the only way, say callers

Sowetan 30/6/92. (11A)

By JOE MDHLELA

THE Government had failed to provide adequate security and must immediately hand over power to an interim rule, callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

This view was supported by a majority of callers who made use of the programme's open line.

The callers said it was clear that the police acted in collusion with Inkatha Freedom Party to cause mayhem in black townships.

Amos of Dobsonville said violence would continue for as long as the Government allowed political groups to carry weapons under the guise of traditional weapons.

David of Johannesburg said he was concerned that the ANC would return to Codesa if its demands were met.



He said the Patriotic Front was the only viable solution which could engage De Klerk's Government on all fronts.

Siphiwe of Durban said he was worried about the ANC leadership which seemed to be concerned about pleasing the international community more than resolving local problems.

ANC, PAC, Azapo STAR 30/6/92 call for united front

By Shaun Johnson
and Bronwyn Wilkinson (1/A)

Leaders of the deeply divided "liberation movements" seized on yesterday's mass funeral for the Boipatong victims as a last opportunity for creating a united front among the major anti-Government organisations.

Sharing a platform with the ANC, senior officials of the PAC and Azapo called for a combining of forces in the wake of the Boipatong massacre. Their call was echoed by the National Council of Trade Unions.

"Unity of the oppressed" emerged as a major theme during yesterday's funeral orations at Boipatong Stadium — overshadowed only by the repeated, furious attacks on the Government.

"Let's combine our liberation armies!" declared Azapo president Pandelani Nefolohodwe to cheers from the mixed ANC-PAC-Azapo crowd. His theme — that the failure of earlier bids to forge a unified "patriotic front" should not stop the organisations from trying again — was strongly endorsed during the address of PAC deputy

president Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Moseneke said "the PAC will indeed join the ANC and all the other liberation movements" in a programme of mass action aimed at the overthrow of the Government.

While not signalling a PAC softening on its boycott of Codesa, Mr Moseneke said if the "singular and set purpose" of mass action was to "remove the racist regime", his organisation would support it. Negotiations, he said, could only involve talks about "when we vote and where we vote" for a constituent assembly. The PAC would not be caught in the "100 (negotiating) tricks of the regime", he said.

What was needed was a joint PAC-Azapo-ANC "minimum programme of action" which would allow for united campaigns while each organisation retained its separate identity, he said.

In apparent response to the other leaders' remarks, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said he joined Azapo and the PAC in saying "unity is important". But, he added "today we seem united. Are we really? ... It is not just (a question of) funerals"

Many mourners turn up for work

DIRK HARTFORD

ALTHOUGH absenteeism was higher than usual in many regions, the vast majority of workers chose to mourn Boipatong through workplace prayer services, mass meetings or demonstrations.

Police said 10% of workers from Soweto stayed away, although about 90% stayed away in some of the more far-flung Vaal townships.

Sapa reports that in the eastern Cape there was a partial stayaway and companies were forced to close.

Volkswagen was closed after only 30% of its workforce turned up. Only about 28 workers showed for work at the Goodyear plant.

In Port Elizabeth Firestone workers turned up but left again to attend a march. Bloem 30/6/92

Johannesburg mining houses said attendance was virtually normal. Prayer services and mass meetings were held on many mines.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry said there had been a high level of co-operation between employers and employees regarding the mourning of Boipatong victims.

Some companies were flying the SA flag at half mast and most employers had allowed workers time off to hold commemorative meetings.

Group in protest against massacre

Bloem 30/6/92

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A group of ANC Women's League demonstrators yesterday tore down the SA flag at the Cape Town Magistrate's Courts before dousing it with red paint and re-hoisting it at half mast.

Police used teargas in the arrest of 12 men and women after they tipped a bucket of red paint over a policeman.

Shortly before the incident, eight women who were arrested outside Parliament on Friday for throwing paint at the building had their first appearance in court.

No charges were put to them, but several were rearrested afterwards.

After the arrests, western Cape ANC Women's League chairman Mildred Lesea said the demonstration was part of an "anger campaign" against the Boipatong massacre. A police spokesman said the 12 would be charged with desecration of the flag, malicious damage to property, assaulting a police officer and demonstrating near court buildings.

Sapa reports that wreaths were laid at the gates of Parliament yesterday after a memorial service in the St George's Anglican cathedral. Cape Town Mayor Frank van der Velde, ANC western Cape chairman Alan Boesak and clergymen later led a march to Parliament.

In Bloemfontein, 26 ANC members were arrested while picketing. Police said they would appear in court for picketing without permission.

Our Durban correspondent reports that about 300 people attended a memorial service in Durban, where several ANC speakers called for government's downfall.

Thousands of people attended a city centre service in Maritzburg.

In an apparent reference to blame for the massacre apportioned to "Zulu" hostel dwellers, he warned that those who labelled people in ethnic terms would cause a long legacy of bitterness.

In Windhoek, about 200 people took part in a memorial service in St Mary's Catholic Cathedral and in London Anti-Apartheid Movement members claimed to have occupied the SA embassy in Trafalgar Square. They called on ambassador Kent Durr to refute government's stand that violence was caused by black political rivalry and the ANC's mass action campaign.

Sapa-AFP reports that about 75 people demonstrated peacefully in front of the SA embassy in The Hague.

Speakers at funeral attack FW and Govt

STAR 30/6/92

● From Page 1

● Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, addressing a message directly to the Goldstone Commission, said: "You are looking for a person called the 'Third Force'. That person is none other than F W de Klerk."

● In his address, SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani referred to "this Government of vampires" and said that what had begun was "a fight to the finish". He told Boipatong residents they had to be involved in the struggle "but not just once. Prepare for rolling mass action ... until we defeat De Klerk."

● Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "We cannot pretend progress is made at the negotiations table ... (at the cost of) the coffins of our people."

"De Klerk has declared war on our people. We gather here to bury victims of this war. Let De Klerk know that Boipatong will be his Cuito Cuanavale. Mr de Klerk must go. If you (De Klerk) don't go voluntarily, our people will compel you through mass action to go."

"Those vigilantes at KwaMada Hostel have been trained by De Klerk and the SADF. Behind the hand of vigilantes there is the hand of this Government," Mr Naidoo said.

● PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said a "watershed" had been reached in South Africa. He said in a reference to the armed struggle: "A nation without arms is no nation."

● Nactu secretary-general Cunningham Ngcukana said the National Peace Accord "lies in tatters, drenched in the blood of our people".

● The SA Council of Churches issued a strong set of demands to the Government on its own behalf, and called for multi-party control of the security forces.

In his speech, SACC president Dr K M Mgojo said if his organisation's demands were not met, by July 15, the SACC would call for the tightening of sanctions and the withdrawal of the SA team from the Olympics if those responsible for the Boipatong massacre were not arrested, charged and convicted.

● Archbishop Desmond Tutu said white South Africans had ignored township bloodshed and treated the massacre as "just another incident" until the ANC had called for South Africa's withdrawal from the Olympics.

Black South Africans also wanted to see South Africa at the Olympics, but the onus was on the Government to bring the murderers of Boipatong to justice before the Games became an option.

● British Anti-Apartheid Movement president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston called on the United Nations and European Community member countries to "stop talking but act and isolate the regime ..."

● Former president Banana brought condolences from Zimbabwean leader Robert Mugabe and said it was tragic that "we gather in sorrow, not to bury apartheid, but to bury more of its victims".

● In a message read on her behalf, Coretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King, expressed her sympathy with the people of South Africa in their time of mourning.

Mandela pleads for freeze on ties with SA

By Barney Mthombathi
Star Africa Service

DAKAR — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday scolded the international community, including some African states, for what he called the unseemly rush to establish ties with South Africa.

Addressing the OAU summit in Dakar, Mr Mandela said all

contacts with South Africa should be frozen until an elected interim government was in place.

He said some African countries had put themselves in the untenable position where the South African Government was now regarding them as its friends against black people in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said the massacre in Boipatong was yet another proof that the South African authorities were conducting

“a reign of terror against our people”. He said black people in South Africa were crying out for help and were appealing to the OAU to come to their rescue and save their lives.

He appealed to Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General, and Chief Emeka Anyaoku, head of the Commonwealth, both present, to live up to the ideals of their organisations and “stay the blood-stained hand of apartheid”.

Mr Mandela said his organi-

sation was prepared to negotiate, but would not do so until the reign of terror in the townships had been halted.

He said Africa would have to realise that the present South African Government was not an agent of change, it had had no change of heart.

“We have entered into negotiations with the regime not because it's a friend, but because it's an adversary. Friends do not negotiate, but enemies do.”

Referring to the Govern-

ment's insistence that a two-thirds majority was not enough to pass a new constitution, Mr Mandela said any lasting settlement in South Africa would have to conform to internationally accepted principles of democracy.

The ANC was demanding an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and a democratically elected interim government which would be in charge of the transitional phase.

“We call on you to support this position,” he said.

The outgoing OAU chairman, Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, said the recent killings in Boipatong had horrified even those who were used to violence.

“We condemn this act in the strongest terms. We call on the South African Government to carry out its primary responsibility of maintaining law and order.”

Mr Babangida also called on black organisations to strive to-

wards unity and to prevail on their followers.

He suggested that a “peace meeting” among black organisations be convened by the Frontline states. Negotiation, he said, was the only way to solve the South African problem.

Dr Boutros-Ghali told the summit he had had talks with Mr Mandela, representatives of the PAC, Inkatha and the South African Government, and had impressed on all of them the need to resume negotiations.

White opinions stable — survey

6/10am 30/6/92

11A 30/6/92
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — No significant movement in white political opinion had been found between January and April this year, despite the March 17 referendum, according to the results of a new public opinion survey released yesterday. 30/6/92.

It found that 46% of white women and 42% of white men would vote for the NP, while 23% of white women and 31% of white men said they would support the CP.

The DP drew 6% of white women and white men, Inkatha 2% of both women and men, the AWB 2% of the women and 4% of the men, and the ANC 0% of the women and 1% of the men.

However, in a similar poll the ANC received nearly two-thirds of black support — 60% of black women and 64% of black men in the metropolitan areas, and 50% of

rural black women.

It also found that 63% of coloured women in metropolitan areas and 47% of Asian women would support the NP. Only 6% of both segments would support the ANC.

The poll results were released yesterday by Research Surveys, who interviewed 800 randomly selected white women, 500 white men, 800 black women, 500 black men, 200 coloured and Asian women in January and April this year.

"The most meaningful finding of the research was the fact that there was no significant movement in support for any political party, indicating a degree of stability in the political allegiance of white South Africans," Research Surveys said.

Cosatu and allies map mass action

B/day 30/6/92 (11A) ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~
MORE than 200 delegates from Cosatu's nine regions and 13 affiliates meet in Johannesburg today to decide on the timing of its general strike and to co-ordinate current and imminent strike action of its affiliates.

Delegates at the meeting — a living wage conference — will decide on the timing of Cosatu's contributions to various phases of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Phase two of its mass action campaign kicks off tomorrow with a stayaway in Cape Town to back Cosatu's living wage march. In this phase actions at local and regional level are meant to tie in with the national issues over which Cosatu is mobilising.

At a national level Cosatu will be considering a national consumer boycott, co-ordinated occupation of government buildings, intensifying its campaign to reincorporate homelands and an anti-SABC campaign.

The third phase is the build-up to a general strike. Here actions like factory shutdowns with employers' co-operation, occupation of factory and government buildings, marches, stayaways and strategic occupation of city centres will be discussed.

The mass action campaign is intended to weaken and isolate government through "rolling" actions mobilising the working class.

Disputes at local and affiliate level — on the factory floor or in the community — are to be channelled into the mass action campaign.

Many unionised workers have jumped the gun and moved ahead of Cosatu's mass action plans. This month, for example, there have been dozens of marches nationwide, factory occupations and unprocedural and illegal strikes. These had not fea-

DIRK HARTFORD

tured in Cosatu's plan for phase one of the mass action campaign.

Most of these actions, like the march by Numsa members in Johannesburg last week, have been initiated at local and affiliate level — effectively outside the control of the Cosatu leadership, but nevertheless fitting into its mass action campaign.

Cosatu has stressed that employers must be approached at every level to support actions.

Shop stewards have been delivering letters to employers asking for support, and some Cosatu regional structures have approached regional business organisations with the same message.

In addition, Cosatu affiliates have approached employer bodies they deal with on a national level, while Cosatu itself has raised the issues with national employer organisations like Saccola.

The federation has also asked other trade union federations, like Nactu, and its alliance partners to back its campaign. The SA National Civics Association is regarded as a particularly important ally by Cosatu.

Cosatu said in March that if an interim government had not been set up by the end of June, with agreement that elections for a constituent assembly be held by December, it would call a general strike.

Since then demands around economic restructuring, privatisation, job security, food prices, rights for farm, domestic and public sector workers and for a living wage have featured strongly in its campaigns.

And most recently Cosatu, with the ANC, has made a set of demands around violence, government corruption and alleged death squads.

Codesa direction to be decided this week

Sowetan 30/6/92

Own Correspondent

FOCUS

THE direction of South Africa's constitutional development, particularly the threatened Codesa negotiations, will be decided this week.

Pressures from the OAU leaders' summit, the UN and the Government's response to an ANC memorandum on ending negotiations are the major factors which will set the stage for the possible resumption of constitutional talks next week.

However the resumption of Codesa talks is still clearly in the balance after the ANC's suspension of talks after the Boipatong massacre.

The scheduled Management Committee meeting yesterday did not take place as the ANC alliance and church organisations arranged gatherings of mourning for the Boipatong victims.

The ANC alliance's central demand is a swift move to transitional government and a new constitution.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will seek support for his organisation's position at this week's OAU conference in Dakar, but it is understood that the OAU and the UN are both stressing the need for a resumption of the Codesa process.

The US and Britain are the main forces within the UN Security Council to bring pressure on the Government and ANC to get back to the talks' table.

This was confirmed after the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Constitutional Development, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Roelf Meyer, returned from the Nigerian capital Abuja on Sunday.

Talks with the UN secretary-

general, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the outgoing OAU Chairman, Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida, made it clear that the international and African community expected the parties to return to the negotiating table.

To ensure precisely this, the Government is going to prepare a comprehensive memorandum this week.

Meanwhile the UN secretary-general, who also spoke to the IFP, is due to speak to Mandela at the OAU summit probably in an attempt to mediate in the lingering dispute.

Details of Government proposals were not available but senior sources said on Sunday the main thrust of the complex proposals and analysis would be directed at the resumption of talks at the earliest possible opportunity.

The document is expected to be presented to the ANC towards the end of the week and will directly address issues raised by the ANC in its own memorandum, as well as problems which the Government itself has identified as obstacles to talks.

Violence, mass action, incitement, hostels, the role of the security forces and what the Government regards as unwarranted attacks on the person of State President FW de Klerk, are the main features to be addressed.

Several ministries, including Constitutional Development, Law and Order, Defence, Justice and Manpower and National Housing are contributing to the memorandum.

"We are aiming at getting talks



Mr NELSON MANDELA embraces PRESIDENT DIOUF of Senegal on Sunday on his arrival for the OAU conference and also urgent talks with UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali on the deteriorating situation in South Africa.

resumed on a reasonable and fair basis," a Ministerial source said on Sunday.

There were no scheduled talks between the main Codesa parties for the week, the same source said.

Efforts would be concentrated on drawing up the memorandum in the hope that with the return of Mandela at week's end, a new initiative could be started and that at the very least bilateral talks could be resumed to explore ways of getting Codesa moving once more.

Observers are optimistic that this goal will prove to be achievable.

The mass action period has adequately demonstrated the ANC

leadership's commitment to matching grass roots agendas but has also focused on weaknesses in the Codesa process which could now be corrected.

The Government/National Party negotiators have also re-evaluated the process and conceded shortcomings which may now serve as a basis on which talks can be resumed.

Firm indicators that the talks are to be resumed will not be forthcoming before next week.

The ANC will formulate its own position only after a national executive committee meeting has considered the Government response.

BLACK POLITICS

1992 - JULY.

ANC might pay for mass action campaign, argues Political Reporter Kaizer

Nyatsumba

White hostility can resurf-

ace

11A

STAR 11/7/92

JUST when many years of general white antipathy towards it appeared to be giving way to a grudging acceptance of its credentials as a legitimate political organisation which was a serious contender for power, the African National Congress (ANC) stands to alienate its new sympathisers in the white community and once again turn them into enemies.

For while the ANC has taken major strides since its unbanning on February 2 1990 and has successfully reversed the then widespread perception in the white community that it was a blood-thirsty organisation intent on seizing power for power's sake, it still has a long way to go towards converting those in the white community whose opinion of it remains, at best, low.

The organisation's standing in the eyes of both conservative and liberal whites has not been helped much by its rock-solid alliance with the South African Communist

Party (SACP). It is this alliance with the SACP, rather than its oft-criticised economic policy or lack of it, that hangs like an albatross around the ANC's neck.

It is this alliance which last year triggered ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak's attack on the ANC, which has driven many "coloureds" and Indians to the bosom of the National Party, as the outcome of last week's Diamant by-election has shown, and which has continued to serve as ready ammunition against the ANC for the Government and its allies, not least the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The alliance notwithstanding, the ANC has nevertheless attained some respectability in politically informed quarters in the white community. Even those whites who shudder at the prospect of living under an ANC-dominated government — and there are many — have for some time now appeared to have accepted an ANC government as a *fait accompli*.

More than any ANC leader, it is Steve Tshwete who has done much to change white attitudes towards the organisation. Perhaps the most popular ANC leader in the white community, Mr Tshwete was largely instrumental in gaining South Africa's readmission into international sport.

The ANC, which was losing the fight against the lifting of the cultural boycott and "people-to-people" sanctions, wisely decided to manage this process and preside over South Africa's re-entry into international sport.

This move, which gave the appearance that South African sport was at the ANC's mercy for its readmission, won the organisation plaudits and widespread acclaim in the white community, albeit grudgingly. Now all the goodwill engendered by South Africa's participation in international sport appears to be at risk.

The organisation's mass action campaign, which kicked off with the June 16 national stayaway, will again harden whites' attitude

towards the ANC.

As the British Labour Party discovered in the April 9 election in that country, political parties can win or lose elections on the basis of perceptions of how they would manage the economy. Show disregard for the economy, and threaten people with high taxes, and you have a sure-fire recipe for losing an election.

The ANC has a very strong case for mass action: it is its only remaining leverage in the negotiating process.

It has suspended the armed struggle and cannot easily go back to it without bringing upon itself the wrath and censure of the international community, unless Pretoria does something stupid such as once again banning political organisations and imprisoning their leaders.

Whites and the business community — and, indeed, many blacks — worry about the possibility of further harm being done to the country's already shaky economy.

Threats that the sports moratorium might be reintroduced in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre on June 17 again sent shock waves through the sports-crazy white community last week.

For them — and for many black South Africans who eagerly look forward to the South African Football Association's readmission into the soccer world — FIFA this week — the reimposition of the sports moratorium would amount to unforgivable betrayal.

The question might be asked: Why should the ANC worry about whites when they form a small minority in the country? If the organisation's hopes of being the next government of the country are to be realised, it should worry about whites and their feelings. It will need them when it matters most — when it wants their votes in the not-too-distant future.

While the ANC may be the single biggest political organisation in the country — political analyst Eugene Nyati believes it could

The real question is not whether whites need fear but whether blacks should have any fear. There is plentiful evidence of the intolerance of the ANC. Quite apart from executing dissidents in its own detention centres, this organisation has been involved in violence with just about everybody else. Inkatha and the PAC seem to get on, but the ANC can get on with nobody. When it is not fighting with the IFP, it is fighting with Azapo. When it is not fighting with Azapo, it is fighting with the PAC. When it isn't fighting with them, it is intimidating black DP members. When the ANC and its friends in Cosatu and the Communist Party call for a strike, everybody who does not wish to go on strike gets intimidated, slapped, or otherwise molested, injured by the so-called mass democratic movement. Ultimately, the ANC are cowards. Generally speaking, they do not take on the Defence Force because it is too powerful so they pick on other black

ANC threatens FW with strike

Sowetan 1/7/72
THE African National Congress and its allies would call a one-day general strike on July 20 if the Government does not meet demands for a constituent assembly by today.

This was said yesterday by Mr Mandla Dlamini, a spokesman for the committee representing the ANC, SA Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

He said the general strike would be followed by "an intensified mass action campaign which would include sit-ins, occupation of Government buildings, pickets and marches".

Cosatu affiliates were late yesterday locked in a closed meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand to assess what had been achieved by the mass action campaign so far.

These demands included the establishment of "an interim government of national unity" which would work towards the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

ANC plans tough document for OAU

STAR 117192

(1A) (2/2)

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

As the battle for international sympathy heats up between the ANC and the Government, Nelson Mandela's organisation is preparing to circulate a hard-hitting briefing document among Organisation of African Unity heads of state in Dakar, Senegal.

The document, a copy of which is in the possession of The Star, squarely blames the Government for the crisis in Codesa negotiations, and seeks to convince OAU delegates of the necessity for the current mass action campaign.

The bid to swing OAU support behind the ANC comes as the organisation prepares to move into the "second phase" of its nationwide campaign of "rolling mass action". An ANC deadline for the installation of an interim government passed yesterday.

The Star understands the ANC will tell OAU diplomats

that:

● The Government has undermined the agreed general constitutional principles regarding the distribution of powers between the central, regional and local levels of government by insisting that Codesa should determine the actual duties, powers and functions of regional governments.

● The Government has tried to undermine the sovereignty of a constitution-making body by insisting on a second House with veto powers over the adoption of a constitution.

● The Government has demanded 75 percent majorities to adopt a new constitution.

The ANC is also believed to have told the OAU that three bilateral meetings have been held with the Government since Codesa 2 in May. While the Government has been insisting that progress had been made at these meetings, the ANC has been equally vehement that no progress took place.

Since breaking off constitu-

tional talks, the ANC and Government have been vying with each other for support for their positions from the international community.

The Government informed foreign governments on Friday of its constitutional proposals and said it was opposed to an ANC call for member countries to convene a meeting of the UN Security Council.

The ANC, which has only observer status at the UN, cannot call such a meeting itself but it is understood that the OAU could ask for a meeting of the Security Council.

The ANC said it wanted the Security Council "to undertake measures which will help stop the violence and reinforce our efforts aimed at bringing about a democratic order".

However, the Government has told foreign governments it was unnecessary to convene such a meeting because the situation in SA did not constitute a threat to regional peace.

Dangerous egg dance could end in a shattered SA

STAR 11/7/92

11A

THE ANC's action in breaking off South Africa's constitutional negotiations while still committing itself to a negotiated settlement epitomises the position it has been forced into, squeezed between the rising militancy of its followers and the aggressive determination of the Government to cling to power.

The militancy was palpable in the huge crowd that gathered for the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims on Monday. I have attended most of the great funeral rallies around the country over the past 10 years, but this was the angriest.

Disillusionment at the slow pace of negotiations and the continuing violence in the townships has been building up for months. Now it has boiled over with the Boipatong massacre.

When Nelson Mandela went to nearby Evaton to address a rally four days after the massacre, people in the crowd yelled at him: "You are like lambs while the Government is killing us."

Suspending the talks was the least the ANC could do to appease that anger and avoid alienating its constituency.

Yet the ANC knows the Government cannot be overthrown by force. It knows there is no viable alternative to negotiations, and so it must hang in there even though President de Klerk and his Ministers have been making it increasingly difficult. Hence the egg dance.

De Klerk has been toughening his stance ever since his big referendum victory. Instead of seeing that as clearing his path to move faster, the President took it as a sign of growing support for his National Party.

This stirred hopes that maybe he would not have to relinquish power after all; that if he could forge alliances with conservative "coloured", Indian and black movements he might yet emerge at the head of the biggest political bloc in the country.

To do that De Klerk needed to play for time. Time to lock South Africa's major trading partners in as allies of his Government, to see sanctions collapse, take credit for an economic recovery — and to let the ANC twist in the wind as disillusionment set in among its followers at the lack of progress in the negotiations and the failure



Allister Sparks

of life in the townships to change for the better.

So the Government stalled Codesa 2. It did so by playing hard ball on the issue of the majority needed to agree on a new constitution, making demands it knew the ANC could not accept.

Next came the alliance-building phase. On June 16, Soweto Day, De Klerk made a high-profile appearance as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's guest in Ulundi.

That same week the National Party announced a campaign programme naming the ANC "enemy number one".

Some analysts believe — and this is the critical question — that part of this strategy is a covert operation to destabilise the ANC. They believe the same specialists in Military Intelligence and the Security Police who remote-controlled Renamo's destabilisation

operations in Mozambique are now manipulating cleavages in the black community to promote "black-on-black" violence by "vigilante" groups in the townships.

The purpose is, firstly, to convince Western powers that black South Africans are unfit to govern the country alone, and, secondly, to destabilise the ANC by disrupting its ability to organise, making people fearful to be associated with it, and increasing their disillusionment at its inability to protect them.

Those who hold this theory are uncertain whether De Klerk himself is directing the operation; whether it is being pursued freelance by anti-reformists in the security forces — old securocrats still loyal to ex-president P W Botha — whom De Klerk cannot control; or whether it is a bit of both, that De Klerk cannot fully control them and has rationalised this by taking the view that a whiff of destabilisation will help his cause.

There is no conclusive evidence of these allegations, but the circumstantial evidence pointing to security force involvement in the violence has become formidable.

Even more important, the perception in the townships that the police are involved is now overwhelming.

What strengthens these suspicions and perceptions is the fact that police have been so strikingly unsuccessful in preventing this violence or bringing any successful prosecutions as a result of it.

The police say they cannot be everywhere at once. This is spurious. Ninety percent of the violence on the Witwatersrand has been the result either of attacks emanating from the migrant workers' hostels, or retaliatory attacks against the hostels.

There are only about 30 of these hostels on the Witwatersrand. Why is it impossible to mount a permanent police watch outside each one, to sound the alert if an attack is mounted either way?

Thousands of people have died in these unrestrained massacres, and life in the townships has become intolerable. Boipatong has ignited that into a huge sense of outrage, and the ANC is having to respond to that mood in its constituency.

It must respond or it will be dead. Yet it must also keep the

hope of a negotiated settlement alive. If the squeeze becomes too great and it fails in that, there will be no hope for South Africa. De Klerk is a clever and subtle man. Very different from the crude P W Botha, yet perhaps he has been too clever by half. It never did make sense to try to destabilise the ANC. What De Klerk and his colleagues have never understood, what they are too conditioned by their own past to grasp, is that the ANC is essentially a moderate organisation, yet at the same time one that is widely acceptable in the black community because of its record as the primary resistance movement and its long list of heroes and martyrs. That placed the ANC in the unique position of being able to carry a black community embittered by half a century of apartheid into a negotiated settlement. The sensible thing would have been for De Klerk to harness that capability and work with it. Instead the desire to keep his own party in power has caused him to try to destabilise it. In the process he has destabilised all of South Africa. □

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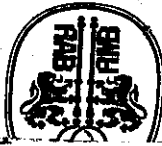
WILSON ZWANE 11A

GOVERNMENT yesterday
dismissed as "propaganda"
ANC secretary-general
Cyril Ramaphosa's allega-
tion that President F W de
Klerk had admitted to ANC
president Nelson Mandela
that he had no control over
the police force.

Ramaphosa told more
than 20 000 people at Mon-
day's funeral for Boipatong
massacre victims De Klerk
made the admission during
Codesa II in May.

Constitutional Develop-
ment Minister Roelf Meyer
said at no stage during the
discussion — at which he
and Ramaphosa were pre-
sent — did the president
make such an admission.
De Klerk said "neither he
nor his government could
be held responsible for acts
of violence perpetrated by
individuals and groups not
associated with police or
security force action".

Meyer said government
was recommitting itself to
the peace accord clause
which stipulated that no
language calculated to in-
cite violence or hatred be
used at political meetings.



PAC jets out

11A

A 12-man Pan Africanist Congress delegation has left for a three-week visit to China at the invitation of the country's ruling Communist Party, a PAC spokesman said. - Sapa. *Sowetan* 1/7/92

Bound by desire to 'bury' FW

Sowetan
11/7/92

~~11/7~~ 11/7

FORTY thousand blacks packed into the shabby little soccer stadium at Boipatong on Monday to bury 37 of the 49 innocents massacred two weeks ago allegedly by Inkatha supporters.

Enraged by reports that police delivered the Inkatha 'killers' to the township, what bound the crowd and the speakers, politicians and churchmen of all persuasions, was the desire to bury the Government of State President FW de Klerk.

The spectacle of the rows of coffins, and of the bereaved families, solemnly apart, somehow, from the political proceedings, inspired pity and grief.

Condolences

Speaker after speaker offered condolences to the mourners, but more as an afterthought, it seemed.

It was the denunciations of the "murderous De Klerk regime", the metaphorical call to arms for "the final battle" against apartheid, the chant "Down with De Klerk! Down!", the clamour for the international community to use its clout to help bring down the Government, that rang through with real conviction, that ignited the passions of the crowd.

"Enough", the banners read, "is enough!"

The day's most militant speaker, Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, received the loudest cheers.

The Inkatha "vigilantes", he declared, had been armed by De Klerk, trained

Independent Correspondent JOHN CARLIN finds the thousands who packed into a shabby football stadium to mourn the victims of Boipatong in unforgiving mood

by the army and let loose on the black communities.

Naidoo warned of a national strike unless the Government altered course.

He said: "Cosatu is not making an idle threat. We are mobilising for the type of mass action that will bring this country to a standstill. The issue is simple: We want majority rule now!"

To chants of "De Klerk must go! De Klerk must go!" he stepped back from the microphone for Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Hani called the Government vampires and merchants of death, and said their hands were "dripping with blood".

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, who is normally statesmanlike, led the crowd in the chant "Down with De Klerk! Down!".

Announcing that South Africa had reached "disaster point", he said talks with the Government had brought nothing so far, "just misery".

De Klerk was useless and incompetent, he said, a fact revealed, he claimed, by his admission to Mr Nelson Mandela in a private meeting last month that he had "no power over the policemen".

De Klerk and his Minister of Police, Mr Hennis Kriel, had to go, for the ANC would "no longer tolerate the politics of mur-

der".

Leaders of the Pan-Africanist Congress and Azapo, radical organisations that have scorned the ANC for negotiating with the Government, shared the podium with the likes of Ramaphosa.

They echoed the cries of rage against "De Klerk and his killers" and called for Boipatong to unify all liberation movements behind the call for democracy.

It was left to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, speaking last, to attempt to defuse a palpable anti-white sentiment among parts of the audience, which runs counter to the ANC bedrock concept of "nonracialism".

Murderers

But the archbishop, like other church leaders who spoke before him, demanded that De Klerk arrest the Boipatong murderers, admit international monitors to supervise the security forces and hold elections for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

He, too, however, could not resist a dig at his white compatriots. "For most white people the killings of Boipatong were just statistics until I said: What about Barcelona?"

It was the threat of pulling out of the Olympic Games, he said, that stirred white consciences, not the killing of black children.

Call to ^{CT 2/1/92} **ANC**
hunt **ANC**

'Stalinists'

From **SIMON BARBER**

WASHINGTON. — The KGB's files on the ANC should be opened to help root out "Stalinist elements" within the movement, former ANC detainee Mr Mwezi Twala pleaded yesterday.

Mr Twala's public plea to the head of the Russian foreign intelligence service was contained in an advertisement published this week in international editions of the Moscow-based Independent newspaper Nezvismaya Gazeta. It was paid for by the International Freedom Foundation.

In a letter to the head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, General Yevgeny Primakov, also published in the advertisement, Mr Twala, chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, charged that the ANC was being effectively controlled by Stalinists who hoped to ride the ANC into power.

Ex-ANC detainee wants to see KGB files

WASHINGTON — Former ANC detainee Mwezi Twala has issued a public plea to the head of the Russian foreign intelligence service to open the KGB's files on the ANC to help root out "Stalinist elements" within the movement.

The plea is contained in an advertisement published this week in international editions of the Moscow-based Independent newspaper (Nezavisimaya Gazeta) paid for by the International Freedom Foundation.

The newspaper has told IFF that it is making its own efforts to secure

access to the KGB files and has arranged to interview the head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, Gen Yevgeniy Primakov.

In a published letter to Primakov, Twala, chairman of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, charges that the ANC is being effectively controlled by Stalinists who hope to ride the ANC into power.

"These elements, especially the leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe . . . opposed perestroika and glasnost and

cheered last August when the putschists tried to topple Gorbachev."

Twala, a former inmate of the ANC's Quatro camp in Angola who was trained in the Soviet Union, also asks for details about Imbokodo the ANC security arm, to help "the true ANC democrats in an inquiry into ANC human rights abuses".

He believes that the KGB files will speed the dismantlement of MK and Imbokodo by "unmasking those responsible for "the repression of a large number of people, including the ANC's own members".

Day 2/7/92

SIMON BARBER (11A)

49 massacres cost 1 250 lives

HRC
 Political Staff
 Day 2/7/92

CAPE TOWN — There had been 49 massacres in SA over the past two years, costing 1 250 lives, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

Altogether 6 000 people had died and 13 000 people had been injured in political violence since July 1990. The 49 massacres involved incidents where 10 or more people had been killed.

The HRC said in a special report that its records showed Inkatha supporters had been responsible for 34 of the massacres, or 69%, and vigilantes aligned with Inkatha for a further 6%.

Township residents and ANC supporters had been responsible for 12% and the security forces for 8%.

In 10 massacres, there were no clues to the identity of those responsible. There was shared responsibility in eight other massacres.

The massacres had oc-

curred with frequency since July 1990, with an average of 25 deaths in each. In 15 cases the death toll was higher than 25.

The HRC said a number of points had emerged about the nature and objectives of massacres:

- The drive by Inkatha to establish political influence, membership and even territory, was the predominant theme;
- The tactics of terror, used indiscriminately against township communities, to paralyse, immobilise and disorganise, was a complementary theme;
- The use of hostels as bases from which to launch these attacks;
- Reports of security force complicity in massacres, and involvement of unidentified whites; and
- Retaliation, which sometimes produced its own massacres.

Vaal boycott and stayaway 'will continue'

WILSON ZWANE

POLITICAL and civic groups, business, trade unions and churches in the Vaal triangle have decided to continue with an indefinite stayaway and consumer boycott in the region.

The boycott, aimed at businesses in Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, and the stayaway have been in effect since Monday.

Cosatu organising department secretary Zwelinzima Vavi said yesterday the forum decided at a meeting on Tuesday that the protest was still appropriate to force government to end violence in the Vaal region.

"These actions will, however, be re-evaluated on Friday," Vavi said.

The forum also agreed to call on township residents in the Vaal triangle to stop "undisciplined actions", such as attacking cars on roads near the townships.

"Such acts will sow division among us and discredit our struggle for liberation," he said.

The forum is made up of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, Azapo, the Vaal Civic Association, the Vaal African Chamber of Commerce, the Roshnee Civic Association and the Vaal Council of Churches.

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ENS 6934 B

ANC tells supporters not to help SAP probe

11A
B1 Day 2/7/92
THE ANC had told its supporters not to help police investigating the June 17 massacre which left 42 dead and scores injured, the organisation said yesterday.

ANC PWV spokesman Wally Mbele said the decision to discourage Boipatong residents from co-operating with police was taken by the Vaal branches of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

ANC national spokesman Gill Marcus said she could not comment on the matter as it had not been communicated to the organisation's headquarters by the Vaal branches of the alliance.

Mbele said the alliance had decided to discourage residents from co-operating with police because of anger at the police for not heeding warnings about an attack on Boipatong residents on June 17, and for alleged police complicity.

Police spokesman Maj Ray Harrald confirmed that police were finding it "extremely difficult" to secure the co-operation of Boipatong residents.

"We are, however, determined to get to the bottom of the matter with or without the residents' co-operation," Harrald said.

Sapa reports that Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday the call for non co-operation would "mean a total subversion of the process of justice" if it were true.

"How is it possible that an organisation which demands the police catch the perpetrators of violence turns to the very witnesses who have information and tell them not to assist police in finding the killers?"

The question immediately arose whether the ANC said the same thing with regard to other massacres in which it accused the SAP of complicity, such as Swaneville, train attacks and Sebokeng, he said.

WILSON ZWANE

"How can you be serious about catching killers if there is no co-operation with the police? The ANC will have to clarify this. If the reports are true it is a flagrant violation of the national peace accord."

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression said yesterday it had obtained more than 10 signed statements from residents which lawyers would present to the Goldstone commission.

A board spokesman said Boipatong residents were told at a rally in the township that they should give statements to the board, not police.

The commission will begin a hearing on the Boipatong massacre in Pretoria today. Evidence from both the ANC and SAP will be used to assess the terms of reference of the committee which will investigate the massacre. Indian former chief justice Judge Bhagwati is expected to be a member of the committee.

Sapa reports that Goldstone said yesterday Cmdr Tom Laidlaw and Det-Supt David Don of London's metropolitan police would assist the commission.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that police yesterday put a new officer in charge of its investigation into the massacre.

Maj-Gen Wouter Grove, a detective with extensive experience in the investigation field, had replaced Gen Hannes Gloy, who withdrew on sick leave last week.

Fourteen Reef townships were currently unrest areas, police said yesterday. The townships were Boipatong, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Evaton, Bophelong, Alexandra, Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Soweto, Dobsonville, Diepmeadow and Meadowlands.

SAP's training hit at for being racist

11A
B1 Day 2/7/92
THE SAP's basic training system was pervaded with racism and inequality and should be scrapped, Police Board member Janine Rauch said yesterday.

Rauch said she would advise the board that the system also lacked understanding of discretionary policing.

Wits University Policing Research Project leader

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Rauch was the first independent researcher given access to the SAP's training materiel and institutions. She was recently appointed to the Police Board which would advise Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel on police policy.

The SAP expended a

great deal of energy and financial resources on improving its training system, Rauch said in her report. But such improvement was impeded by a dominant "anti-training" ethos.

She recommended that a new curriculum be developed in consultation with experts from other countries and communities not traditionally consulted.

A militant mood in Vaal

Sorefan 2/1/92

THE Vaal Triangle townships of Boipatong, Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Bophelong have, more than any other area in the country, come to represent the new face of militant politics.

Codesa means nothing here. We have our own agenda," a local African National Congress leader in Sharpeville said during a tour of war-torn Boipatong on Monday when 37 victims of the June 17 massacre were buried.

Signs of the new mood of

militancy, some argue it is anarchy, were unmistakable in the streets: metre-deep trenches had been dug, full-grown trees had been neatly felled with electric saws, piles of rubbish and tyres would be set alight at night, there were metre-high walls built of boulders.

Gone were the days following the February 2, 1990, unbanning of political organisations when members of the news media felt they were safe in these townships.

A number of local and foreign journalists were attacked by angry youths at

the Boipatong funeral. One was bashed over the head with a metal bar.

"Hey settler, you deserve a bullet," is now typical of the cries of many angry youthful residents in the Vaal.

The ANC leader in Sharpeville, like a military commander, proudly told reporters that his defence units had been operating "smoothly" for months now.

He added that the final touches were being put to a plan to reintroduce street committees in Sharpeville.

Operations at the Sharpeville police station, where 69 residents marching in protest against pass laws were gunned down by police in 1960, had virtually ground to a halt, he claimed.

"When we see a policeman in the streets nowadays we disarm him."

Trends marking this new-found militancy are clearly disturbing: At the Boipatong funeral, attended by about 40 000 people, there was an abundance of weapons - including firearms - and a lack of discipline was evident.

The attacks on reporters were blamed on a splinter PAC group, which reportedly cannot be controlled by the local leadership.

But the ANC came in for its share of the blame too. ANC supporters armed with AK47s, shotguns and pistols paraded in the open.

During the long wait for the bodies to arrive at the Sharpeville cemetery, people toyed-toyed between and on graves - firing at random. While some of the older women shouted "thula (keep quiet)", others, mainly "young lions", roared their approval.

Makharov pistol

Police later claimed a shot had been fired at, and missed, the ever-present police helicopter whose crew diligently monitored the day's events.

Then there was the boy-journalist estimated he was 10 years old, definitely not more than 12 - who strutted about with a Makharov pistol stuck in his belt.

Other youths passed the time chasing the odd white who cycled down a street in a nearby white Vanderbijlpark suburb.

A white resident sitting on his veranda was shot in the foot from a passing minibus taxi.

Clearly the mood in the Vaal Triangle's townships has changed - many residents seem to have turned their backs on the negotiation process.

The country will have to wait and see whether the "liberation" leaders, who themselves gave militant speeches at the Boipatong funeral, will be able to control and direct this aspect during the upcoming "rolling" mass action campaign. - *Sapa*



Children in a street in Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle watch a young man combine a toy-toy dance with a breakdancing flip-over routine.

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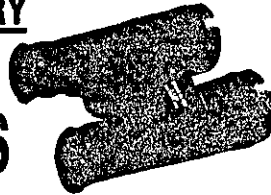
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ANC policy puzzles USA

Sowetan 2/7/92

WASHINGTON - Like aficionados of the daily crossword puzzle, Africanists in Washington's think tanks try to make sense of the maddeningly elusive clues which come from the ANC.

Private foundations and multinational companies sit down each day and look at statements which may, or may not, point to current thinking in the organisation.

But rarely, if ever, does the private sector come up with a completed puzzle and it is widely believed that the same frustration afflicts those in the corridors of power.

The ANC remains an enigma in the US. While Americans readily accept its accusations of complicity by present or past members of the security forces in the Boipatong atrocity, they are stumped by the ANC's subsequent decisions and actions.

But stumped though they may be, they have pencilled in some answers on the



Sowetan Correspondent (11A)

crossword grid - and some of them are answers which, hopefully, the ANC will be quick to refute.

The State Department implicitly interpreted the ANC's withdrawal from talks with the Government and from Codesa, as a victory for those murky forces which are determined to wreck the negotiating process.

It is argued that there can be no mystery about the objective of those who oppose Codesa. Such groups have said time and again that they will resist moves towards full democracy with all the force they can muster.

Thus, the reasoning goes on, irrespective of whether or not past or present security force members were involved in Boipatong, the intention of the massacre probably was to thwart or wreck the negotiating process.

In Washington, this reasoning is given momentum by the timing of the

Boipatong killings - at the critical point where the ANC was already threatening to change from negotiations to mass action.

The massacre, thus, was seen as a deliberate outrage aimed at pushing the ANC over the brink.

But to accept this rationale, some cognoscenti point out, one must first conclude that the ANC is astonishingly naive and easily manipulated.

It is at this point that some think tank analysts differ from the conclusion that the ANC was manipulated. They begin, instead, with the assumption that the ANC is not easily pushed around and that its history has shown it to have a capacity for ruthlessness.

With this assumption in place, and armed with the knowledge that the ANC decided well before Boipatong to play its only trump card - its ability to mount mass action protests - a different and more sinister scenario is advanced.

It starts with the widely held belief in the US, enunciated in an article on South Africa in *The Atlantic*, that mass action probably would be doomed to fail after an initial and comparatively short burst of enthusiasm.

Having failed to achieve its objective - changing the Government's mind on minority protection - the ANC would be humiliated and discredited and its most powerful weapon would be shown up as a paper tiger.

Furthermore, it would be difficult to defend mass action merely as a device with which to influence an opponent in negotiations. That smacks more than faintly of mob rule; of a willingness to sacrifice talks for a more muscular and bullying approach to the problems of the country.

After all, as one of the more astute Africanists remarked at a dinner party recently, what value does mass action have without an element of menace and intimidation?

So, the argument pro-



FW DE KLERK

ceeds, the decision to seize upon Boipatong as the reason for breaking off negotiations with the Government, rather than the deadlock over minority protection, was an astute decision aimed at sanctifying mass action on the one hand, and utilising the emotional build-up of the moment to mass action on the other.

Was the ANC as cynical as all that? And is there not a perfectly reasonable explanation for its Codesa decision - that it has in its ranks impatient young peo-

ple, many badly educated and with an incomplete grasp of the complexities of negotiations, who can see no further than the horror and bloodshed of the moment? Or, perhaps, that there was indeed reason to express anger at President de Klerk's inept handling of the security situation?

Americans, like many South Africans, have no illusions about the malevolent forces at work in South Africa, and they are more than amenable to the ANC's allegations of a conspiracy. Like many South

Africans, they have been appalled by the inability of the police to end the violence.

But if the ANC sends out mixed signals - that it wants mass action and an end to talks because of the deadlock in Codesa but then, instead, because of Boipatong; that it wants to end negotiations but remains committed to the negotiating process; that it can exchange letters and insults with the Government, but needs the United Nations to get negotiations back on track - it cannot blame Americans for being confused.

If the police themselves bring the perpetrators of Boipatong to justice, as they seem to be doing, and De Klerk accepts the presence of foreign fact-finders and observers, the ANC would be hard pressed to convince Americans that there is good reason for not negotiating.

In the meanwhile, the ANC would do itself a service in the US if it were to remove the uncertainty and speculation around its actions.

R W Johnson argues the case for getting the police in from the cold

Mistake to put the clock

STAR 2/7/92

(11A) ~~(11A)~~

back

IN RECENT weeks, the ANC has bought newspaper space to give prominence to its demand for a single national police force, alongside its demand for a single integrated defence force, including MK and other "liberation forces" with the SADF.

The latter demand is symbolic and uncontroversial: even the absorption of the (more formidable) homeland armies is mainly a matter of the taxpayer's burden once the thorny issue of reincorporation has been resolved.

The demand for a single national police force is different: it is a mistaken attempt to set the clock back rather than forward.

Everyone can sympathise with the ANC wish for a new beginning for the police.

Sadly, South Africa knows all about the abuse of police powers.

There is a record of remoteness from the community and a corresponding arrogance of power, personified by sinister figures such as General Hendrik van den Berg of BOSS and Col Swanepoel, and remarks such as that of Jimmy

Kruger, the responsible Minister, that Biko's death in police custody "leaves me cold".

We have seen the torture and murder of political detainees, and reports of almost casual ill-treatment of ordinary suspects as well.

Frequently, the police appear to be almost blithely trigger-happy and, whatever the truth or otherwise about the existence of a "third force", there is no doubt that the police themselves have been guilty of major crimes against the wider community, from Sharpeville to the Trust Feed case.

But the creation of a single national police force would threaten to perpetuate such abuses. Indeed, throughout much of the democratic world, such a notion would be viewed as an abomination.

It is in fact a relic of the ANC/SACP loyalty to the east European model: all the ex-communist states had national police forces.

If Messrs Slovo and Kasrils wish to talk of "doing a Leipzig", they should remember that the

main enemies of the people of Leipzig were the Stasi and the Volkspolizei, the people's police.

Few democratic rights actually matter more to the ordinary citizen than that the safeguarding of law and order be in safe and trustworthy hands.

Essential to that is a fair, vigilant and disciplined police force which feels responsible, and thus close, to the community it protects.

The centralisation of police powers not only produces a concentration of power remote from the local citizenry and open to abuse but, ineluctably, such a force becomes susceptible to national political influence.

It is for reasons such as these that every state in the US has its own police force, as do hundreds of cities. Even in quite small towns the local sheriff (often an elected official) has considerable autonomy and effectively runs his own force.

The only federal police agency is the FBI which has tended to remain relatively small and specia-

lised, for public opinion would never tolerate the heavy feet of "the Feds" clumping into local matters without good reason.

In Britain, the situation is similar with dozens of county, city and borough constabularies, all under their own Chief Constable, with each force monitored by a local watch committee.

Again, the national police force, at Scotland Yard, exists solely for specialist roles and remains relatively small.

No one has had a worse experience of a national police force than the Germans. Not surprisingly, after the excesses of the Gestapo, the West German constitution ruled out any such national force thereafter. All policing powers lie with the local Lander.

Durban is the best place in South Africa from which to view what one might term the inverse law of local policing.

South Africa has 12 forces with full police powers — the SAP, the 10 homelands forces and the Durban City Police.

Undoubtedly, the City Police

are the most popular and responsible: the Chief Constable is hired and fired by Durban City Council, and the force can be called to account before the council's community services committee.

Considerably less popular are the KwaZulu Police, who operate on the fringes of the city in Umlazi, KwaMashu and the squatter camps. The great complaint against the KZP is that, in effect, it sets its clock by Ulundi time.

Finally, the least popular force of all over time has been the SAP, especially its Security Branch, which took its orders from Pretoria.

Hence the inverse law of policing: the popularity of a police force is directly inverse to the distance of its headquarters from the community it polices. Perhaps not coincidentally, Durban, the only metropolitan area with its own force, has a lower crime rate than Cape Town or Johannesburg.

For anyone genuinely concerned to "give power to the people", the way forward is not to reduce our 12 police forces to one,

but to reduce the role of the SAP to specialist tasks and to grant maximal devolution of policing powers to the 10 regions and to at least the eight biggest cities.

To be sure, this will not solve all the problems, but one of the advantages of pluralism is that it enables citizens to make informed comparisons. For example, the corruptive example of how Cape Town has re-developed its waterfront is exercising potent pressure on Durban's municipal politicians to do the same for their city.

The same principle applies to police forces and the mushrooming growth of private security firms, tailoring their services to customer demand, suggests that the SAP is becoming ineffective in its own market.

With devolution of police powers, regional and municipal politicians would come under pressure to make their local police at least as good as those of other regions and cities. Policing is close to the essence of democracy. It should never be something that "leaves you cold". □

Governor backs ANC

Scwefan

217192

By MZIMASI
NGUDLE

THE ANC should fear nothing in terms of the United States' commitment to the liberation struggle, a visiting United States governor said in Johannesburg this week.

Virginia governor Mr Lawrence Douglas Wilder addressed the top leadership of the African National Congress at a cocktail party in Bryanston on Tuesday.

Wilder was responding to a welcoming address by ANC official Mr Trevor Manuel in which he pleaded with him to "stay

with us and mobilise with us so that we can emerge with a constitution respected throughout the country and the whole world".

Manuel said he was grateful to the US support to calls for sanctions.

"The situation remains the same until such time indications from the people of South Africa decide - and not Bush," he said in an apparent reference to US

federal policy which favours the lifting of sanctions. ~~South Africa~~ (11A)

Virginia is reportedly a powerful state that might influence other states to tow the ANC's call for sanctions to stay.

Wilder attended the funeral at Boipatong and is leading a trade and cultural team currently touring the country on a fact finding mission.

He said he wished his optimism for a free South Africa would soon be realised.

Government holds crucial meeting

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his senior advisers held a marathon meeting in Pretoria yesterday in a bid to find a way to get negotiations back on track.

The all-day meeting was called to prepare a response to demands made by the ANC following the Boipatong massacre.

Government sources said the Government team would draw up a counter-memorandum which would be delivered to the

Sowetan 2/7/92
ANC offices either today or tomorrow.

It is expected that De Klerk will propose a greater role for the international community in monitoring violence, as the key to breaking the negotiations deadlock.

He is also expected to respond to ANC accusations that the Government has a secret strategy to install a power-sharing interim government which will be impossible to dis-

lodge.

To allay these suspicions, he is expected to set a three-year time-limit on an interim government.

A greater role for the international community in curbing violence is one of the key demands of the ANC.

De Klerk will probably detail efforts the Government has already made in line with the ANC demands and the programme to upgrade single-sex hostels.

Democracy 'needs patience, tolerance'

By JOE MDHLELA

Sowetan 2/7/92

DEMOCRACY was a long and arduous process, chairman of the Institute of Multiparty Democracy Dr Oscar Dhlomo said on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Radio Talkback Show last night.

Dhlomo said perseverance was central to the attainment of democracy.

Democracy, he said, should not be misunderstood to mean that a people should be eliminated when there was disagreement.

On the contrary, it meant that people should be pa-

tient to accept even the views they did not agree with.

"Political differences should not be a cause for physical war," he said.

"That would be resorting to the law of the jungle which has nothing to do with democracy."



However, Dhlomo said he had confidence in the wisdom of leaders to inculcate the spirit of democracy among their followers.

"They know what is right and what is wrong," he said.

Dhlomo said there was a need to keep democracy alive, by preaching its values to all generations.

He said anything short of this would lead the country into anarchy. He also made it clear that this did suggest the present Government was democratic.

Bomb threat halts SACP meeting (11A)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ARG 3/7/92

A COMMUNIST Party meeting in the Wittebome Civic Centre, Wynberg, was stopped and the audience evacuated after a bomb threat.

Police searched the hall last night but failed to find any explosive and the meeting, addressed by SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani, resumed.

Congress of South African Trade Unions assistant general secretary Mr Sam Silowa was talking about the labour federation's planned general strike when he was interrupted by SACP central committee member Mr Garth Strachan who whispered a message to him.

Mr Silowa said: "I am appealing for calm and don't want the comrades to panic. We want the comrades to leave peacefully. It appears that the security forces received a message that one or two explosive devices have been placed here."

Outside people sang freedom songs while lawyer Mr Enver Daniels spoke to police.

Meeting on death lists

3/7/92
Sowetan
THE National Peace Committee held an urgent meeting in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss a "death sentence" passed by alleged ANC members on Inkatha Freedom Party members in Maritzburg last week.

IFP spokesman Mrs Suzanne Vos said the NPC meeting, held at the request of the IFP and the Government, followed a "trial by a people's assembly" in Maritzburg last Friday, where IFP members were allegedly "sentenced" to death.

She said the IFP and the Government formally lodged a complaint to the committee and that the ANC had undertaken to investigate the complaint.

Vos said the ANC had promised to report back to the NPC today. - Sowetan Correspondent.

Bush offers to help get talks going again

Sowetan 31/7/92
Sowetan Foreign News Service

WASHINGTON - President George Bush has sent messages to State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela offering United States help in getting negotiations resumed, and he has received positive responses from them both. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ (IA)

Disclosing this yesterday at a White House Press briefing, the Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, said the US would "do everything in the world we can to support the prospect of the talks resuming".

Assistance

He did not specify what assistance Bush had offered, or what the responses had been, but indicated that the US and other Western countries were willing to play a role in getting the two sides together again.

"As we have said before, change is going to come to South Africa and it has either got to come through something like the Codesa process of peaceful negotiations, or it is going to come with a tremendous amount of bloodshed. That is obviously something we all want to avoid."

Baker said De Klerk and Mandela had shown great courage in getting the negotiations started and in getting them as far as they had, and that the US regretted the termination of the talks.

Civics 'likely to pull out of local level talks'

By Day 31/7/92 (11A)

RAY HARTLEY

ANC-aligned civic associations were likely to pull out of all local level negotiations until the ANC rejoined talks at Codesa, SA National Civics Association (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday.

Sanco would meet the ANC, SACP, Cosatu and youth and student groups in Johannesburg today in an effort to "unite civil society" on the ANC's mass action campaign, he said.

"We cannot continue negotiations at a local level while constitutional negotiations are deadlocked. We will urge the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) to abandon such negotiations indefinitely."

Arrangements regarding services such as electricity and water made with local authorities before last month's constitutional deadlock would be adhered to, said Mayekiso. "We support mass action aimed at the violence and aimed at bringing the NP to its senses."

Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber spokesman Vic Milne said he was watching developments "with great concern". The SCA's withdrawal would be a "very serious" blow to the chamber.

The chamber suspended its activities for two months after the SCA's temporary withdrawal in April.

Milne said he hoped Sanco would allow "individual civics" to decide for themselves on taking part in the chamber.

Mayekiso said pupils would join the civics in mass action, but were unlikely to boycott classes. "As far as civics are con-

cerned, we would feel jittery about a boycott. We don't think the school process should be disrupted."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would have "understanding" for the position put to them by civics, but did not want to pre-empt decisions at today's meeting.

The SA Students' Congress (Sasco) would table proposals at the meeting for mass action against government cuts in university subsidies.

□ Sapa reports that damage of about R1m was caused to a train late on Wednesday when a motor and passenger coach was set ablaze between Pinelands and Langa stations in Cape Town.

Metro western Cape manager Andre Harrison said a passenger had died trying to escape the fire. It was suspected that the arsonists had taken part in a protest march in Cape Town that day.

About 10 000 people took part in a Cosatu mass action campaign "living wage" march to Parliament.

Harrison said: "The perpetrators must have had a fair amount of flammable liquid with them." It was suspected that seats had been slashed open and fuel poured into them to start the blaze.

He blamed march organisers for not exercising sufficient control over the protesters.

Sacob warns of strike consequences

By Day 31/7/92

DIRK HARTFORD

SACOB regretted the possibility that the economy could become a political battleground and would be advising its members on preparing contingency plans for Cosatu's planned general strike, Sacob spokesman Gerrie Bezuidenhout said yesterday.

He said any action which led to loss of life or disruption of production was to-

tally inappropriate where the economy was suffering from a severe recession.

Cosatu, he said, would have "to take full responsibility for the job losses, loss of income and loss of life that will inevitably occur".

Bezuidenhout predicted that many businesses would be forced to close

down because of repeated stayaway action.

Employers would adopt a "hardline attitude" if workers went on strike and dismissals were more likely to be considered.

He said the negative consequences of stayaways and general strikes had been repeatedly pointed out to Cosatu.

Reuter reports that Gencor said it regarded the proposed strike as political and there would be disciplinary action if its workers stayed away.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the DP said yesterday it was totally opposed to Cosatu's proposed general strike.

DP Manpower spokesman Robin Carlisle said that for Cosatu to claim it would sacrifice the economy to achieve freedom was self-defeating.

The DP urgently called on Cosatu to rethink the proposed strike.

Meanwhile, Nactu said yesterday it would make a decision this weekend on whether to join Cosatu's mass action campaign.

Nampak Limited

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NOTICE OF CUMULATIVE PREFERENCE DIVIDENDS

WHEREBY GIVEN THAT the following cumulative dividends have been declared:

First Preference Dividend No. 47

at the rate of 6,5 per cent per annum in respect of the dividend ending 31 July 1992 (equivalent to 6,5 cents per share, 1991 - 6,5 cents) payable to shareholders registered in the company at the close of business on 17 July 1992.

Second Preference Dividend No. 47

at the rate of 6 per cent per annum in respect of the dividend ending 31 July 1992 (equivalent to 6,0 cents per share, 1991 - 6,0 cents) payable to shareholders registered in

Government backs down on ANC demands

11A
Sowetan 3/7/92

THE Government has backed down on the two crucial issues which caused the deadlock at Codesa 2.

The Government's revised proposals, which would have been acceptable to the ANC had they been presented at Codesa 2, were contained in an annexure to the memorandum sent to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by President FW de Klerk.

The Government says it is now prepared to accept a 70 percent majority to approve all aspects of a new constitution except the Bill of Rights, for which a 75 percent majority would be required.

This, in effect, is a belated acceptance of the ANC's compromise proposals tabled during Codesa 2 where the Government insisted on a 75 percent majority to approve all aspects of the constitution concerning regional government.

The Government is now also prepared to accept a democratically elected senate, based on "electoral regions" delimited for this purpose.

Delegates to the senate would be allocated proportionally according to the support their parties receive in each region - a departure from the government's previous insistence that each region be granted equal representation in the senate.

In his memorandum to Mandela, De Klerk said allegations that the Government was instigating the current violence were "lies".

The interim report of the Goldstone Commission showed that the causes of the violence were complicated and he therefore called for a meeting between himself, Mandela and Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP.

SA violence: SACP march

MEMBERS of the South African Communist Party executive and several ministers of religion led a march of about 50 SACP supporters to the Langa police station yesterday afternoon in protest at the high levels of violence in the country. (11)(X)(S)

A memorandum expressing distress over the violence was delivered by the deputy chairman of the SACP's Langa branch Mr Khaya Hamana to Captain Ezra Theron, acting station commander of the Langa police station.

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FW



FW DE KLERK

slams

Sowetan 3/7/92

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11A

ANC

THE scene has been set for the worst showdown between the government of FW de Klerk and the African National Congress since its unbanning in February 1990.

This follows De Klerk's "gloves off" response to the ANC's demands set out in a memorandum to the Government in the

wake of the Boipatong massacre.

His hard-hitting speech has dimmed the prospects of a revival of Codesa or a reconciliation between the Government and the ANC in the immediate future.

In an address to the nation last night, De Klerk said the Government would "take steps to prevent a slide to anarchy".

●Full report page 2

Forum to decide Labour's future

The Labour Party's trouncing at the hands of the National Party in their first electoral engagement in the Kimberley seat of Diamant last week appears to signal the beginning of the end of a party that has been in the forefront of trying to make the most of the tricameral system. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS spoke to party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

ALLAN Hendrickse recalls the funeral, some years ago in Ibadan, Nigeria, of his brother, a professor of gynaecology and obstetrics, an acknowledged authority on sickle-cell disease, and an apartheid expatriate.

The Labour leader had challenged State President FW de Klerk to visit the grave of Professor JP de Villiers Hendrickse, the apartheid exile, on his trip there this year, but had received a note saying time would not allow such a diversion.

The Rev Hendrickse scoffs at the excuse, mustering some political scorn for the too-busy President, but almost abjectly.

Some are wondering if that is all that's left for him to do.

In his shirt-sleeves, in an airy parliamentary office that is a dramatic remove from the ministerial suite from which he directed the affairs of the House of Representatives through most of its controversial term, Allan Hendrickse is contemplating an indefinite future.

A mid-morning M-Net movie, with the sound off,

flickers greyly from an inauspicious cabinet holding, among other things this year's pale yellow and blue unbound Hansards which record, in part, Labour's ignominious decline in parliament in an ill-matched struggle with the very Nationalists he blames for his brother's flight into exile.

Rather than take the exile route, or take up arms, Allan Hendrickse took Labour into the belly of the whale, the "system".

The tricameral era, with its endowments and trappings, the power and the attention, are widely held, as a dubious sum, to have been Labour's glorified ideal.

While it is clear he has not given up, Hendrickse acknowledges the time has come to make a critical reckoning.

He is quite philosophical about it.

"Ever since the inception of the Labour Party, we saw ourselves as caretakers in a period when other leaders were incarcerated or in exile, and, as I have said before, we have always seen ourselves as a temporary feature of South African politics."

Strikingly enough, he does not rule out the possibility of the party dissolv-

ing itself.

"It's for the national congress - meeting next in Port Elizabeth in December - to decide if we should dissolve."

He is inclined to play down the Diamant defeat as a factor here, and points rather to other compelling shifts in the broader political stream.

In the late 1960s, the LP "filled a political gap" and younger people saw us creating a platform of participation and protest", but, by 1984, after a "period of political activation, these people rejected participation".

"I do not regret participation. I still think it was correct - and the ANC and PAC have acknowledged our role - but we failed to satisfy the growing body of politicised youth. They were looking for action."

The United Democratic Front and then, latterly, the ANC, had succeeded in providing the "action" for the young people who spurned the tricameral system and the LP with it.

Now, in a much freer political market, Labour, he says, faces a choice of packing it in, joining forces with the ANC, or forming a centrist alliance with the likes of the Democratic Party.

"If people listen to us, it is obvious our leanings are towards the ANC," he says, adding, nevertheless, that "within the party structure at the moment, there is division over whether we should move nearer the ANC or the DP".

"The fact is, if we retain our identity and position, we are guaranteed of having a voice and a vote in an interim government and that means that whichever side we place ourselves on will get one more vote. So we can still be a factor in that sense."

Against this background, even if it rankles, Hendrickse is quite accepting of his candidate's defeat in Kimberley last week.

"Quite honestly, they (the National Party) were better organised. We had to start from scratch. Les Abrahams (former LP, then NP MP, whose resignation, after being charged with fraud, led to the by-election) left us nothing. There wasn't even a branch.

"Money was another key factor. We couldn't hope to match them random. We spent about R150000 and I suspect they probably spent five times that."

Furthermore, Labour brought out-of-town candidate John Scholtz to a contest fought very largely on local issues.

"We tried to focus on national issues, negotiations, violence, interim government, but the people were more interested in local affairs," he says.

Furthermore, Labour's failure to "get a clear directive from the ANC leadership on the question of supporting us" weakened the party in a constituency that spills into black townships.

Partly for these reasons, he doesn't believe the

Diamant result is particularly portentous.

"Jac Rabie (NP leader in the House of Representatives) boasted that it was a mini-referendum and showed the extent of coloured support for De Klerk.

"Well, we certainly didn't think of it that way, but if that's how they're seeing it, they didn't do very well at all."

NP contender Mr Howard Isaacs took the seat with 7175 votes to LP candidate Mr John Scholtz's 4283 in a 34 percent poll.

Hendrickse notes: "Of the 32 000 registered voters, only 21 percent voted NP. That's why I called it a pyrrhic victory."

Nevertheless, even in its demise, the tricameral parliament remains probably the most important feature of the Labour Party's existence and the Diamant defeat is another palpable knock in a forum that, as one commentator has put it, the fading Labour Party had originally made its own.

What makes things worse for Hendrickse is that he cannot be sure who will be next to defect.

"You know," he recalls, "Piet Meyer (MP for Vredendal) drove all the way up to Kimberley during the campaign to help our team. Eight days later he was sitting with the Nats, telling people to vote NP. It's not politics. It's security, positions."

It is as if Allan Hendrickse is resigned to the haemorrhaging of his party. Or, perhaps, is powerless to stop it.



ALLAN HENDRICKSE ... looks powerless to stop Labour Party from crumbling.

'The fact is, if we retain our identity and position, we are guaranteed of having a voice and a vote in an interim government.'

Patrick Laurence analyses the changing township perceptions of President de

Klerk

'Great reformer' now a demon

STAR 3/7/92

11A ~~11A~~

IN A speech made shortly after the Boipatong massacre, Ernest Sotsu, the ANC's representative in the township, referred scathingly to President "P W" de Klerk.

Whether Mr Sotsu had deliberately used the wrong initials or whether it was a slip of the tongue was unclear; either way it reflected a perception that there is not much difference between Mr Klerk and his predecessor, President P W Botha.

Mr Sotsu is not a maverick on the issue. There is a growing conviction in ANC ranks that there is little to choose between the two men. Mr de Klerk, the bold reformer, has been forgotten and replaced by Mr de Klerk, the cunning schemer.

The past six months have witnessed repeated characterisation of Mr de Klerk as a disingenuous politician, with ANC president Nelson Mandela leading the way. It is pertinent to recall Mr Mandela's sharp words during the opening session of Convention for a Democratic South Africa last

December.

Having accused Mr de Klerk of being the leader of "an illegitimate and discredited minority regime", Mr Mandela said: "The National Party and the Government have a double agenda. They are talking peace to us. They are at the same time conducting a war (against us)."

Later, in May, in an address to an OAU Committee on Southern Africa, Mr Mandela compared South Africa under Mr de Klerk to Hitler's Germany: "(In) Nazi Germany people were killed because they were Jews. In today's ... South Africa our people are massacred simply because they are black."

He repeated the comparison, with one modification, in a speech at Evatong three days after the Boipatong massacre. He included Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party in the forces which allegedly kill black people because of their skin colour.

Earlier that day Mr Mandela described the marauders responsible for the slaughter as "animals".

While not repeating the Nazi analogy, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa minced no words in accusing Mr de Klerk of "complicity" in the Boipatong massacre and had no hesitation in defending the use of posters labelling Mr de Klerk a man wanted for murder.

The Human Rights Commission — most of whose commissioners are ANC-aligned — implicitly endorses Mr Mandela's Nazi analogy in its analysis of massacres since July 1990.

After identifying the IFP and the security forces as the primary culprits in nearly 50 attacks in which 10 or more people were killed, the HRC concludes: "There can be little doubt that there is a design and purpose behind most that places them alongside the gas chambers of Nazi Germany in sheer cold-blooded cynicism and brutality."

Against that, President de Klerk has accused the ANC of deliberately exploiting human tragedy for political gain at the risk of exacerbating an already dangerous

crisis.

There is undoubtedly an element of political calculation in the ANC's decision to hold President de Klerk personally responsible for the continuing violence, especially in view of the Goldstone Commission's finding that there is no evidence of a third force and that causes of the violence are manifold and complex.

One of the purposes behind the ANC's mass action campaign is to force Mr de Klerk to agree to the election of a constituent assembly by the end of this year and to mobilise "the masses" for the election.

By demonising Mr de Klerk in the eyes of township people, by turning townships into "no-go" areas for him, the ANC is ensuring that he will find it difficult, if not impossible, to supplement the high level of support that he enjoys in the white, coloured and Indian communities with a respectable share of the black vote.

Mr de Klerk's image as an intrepid innovator seeking to lead South Africa to a new non-racial

and democratic order has been severely damaged in the townships by the ANC's barrage of fierce criticism.

Another sign of retrogression to the P W Botha era is the re-emergence of the dreaded necklace killings, the execution of "informers" and "enemies of the people" by hanging tyres filled with petrol around their necks and setting them alight.

The first necklace killing occurred in 1985 when, after the funeral of the victims of the Uitenhage massacre, an angry mob attacked the home of T B Kinikini, the only councillor in Uitenhage's black township of KwaNobuhle who had not bowed to pressure to resign.

In the words of veteran journalist Mona Badela: "Mr Kinikini was stabbed, then tyres were put on him after he was dead and he was burned like that. The crowd also killed three of his sons. It was a terrible thing."

Ominously, on the day of the funeral for the victims of the Boipatong massacre, a young man su-

pected of being an IFP sympathiser was hauled from a township house, hacked, shot and necklaced. Before that, on the weekend before the Boipatong massacre, a young woman was necklaced for consorting with an IFP man living at Kwamadala Hostel.

Another necklace victim in the Vaal Triangle was the former mayor of Lekoa, Esau Mahlatse. He was murdered on May 28.

In a statement condemning the re-emergence of necklacing, the ANC implicitly but unmistakably laid the blame on the De Klerk administration. "The resurgence of necklacing is a manifestation of the deep frustrations and anger in the community with the violence and with Government's refusal to accept a democratic dispensation in South Africa."

The ANC's qualifying rider introduced a note of equivocation into its condemnation of necklacing and was reminiscent of the total propaganda war fought between the "regime" and the liberation movement during the Botha era. □

Govt softens transitional demands

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has significantly softened its demands for minority protection in a transitional government, in an effort to get negotiations back on track.

From President de Klerk's memorandum to ANC president Nelson Mandela, delivered to the ANC yesterday, it emerges that the Government has made several concessions compared with its proposals at Codesa 2 in May.

The aim seems to be to refute ANC charges that the Government is clinging to power.

● The Government has dropped its original plans to give minority parties disproportionately high representation in a transitional senate.

At one time the Gov-

ernment proposed that all parties commanding support over a certain minimum (10 percent was once suggested) should have equal representation in the senate — which would have veto powers over legislation.

In yesterday's memorandum, the Government is proposing that each of the regions into which the country would be divided should have equal representation in the senate. And the seats allocated to each region would be in proportion to party support.

This proposal represents a major departure from the Government's key proposal for minority protection.

● The Government dropped its insistence at Codesa 2 that matters concerning the structure of regional government may only be changed

with a 75 percent majority. The memorandum says a majority of only 70 percent should be required to amend or substitute the transitional constitution — except for a 75 percent majority for changing the bill of rights.

● If the transitional constitution had not been replaced within three years, a general election would be held.

The new Government position on a transitional constitution and a constitution-making body brings it very close to the position which the ANC was prepared to accept at Codesa 2.

The ANC accepted the need for a 70 percent majority in the constitution-making body in all matters except the bill of rights, where 75 percent would be needed.

It rejected the propos-

al by the Government of the need for a 75 percent majority on regional matters — which the Government has now dropped.

However, the Government and the ANC are still likely to disagree on the question of a deadlock-breaking mechanism.

At Codesa 2 the ANC proposed that if the constitution-making body deadlocked because of the high majorities required to make decisions, then after six months the draft constitution should be put to the public vote in a two-thirds majority referendum.

The Government's new proposal of a general election after three years is clearly an attempt to address that concern, but may fall short of ANC requirements.

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Fired ANC man seeks reparation

By JOE MDHLELA

FORMER ANC deputy head of the welfare department Mr Dali Mpfu has served legal papers on the organisation for unfair labour practice.

Fired two months ago by the ANC, Mpfu said the papers were served two weeks ago.

His boss, Mrs Winnie Mandela, resigned in April soon after separating from her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa should have known as a former trade union leader that there were procedures to be followed before firing an employee.

"This is a clear case of abuse of individual rights by Ramaphosa, a man elected general secretary of the ANC on the strength of his knowledge of labour relations matters.

"That is the crux of the matter I am questioning," he said.

Mpfu said the papers served on the ANC would set into motion a process that would lead to a full Industrial Court hearing if the Conciliation Board failed to bring the two parties closer to agreement.

ANC followers heckle NP MP

A MEETING of the Hillbrow and Jeppe branches of the National Party in Johannesburg was disrupted this week when ANC and PAC supporters heckled the NP MP for Jeppe Mr Hennie Bekker.

The meeting became rowdy shortly after it began on Wednesday evening when Bekker called for a moment's silence for those killed in the ongoing violence around the country.

A speaker, however, insisted that those who had died in the "apartheid struggle" be included.

Sowetan 31/7/92 (11A) ~~11A~~
The request was agreed to, which led to the spontaneous singing of Nkosi Sikelel i' Afrika.

Allegations that President FW de Klerk was a "Nazi", the NP were murderers and that the Government had stolen billions of rands of public funds were thrown around.

After the NP won a motion of confidence from 56 percent of the audience, the ANC and PAC supporters walked out.

"It was clear the hecklers were not interested in debate but attended with the purpose of disrupting the meeting. They, however, got a surprise when they failed to get their way to end the meeting in chaos," Bekker said afterwards.

ANC is causing a crisis, says FW

Sowetan 3/7/92

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THE African National Congress had chosen to sabotage negotiations, State President FW de Klerk charged last night.

In a hard-hitting address broadcast on SABC radio and TV, De Klerk said there was "every reason to believe that the ANC is breaking off negotiations to cause a crisis".

"They want to force their views on the rest of society through confrontation and mass mobilisation. This will not be tolerated," he said.

The Government would not hesitate to take steps to prevent the country from sliding into anarchy. It would also not allow the ultimate goal of the ANC's mass action campaign - to overthrow the Government through coercion - to succeed.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel told a news conference in Pretoria that the Government was, however, not considering reimposing a State of Emergency.

At the same Press conference, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said a two-day conference with the ANC should be held as soon as possible.

De Klerk gave an assurance that the Government would not allow the country to become ungovernable.

"Now is the time for cool heads and wise counsel. Say no to those who try to incite hatred. Do not allow yourselves to be led along the path of confrontation and conflicts," said De Klerk.

If conflict broke out in the country there would be no winners. Conflict would make future negotiations much more difficult.

The country was at a crossroads in its history. The negotiations road would lead to peace and a new parliament and government.

The other road, he said, would lead to mass mobilisation, confrontation, poverty and conflict.

He said Codesa 2 had been close to an agreement and that the country would have seen an elected parliament and government representing all South Africans within months.

He said there were indications that some elements had planned this course of action even before Codesa 2. - Sapa.

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ANC must change image

By MONK NKOMO

THE had arrived for the ANC to transform itself into a conventional political party and shed its image as a "violent organisation", Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel, said last night.

Addressing an international Press conference in Pretoria shortly after the Government had presented the ANC with a memorandum replying to its demands, Kriel accused the organisation of "blatant propaganda" in implicating government forces in the violence.

In the memorandum, State President FW de Klerk, said information received by the Government indicated that the South African Communist Party and Cosatu "have played a dominant role in redirecting the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontation which are inherent in mass mobilisation".

Kriel, who was accompanied by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, reiterated the Government's commitment to negotiations.

In reply to a question, Kriel stressed that the Government would not impose a State of Emergency as there were only a few "hot spots" of violence in the country.

The government wanted to meet the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party to discuss and resolve problems of violence.

Referring to ANC's claim that the Government was involved in the orchestration of violent acts, Kriel said the ANC had a history of murdering innocent people.

The ANC, he added, was also well-known for its "barbaric necklace executions and total disregard of the consequences of mass action".

ANC now calls for arbitration by UN

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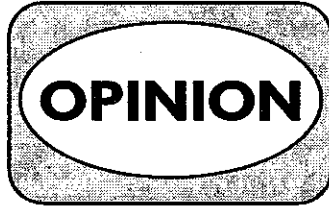
ON April 5 1990 the ANC announced its withdrawal from talks with the Government in protest against the shooting of 17 people by police during a demonstration and threatened to resume the armed struggle.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela accused Mr FW de Klerk in an open letter of not doing enough to end township violence and set a one-month ultimatum for action on violence to ensure the continuation of "talks about talks".

The ANC emphasised at the time that the negotiation process was still on course, saying the withdrawal was a "suspension" rather than a complete pull-out.

Four days later, April 9, Mandela and De Klerk resumed the talks in a five-hour crisis meeting that resulted in the ban on cultural weapons carried mostly by Inkatha supporters.

A war of words followed on the description of what was a traditional weapon as the bloodletting continued: from the township streets to the suburban trains and taxi ranks and tea parties. From Alexandra to Sebokeng to Katlehong and Wesselton and back



THE African National Congress did it in 1990 when it broke off talks with the Government. It returned to the table before its demands were met. Will it happen again? What will happen after State President FW de Klerk responds to their demands, asks Political Reporter, THEMBA MOLEFE?



to Sebokeng and Alexandra (and Alexandra and Sebokeng again) and Moletsane. Now Boipatong which is 5km from Sebokeng.

This time, Mandela has rejected De Klerk's proposal for a two-day summit and instead sought international intervention on South Africa.

"Codesa is off," said spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus this week. At the funeral of 37 of the 49 Boipatong victims on June 27, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told mourners: "This is the final nail in Codesa's coffin," referring to the ANC's decision to withdraw from negotiations and its 14-point ultimatum to De Klerk.

Ultimatum to what? The ANC contends that not only has the Gov-

ernment the might to stop the bloodshed and "genocide" of black South Africans, but are actually guilty of what Mandela described as a campaign of terror in the townships.

This sounds much the same as the 1990 rhetoric. But, as it was demonstrated in various other responses by grassroots 'membership' of the ANC - many might not even have signed up - did the youths, as was reported, try to shout Mandela down in vain when they "demanded guns" as he spoke to residents in Evaton in the aftermath of the Boipatong carnage on June 19?

One is reliably told of 12-year-olds leading regiments and commanding shooting ranges in Sebokeng and Meadowlands in Soweto.

The language used by the ANC in 1990 sounds the same as that used this June 23 when the organisation said it "withdrew completely" from constitutional negotiations and broke off bilateral talks with the Government and rejected De Klerk's appeal for a two-day summit on the crisis.

In 1990 Mandela said the police were not impartial in the violence gripping black townships and accused them of siding with Inkatha in the conflict.

This time around, the ANC talks

of breaking negotiations with the National Party Government because blacks seem to be methodically annihilated after 49 residents - plus a nine-month-old whose head was speared - were massacred in Boipatong.

Nevertheless, the ANC, as the dominant of the three liberation movements (the others being the PAC and Azapo) reflecting on the horror of June 17's murder, says there is no need for talking but action.

Spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus put it this way: "What is there to talk about when the security forces can but do not apprehend those involved in these massacres?"

The organisation says it is committed to negotiations and will keep the situation under constant review.

This is seen as saying it would return to the negotiating - and Codesa - process if its demands are met.

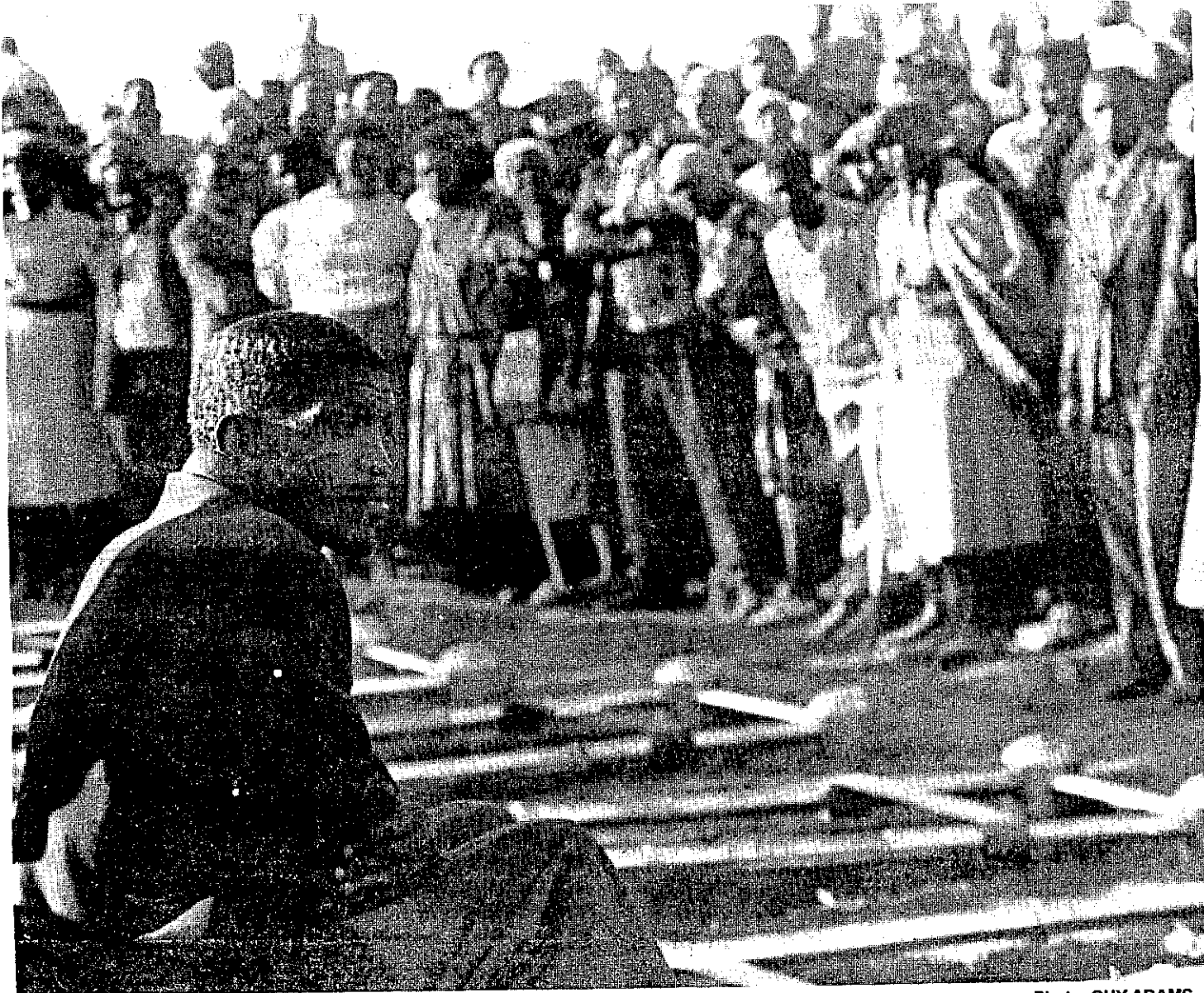
These demands include the intervention of the United Nations and/or Organisation of African Unity.

Mandela is seeking an emergency sitting of the UN Security Council on "the South African situation" and is presently campaigning personally to ensure UN involvement.

'What is there to talk about when the security forces can but do not apprehend those involved in these massacres?'

Watch out FW, the crunch is coming

(219) (11A) (219)



A mourner contemplates the graves of Boipatong massacre victims

Photo: GUY ADAMS

THE stage is set for a colossal show-down between the state and the African National Congress, as local and international pressure on South Africa reached new heights this week.

Last night the government was due to announce its response to the ANC's 14 conditions for the resumption of talks. But indications are that they are not likely to go far in meeting ANC demands. Plans by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the ANC for widespread mass action are far advanced and unlikely to be changed.

In the latest developments:

- A confidential ANC document gives a first glimpse of the insurrectionary tactics it would use to topple the state. These include the disruption of post and telecommunications, the dislocation of the civil service and crippling of the national transport system. *W/ Mail 317-917192.*
- Cosatu has announced plans for a general strike, potentially of a week's duration, starting on August 3.
- Commonwealth Secretary General Chief Emeka Anyaoku jetted in to South Africa yesterday and met President FW de Klerk last night.
- United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to raise South Africa at the next meeting of the United Nations Security Council.
- Proposals for the inclusion of international monitors in National Peace Accord structures are under consideration within the UN, Commonwealth, Organisation of African Unity and European Community.
- A mission of three EC foreign ministers is due in South Africa before the August 3 national strike.
- The world Anti-Apartheid Movement is to discuss the revival of the sanctions campaign against South Africa at a conference this month.
- Local churches are to launch a defiance campaign if the government's response is inadequate.

ANC's plan to topple government

A CONFIDENTIAL African National Congress document gives the first clear indication of exactly how the movement intends to bring the government down if it does not relinquish power.

Calling for an extended political strike to break the deadlock at Codesa, the document — which *The Weekly Mail* understands has been canvassed at the highest levels of the ANC's leadership — urges “prolonged, intermittent disruption of normal business”.

Targeting the national communications system, the transport system, the public service and the economy, the document outlines how government and business activities could be brought to a halt for a lengthy period. Included among its proposals are:

- The systematic and deliberate interruption of the telephone services of certain business and state institutions
- Sit-ins, stayaways and protest action at all major police stations, prisons and post offices
- Deliberate delays and the systematic interruption of the general transport system, including the railways, harbours and airways. The document proposes paralysing the road transport system by mobilising taxi drivers to cause traffic snarl-ups
- The deliberate displacement of important documents, office and machine keys, and other essential items for the normal running of government services.

In line with an ANC policy conference decision, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) on

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A prolonged political strike will spearhead an ANC plan to force the government to relinquish power.

By Weekly Mail Reporter

Wednesday announced a general strike of unstated duration, beginning on August 3, if the government does not meet its demands for significant concessions. (See Page 19)

The confidential document argues that a political strike could lead to the breaking of the negotiations deadlock, and even the removal of the government from power and the imposition of an interim government. It suggests a two to three-week strike, although Cosatu is understood to be advocating week-long action.

The upsurge in militancy in the townships in the wake of the Boipatong massacre and the ANC/Cosatu/South African Communist Party alliance's strong commitment to a programme of escalating mass action have created fertile conditions among anti-government forces for the adoption of these tactics.

However, many observers are sceptical about the ability of the organisations to maintain a general strike for the proposed two to three weeks. The most successful stayaway the ANC and Cosatu have previously called was on November 4 and 5 last year, when about three million people protested against the implementation of Value-Added Tax.

The document also reveals that dif-



Pallo Jordan

ferences of opinion exist within the ANC about the effectiveness of the “Leipzig option” — action aimed at toppling the government.

It notes warnings that “threats reduce the possibility of the regime acting without creating serious problems among its supporters. An extended strike would give the regime an excuse to pull out of a process destined to transfer power to the majority”. Those holding this view believe mass action as a means of extracting concessions from the government should be “limited or even suspended”.

Despite the overwhelming support the ANC's withdrawal from negotia-

tions won from its members, *The Weekly Mail* has learnt that there was some resistance within the movement's national executive committee (NEC) to withdrawing from Codesa.

During last week's NEC meeting where it was decided to break off all contact with the government, the sentiment was expressed that the strong allegations of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre had given the ANC the political high ground. It was argued that the ANC should end all bilateral contact with the government but use the renewed international and local pressure to achieve significant concessions at Codesa.

But at the end of the day the decision was taken to end all contact with the government until it meets. 14 demands aimed at ending the violence and breaking the deadlock at Codesa.

This week, NEC members remained tight-lipped about the debate and instead emphasised that the decision to break off both bilateral and Codesa negotiations was taken by the NEC as a whole.

“Once the decision has been taken, it is binding on the whole NEC and private views are neither here nor there,” said NEC member Pallo Jordan.

Commenting on the significance of the debate, Mohamed Valli Moosa, another NEC member, said: “It would not be on the mark to make anything of the differences of opinion about what we should be doing. The decision was taken in a matter of hours and that should indicate that there was not a wide range of divergent opinions.”

ANC 'diplomats' ready to take on Foreign Affairs

■ A debate has begun over the future role of the ANC's foreign representatives in developing a new South Africa's links with the world.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

POSSIBLE integration of the African National Congress's international affairs personnel into a future government's foreign affairs department is being debated in political and academic circles.

It is suggested that many of South Africa's future diplomats could be drawn from the ANC's foreign missions, which were established in about 40 countries over more than three decades.

It is claimed they have had training and considerable experience in foreign relations and could play a valuable role in developing a new South Africa's future links with the world.

Among options discussed so far is that the ANC's foreign representatives either could be co-opted or integrated into a new government's foreign affairs department — along lines of proposals for integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe into the security forces.

However, government spokesmen say no decision has

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been taken and it is premature to speculate at this stage.

Foreign Affairs Department spokesman Mr Rafique Gangat commented: "The department is certainly unaware of any moves to co-opt ANC personnel stationed in foreign offices, although we maintain a healthy relationship with the ANC.

"Nevertheless, for a number of years the department has had an open-door policy pertaining to employment; that is, any South African regardless of race, colour, or creed is free to join the department and serve his or her country."

The ANC's head of administration for international affairs, Mr Yusuf Saloojee, said the future of the organisation's foreign offices would be looked at once an interim government was in place.

Mr Saloojee confirmed that the ANC had representatives in about 40 countries.

"Historically, the government's foreign service personnel were trained as diplomats and were trained also to sell apartheid internationally. Our representatives were trained to attack apartheid. We hope that at some point the whole situation will be reviewed.

"One certainly can't continue with two foreign affairs departments and two sets of representatives."

It had been agreed at Codesa that a committee on foreign affairs would be established, but so far details had not been worked out.

PROPAGANDA WAR: For the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa

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Painted into a corner

THE Government's long-awaited response to the ANC's demands for restarting negotiations was not, in the first instance, a response to the ANC at all. There is little doubt that when the phalanx of high-ranking National Party ministers took the podium at the Old Presidency this week, they knew that what they were about to say would not cause the ANC suddenly to relent and return to the talking-table. Rather, De Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela, and the reams of supporting documentation, were aimed primarily at the NP's constituents — real and imagined — and the international community. The NP, increasingly perceived as having lost control of the transition process after the ANC's Codesa walkout and the onset of mass action, wanted to take the political fight back to the ANC while quietly slipping in some constitutional compromises which might prove useful at a later stage. This explains the imbalance between confrontation and conciliation in the Government presentation. De Klerk served notice that, for the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa. To this end, the Government



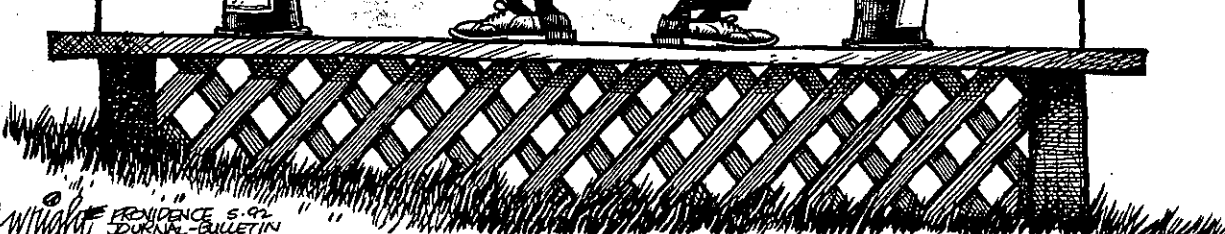
THE Government has decided — once again — that the best form of defence is

partner. Therefore the decision of the ANC NEC on June 24 1992, in collaboration with its alliance partners, to suspend negotiations is viewed as only the most recent of a range of similar past decisions which further contributed to negative perceptions regarding the ANC's approach to negotiations per se and as a process. The perception that has been created includes that:

- The ANC is committed to negotiations only to the extent its own objectives are served.
- The ANC readily enters into agreements but is not committed to supporting the implementation of such agreements.
- The ANC is using extremely coercive negotiation tactics, including ultimatum deadlines, threats, reneging on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing."

The Government concludes with the charge that "for the period November 1991 to June 1992, the ANC was responsible for 186 recorded breaches of the National Peace Accord and the DF Malan Accord.

"The ANC, by starting planning for mass action even before it became clear that a deadlock might develop at Codesa, reneging on all working group agreements on the basis



THE Government has decided — once again — that the best form of defence is attack. Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH detect the opening of two new battlefronts in President de Klerk's aggressive response to the ANC's memorandum on negotiations.

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the ANC will quietly slipping in some constitutional compromises which might prove useful at a later stage.

This explains the imbalance between confrontation and conciliation in the Government presentation. De Klerk served notice that, for the moment, competition for international sympathy is a more pressing concern than a resumption of Codesa.

To this end, the Government opened two new major battlefronts in its propaganda war with the ANC.

The onslaughts are contained in two of the six lengthy annexures appended to De Klerk's letter. They have received little attention thus far because of the focus on the president's renewed call for face-to-face meetings with his estranged negotiating partner.

The annexures aim to convince the world (and, in the process, as much of South Africa as possible) that the ANC has been manipulated by the SA Communist Party and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

In his letter to Mandela, the president set out the two inter-linked allegations. His Government acknowledged the right to peaceful demonstration and protest as important civil liberties, he said, but "our information indicates that the SACP and Cosatu have played a dominant role in re-directing the ANC from negotiations to the politics of demands and confrontation which are inherent in mass mobilisation.

"Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the SACP and Cosatu. These elements undermine the attempts of many ANC realists to negotiate in good faith and also induce within the ANC the spirit of radicalism and militancy

of the insurrectionist school, which was evident at the SACP's 8th congress in 1991.

"The current mobilisation action can unleash forces which the instigators will not be able to control. This will, in turn, make extended Government action unavoidable. The stated ultimate goal of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign is the overthrow of the Government by coercion. This will not be countenanced."

These allegations are then used to underpin the conclusion that "the fundamental differ-

The Government aims to convince the world and in the process as much of South Africa as possible that the ANC has been manipulated by the SACP and Cosatu into reverting to "revolutionary" aims, and has therefore become an "unreliable negotiating partner".

ence between the approach of the ANC and that of the Government regarding the purpose of negotiations lies, on the one hand, in our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible; and on the other hand, in the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power before a proper transitional constitution is negotiated."

The key impression for which the Government is trying to secure credibility is that the

SACP/ANC "tail" is wagging the ANC "dog". Interestingly enough, in making its case, the Government inadvertently reveals that its security police are still hard at work in snooping on the "old enemy", the ANC — despite the fact that it is a perfectly legal organisation, and a political rival of the National Party.

In its detailed memorandum on "the current influence of Marxism-Leninism within the ANC", the Government alleges that "the SACP lends so much support to initiatives to influence

and even transform the ANC that it seems that its independent profile serves only to draw attention away from its primary revolutionary strategising role within the ANC".

The document adds: "It is clear that the SACP, Cosatu and individuals within the ANC still pursue outdated tactical communist doctrines and objectives. The question arises whether the ANC is not becoming a captive of these forces.

"The SACP still regards a socialist system as only a necessary phase towards realising an eventual communist system. It should be obvious that these objectives and the prominent position of their proponents within the ANC cast doubt on the

real character of the ANC."

Having sketched this context, the Government makes the direct claim that the ANC's Codesa pullout and current campaign of mass action have been foisted upon it.

"There can be no doubt that both the SACP and Cosatu were, in their individual and collective capacity, instrumental in a number of recent crucial ANC decisions regarding the negotiation process.

"These decisions followed intense deliberations between SACP and Cosatu members and were clearly the result of specific guidelines drawn up by the SACP/Cosatu."

The document then reveals its central purpose: to alienate the ANC from its sympathisers in the West, and indeed the

rapidly changing political orders of Eastern Europe. "As South Africa moves towards a new democratic order, the strategy and policy of various revolutionaries within the ANC alliance are increasingly in conflict with internationally accepted norms.

"For example, to regard negotiation in principle as a 'terrain of struggle' undermines the essence of the concept itself. In the final instance it gives rise to concern that the ANC allows these influences to

flourish when these forces are already committed to extra-parliamentary struggle against the new dispensation."

"This extraordinary approach undermines the fact that revolutionary ethics generally overrule all other principles, and are therefore incompatible with democracy."

A separate annexure — "the ANC as a negotiating partner" — then seeks to undermine the ANC's credibility as a reliable political interlocutor.

After recapping agreements reached at Groote Schuur and

The Government says the ANC is using extremely coercive tactics, including ultimatum deadlocks, threats, reneging on agreements, and projecting unrealistic time-frames, etc, almost every time it becomes apparent that genuine compromise on a give-and-take basis is in the offing.

in other high-profile bilateral meetings, the Government says: "Despite these agreements and the spirit in which they were concluded, the ANC at regular intervals started using threats and ultimatums as part of its political approach, which from the start had a detrimental and erosive effect on the mutual trust that was beginning to develop.

"The ANC do have a bad track record in maintaining agreements and can be considered an unreliable negotiating

in the offing." The Government concludes with the charge that "for the period November 1991 to June 1992, the ANC was responsible for 186 recorded breaches of the National Peace Accord and the D F Malan Accord.

"The ANC, by starting planning for mass action even before it became clear that a deadlock might develop at Codesa, reneging on all working group agreements on the basis that there was no agreement if all agreements were not accepted, as well as suspending negotiations, cannot but further compound the already negative perceptions surrounding its approach to negotiations.

"From these and other decisions and actions by the ANC, in conjunction with its alliance partners, it can only be deduced that the ANC is indeed negatively viewing negotiations as an 'area of struggle', and even as a battle in the 'struggle' that must be won at all costs."

"If this is indeed the case, then it is clear that in the ANC's current view of negotiations there is no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement."

The pace of progress towards a resumption of the formal negotiations process will depend

in no small measure on the extent to which the Government succeeds or fails to make these charges stick against the ANC. The Government is attempting to add a new weapon to its armoury: it is

one which could be highly effective, but carries risks.

If De Klerk can convince a significant body of world opinion that the ANC is indeed being held hostage by proponents of a "dogmatic and discredited ideology", he will strengthen his position considerably. Should he fail, his credibility will suffer as a result of being seen to have made false accusations for narrow party-political gain. The propaganda war on the international stage is as important as ever.

Take heart: there is hope if you take time to look hard enough

THE elegant, airy, carpeted halls of the Old Presidency in Pretoria could not be further from the blood and dust of Boipatong. But events, one at each locale and at opposite ends of this harrowing week just passed, left a remarkably similar taste in the mouths of those in attendance.

The taste was of fear, tart fear, for the future of our country. In Boipatong on Monday, we saw hatred and no sign of the spirit of compromise without which there cannot be a negotiated settlement in South Africa. In Pretoria on Thursday, we saw defiance and threats in response. The mood among both the bereaved of Boipatong and the politicians of Pretoria spelt one thing: struggle. It was a stomach-wrenching time-trip back to the mean days of the 1980s, to the atmosphere of Fortress Botha as it steeled itself for the onslaught of the Barbarians.

Should we succumb to hopeless depression? Moreover, can we afford to? I think not, and for that reason am prepared to scour the desert landscape of our current politics for signs of growth — even if it is just budding between the dry soil. There are conciliatory seedlings in the Government's otherwise warlike, unrepentant response to the ANC's memorandum detailing the organisation's reasons for pulling out of Codesa.

Ignore, for the moment, the fact that President de Klerk places all the blame for the crisis at the feet of the African National Congress, and obliquely threatens a security clampdown in one form or another. Leave aside the distasteful impression that it is only the crisis which has galvanised the police and State departments to respond with urgency and seriousness to the Boipatong killers, the hostels question and the carrying of dangerous weapons. Forget, too, that the positive, constructive elements of the Government's response were buried beneath an avalanche of vitriol.

The point is that, whatever the motivation, we

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UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

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Johnson



THERE are conciliatory seedlings in the Government's otherwise warlike, unrepentant response to the ANC's memorandum detailing the organisation's reasons for pulling out of Codesa.

might be on the threshold of a breakthrough on these vital matters, as well as on the constitutional issues which scuttled Codesa 2. No one believes that the Janus-faced Government intervention will lure the ANC back to the negotiating table soon, but there is reason to hope that, when such talks do reconvene, there really will be something to talk about.

Let us consider the issues one by one. In the case of the Boipatong butchery, it appears that there is tangible progress towards bringing the killers to book. This stands in shameful contrast to the Swanieville massacre, where the murderers are still free, but it will at least serve as a warning to those planning further carnage that there might be some risk attached this time round.

Regarding the hostels, there is renewed Government urgency. "We are dealing specifically with this problem," Minister Roelf Meyer said on Thursday night, and an annexure to De Klerk's letter to Nelson Mandela notes that "the Government is concerned about the hostel situa-

tion, and has therefore approved a comprehensive hostel strategy". This differs from earlier formulations, which expressed concern and said simply that the matter was "being discussed".

Progress on the scandalous latitude allowed in the matter of carrying dangerous weapons in public also seems imminent. De Klerk says "further regulations are currently under consideration". To this is added the prospect that "the possession and carrying of all dangerous weapons at any public place may be absolutely banned". Hallelujah!

There are other signs of light on practical issues. Minister Kobie Coetsee, replying to questions, revealed that the dispute over political prisoners might be resolved by way of a redefinition of the category. Also, the Government is clearly softening its opposition to international involvement in monitoring.

Then there is the constitutional arena. For reasons unknown and best not asked for, the Government now sees its way clear to doff a cap in the direction of the ANC regarding three issues on which it seemed immovable at Codesa 2. It now appears to find a 70 percent "special majority" for most constitutional issues acceptable, it agrees that representation in a senate should be proportionate to party support, and it envisages an electoral mechanism to break a possible deadlock under an interim constitution.

None of these signals complete agreement between the two main negotiating partners — far from it — but they constitute definite movement. The engine parts are being reassembled; what is required is an injection of that precious fuel called trust.

South Africans — all South Africans — lose a good friend tomorrow when US ambassador Bill Swing leaves the country. But we might dwell on his parting message: Don't despair, he says: dig out, cling to and nurture the reasons for hope. Some of those reasons, however blood-stained, are detailed above. Take heart.

PAC challenges SA media 'monopoly'

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(11A)

AN independent trust should be created to facilitate diversity in South African media ownership, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

Addressing the Neiman African-American Institute of Southern Africa Media Conference, Moseneke said South African media were controlled by four corporations which produced 90 percent of newspapers sold. This control was the antithesis of democracy and in-

hibited debate.

"A future constitution should make provision for the right of minority newspapers to exist and the State must afford these publications subsidies to guarantee their survival."

He expressed the PAC's disgust and disapproval of the assault on two journalists by people wearing PAC T-shirts during the Boipatong massacre funeral on Monday. The PAC had taken steps to identify the culprits, he said.

The media presenta-

tion of the political strife as "black-on-black violence" was a cynical distortion of the truth, aimed at showing that the liberation movement was incapable of controlling its supporters, Moseneke said. However, he conceded that some of the violence could be blamed on the battle for political support in the townships.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the same event that Nelson Mandela had personally undertaken to issue a directive to all

ANC structures to ensure township youths learnt to respect journalists covering unrest situations.

"The ANC's national working committee is looking at the events of the Boipatong funeral, how journalists were harassed and shot at," Mr Ramaphosa said. "The ANC must take immediate steps so that it does not become a culture that starts growing in South Africa."

At least six journalists were assaulted or threatened at the funeral of 37

people killed in Boipatong.

Turning to media independence, the most critical issue remained the SABC, Ramaphosa said. "The ANC believes the most urgent issue is to reach agreement on a completely reconstituted, impartial and non-partisan management and board of directors for the SABC."

The ANC advocated an Independent Media Commission to consider urgently the question of a reconstituted SABC Board. — Sapa.

FW's letter to Mandela not all fire, ^{3NA} ^{11A} brimstone

BEHIND the mask of hostile rhetoric, President de Klerk's letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela offers some important concessions on the demands made by the ANC in its memorandum of June 23.

Considerable convergence between the ANC's and the Government's formal constitutional positions — and on ways of curbing political violence — has occurred since the breakdown of Codesa 2 in May.

The aggressive tone of the Government's memorandum may ensure that the ANC will not come back into negotiations immediately, but significant shifts and a general readiness to discuss remaining differences may have laid the foundation for renewed discussion and agreement later.

The concessions might also serve to shift some international sympathy to the Government side and thereby increase pressure on the ANC to ameliorate its campaign of mass action. This is how the Government has responded to the ANC's "14 reasons" for breaking off negotiations:

DEMANDS 1 AND 2: The Government must agree to the creation of a democratically elected and sovereign constituent assembly to draft a new constitution and to an interim government of national unity.

The Government replies to these points by saying it has already acceded, since Codesa agreed to the broad structure of transitional arrangements including a constitution-making body. But the Government reiterates its insistence on an elected, not an appointed, interim government.

More importantly, the Government seems to have made further concessions to these demands by softening its requirements for minority protection in a transitional constitution. It is no longer insisting — as it did at Codesa 2 — that a 75 percent majority will be needed to change the structures of regional government in the transitional constitution. But it has introduced the idea that each regional authority will have the right to veto constitutional changes which affect its region.

It has also reintroduced the idea of a second House or senate in the transitional constitution — which it dropped at Codesa 2. But — and this might be the most significant shift — parties will be represented in the senate in proportion to their voter support, with no enhanced representation for minority parties as the NP originally proposed.

DEMANDS 3 to 6: Terminate all covert operations including hit squads; disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces as well as detachments made up

of foreign nationals; suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel involved in the violence; ensure that repression in the homelands is ended.

The Government replies collectively by saying it cannot meet these demands because there is no campaign of terror against the people. But it is willing to discuss the specific charges — in the context of the ANC's own contribution to violence.

DEMANDS 7 to 10: The immediate implementation of the agreed plan to convert hostels into family units; installing of fences around hostels; permanent guarding of hostels by security forces monitored by multilateral peace struc-

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

tures; regular searches of hostels.

The Government's response to these demands is that it has a comprehensive strategy to upgrade hostels but this can only be done by consensus in negotiations between hostel dwellers, surrounding town residents and other concerned parties. De Klerk says he would like to discuss this matter at a proposed meeting with Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

DEMAND 11: Ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including so-called cultural weapons — in public on all occasions.

The Government replies that it is drafting new regulations to ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including firearms — in public. The ban will be part of the unrest-areas regulations, which means it will be applied in selective hot-spots. In a clear reference to the armed struggle, the Government says it would like to discuss with the ANC measures to counter the illegal possession of all dangerous weapons, including firearms and explosives.

DEMAND 12: The establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all other acts of violence, and international monitoring of violence.

The Government replies that international experts have already been appointed to assist the Goldstone Commission investigating the Boipatong massacre and other political violence. The Government also proposes that De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi should consider creating a Government-ANC-IFP monitoring body which would act to defuse violence. "The role of the international community in an observer capacity could be considered, especially in relation to this item."

DEMAND 13: Release all political prisoners forthwith.

The Government responds that it has already fulfilled its obligations under agreements with the ANC and that large numbers of political prisoners have been released. It adds that the Government and the ANC had already agreed in Codesa's Working Group 1 to form a task group to consider the release of remaining prisoners who have committed common-law crimes such as murder.

It proposes that the prisoners issue, the lack of indemnity for senior ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) officials, the future of MK and its arms caches, and the treatment of detainees in ANC camps abroad could be dealt with in one agreement.

DEMAND 14: Repeal all repressive legislation, including those laws hastily passed at the end of the last session of Parliament. (These laws give the State extraordinary powers to counter drugs and arms trafficking, private armies, and violence and intimidation.)

The Government replies that Codesa Working Group 1 made extensive unanimous recommendations concerning security legislation and emergency measures. "The ANC's inexplicable delaying tactics are keeping these issues alive." On the laws just passed in Parliament, the Government says it cannot abrogate its responsibility to reduce crime, intimidation and violence.

Ⓢ See Spectrum — Page 11

Hope behind the hostility

'Bloody hands' revealed

South 4/7-8/1/92.

A government plot to devastate South Africa and weaken the ANC has been revealed by the organisation in the latest edition of its mouthpiece, Mayibuye:

THE ANC's intelligence department, with the help of sources in government circles, has revealed a sinister two-pronged strategy designed by the

government to thwart progress towards democracy.

The ANC mouthpiece, Mayibuye, says Operation Thunderstorm and Operation Springbok are the official names of the strategies aimed at forcing the ANC into an entrenched coalition with the National Party.

Operation Springbok aims to prevent the ANC from forming a government on its own. On their own, the aims of Operation Springbok can be viewed as a natural competitive strategy of a party striving to attain maximum advantage.

But when combined with Operation Thunderstorm, the ominous nature of this strategy is revealed. As its name suggests, Operation Thunderstorm seeks to devastate the country — wreaking havoc to force the ANC to accept Operation Springbok.

Its purpose is to weaken the ANC through violence and the creation of a climate of uncertainty.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm seeks to create the impression, particularly among blacks, that the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leaders is the cause of

their suffering.

When the NP finally forces the ANC into a coalition, the people will be happy to see an end to violence even if their socio-political conditions do not improve.

Mayibuye says Thunderstorm was placed in the hands of the SADF's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI). Its main strategy is the unleashing of violence using secret DMI networks and the 'former' security police.

Sources who have been in contact with the government on security measures allege that it is prepared

to discuss most arms of the SADF but will not tolerate any discussion of the DMI.

Thunderstorm propaganda includes blaming the ANC, and particularly uMkhonto weSizwe (the ANC's military wing) for the violence. A deliberate campaign of character assassination directed against selected ANC leaders is also part of this propaganda blitz.

Using the SABC and the government's network in the press, the government's response to violence is portrayed in a favourable light.

Mayibuye says the first and most important phase of Thunderstorm has been in operation for some time. This is reflected partly in the support given to activities of organisations like the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Another aspect is the

arming and deployment of criminal gangs, agents provocateurs, Askaris, Renamo, Koevoet and others. Random shootings, which appear unconnected to political rivalry, form part of this strategy.

To confuse matters further, professional hit-squads are provided with arms of Soviet origin — weapons previously associated with the ANC.

Mayibuye says the structures used in Operation Thunderstorm, remnants of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and others, must appear to act 'independently'. Such remnants emerge in the IFP and as battalions 31 and 32 (Angolan mercenaries), Recce 5 (Mozambicans), Koevoet (Namibians) and Recce 3 (former Rhodesians).

Taxi wars in the Western Cape, Transvaal and other areas also form part of this strategy.

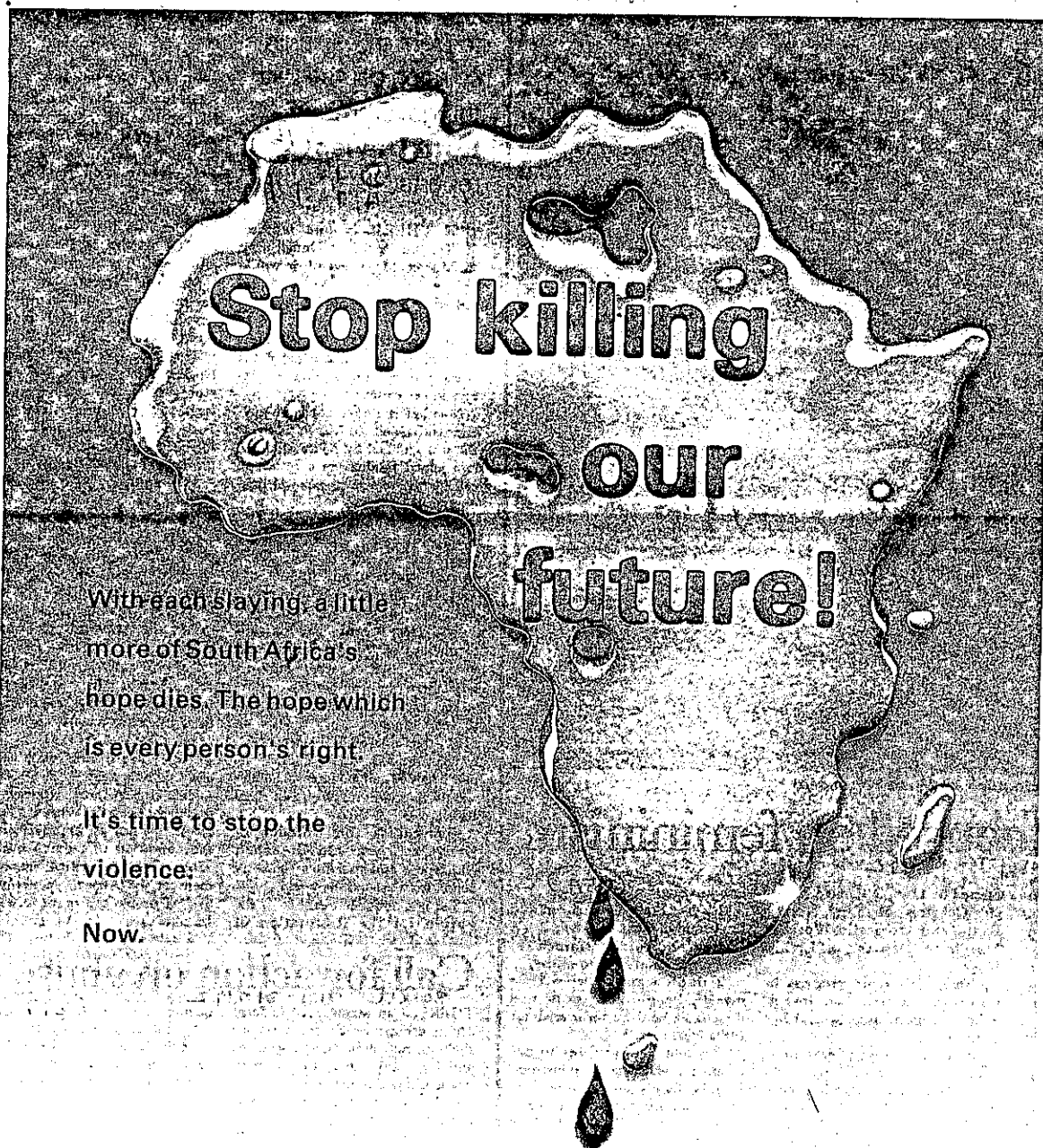
The generals behind these plans are concerned about campaigns of mass action, the exposures in some newspapers, the failure to substantially weaken the ANC and the creation of self-defence structures in some communities.

A number of these generals and some senior NP leaders are finding the temptation to resort to more repression difficult to resist.

The recent call-up and President FW de Klerk's threat to declare a state of emergency reflect this temptation.

A question that needs to be asked is whether De Klerk can credibly claim not to know about Operation Thunderstorm?

The reality is that operations of the scale, funding and political objectives of Thunderstorm and Springbok could not imaginably be conducted without at least the tacit involvement and knowledge of the head of state.



With each slaying, a little more of South Africa's hope dies. The hope which is every person's right.

It's time to stop the violence.

Now.



ENGEN

Committed to peace,
justice and prosperity

Mandela rules out talks with De Klerk

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE slanging match between the government and the ANC continued yesterday dimming hopes of negotiations getting on track soon.

ANC president Nelson Mandela dashed any hopes of an early reconciliation between his organisation and the government when he reiterated the accusation that Pretoria is involved in the current violence.

And as relations between the two worsened, Mandela also dismissed the possibility of an early meeting with State President FW de Klerk saying "no good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage".

Mandela repeated the allegation of the government's involvement in the violence soon after his arrival from an OAU meeting in Senegal.

The ANC leader's attack follows De Klerk's hardline response to the list of demands the organisation has made to the government before it can resume talks.

However, although De Klerk used a harsh language in replying to the ANC

memorandum and accused the organisation of being manipulated by a South African Communist Party/Cosatu cabal, he did not dismiss the demands out of hand.

Instead, he strategically replied in broad terms to the demands - thus leaving room for these to be a subject for further discussion either in bilateral talks or in Codesa.

This left a glimmer of hope that talks between the two parties could soon take place - something which now seems unlikely.

As a sop to the ANC, the government agreed to the conversion of hostels into family units and has already brought in some involvement of international personnel to investigate and monitor violence.

Pretoria also softened its previous position about the majority percentage needed for a constitution-making body. However, the government's concession comes several weeks too late. The recent ANC conference resolved that the organisation must now insist on its initial 66 percent majority demand.

Cypress 517192

(11A)

Mandela rejects FW offer and sets stage for confrontation

ANC OPTS FOR A SHOWDOWN

AFTER BOIPATONG, A NEW FEAR GRIPS THE TOWNSHIPS OF TERROR

TRAPPED IN THE PEOPLE PRISONS

Special report by EZRA MANTINI

RESIDENTS of seven sprawling Vaal Triangle townships have become virtual prisoners in their own towns, their lives ruled by a powerful new community body calling itself the Broad Forum.

Our Misses score a July hit



By EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday brushed aside President FW de Klerk's overtures to resume talks, setting the stage for an all-out confrontation that may plunge the country into a massive crisis.

The ANC alliance, now clearly dominated by the militant Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), is pressing ahead with preparations for a series of rolling strikes and widespread mass action to bring down the government.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said bluntly that the aim of the mass action campaign and the national strike from August 3 was to install an interim government, whose sole objective would be to convene elections by December.

Equally bluntly, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer replied: "The government is not prepared to give up power unconstitutionally. It's as simple as that."

At a press conference yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC would not resume talks with the government or at Codesa until the National Party had agreed to majority rule. Only this concession would avert a general strike.

Gravity

He accused Mr De Klerk of ignoring the gravity of the demands made by the ANC when it broke off constitutional talks. Mr De Klerk's response, he said, "confirms that he and his government want to be both player and referee. By responding in the manner he has, Mr De Klerk has chosen to drive South Africa on a collision course".

Rejecting the President's call for a meeting, he said: "I see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis. No good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage."

Earlier Mr Naidoo also rejected the government compromises. His militancy is matched by an angry mood in the workplace. More than half-a-million workers are poised to take strike action this month.

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Earlier Mr Naidoo also rejected the government compromises. His militancy is matched by an angry mood in the workplace. More than half-a-million workers are poised to take strike action this month.

In an interview with The Sunday Times, Mr Naidoo rejected a resumption of Codesa talks. Instead he called for:

- The restructuring of negotiations to include key elements of civil society;

- The replacement of the NP government with an interim government to oversee a limited period of transition;

- The involvement of the international community in monitoring security force activities;

- The holding of constituent assembly elections.

To achieve this, Mr Naidoo said, Cosatu planned to form a broad common front, based on the acceptance of majority rule and the need for a rapid transition to democracy.

It would involve churches, trade unions, civic organisations and business, and would serve as a pressure group to break the logjam in negotiations.

Mr Naidoo dismissed the government's insistence that a detailed interim constitution be negotiated before an interim government could be installed.

"If we don't act now, disaster will unfold. People on the ground are so angry they will take the law into their own hands. Mass action must be seen in that context. Nothing will stop the militancy. All we have said is this is the vehicle we will use to channel the militancy.

"We are wasting time if we try to achieve change on a strictly legal basis. We need to decide what is right for this country now and then establish a mechanism to achieve it.

"The government has got to accept majority rule as a basic premise. Without that there can be no resolution of conflict."

Mr Naidoo's belief that mass action and strikes, accompanied by the formation of the "civil society" front, will force the government to capitulate, is seriously flawed on

□ To Page 2



ANC wants showdown

□ From Page 1

two counts. (111) First, he underestimates the strength of the government which can count on the support of the vast majority of whites, coloureds and Indians and, even more significantly, on the backing of the military and the police.

Second, his hope that business, faced with crippling strikes, will throw in its lot with the liberation movements is simply not materialising.

On the contrary, a recent survey of 50 businesses by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry found that businessmen have had a bellyful of strikes and mass action.

Rather than switch allegiance to Cosatu and its allies, business is intent on taking strong disciplinary action against workers who participate in the general strike.

Government members,

clearly eager to lure the ANC back to the negotiating table, offered significant compromises on constitutional proposals this week.

In addition, they proposed that a body consisting of the ANC, Inkatha and government members be set up to monitor the security forces. They called for urgent bilateral talks with the ANC to discuss the policing and even cordoning off of hostels and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

At the same time, however, government members made it clear they were nowhere near the point where mass action and strikes would force them to relinquish power.

President De Klerk set the tone when he said of the attempts by the ANC and Cosatu to seize power: "This will not be tolerated."

Mr Meyer said Cosatu was sorely mistaken if it

believed its mass action campaign could bear similar results to campaigns in Eastern Europe.

He said last night that the ANC's decision not to resume talks "would seem to bear out our concern that the ANC and its allies have decided to abandon the path of negotiations for the path of confrontation and conflict".

"It would also seem to indicate that the SACP/Cosatu factions have gained the upper hand in the Alliance."

Prior to the ANC delivering its response, Western diplomats, while crediting President De Klerk with willingness to allow some sort of international involvement in the country, were of the view that his failure to address the ANC's demands on violence would make it difficult for negotiators within the ANC to convince their constituency to return to talks.

ANC plan to
boost image

5/7/92

By CLAIRE
ROBERTSON



THE ANC is in the market for an advertising campaign to improve its image and boost membership, according to the organisation and a Johannesburg advertising agency.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation was "looking around" for an agency.

He refused to comment on why it was felt necessary to sell the organisation, although political commentators noted it had failed to attract the membership it hoped for.

A source at the Herd Boys agency said it was known the ANC "wanted to do something about its image and membership".

Mr Niehaus said: "This is an internal discussion. There is a general process of looking around."

SA leaders urged to move quickly

SA WAS in a serious political crisis and its leaders would have to move fast as time was not on their side, Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku warned yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport after a four-day consultative visit to the country, Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help in getting constitutional talks back on track. *BID 6/7/92*

"The Commonwealth is prepared to assist in any way possible to address the violence which has emerged as a major stumbling block to negotiations."

Anyaoku added: "We were all very optimistic after the Harare Commonwealth summit that negotiations launched through Codesa would move speedily to a successful conclusion."

He spoke to President F W de Klerk, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenéke.

He said suggestions by various political parties would be looked at to sustain the negotiations process. "The stalled negotiations need to be reactivated in an appropriate way and the stumbling blocks addressed quickly by all parties concerned."

Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for a violence monitoring and peacekeeping force, as proposed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and by Mosenéke. — Sapa.

FW accused of breaking his word over hostels

Mandela renews attack

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Staff Reporter and Sapa

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday kept up his offensive against the State President, accusing F W de Klerk of reneging on an agreement to phase out single-sex hostels.

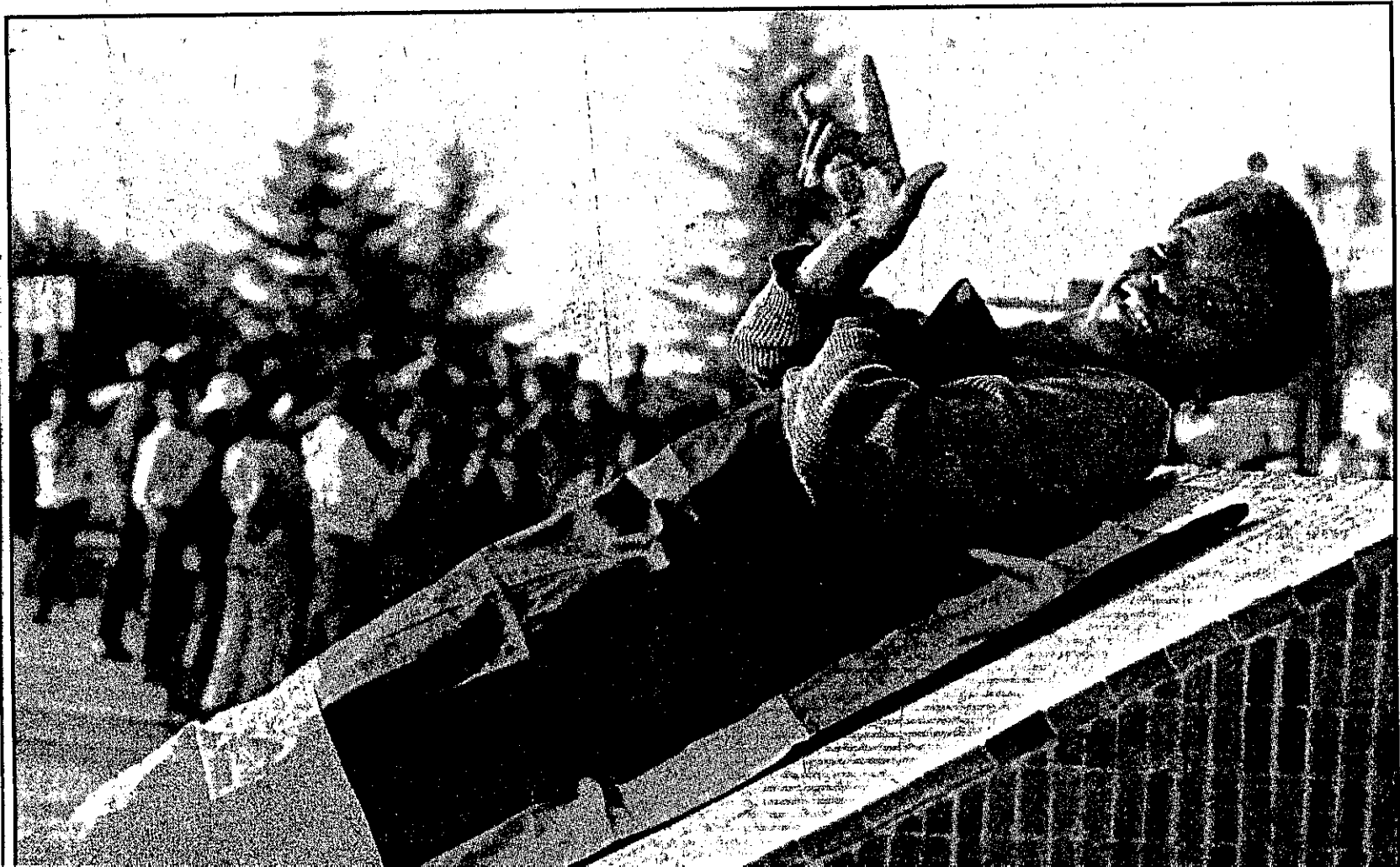
He also condemned the Government for refusing to use an arbitrator in the national health workers' strike.

His new attacks came as Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, warned South Africa's leaders that they must move quickly to end the political crisis.

Delivering the keynote address at the launch of the SA Health and Social Service Organisation (Sahsso) at Wits University, Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had agreed in May last year to turn hostels into family units and have them fenced in and guarded.

More reports
— Pages 3, 8 and 9

However, he had "forgotten" the agreement and recently said the conversion of the hostels should be discussed by hostel dwellers, civic organisations and the community.



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More reports — Pages 3, 8 and 9

However, he had "forgotten" the agreement and recently said the conversion of the hostels should be discussed by hostel dwellers, civic organisations and the community.

Mr Mandela said the Government was not interested in curbing the violence or resolving the political crisis, but only in securing National Party minority rule.

Of Mr de Klerk, he said: "When I deal with him I am most disappointed and concerned. After meeting him when I was in prison, I wrote a letter to my colleagues in Lusaka saying Mr de Klerk was a man of honesty and integrity. After my release I acknowledged this in public too. He did not have to do any public relations; I did it all for him."

Mr Mandela said the Government was relying on "authority and not discussions with the workers" to deal with the hospital strikes, which he described as "a national disaster". Pledging the ANC's support, he said the independent arbitrator the strikers had demanded was acceptable.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after a four-day consultative visit to South Africa, Chief Anyaoku said the Commonwealth was prepared to help get constitutional talks back on track.

"The Commonwealth is concerned and prepared to assist in any way possible to address the violence which has emerged as a major stumbling block to negotiations," he said.

During his visit, Chief Anyaoku held discussions with Mr de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke. Chief Anyaoku would not commit himself on whether the Commonwealth would supply personnel for the violence-monitoring and peace-keeping force proposed by Mr Mandela and Mr Moseneke.

Sparring on brink of the abyss

STAR 6/7/92



Nelson Mandela has rejected President de Klerk's call for urgent talks to resolve their differences, thereby underlining the crisis confronting the nation. PATRICK LAURENCE interprets the situation.

AT THE heart of the crisis facing South Africa is a deep lack of trust between the two main adversaries, the National Party and the ANC.

The suspicion with which these two premier political forces and their allies view one another is manifest in the exchange of memoranda between their leaders, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, after the Botopong massacre of June 17.

President de Klerk accuses the ANC of eschewing power-sharing and of wanting to plunge into "simple majoritarianism", a system which the ANC believes — and the NP fears — will concentrate power in its hands.

Mr Mandela denounces the De Klerk administration for thwarting the "process of truly democratising South Africa", and feigning commitment to democracy to disguise its determination to cling to power.

The suspicion extends to the violence which has claimed

more than 11 000 lives since President de Klerk initiated his drive for a negotiated and peaceful settlement shortly after his accession to power in September 1989.

Mr de Klerk charges that the ANC, under the influence of a communist cabal within its ranks, has plunged recklessly into mass action to impose its will on South Africa, even at the cost of unleashing forces which it will not be able to control.

Mr Mandela counters by charging the De Klerk administration of talking peace while covertly deploying its "security forces and surrogates" to foment violence in the black community and destabilise the ANC and its allies.

Their recriminations are punctuated by declarations reaffirming their commitment to a negotiated settlement while questioning the sincerity of their opponent's.

Mr de Klerk, noting that the ANC regards negotiations as a "terrain of the struggle", con-

cludes that the ANC's approach means that there is "no room for compromise, much less for mutually acceptable agreement".

Mr Mandela, observing that the "De Klerk regime" equates majority rule with black domination, calls on Mr de Klerk to demonstrate that he is prepared "to make negotiations a bona fide exercise to charting the way to a democratic SA".

To vary a metaphor used by political analyst and facilitator Dr Van Zyl Slabbert: the NP and the ANC resemble two pugilists trading punches on the edge of a cliff.

The fight has gone on for so long that both men are too exhausted to land a knock-out blow. From time to time they stumble forward and lean on one another for support.

But every time they lurch towards one another — often after one of the weary men has taken a mighty swipe — there is a real risk that one will tumble into the abyss and drag his opponent with him.

The perils of the situation are neatly, if unintentionally, summed up by Jay Naidoo, general-secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions. Mr Naidoo, accusing the De Klerk administration of meeting the "demands of the people" with a go-to-hell attitude, warns: "We will take you to hell with us."

Read with its annexures, Mr de Klerk's memorandum, released on July 2 in reply to an earlier one from Mr Mandela, justifies cautious optimism. It shows that the gap between the two sides has narrowed since

they deadlocked at Codesa 2.

In retrospect, three cardinal points of difference at Codesa can be identified: dispute over the powers of regional government under a new democratic constitution; disagreement on the composition and power of the upper House; and discord over the duration of the transitional government that would wield power until a final constitution was drafted.

The Government, which favours strongly entrenched powers for regional governments, wanted clauses relating to regionalism to be passed by a 75 percent majority in the constituent assembly. The ANC, which fears that strong regional governments would be used to thwart the central government, would not budge above 70 percent at Codesa.

Now, after much bloodshed and angst, the 5 percent difference has been whittled away. The Government has agreed to a 70 percent threshold for all but one category of clauses. The exception relates to the bill of rights: it wants a 75 percent majority, a requirement the ANC assents to.

At Codesa the NP pressed for a regionally based senate, in which representation is weighted in favour of smaller bodies.

Its original draft plan, released in September, proposes that all regions should be allocated an equal number of seats and that in each region all parties which receive more than a certain quota of the vote — a 10 percent quota has been cited — would qualify for an equal share of the seats for that re-

gion.

The ANC, sensing constitutional chicanery to boost unrepresentative parties as a bulwark against majority rule, opposed the idea at Codesa in May, dubbing it a loser-takes-all arrangement.

Now, however, the De Klerk administration has again retreated: it agrees that the parties in each region should receive seats in proportion to the number of votes they win.

At Codesa the ANC feared the NP would use the high threshold required for acceptance of the final constitution to prolong the life of the first transitional government indefinitely: now the De Klerk administration has proposed a three-year limit on the life of the first transitional government.

The narrowing of differences does not guarantee that constitutional talks will even resume, as Mr Mandela's weekend rebuff of President de Klerk's call for urgent talks shows. It does, however, create an opportunity

for the parties to move back from the abyss towards the negotiating table.

If they do, a major difference still remains to be resolved, according to Joe Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party and a pivotal figure in the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

As Mr Slovo sees it, the De Klerk administration wants all the main features of the final constitution to be drawn up by Codesa rather than by a popularly elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body.

As many of the 19 parties at Codesa are drawn from the discredited "bantustan system" and the rejected tricameral Parliament, it is a thoroughly unrepresentative body and therefore unqualified for the task of drafting a new constitution, Mr Slovo reckons.

Thus, even if the two main protagonists step back from the brink, a long road still lies ahead to the new South Africa. □

osure ● Court told of ANC squad

'No alternative to Codesa' — ANC

■ LEAKED DOCUMENT

Quotes Ramaphosa: 'We precipitated the present deadlock in Codesa.'

By **MATHATHA TSEDU**
Investigations Editor

Sowetan 6/7/92



Cyril Ramaphosa

THE ANC has no alternative to Codesa and "precipitated the present deadlock" to show that FW de Klerk will not give in easily.

This startling disclosure is contained in a secret document leaked to Sowetan.

The document is based on a briefing to several Cosatu affiliates by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on May 17, a day after Codesa 2 ended in deadlock.

The document, drawn up as minutes by one of the participants, also reveals that the ANC's commitment to Codesa is total, with no possibility of moving out of the process.

It quotes Ramaphosa as telling the delegates from the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CIWU), Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCAWU):

"We should not abandon the process in Codesa. There is no other alternative.

"It is still possible to go back to old forms of struggle. This (Codesa 2) deadlock was precipitated by ourselves. We knew the enemy would not agree. We wanted to deadlock so our people could see we are dealing with an enemy that will not give in easily," Ramaphosa said.

Ramaphosa received "audible noises of dissatisfaction" when he said the ANC had agreed to a state of emergency and detention powers during the interim period.

Ramaphosa also told a questioner who wanted to know why activists should not think they would be redetained that "strict rules" would be enforced before detention, and that this would be like "a honeymoon kind of detention - allowing 48 hours' maximum" detention.

Ramaphosa was also questioned about compromises made by the ANC at Codesa and asked whether unions should not come in and help.

"It is true we have compromised... We could have gone too much out of our way to accommodate them (Government)," Ramaphosa is quoted as saying.

He told the meeting the July general strike was correct and should not be changed as negotiations and mass action were "inseparable twins".

The disclosures come in the wake of assertions by FW de Klerk that the ANC had brought the deadlock at Codesa.

The admitted lack of an alternative to Codesa, coming after the militant posture by the ANC since Codesa 2, and now after Boipatong, puts a question mark on the ANC withdrawal from the talks.

Ramaphosa has confirmed the briefing but said the document contained some inaccuracies. In an interview with Sowetan, he said he had not said there was no alternative to Codesa and added that mass action was the option. He emphasised that the briefing had been before Boipatong.

He denied stating that detention would be like a honeymoon and said "no one who has been detained can ever say that".

He however confirmed that the ANC had agreed to detention powers.

He denied saying the ANC had precipitated the deadlock at Codesa 2 and said what he "would have said is that the deadlock was inevitable as the regime refused to agree to a constituent assembly".

Ramaphosa also told the meeting that only an interim government would be able to stop the violence, and added that violence "will be a feature of our communities for a while".

ANC plans response to FW's memo

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ANC leaders will meet this week to formulate a detailed response to the constitutional proposals contained in President F W de Klerk's memorandum, amid indications that they may not be rejected out of hand.

However, prospects for an early resumption of negotiations remain bleak following ANC president Nelson Mandela's rejection on Saturday of De Klerk's response to the ANC's demands on violence.

An ANC national executive committee source said De Klerk's suggestions presented "areas for discussion". ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the NEC would definitely respond in detail this week.

Delivering his first comments on government's proposals, Mandela said: "By responding in the manner he has done, De Klerk has chosen to drive SA into a collision course. I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country. No good purpose will be served in my meeting him at this stage."

Mandela reacted only in passing to De Klerk's constitutional proposals and concentrated on government's response to the violence-related demands as the basis for turning down a meeting with him.

Last week De Klerk shifted from previous government positions by suggesting a minimum three-year period of interim government (as opposed to the five or 10 years the NP had earlier suggested), a 70% majority to change the interim constitution (as opposed to government's insistence on 75% at Codesa II) and a democratically elected Senate.

PATRICK BULGER

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government was awaiting the NEC's "detailed reply" and that government's proposals were "completely in accordance with democratic norms".

"It would appear on the face of it as if a proper study of the government's reply has not yet been made," Meyer said.

Mandela said government had chosen to ignore the gravity of the ANC's demands which De Klerk "seeks to channel into endless negotiations and discussion".

ANC sources said discussions with government had already been held on most of the issues raised in the ANC's demands, and that there was frustration with talks that failed to deliver concrete results.

For this reason, ANC sources said, the ANC and its allies were examining a more "results-driven" style of negotiations. They said Cosatu's proposals for a negotiations forum which conducted its work in the open and which limited itself to the issues of an interim government and constitutional principles was gaining wider acceptance within the ANC alliance.

Mandela said the ANC would return to Codesa in its present form should its demands be met. He said the ANC wanted a "simple sign" from De Klerk that he accepted majority rule.

Meyer said that "the ANC has shown that it prefers confrontation and conflict to peace and negotiation".

"Mandela accuses the President of favouring 'endless negotiations and discus-

□ To Page 2

ANC bl Day 6/7/92

11A

□ From Page 1

sions'. We would prefer negotiations to reach a satisfactory conclusion as soon as possible, but yes, we prefer negotiations and discussions to endless conflict and violence."

He repeated government's allegation that the SA Communist Party and Cosatu had gained the upper hand in the alliance.

Former Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said that while De Klerk's constitutional proposals suggested "good progress", De Klerk remained blasé about violence.

"We are witnessing part of a lead-up to another cycle of negotiations. Each exchange will bring a new dynamic, and week by week we will see how it develops. This is an important and constructive phase that removes the tendency to play around with generalities," Gordhan said.

But, he added, it was "indicative of the level of tension and distrust and the refusal to take bland assurances of what is to come."

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Mandela said yesterday he was "greatly disappointed" in De Klerk, whom he used

to believe was an honest man.

Speaking at Wits University at the launch of a new umbrella body for health organisations, Mandela said he believed something had "happened to De Klerk" since the referendum, and added that the president had mistaken the yes vote as an authority to go back to "P W Botha days".

"On platforms around the world, I used to tell people that we were dealing with a man of honesty. De Klerk did not need a public relations man, I was doing it," said Mandela.

"His greatest mistake is that he fears democracy and he fears majority rule," said Mandela.

He said De Klerk had reneged on his undertaking to quell the violence by agreeing to transform hostels, which were the centres of violence, into family units.

He said that since the Boipatong massacre he had been met with a common refrain at rallies: "People are saying I am behaving like a lamb while the government kills our people." He assured people he had taken note of their message.

● Comment: Page 4

114
STAN 617192
**Businessmen to
meet Mandela**

Business representatives will meet ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow to discuss how the business community can help end the present political crisis and speed up the resumption of negotiations.

The meeting with the SA Chamber of Business, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation follows a similar meeting last week with President F W de Klerk and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa.

Pundits forward sinister reasons for Codesa's collapse, writes **Hugh Robertson**

ANC's mixed messages

STAR 6/7/92

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LIKE aficionados of the daily crossword puzzle, Africanists in Washington's thinktanks, private foundations and multinational companies sit down each day and try to make sense of the maddeningly elusive clues from the ANC that may, or may not, point to its current thinking.

The right answers, or what seem like the right answers, are energetically pursued and there are frequent exchanges of information, views and gossip. But rarely, if ever, does the private sector come up with a completed puzzle and it is widely believed the same frustration afflicts those in the corridors of power.

Perhaps the problem lies in the fact that the ANC is run by a committee, with sometimes disparate forces seeking to shape its policies. Or it may be that the organisation's doings and sayings are analysed to the point of absurdity.

Either way, the ANC remains an enigma in the United States. While Americans readily accept

its accusations of complicity by present or past members of the security forces in the Boipatong atrocity, they are stumped by the ANC's subsequent actions. But stumped though they may be, they have pencilled in some answers on the crossword grid — and some of them are answers that, one hopes, the ANC will be quick to deny.

The State Department, for instance, implicitly interpreted the ANC's withdrawal from talks with the Government, and from Codesa, as a victory for those murky forces in South Africa that are determined to wreck the negotiating process.

It is argued that there can be no mystery about the objective of those who oppose Codesa. Such groups have said time and again they will resist moves towards full democracy with all the force they can muster. Thus, the reasoning goes on, irrespective of whether or not past or present security force members were involved in Boipatong, the intention of the massacre probably was to wreck

the negotiating process.

This reasoning is given momentum by the timing of the Boipatong killings — at the critical point where the ANC was already threatening to change from negotiations to mass action because of its deadlock with the Government on the issue of minority protection in a new constitution. The massacre, thus, was seen as a deliberate outrage aimed at pushing the ANC over the brink.

But to accept this rationale, some cognoscenti point out, one must first conclude that the ANC is astonishingly naive and easily manipulated. Why else would they allow themselves to be induced to do precisely what the opponents of Codesa and of a new South Africa would want them to?

It is at this point that some thinktank analysts differ from the conclusion that the ANC merely did what the powers of evil manipulated them into doing. They begin, instead, with the assumption that the ANC is not easily pushed around and that its history has shown it to have as much

capacity for ruthlessness as any other political organisation.

Armed with the knowledge that the ANC decided well before Boipatong to play its only trump card — its ability to mount mass action — a different and more sinister scenario is advanced.

It starts with the widely held belief in the US that mass action probably would be doomed to fail after an initial, short burst of enthusiasm. Having failed to achieve its objective — changing the Government's mind on minority protection — the ANC would be humiliated and discredited and its most powerful weapon would be shown up as a paper tiger.

Furthermore, as some Washington analysts have argued, it would be difficult to defend mass action merely as a device with which to influence an opponent in negotiations. That smacks more than faintly of mob rule, of a willingness to sacrifice talks for a more muscular and bullying approach to the problems of the country.

So, the argument proceeds, the decision to seize upon Boipatong

as the reason for breaking off negotiations with the Government, rather than the deadlock over minority protection, was an astute decision aimed at sanctifying mass action on the one hand, and utilising the emotional build-up of the moment to give it momentum.

Was the ANC that cynical? And is there not a perfectly reasonable explanation for its Codesa decision — that it has in its ranks impatient young people, many badly educated and with an incomplete grasp of the complexities of negotiations, who can see no further than the horror and bloodshed of the moment? Or, perhaps, that there was indeed reason for anger at President de Klerk's inept handling of the security situation?

Americans have no illusions about the malevolent forces at work in South Africa, and they are more than amenable to the ANC's allegations of a conspiracy. Like many South Africans, they are appalled by the inability of the police to end the violence.

But if the ANC sends out mixed signals — that it wants mass ac

tion and an end to talks because of the deadlock in Codesa but then, instead, because of Boipatong, that it wants to end negotiations but remains committed to the negotiating process, that it can exchange letters and insults with the Government but needs the United Nations to get negotiations back on track — it cannot blame Americans for being confused. And its current rhetoric is not enough to refute the theorists who suggest that what is happening might all be part of a political exercise aimed not at expressing outrage so much as weakening Mr de Klerk's position in Codesa and eroding Government insistence on minority protection. If the police themselves bring the perpetrators of Boipatong to justice and Mr de Klerk accepts the presence of foreign fact-finders and observers, the ANC would be hard-pressed to convince Americans that there is good reason for not negotiating. As it is, there is little sympathy here for mass action when reasonable alternatives are on hand. □



Zach in plea for unity

The Government and the ANC were polarising society, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

At a DP youth congress at Roodeplaas near Pretoria, he sharply criticised the policies of both, saying the NP and ANC saw politics as a duel, and that "everyone must choose one side or the other".

One side concerned itself with dubious entities called "minorities" and the other with an amorphous entity called "the people", but "these two adversaries are set to tear the nation apart".

Dr de Beer urged South Africans to substitute the politics of unity for the politics of division; the politics of individual liberty for those of group domination; and the economics of the social market for those of the dominant State.

Eglin urges ANC to resume talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has urged the ANC to accept the Government's invitation to "eyeball to eyeball" talks to get negotiations restarted.

DP national chairman Colin Eglin, one of his party's chief negotiators at Codesa, issued the call after studying the Government's latest memorandum to the ANC.

Mr Eglin said that on balance the Government's new proposals for a transitional constitution were no better than the ones which the ANC rejected at Codesa 2.

They probably did not provide enough for the ANC to immediately resume Codesa-type negotiations.

But if the new Government proposals were a starting position — as they seemed to be — and not a bottom line, then the ANC should accept the invitation to bilateral talks.

Mr Eglin said he feared the ANC alliance's campaign of mass action was ceasing to be a device to bolster the ANC's negotiating position and was running out of control.

In view of the fact that mass action is in danger of leading to escalating violence and jeopardising negotiations, the sooner

bilateral talks begin, the better," he said.

He said the Government's new proposals for the transition showed significant changes from its Codesa 2 position.

The Government had dropped the requirement of a 75 percent majority in a constitution-making body on matters affecting regional government powers.

However, the Government had reintroduced the idea of a transitional senate of regional representatives which would have to approve legislation.

But — and this was an important improvement — the senate now provided for proportional representation of parties — and no longer equal representation for all parties with more than a certain minimum of support.

Unrepresentative

Mr Eglin expressed concern, though, about new proposals giving strong veto powers to regional authorities.

Each of these would effectively have the power to veto constitutional clauses affecting its status and powers.

This could give strong veto powers to present homeland governments, some of which were unrepresentative.

This was because the Government was proposing that present homeland regimes would continue into the transitional

constitution if no agreement could be reached beforehand on new regional boundaries.

He described the provisions for a homeland veto as "the Buthelesi clause", because the Inkatha Freedom Party leader had proposed such a veto in a recent document.

"The new proposals for regional vetoes give greater powers to the status quo — to the existing authorities — than before."

Mr Eglin also asked questions about the Government proposal that if the constitution-making body could not agree on a new constitution within a three-year period, general elections would be held under the transitional constitution.

He said this clause was clearly intended to counter ANC accusations that the Government intended to make the transitional constitution permanent.

But it was not clear how the new proposal would overcome that concern if general elections were held under the same transitional constitution.

● Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer confirmed in weekend reports that both the senate and the exact percentage majorities needed to approve the final constitution were negotiable — as long as the ANC accepted that regional authorities should play a role in deciding the constitution.

Power grab warning

THE African National Congress would have to return to the negotiating table because if it did not and persisted in attempting to "grab" power, it would thrust South Africa into a civil war situation.

(11A) Soweto 6/7/92.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 6/7/92

ANC killer unit claim

ALLEGATIONS of the existence of a special African National Congress unit to kill policemen, soldiers and spies within the organisation were made by ANC member Mr Fumanekile "Feti" Boo (31) during a bail application in Cape Town on Friday.

He was arrested in January for the alleged murder of Sergeant "Kulu" Els in an ambush in Nyanga in July 1990. Former ANC military wing chief of staff Mr Chris Hani told the court his office had never issued such orders. The trial was postponed to July 23.

Sowetan 6/7/92

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi issued this warning at a rally in Mahlabathini on Saturday.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of breaking off Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) talks because it was democratically defeated at Codesa 2 which led to their call for mass action.

OPINION The co-ordinator the ANC's action campaign outlines his game plan

Meet the ANC's Action Man

■ ON THE MOVE

Mandla Dlamini is set to become the ANC's "Mr Mass Action" and he is faced with a mammoth task.

He spoke to

Ike Motsapi:

Sowetan 6/7/92
IT IS ALMOST symbolic that the national co-ordinator of the ANC's mass action campaign is ensconced in an office on the top floor of the movement's head office in central Johannesburg.

Mandla Dlamini of the ANC's Campaigns Department has been entrusted with the task of ensuring that the campaign is properly co-ordinated and effective.

For this purpose, the ANC has already mobilised all its departments and structures.

Dlamini said these structures include that of the partners in the Tripartite Alliance (Cosatu and the SACP).

The second phase

"They daily garner support for the mass action campaign," he said.

The second phase of the strategy was set in motion on July 1 - the day set as the deadline for the Government to accede to the demands laid down by the ANC and its alliances for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly.

Dlamini said the alliance's key demands were:

- The removal of obstacles in the shortest possible time for an interim government and the holding of democratic elections for a constituent assembly;
- Ensuring the implementation of Codesa decisions within agreed time frames;
- Ensuring that obstacles in the negotiations process such as Bophuthatswana, Ciskei are removed;
- Equal access to the mass media;
- The release of remaining political prisoners;
- An end to state-sponsored violence;
- An end to the state's unilateral restructuring of the economy including Government's attempts to catch voters through, for example, drought and poverty relief;



On the march ... people taking to the streets in protest has played a big part of the ANC's nationwide mass action campaign.

Mandla's mass appeal

Name: Mandla Dlamini

Age: 30

Marital status: Married with three children - Thembi (11), Musa (9) and Busi (4).

His wife Smangele (28) is the secretary for the National Olympic and Sports Congress.

Career: Joined the United Democratic Front after matriculating in 1985. Joined African National Congress in 1990. He is now in charge of the ANC's mass action campaign.

“The objective of our programme of rolling mass action is to provide the exit gate for the regime”

- Resolution of socio-economic issues such as high food prices and the effects of Vat and drought relief;
 - The establishment of an independent Commission of Inquiry into corruption and death squad and
 - The resignation and prosecution of all those responsible for political murders;
- Dlamini said: "The fact that Codesa 2 failed to meet the bottom line discussed at the Summit made the need for a programme of action as identified below all the more urgent."

He said to achieve its demand and also to ensure victory in an election, "unprecedented mass action" was be-

ing planned.

"We need a well-organised and dynamic election campaign, which, while driven by the alliance, is as inclusive as possible.

"We have also realised our members need to participate in the negotiations process and be able to mobilise the masses for support and action whenever there is a deadlock," Dlamini added.

He said the alliance's main objective was the holding of elections for a constituent assembly by the end of this year.

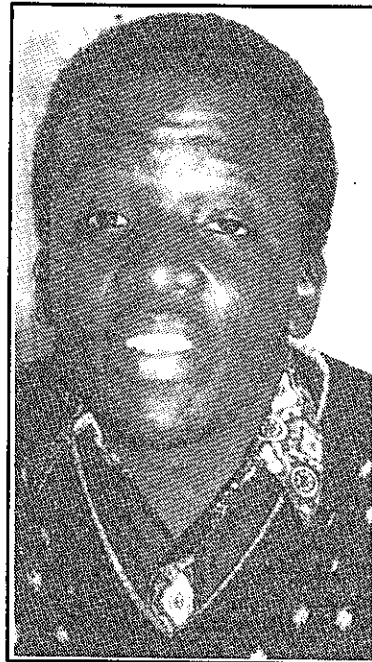
The burning issues

Concerted efforts to resolve some of the "burning issues" affecting people, like violence and retrenchments would also feature high on the agenda.

He said the "nitty-gritty" of the campaign includes people's assemblies and door-to-door canvassing to educate and inform people about the ANC's mass action strategies.

Dlamini said: "A general strike has been called by the alliance as from August 3.

"These actions could include factory



Mr Mandla Dlamini, national co-ordinator of the mass action campaign.

shut-downs, occupation of factories and Government buildings, marches, stayaways, a strategic occupation of city centres and actions against despotic bantustans.

"The next phase will be the continuation of the general strike.

"The long-term objective of our programme of rolling mass action is to provide the exit gate for the regime.

"This means both the overall weakening of the present ruling block, throwing it out of office and the building of our own forces for the complex task of the transfer of power to the people," Dlamini said.

Action plan

May 13 1992 An Alliance Summit is called to consider what to do when Codesa 2 fails.

May 16 1992 Codesa 2 deadlocks and ANC announces mass action as the vehicle to break the impasse.

May 28 to May 31 The ANC holds a conference where it endorses mass action as deadlock-breaking mechanism.

June 16 The ANC and its alliance partners launch their mass action at rallies held countrywide.

June 26 Activities such as the peoples' assemblies are held.

June 30 Set as a deadline to the Government to meet the demands of the ANC and its alliance partners. Cosatu and its affiliated trade unions hold a closed meeting. August 3 is announced as the date for a general strike.

July 1 The mass action campaign is intensified with marches and pickets.

July 4 to 5, a special ANC conference consisting of national and regional representatives from the components of the alliance is held in Johannesburg.

The new face of negotiation

B/day 7/7/92

PATRICK BULGER

equal sides with the ANC and government anchoring the opposing groups — blame each other for the present impasse, a more fundamental reason suggests itself. The breakdown was rooted in Codesa's failure to broach SA's central constitutional question: roughly posed as the choice between a democratic or negotiated constitution.

Codesa's aim, expressed in its guiding document, the Declaration of Intent, was obscure in committing the parties to a democratic outcome. For the ANC this meant a constituent assembly elected by adults on a proportional representation basis. Negotiations served only to construct the modalities by which democratic transition would take place, the interim government being an important marker en route.

Government's aim was the negotiation of an equitable political compromise between two more or less equally balanced power blocs. Government cannot be accused of not having repeated often enough its hope of negotiating a "power-sharing agreement", democratic enough in an imperfect world. But government went a step further and said strong regional and local government pre-

sented even more democratic potential than the ANC's democracy. Government argued for a "constitutional state" to protect individual and group rights.

Government's insistence on a constitutional state meant a heavy emphasis on an interim constitution, the utility of which is now being questioned by the ANC and its allies. This led to the fear, successfully exploited by militants, of the permanent entrenchment of an interim constitution drawn up by undemocratic and unrepresentative parties at Codesa.

The fear was justified on a technical level, in that there is no such thing as an interim constitution. Constitutions remain in place until they are replaced by other constitutions. So when the argument over whether a 70% or a 75% majority was needed in a constitution-making body to amend the constitution, the ANC smelt the proverbial political rat and declared Codesa II a failure. ANC figures scoffed that the government's proposed constitution-making body would decide only the colour of a new flag.

FROM design to disaster, Codesa lasted just a week short of six months. It was an era of negotiations marked by optimism and camaraderie among political opponents. It was also unintelligible to the majority of South Africans, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa commented recently.

At one stage Inkatha, branded as the spoiler throughout proceedings, pointed out that not a single Codesa document had seen the light of day in an African vernacular. One of the working group's subcommittees agreed that Codesa should be taken to the masses by way of broadcasting to the TBVC and self-governing states. But like so many other Codesa decisions, this one failed to get beyond the World Trade Centre.

If Codesa rapidly became an institution in SA political life, this was due in part to negotiations becoming a permanent feature. At least as important as the results coming out of Codesa was the fact that SA's political protagonists were at last talking to each other.

The danger of elevating political debate above the outcome it is meant to achieve became apparent when events in the country began to make proceedings at Codesa appear trivial and even irrelevant to the wider SA crisis.

While Codesa's 19 political groupings — roughly divided into two

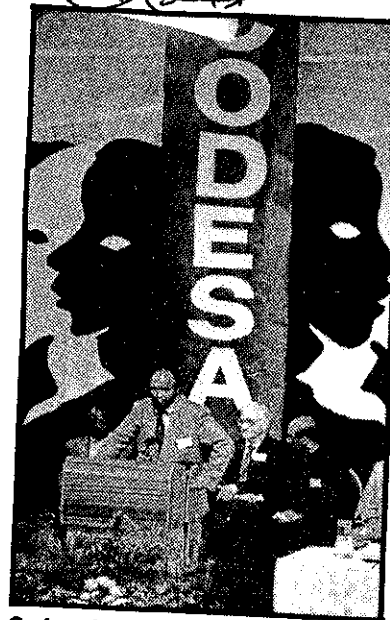
principles. But there was no substantial agreement on what were principles and what were unfair attempts at short-circuiting democracy.

There was another dynamic at work, and this expressed itself in disillusionment with Codesa and the whole tenor of negotiations. Two days before the Codesa breakdown the ANC alliance agreed to mass action, regardless of the outcome of Codesa II. In the ensuing atmosphere of confrontation, especially since the Boipatong killings, the ANC has broken off bilateral talks with government and ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed himself against "endless discussions and negotiations".

While Mandela has said he will go back to Codesa in its present form, the breakdown of talks and the subsequent negotiations-by-memorandum between the ANC and government has served to clarify positions in a way that Codesa did not do. Mass action, perversely enough, has brought negotiations from behind the cloak of confidentiality.

This is not what the pinstriped Codesa negotiators had in mind, however. Neither is Cosatu's suggestion of an open forum in which decisions are taken in public and in which mandates are frequently obtained.

Negotiations will resume at some stage. But the leisurely Codesa tea party atmosphere of earlier months is a thing of the past.



Codesa began on an optimistic note but fizzled out in six months.

Admittedly, both government and the ANC had agreed without ambiguity on the need for negotiations, before the establishment of a constitution-making body, on constitutional

REVIEWS

ANC drops R1,9m deal

(11A) ARG 7/7/92

Highs and lows for SA sport

Sports Staff

OLA PIETERSE, one of the biggest names in South Africa's Olympic athletics squad, had another setback at a meeting in France last night.

The Free Stater was beaten by compatriot, Natalian Gwen Griffiths, who is not in the quad for Barcelona, and finished well down the field in the 500m event.

Griffiths also eclipsed Pieterse in a mile race at the weekend.

□ Better news for South African running enthusiasts was that ultra-marathon star, Bruce Fordyce, won the Nanisivik 84km race, in the Arctic Circle, in a record time of six hours and 21 minutes.

□ At the French track meeting, Namibia's main sprint hope, Frankie Fredericks, beat the cream of the United States runners in winning the 100m and 200m events in impressive, wind-assisted times.

□ On the rugby front, teams for the final South African trial at Loftus Versfeld on July 21 are expected to be announced today. South Africa take on the might of New Zealand and Australia on home turf next month.

□ And in racing, 11-time SA champion jockey Michael Roberts regained the lead in the race for the English jockeys' championship over the weekend. He's one winner ahead of last season's champion Pat Edey. Report Page 12.

Hugh Robertson, The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The ANC has terminated its \$700 000 (R1,9 million) a year (plus expenses) contract with Mr Walter Fauntroy, formerly a leading member of the black caucus in Congress, who was supposed to raise millions for the ANC and promote its influence in the United States.

— According to close associates of Mr Fauntroy, the parting of the ways followed the failure of talks aimed at revising the original contract with the ANC which, they claim, was based on "unrealistic expectations" on the part of the ANC.

UN talks on SA sought

NEW YORK. — African countries have called for an urgent session of the United Nations Security Council to help end violence in South Africa and create conditions for peace talks.

The council discussed the request for an emergency session but decided to postpone a decision until hearing from Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this afternoon.

Mr Boutros-Ghali has said all sides in South Africa favoured some kind of UN presence and that the Security Council should discuss the issue.

Meanwhile, South African Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe and the ANC last night disputed key aspects of a statement by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

General Van der Merwe attacked the judge's allegation that officials had ignored some of his recommendations while an ANC statement rejected the commission's "exoneration" of the State from direct involvement in violence.

In its statement the ANC said that while it acknowledged the importance of the Goldstone Commission, it lacked the resources to "get to the bottom of a number of violence incidents". International monitoring and investigation were now urgent.

The National Party said in a statement that the leadership of the ANC owed the State President, the Cabinet and the security forces an apology.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzee said the Goldstone

But ANC sources say Mr Fauntroy failed to fulfil his obligations under the original contract and that the organisation, having already paid him an initial \$250 000 (R700 000) fee, decided that there was little prospect of him being able to meet the targets he had agreed to.

It is understood that both sides have handed the matter over to their lawyers, but that relations are still "cordial".

Mr Fauntroy initiated a national telephone donation line, which was supposed to raise millions for the ANC. Donors were invited to dial the number — the call was billed to the caller — and in exchange for hearing a recorded message from ANC president Nelson Mandela were invited to make a donation to ANC funds.

This strategy has worked well for charitable organisations, but has consistently failed to raise much for political organisations and there was some surprise at Mr Fauntroy's decision to use the device to raise money for the ANC. According to sources on Capitol Hill, the line was quietly disconnected when it became apparent that the public response had been dismal.

Mr Fauntroy was also supposed to raise millions for the Mandela Freedom Fund, and to ensure the passage through Congress of a measure which would have set aside some \$250 million (R700 million) for assistance to small black businesses in South Africa.

But his fundraising efforts apparently were uninspiring, and Congress has not approved the small business support programme.

According to sources on Capitol Hill, Mr Fauntroy had not anticipated the full impact of the recession on fundraising, and realised he would have to revise his original targets.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

IT'S GREAT — COME ON IN! So who says the Cape's wintry weather isn't ideal for a dip? If you're a young Rondevlei hippo, the vlel is just the place for a romp with a cousin while mom — or is it aunty? — has a leisurely snack on the side.

Hip, hippo hooray!

JOHN YELD
Environment Reporter

IS she or isn't she?

And is it Portia, or perhaps Cleo — her arch-rival for the affections of Brutus?

One of Rondevlei's two female hippos is probably pregnant and the muddy patter of little feet could bring the bird sanctuary's hippo population up to six during the next few months.

In 1981, two male hippos were introduced to the reserve on the Cape Flats near Zeekovlei to control an alien South American grass which was threatening to choke the vlel.

It was a lonely life for the two bachelors — named Brutus and Bruno by reserve staff — so two females were brought to join them from Zululand in 1983.

The Argus invited its readers to name

the new arrivals, and the switchboard was immediately jammed.

Most callers favoured the classics and opera, and their suggestions included Brunhilda, Isolde, Kriemhilde and Beatrice from Wagner, Shakespeare's Portia and Bess from the modern musical *Porgy and Bess*.

The Bard was favoured by Rondevlei authorities and Cleo and Portia were duly named (although it's now impossible to tell them apart).

But, as is the nature of things, the two newcomers caused immediate tensions between the two males.

Brutus proved the stronger and Bruno became an outcast, wandering scarred, lonely and love-lorn around the edges of the vlel until he was sent off to find happiness in a private Free State reserve in 1988.

Robbers snatch cash and firearm

JACQUELYN SWARTZ Staff Reporter
ROBBERS made off with cash and a firearm after a gun battle with a policeman

They were joined by two men who were waiting outside.

Lance-Sergeant Erasmus followed

Weather
Cloudy, rain
(Details — page 2)

Woman

today's Argus Woman:
— May bride finalists and
— will winner. Mail order
— How divorce
— affects teenagers.
— All in Argus Woman
today.

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The National Party said in a statement that the leadership of the ANC owed the State President, the Cabinet and the security forces an apology.

NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer said the Goldstone Commission's finding that no evidence had been submitted to support allegations of direct government or security force involvement in the current violence was damning for the ANC. — The Argus Correspondent and Sapa-AP.

● See page 11.

But ANC sources say Mr Fauntroy failed to fulfil his obligations under the original contract and that the organisation, having already paid him an initial \$250 000 (R700 000) fee, decided that there was little prospect of him being able to meet the targets he had agreed to.

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But his fundraising efforts apparently were uninspiring, and Congress has not approved the small business support programme.

According to sources on Capitol Hill, Mr Fauntroy had not anticipated the full impact of the recession on fundraising, and realised he would have to revise his original targets. The ANC, they claim, insisted that he fulfil the obligations to which he contracted.

It is possible, they suggest, that lawyers for the two sides might be able to work out a new contract with “more realistic” targets — and a much lower fee for Mr Fauntroy.

ate, he said.
Health Workers' Union
strike when the com-
age agreement with five
unions — effectively
agreement applicable to

posts tomorrow. Van Niekerk said renewal
had created a wrong impression by saying
the deadline would be extended.
Meanwhile, the Natal Provincial
Administration reported yesterday the
began last

Boutros-Ghali to report at UN on SA meetings

~~11/17~~ ~~11/17~~ SIMON BARBER ~~11/17~~

WASHINGTON — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is expected to deliver an informal report to the Security Council tomorrow on his meetings last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. *Monday 7/17/92*

It remains unclear if or when the council will hold a full session on the Boipatong killings and related violence, although Madagascar has officially requested one on behalf of the OAU and the ANC.

Boutros-Ghali is to brief the council and outline possible options for the UN in helping the SA parties return to the negotiating table.

It appears likely that he will favour a limited UN role which will enable the ANC and its supporters to let off some steam but which will not involve the UN directly in the negotiations or assignment of blame for the violence.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC was calling its national executive committee together to formulate a detailed response to President F W de Klerk's memorandum on an interim constitution.

ANC sources have indicated that De Klerk's proposals offer room for compromise. However, the organisation was opposed to the powers regional governments would be given under the proposals.

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focus on Codesa

Sowetan 7/7/92

~~CPA~~
11A

POLITICAL developments in the past few weeks have proved of high consequence.

First, the Government's bloody-mindedness in Codesa 2 and the subsequent threat of mass action by the ANC.

Second came the Boipatong programme, an organised massacre with the victims claiming the attackers had the overt or covert support of the police or the military.

Third is the ANC's ambivalent withdrawal from the constitutional talks.

What led to all this?

Quite clearly the collapse of Codesa 2 and the Boipatong programme exacerbated the situation. However, even these developments seem to be based on underlying developments. This current crisis stems largely from a major shift in Government perception of what would be its best strategy.

At the outset, the Nationalists operated on a best and worst case scenario. Their worst scenarios involved a majority ANC Government and a coalition of a "moderate", that is right wing multiracial opposition. The Nationalist solution was an extended transition with an emasculated black majority government powerless to remove white privilege.

Their best case scenario involved a NP dominated multi-racial alliance with the ANC as the main opposition.

Both assumptions had an impact on Government strategy. Under the worst case scenario, the Government advocated a "liberal" solution. Its target was to entrench strong individual rights and a weak State.

Originally, De Klerk operated under the worst case scenario. However, he grew over confident after his resounding referendum victory, and the red carpet reception he enjoyed abroad. His ill-conceived visit to Boipatong was illustrative of his switch to the Nationalist best case scenario.

What are the implications of the impasse? In one sense, not much. Negotiations collapse periodically, even for long periods at a time. This was certainly the Rhodesian experience, not to mention the Anglo Boer War. As a result, on the face of it, there is nothing unusual about the current deadlock.

Furthermore, it is not even clear what the ANC has withdrawn from. The organisation reiterates, quite explicitly, its commitment to the negotiations process.

In fact, the ANC response is quite nuanced. It breaks off talks, but is willing to talk about the resumption of talks.

The organisation has pitched its demands at goals mostly unobjectionable to the liberal establishment of media, churches and business. In fact, some of the demands are a reiteration of positions already accepted at Codesa or earlier bilateral talks.

University of Western Cape political scientist, Professor **Vincent Maphai**, looks at some of the shortcomings of Codesa. He argues that the Nationalists hijacked the forum for their own ends, adding that De Klerk grew over confident



ANC President Nelson Mandela addressing the first Codesa meeting on December 20.

Furthermore, several ANC spokespersons have intimated that they would not insist on the demands being met in full before negotiations resume.

The ANC has made the concept of international participation look reasonable. After all, international monitors are much in the news from Bosnia, Cambodia and other areas of conflict.

There is a deeper reason why it would be too hasty to write the obituary for negotiations. At the top echelons at least, between the ANC and NP, there is a shared perception of an existing stalemate. They believe that their options have narrowed considerably.

In other words, each is more powerful to destabilise the other, but, for now at least, both sides remain too weak to proceed unilaterally. Of course, the success of the process does not depend on the goodwill of the ANC and the Nationalists alone. This would have been the case if these parties were in full control of the

transitional process.

There are suggestions that the Government has lost control of sections of its security personnel. At the same time, if the townships continue to grow disillusioned about this process, then the implications are quite profound.

While it is possible to initiate mass action, it is not always possible for any organisation to control it. The spectre of the mid-eighties loom large should the negotiations process grind completely to a halt.

In the short term certain measures are essential to minimise tension. The arrest, conviction and imprisonment of the Boipatong murderers is imperative. The actions and inactions of the police in this programme should be investigated - and not by the South African Police themselves.

A mutually acceptable role for the international community should be defined as a matter of urgency. Quibbling about the sovereignty of the South African state is as helpful as agonising over the definition of cultural weapons!

PAC veteran (10) dies in Cape (11A)

CAPE TOWN — A founder member of the PAC, Hudson Mtutu Gila (74), died at his home in Guguletu on Sunday, PAC regional secretary B Lulgulwana said yesterday.

Mr Gila was a close friend of PAC founder Robert Sobukwe and current PAC president Clarence Makwetu. He joined the PAC when it was founded in April 1959. Mr Gila later served three years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

He leaves his wife Eunice, a daughter and four grandchildren. The funeral service will be held in Guguletu on Saturday. — Sapa. STAR 7/7/92

Mass action puts business in tight spot

STAN 9/9/92

WITH THE collapse of constitutional negotiations at Codesa, the business community is again being caught in the crossfire as the Government and the ANC alliance knuckle down to a test of strength.

As with previous alliance mass actions, Cosatu has placed itself at the cutting edge of the onslaught on the Government. After a meeting of Cosatu's leadership last week, it reaffirmed its commitment to "rolling mass action" which would culminate in a general strike early next month.

It tabled the following economic and political demands, which are to be backed by mass action: Government agreement to an elected constituent assembly by December, an end to Government corruption and "State-sponsored" murders, an end to political violence, a moratorium on retrenchments and a halt to economic restructuring.

Cosatu also demands lower food prices and above-infla-

tion wage increases, and labour rights for all workers, including State workers.

The mass action could not have come at a worse time for relations between capital and labour. Many sectors of the economy are in ferment over wages and working conditions. Thousands of metal and textile workers have already taken to city streets to back their demands.

In the metal and mining industries, employers and unions failed to reach wage agreements before the July 1 implementation date.

Cosatu has made no bones about its intention to force employers to play a more active role in helping to break the Codesa deadlock.

Secretary-general Jay Naidoo says employers have three options: they could victimise and discipline workers; they could adopt a no work, no pay policy; or they could join Cosatu in its peace and democracy campaign.

The first prize for Cosatu is to isolate the Government by persuading employ-

The ANC alliance's campaign could not have come at a worse time for relations between capital and labour, writes MIKE SILUMA.

ers to support at least some of the alliance's core demands, such as constituent assembly elections and an end to political violence.

It is not, however, as though employers have washed their hands of SA's political problems. The alliance would concede that business had played an important role in the peace process.

After the collapse of negotiations in the wake of the Boipatong massacre, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation, the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) and the Afrikaanse Handel-sinstituit met President de Klerk to convey business's "deep concern" about the violence and the negative impact of the Codesa breakdown on business confidence.

Separate talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to follow.

But, with the National Peace Accord not being very effective and Codesa moribund, Cosatu is expecting more of business. Letters are being submitted to management this week demanding that they take a stand in the alliance's fight with the Government.

Some within Cosatu want employers to join mass action by taking part in marches, and by withholding PAYE deductions from the Treasury and putting the money in a "Fund for a Democratic South Africa".

Cosatu also wants employers to close their businesses in solidarity with workers

who stay away.

It is hoping to gain the support of the National Council of Trade Unions, the country's second biggest worker body.

Although the alliance's campaign is aimed at the Government, it could put employers and Cosatu on a collision course.

The general position among employers is that they will not get involved in "party political" actions, or those which could increase violence, or harm the economy in business's view.

The SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs, representing employer organisations, swiftly rejected the call for a general strike as "unnecessary". Sacob said the economy and the business community were suffering the most severe recession since World War 2 and could not "sustain indefinitely the added burden of repeated stayaway action".

Employers would take a hard line in dealing with strikers, Sacob warned.

Non-payment of PAYE to the Government could lead to conflict between employers and the Government.

But despite business's position of not getting directly involved, there are differences among employers. Privately some agree with the alliance's demands, especially on violence and corruption.

They believe that after winning the reform referendum in March, Mr de Klerk may have become arrogant and that he mistook business's support for endorsement of the NP's political programme.

Others, though, are more inclined to sympathise with the Government and its allies, such as the IFP.

Under such circumstances, a co-ordinated political intervention by business, going beyond playing the role of a facilitator, is unlikely. But if the Codesa impasse continues, accompanied by damage to the economy, self-interest might force business (or sections of it) to play a more direct political role. □

Govt inaction caused tragedy, says Naidoo

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

It was "preposterous" for the Government to state that a national tragedy was looming as a result of the ANC's refusal to discuss the deadlock in negotiations, Co-

STAR 7/7/78
- said general-secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday.

The National Party's chief Codesa negotiator, Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, said at the weekend that ANC leader Nelson Mandela's first remarks on the Government's

memorandum on ANC demands were "not very encouraging" and "if this is their final position, it will be a tragedy for South Africa".

Mr Naidoo charged that it was the Government's "inaction in relations to political democ-

racy" that had created the national tragedy.

Such a tragedy could be removed if the Government accepted that it was only one of the players in the negotiating process, as well as a transition involving one man, one vote elections, Mr Naidoo said.

It's time for FW to go, say callers

Sowetan 7/7/92

Sowetan & Radio Metro *Talkback*



with Tim Modise

THE Government should step down and give way to an interim authority, a caller to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show said last night.

The caller, Sammy, said the ongoing violence was proof that State President FW de Klerk was unable to rule the country.

Sammy was one of scores of *Sowetan* readers who called host Tim Modise to express their views on current issues.

Another caller, Mr George Matsimbe of Moutse, called on all liberation movements to revive the Patriotic Front. He said the Government was incapable of running the country.

Johnson of Mohlakeng, urged Radio Metro disc jockeys to support the workers on strike at the SABC.

Mr Mandla Dube said the national

executive committee of the ANC was "too soft on the Government."

He said: "The problem is that the executive changes positions too often to be relied upon.

"Those responsible for the deaths of the Boipatong people should be publicly shot as a deterrent."

Mr Mzimkhulu Dube said De Klerk had abused power for too long and should therefore step down. Dube advised the Government to negotiate in good faith. He called for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Mr Haroon Casoojee of Eldorado Park, said South Africa's main problems was unemployment.

Mr Chris Baloyi of Diepkloof, said the struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and Mozambique were eventually resolved through negotiations.

"Those responsible for the deaths of the Boipatong people should be publicly shot as a deterrent."

Mandla Dube

"Pressure must be put on the Government until it relinquishes power."

Chris Baloyi, Diepkloof

"South Africa's main problem is unemployment."

Haroon Casoojee, Eldorado Park

"De Klerk had abused power for too long and should therefore step down."

Mzimkhulu Dube

"Radio Metro disc jockeys must support the workers on strike at the SABC over wage increases."

Johnson, Mohlakeng

"Liberation movements must revive the Patriotic Front. The Government is incapable of running the country."

George Matsimbe, Moutse

The ANC says:

Sowetan 7/7/92

EXONERATING the security forces from responsibility before the commission had sat to consider evidence was premature, the ANC said in its reaction.

In a statement, the ANC said it agreed with the commission's view that the disenfranchised had no other recourse other than public demonstrations.

It charged that State President FW de Klerk's remarks about mass action during his visit to Japan were both unwise and dangerous and only served to exacerbate the climate of violence.

The organisation said the lack of resources and the terms of reference of the commission restricted its ability to get to the bottom of a number of violent incidents.

The commission, it said, had



Nelson Mandela

~~3/2~~ (11A) narrowed the issue of State culpability to "direct complicity in or planning of violence", which missed the point as culpability extended to commission or omission.

"We find it odd, too, that the Commission can make so conclusive a determination without evidence being laid before it," the ANC said.

NEWS Businessmen in top-level talks ● Blast claims two lives

Worried businessmen meet ANC and allies

Sowetan

8/7/92

11A

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By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa

■ POLITICAL DEADLOCK Concern over the threat of mass action and the country's crisis

BUSINESS LEADERS held top level talks with the African National Congress and its allies in Johannesburg yesterday on the political crisis in the country.

And, despite a "narrowing of the gap" in their thinking, the two parties remain divided on mass action.

The business delegation reiterated its concern and opposition to the ANC-led mass action campaign while the ANC used the opportunity to explain why they launched the protests.

It was announced after the meeting that the two sides were considering establishing a small group "to keep the lines of communications open" in times of crisis.

Yesterday's meeting was the third of a series called by business leaders to discuss with political parties the negotiations' deadlock

The ANC and its allies pulled out of negotiations after the Boipatong massacre on June 17 and issued a list of demands to be met to resume talks. In the past week, the business leaders held talks with State President Mr FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"We have had very fruitful exchanges," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in a brief address to the media after the two-hour meeting at the organisation's head office.

He said the deadlock between the Government and ANC had led to a "serious situation in which positions have been hardened".

Mandela said what was important about talks

was that "we have narrowed the gaps between us in our thinking and we are coming closer a common attitude on the final issues".

The business delegation was led by Mr Hennie Viljoen, president of the SA Chamber of Business, members of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) and Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa).

THE ANC group included the SA Communist Party and Cosatu. AHI president Mr Attie du Plessis said the business community would continue its discussions. Sacob director-general Mr Raymond Parsons said employers would consult all parties, including PAC and Azapo, in order to bring about peace.

Focus on Talks

Sowetan 8/7/92

ALLOWING for under counting in the ill-advised 1991 census, our population is presently in the order of 40 million.

The last all-white referendum has made it clear that we are now operating under the rule of not more than five percent of the population.

This statistic underscores the diminutive base of political control in our land and emphasises the fundamental political and socio-economic contradiction and tension at all levels of our society.

Our colonial and exploitative heritage has unremittingly ensured the political powerlessness of over 80 percent of our people and led to gross social malformations and obscene economic disparities.

A few graphic statistics more than make the point:

- Less than five percent of the total capital assets are owned by Africans.
- 87 percent of our land is white-owned or controlled.
- About 7-9 million of our people live in shacks as so-called squatters.
- About 5-7 million Africans are presently unemployed.
- Fifty percent of African babies die before they reach the age of five.

Flowing from the foregoing, the position of the Pan Africanist Congress is informed by the following broad considerations:

● The immediate task of the broad liberation movement in the current face of struggle is the transfer of political power to a nonracial, democratic majority.

● The only legitimate and democratic forum for such transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote, and the common voters roll in a unitary State.

● The present regime cannot be and is not the agent of democratic change: the masses of our people are.

● The Pan Africanist Congress is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for democracy and national liberation and democracy through the mechanism of negotiations.

● Such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

● The mechanism through which such a national mandate must be obtained is the constituent assembly.

● The formation of a broad democratic front constitutes a crucial element in the power of the broad liberation movement for these tasks.

Our stand on and criticism of Codesa is well known.

In the wake of the failure of Codesa, the PAC

With the country's negotiations process having come to a standstill, PAC deputy president **Mr Dikgang Moseneke**, in this article written for the *Sowetan*, **(11A)** suggests an easy, legitimate and democratic way out of the logjam:



PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke says some of the leaders in this picture were created by the Government and do not have any followers.

has been vindicated in its assertion that Codesa is a kaleidoscope of political intrigue.

It has now become abundantly clear that the minority regime has not been negotiating in good faith to create a genuine democracy and thus is not prepared to relinquish power.

A double agenda has come to the fore which entails, on the one hand, the strengthening of its ruling power base and on the other, weakening the overall position of the liberation movement.

Consequently the PAC reiterates the following:

1. Democratic elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new democratic constitution must be held without delay.

2. The regime must beforehand concede that the only legitimate and democratic forum for transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote and the common voters' roll in the unitary State, the delegates

thereto having been elected by proportional representation.

3. A new restructured forum, free from the defects of Codesa, should be convened in order to help with negotiations in good faith and with the primary purpose of transferring power to a democratic majority.

4. The new forum should have three primary agenda items, being determining the modalities towards the formation of a constituent assembly, in particular the holding of the elections to that end, agreements on the creation of a transitional authority and agreements on the role of the international community.

5. The participants to such a forum should be parties and organisations within or supportive of the regime on the one hand and the representatives of the liberation movement on the other.

6. Negotiating forums should be convened and chaired by neutral and independent facilitators and mediators.

Indaba on SA's crisis

Sowetan 8/7/92

11A

■ **AGREEING TO DIFFER** ANC, business leaders

meet to discuss country's deepening political crisis:

BUSINESS leaders yesterday discussed the country's crisis with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the Congress Alliance.

The parties agreed to differ, but understood each other's positions.

The businessmen's delegation consisted of leaders from the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob), the

Afrikaanse Handels Instituut (AHI) and Seifsa.

These also met with President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

According to Mr Raymond Parsons of Sacob, they hoped to meet the PAC and other organisations in due course.

See the main story on page **2**

ANC ponders its response

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR 8/1/92 11A

The ANC national working committee meets today in Johannesburg to discuss its reply to the Government memorandum on the crisis in the negotiation process.

It is likely that the ANC's response will redirect attention to its initial demands as some ANC sources believe that the Government's memorandum has "side-tracked" the issues.

In his initial response, ANC leader Nelson Mandela also concentrated on the demands, saying his organisation had submitted "specific and concrete demands to Mr F W de Klerk as a means of finding a way out of the impasse".

Mr Mandela dismissed for a second time on Saturday the Government's proposal of a two-day summit between the two sides.

Mr Mandela said "no good

purpose would be served at this stage" in meeting Mr de Klerk and there was no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the seriousness of the crisis.

"He (Mr de Klerk) has chosen to ignore the gravity of these demands. He seeks to channel them into endless negotiations and discussions," Mr Mandela said.

The Government's memorandum did not respond directly to the demands and heavy emphasis was placed on the alleged influence of the SACP and Cosatu on ANC decisions. The Government offered three compromises in its memorandum.

- A senate based on proportional representation.
- Lowered special majorities to adopt a constitution by a constitution-making body.
- A maximum three-year life-span for a constitution-making body.

Failure to condemn 'necklacing' encourages intolerance, argues Dr Gomolemo Mokae

'Turn off foreign fundings tap'

STAN 9/11/92

11/4

HERE was an air of urgency in Sipho Mngomezulu's speech, walk and eyes, as if he deemed his allotted lifespan too inadequate for his mission: the liberation of his people.

He had his fingers in many pies, and each was tied with that objective. Two sizeable ones, which ate into his life, were the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Engineering and Electrical Workers' Union, which has since become part of the Metal and Electrical Workers' Union.

As fate would have it, Sipho was not to see his people's promised land, his young life being ruthlessly terminated via a "necklace" by putative fellow-travellers in "the struggle" in mid-1986.

His sin? Subscription to Black Consciousness (BC).

Alas! Sipho's death would not satiate his murderers' avarice for black blood. On the day of his funeral, they would terrorise mourners at his Soweto home, and proudly leave with the blood of yet another activist on their hands, and the satisfaction of having "necklaced" Sipho's coffin.

Their second victim, young Martin Mohau, was not any less

passionate about "the struggle". At 15, he had been one of the youngest political prisoners on Robben Island, but this badge of honour would become an albatross around his neck, thanks to his identification with the Black Consciousness Movement.

Reminiscences we can well do without, you might argue. You might even go the whole hog, and ask what all this has to do with the violence currently bedeviling our country, particularly the Botopong massacre.

Everything, we will retort, and here's why — the necklace.

Nowadays, of course, there is little doubt all three components of the liberation movement find the "necklace" a ghastly, barbaric method of settling differences with political opponents. But, sadly, that was not the case in the mid-80s, during the time of the so-called UDF-Azapo feud. Had it been, perhaps Sipho and Martin might still be alive.

Then, some components found making the country "ungovernable" so important that they countenanced the "necklace". Some of its leaders even went on to publicly extol its "virtues," and the

"necklace" was used not only against perceived collaborators with the white government, but against fellow-travellers in "the struggle".

Come February 1990, and the component became lumbered with the unenviable task of de-programming so-called comrades brought up on a staple diet of political intolerance, and a preparedness to go to barbaric extents to settle political differences.

To some extent the de-programming worked, but to some it did not. Herein lies part of the root of the current violence.

Consider the following:

● Recently, an ANC activist in the Western Transvaal, George Mathusa, ran into trouble for warning at the funeral of ex-Boiphatswana hunger striker Bushy Molefe that "necklaces" would be used to make Bophuthatswana "ungovernable" as we did in South Africa in the '80s'. For his "indiscretions", he was correctly admonished by his organisation. But perhaps the poor activist was not informed that times, and attitudes, had changed, and was thus still locked in an '80s time capsule.

● On May 1, a speaker from Azapo's youth wing, George Ngwenya, was heckled off the stage by a well-orchestrated band of ANC members at a rally in Soweto for daring to speak ill of Codesa.

Like Muntu Myeza, the late former publicity secretary of Azapo who was heckled off the stage by ANC supporters at a June 16 service at Regina Mundi, George had to come to terms with underdog, Stalinist practices by supposed democrats.

In both instances, there was not even a whimper of admonition from the Charterist leadership to the intolerance of its followers.

● Finally, a few weeks before the Boipatong massacre, alleged Inkatha members and alleged lovers to Inkatha members (sic) were "necklaced" by so-called comrades in Boipatong in the light of that, people like the Reverend Paul Verryn had a premonition of the chaos that might follow when Inkatha realigned, but the "necklacing" received minimal press coverage.

Now, one does not hold a brief for Inkatha, particularly after an Azam member in Bekkersdal,

Pogiso Mraji, was brutally slain by Inkatha Impis on July 2 1992, after attending the Boipatong mass funeral. His sin? Inkatha members in Bekkersdal, in their political idiocy, perceived Azapo's attending of the Boipatong funeral as "sliding with the ANC".

But that must not alter one's puzzlement at the minimal press coverage accorded to the "necklacing" of alleged Inkatha members in Boipatong.

In our view, an acknowledgement, and non-equivocation, by all political organisations, and all sections of the media, that there is absolutely no glory in gory killings is the first, vital step towards peace in our land.

Therefore, any "necklacing" should receive maximum, adverse publicity.

In the mid-80s, as explained earlier sections of the liberation movement accorded to the "necklace" some revolutionary, liberatory qualities. The press, too, by omission — as when, for instance, it often turned a blind eye to the excesses of UDF activists — contributed to this ghastly development.

De-programming of so-called

comrades who still believe in the "necklace" can only be helped by such an expression of utter revulsion at this barbarism *a la* the Middle Ages.

At its national council meeting in Laudium, Pretoria recently, Azapo pointed out the second step towards peace. Noting the Goldstone Commission's report that the ANC and Inkatha were almost always the other parties in violence, Azapo asked for cessation of foreign funding of these two organisations until they have undertaken decisive steps to educate their followers on political tolerance.

Of course, foreign funders of these organisations are not renowned for having an ear for Azapo. It is unlikely they will heed Azapo's call.

This leads to our concluding question: if both the ANC and Inkatha were primarily representatives of whites and were, as they are now, almost always "the other parties" in acts of violence, would their massive bank-rolling by foreign governments and so-called solidarity groupings continue? Dr Gomolemo Mokae is head of Azapo's Education Secretariat.

NEWS Government in bid to put talks back on track ● The faces



Brrrr... it's real cold and the mercury is way below zero. Sowetan photographer Mbuzeni Zulu captured three coal men at the back of a moving truck with their heater . . . which is really a brazier. And it sure warmed their hands, feet - and hearts.

Codesa: Govt changes tack

■ ANC says the Government is not addressing issues that led to talks breakdown:

Sowetan 9/17/92

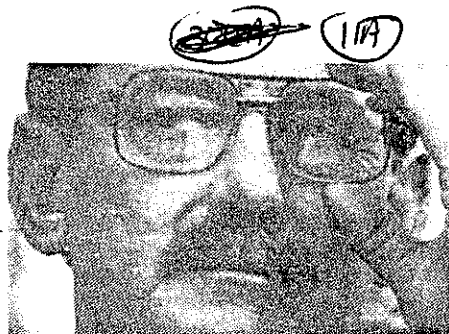
By Monk Nkomo and Themba Molefe

THE Government would consider reformulating Codesa to get talks with the African National Congress back on track, deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

But the ANC immediately dismissed this as not addressing the causes that led to the breakdown in negotiations.

Addressing a Press briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Delport said the Government was prepared to consider "all sensible proposals" from the ANC in an effort to have the talks resumed.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma said the organisation would be responding to State President Mr FW de Klerk's proposals on resuming



Tertius Delport

negotiations today.

Referring to Delport's statement, Macozoma said restructuring Codesa was not the issue, but the Government's commitment to majority rule and addressing the violence as stated in the ANC's 14-point memorandum to De Klerk on June 26.

Delport said there was no need for outside

mediation as the Government and the ANC were communicating with each other to express their differences.

He said they differed fundamentally with the ANC on two issues:

- The Government rejected the idea of State power being transferred to a body that is not subject to a Constitution; and
- It also rejected the idea that a simple majority should ever be placed to decide finally on the contents of a new constitution.

Delport was, however, optimistic that talks at Codesa would resume when emotions had finally cooled. He did not believe that the proposed mass action by the ANC was an alternative to negotiations.

He said the real reasons for the deadlock at Codesa was that the ANC was not willing to accept the principle of an interim or transitional constitution agreed upon at Codesa.

Summit of lost chances

STAR 917192.

11A

The SA Government lost ground, the ANC and PAC gained ground and the OAU stayed on the same old ground at its annual summit. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of The Star Africa Service reports from Dakar.

AFTER ALL the speeches and the interminable motorcades, did the Organisation of African Unity's Dakar summit achieve anything?

The simple answer is, very little, if anything. Except with regard to South Africa, the summit failed to take concrete steps to resolve any of the contentious issues facing the continent.

A glance through the resolutions shows that the OAU has learnt over the years to be a skilled passer of the buck. The resolution on South Africa is the only one which tied the OAU to some sort of programme of action: to dispatch foreign ministers to the UN Security Council meeting and investigators to SA.

As far as the South African Government is concerned, there is no doubt this was a summit of missed opportunities.

Established

One left Abuja, where last year's OAU summit took place, with a feeling that, despite the decisions on sanctions, it was only a matter of time before some form of official contact

between South Africa and the continent was established. The avalanche of African visitors to South Africa, signing all sorts of agreements, seemed to support that view.

Dakar therefore held great promise for the South African Government, many observers thought. SA would be accorded some status, or given an honourable mention and encouraged to do more.

Informed sources said countries sympathetic to South Africa had come ready for a show-down if this did not happen. But it was not to be.

Well-laid plans were sabotaged by events within the country, especially the massacre in Boipatong, which completely dictated the tenor of all discussions on South Africa.

The ANC and PAC had a good summit. The OAU simply closed ranks. When the chips are down it is a brave African leader who will want to be seen lining up alongside President de Klerk

against Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu.

The ANC's Joe Modise conceded that the Boipatong massacre had helped the organisation to bring into line those who were sitting on the fence ready to join the other side.

If the events of the past three weeks in South Africa have not as yet led to the unravelling of all the friendships the South African Government has made on the continent, they have at least instilled some doubt in some of these new-found friends.

Some of them are beginning to ask themselves whether they have not been a little too gullible in accepting what the Government says at face value, and are wondering whether the Government is not leading them

up the garden path, using them in its game of one-upmanship against the ANC.

The violence — the uncertainty about who is behind it and the Government's reluctance or inability to stop it — is inflicting heavy damage on Pretoria's new-found credibility on the continent.

The question asked at Dakar was what the Government was doing about the violence. And the answer seemed to be: pretty little.

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, the outgoing OAU chairman, while calling on blacks to unite and not to allow themselves to be divided, made the point that it was the primary responsibility of any government to protect the lives and

property of its citizens.

What many found surprising was that days passed after the Boipatong massacre without a single arrest having been made, despite the fact that the source of the violence was known to the authorities. This gave credence to charges that the security forces were involved.

Assertions by the Government that it cannot stop the violence did not seem to wash. One delegate said, for instance, that during the days of the pass laws no black person without proper papers could walk the streets without being nabbed by the police.

"Now they tell us they can't apprehend murderers, and they want us to believe that."

South African diplomats will

find it difficult to make any headway in Africa unless the situation improves. African countries are hoping that the UN Security Council will be able to agree on some form of international involvement in the monitoring of violence, and that negotiations will then resume.

For the moment, though, the OAU has decided to stand, officially at least, by those it has supported down the years during what it sees as their hour of need.

As for the other issues confronting the Dakar delegates, they were simply dodged. An appeal was made to the international community, the UN — anybody but the OAU — to do something about them.

Africans, a Russian diplomat

The one issue which we were told would be the benchmark of this summit was the creation of some mechanism to contain or stop civil wars in Africa. Such a measure, if accepted, would have changed the whole character of the OAU: it would have given the organisation some teeth. At the moment it is a toothless dinosaur sitting with some ancient problems which it cannot solve because it lacks the mechanism to do so.

Creation

Some countries felt such a change would require an amendment of the OAU charter, which meant that the organisation's most sacred doctrine — non-interference in the internal affairs of member states — would have had to go. This they were not prepared to entertain.

The resolution was "accepted on principle". Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim was asked to make a thorough study and prepare a report for the next summit. Which means they have a year to come up with another subterfuge. The issue is effectively dead.

Mr Salim put on a brave face, declaring the outcome a victory. He had lobbied hard for the resolution. But some countries suspect that he may be trying to build a soapbox for himself. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's age may not allow him to stand for another term as United Nations secretary-general. That would allow Mr Salim a second stab at the job he wants more than any other. With the Cold War over, the Americans, who thwarted his bid a decade ago, may relent this time round. □

ANC rejects reports of bids to assassinate police

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

The ANC yesterday hit out at reports in Afrikaans newspapers that the organisation had marked senior policemen for assassination.

The reports emerged after Brandon Samson, who had allegedly been trained by the ANC and ordered to assassinate policemen, was arrested in Piet Retief on June 28 for being in illegal possession of a firearm.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the eastern Transvaal

branch of the organisation could not confirm that Mr Samson was a member of the ANC.

According to the reports, Mr Samson left SA in 1986 and received military training in Angola and Zambia.

He reportedly came back to South Africa and joined the ANC.

It was reported he was given instructions from top ANC officials to eliminate a certain policeman in Piet Retief.

The policeman's name was one of several on a list of police to be assassinated, the reports said.

Mr Niehaus yesterday said the newspapers carrying the reports were guilty of conducting a trial in the media.

He said the story must have originated from the SAP and was an attempt to discredit the ANC.

Eastern Transvaal police spokesman Lieutenant Thuys du Bruyn yesterday said the SAP knew nothing of the allegations about the ANC's alleged assassination plots.

Mr Samson is due to appear in court in Piet Retief on Monday.

Mbeki remarks could boost Govt hopes

Violence curbing is 'key factor'

STAR
91792
By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

If steps are taken to curb violence in South Africa, "everyone could be quite keen to go back (to negotiations)", senior ANC official Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

His remarks — which will fuel optimism in Government circles that Codesa may yet be salvaged — came as the ANC's 22-member national working committee met to draft its long-awaited formal response to last week's letter from President de Klerk to ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

It is widely expected that the ANC will refuse to rejoin negotiations in the short term, but there are hopes that possible ways out of the impasse may be suggested.

Publication of the ANC's detailed response to the Government memorandum was expected yesterday, but an official said no firm date had been decided upon.

Addressing the South African branch of the International Executive Service Corps in Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki, the ANC's head of international affairs, said constitutional talks had been broken off by the ANC because of the Boipatong massacre and it was impossible for the ANC to resume negotiations until the Government had taken several steps to curb the violence.

But, he said, if these steps were taken, "everyone could be quite keen to go back".

He appealed to all South Africans to explore ways of ending the violence. The Government should be sending out a clear message that one of its responsibilities was to end the violence.

Mr Mbeki said some of the violence came from ANC members and that the ANC

had an obligation to ensure its members did not take part in the violence.

He said the Government's current response to the ANC's demands was to suggest "discussing them" — but the ANC saw no need for talks on issues that had been agreed to long ago. He referred specifically to the disarming of people carrying weapons in public.

The ANC had believed there was a common assumption at the start of the Codesa process that all delegates broadly saw the ultimate outcome of the negotiations as the creation of a nonracial democracy. But, he said, the organisation had discovered at Codesa that views on democracy differed widely.

The Government wanted the majority party to govern with the consensus of the minority parties, while the ANC wanted minority parties to become the opposition. He said it was not a matter of protection of minorities, but the protection of a minority party.

At a briefing in Pretoria yesterday, senior Government negotiator Dr Tertius Delport said the Government's revised constitutional proposals — contained in the letter to Mr Mandela — were an attempt to persuade the ANC to resume negotiations.

Dr Delport said the Government's compromises on three key constitutional issues which led to the breakdown of Codesa 2 were "indicative of the flexibility of our approach and of the fact that we are saying: Let's get back to the negotiating table".

He accused the ANC of "running away" from the compromises regarding an interim government that it had agreed to at Codesa.

focus on Codesa

Sowetan 9/7/92.

CODESA is not dead and the ANC has no option but to return to the process, deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Dr Tertius Delport told Political Reporter, **THEMBA MOLEFE**.

QUESTION: What will happen if the ANC rejects Government proposals on getting negotiations restarted?

ANSWER: It is unfortunate that it seems to be taking longer as we are now negotiating by writing instead of getting together and talking.

Q: Are you saying the Government is optimistic that the ANC will eventually resume talks?

A: The ANC knows that is the only viable option.

Q: But it seems the ANC has reverted to the politics of confrontation...?

A: Is that a statement by the *Sowetan*?

Q: No, it is a question. What makes you so optimistic?

A: I am not ready to accept that the ANC is going back to the liberation struggle prior to February 2 1990. I accept that there is a confrontational and non-confrontational approach, but that does not mean the ANC rejects negotiations.

Sometimes it seems that they would be better in negotiations if they use what they perceive as strong-arm tactics.

The Government will not be intimidated by confrontational politics.

Q: What do you think brought Codesa to a halt?

A: The ANC said specifically that we'd rather deadlock than compromise.

They explicitly said in their Negotiations Bulletin of May 18 1992 that the ANC proposed that deadlock-breaking mechanisms should be agreed upon beforehand as the national assembly may never be able to take decisions with such high percentages.

Percentages offered then as a compromise by the ANC - of 70 percent for all decisions and 75 percent for a Bill of Rights.

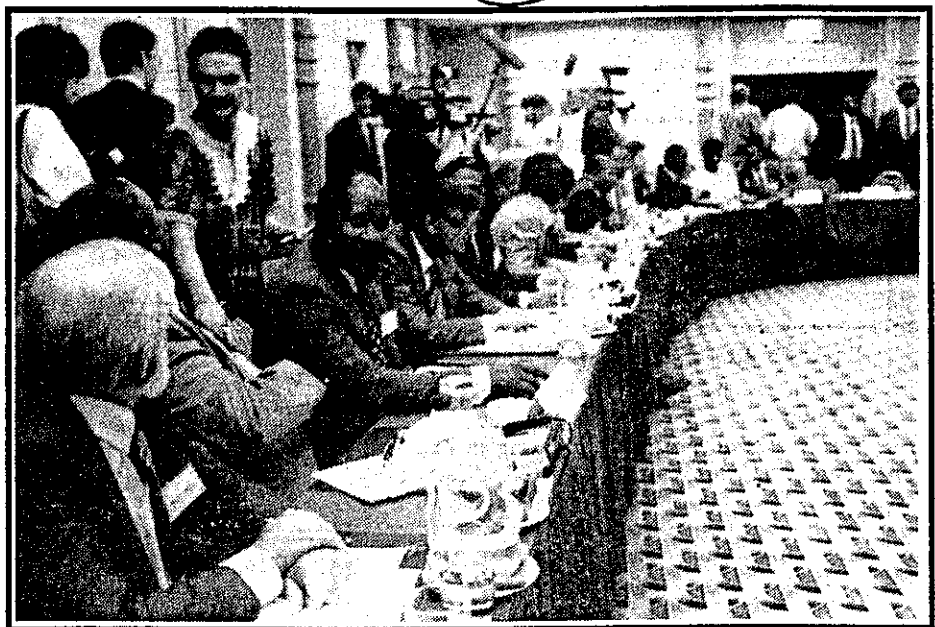
The ANC therefore proposed that if within six months the national assembly is unable to agree on a new constitution, that the constitution which has the support of over 50 percent of the delegates should be put before the people in the form of a referendum for adoption.

This made nonsense of negotiations because any party with a 50 percent majority can sit for six months refusing to be drawn into a compromise and then go ahead to write a new constitution?

Q: This week the Government agreed to the ANC's 70 percent, an issue which caused the Codesa debacle. Did you therefore accede to the ANC's proposal?

A: Yes. We were quite content to negotiate on 70 or 75 percent, but we could not take it when

The ANC made a proposal which was unacceptable to the Government. This week the Government acceded to this proposal. Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs **Dr Tertius Delport** gives the background:



The Government predicts that the ANC will return to Codesa.

at the last minute at Codesa, the ANC came with a compromise position - this deadlock-breaking mechanism of six months and 50 percent and then going for a referendum, which at that late stage of negotiations, made it impossible to accept.

Q: Why do you think the ANC forced the deadlock?

A: They are not, as was provisionally agreed, prepared for Codesa to draft an interim constitution. That makes it very difficult to negotiate because our position was that you can't have a constituent assembly operating without any constraints.

What happens if that body cannot come to an agreement? You then have power unlimited - absolute State power transferred to and no limits whatsoever to that power...

Now the emphasis that the ANC is placing on a sovereign constituent assembly indicates to be in line with their previous view that they would like to see a constituent assembly operating without constraints. That ties with the idea that

Codesa should not write an interim constitution.

Our position is clear: let us first agree to an interim constitution at Codesa by consensus. This would mean the ANC and other parties would have absolute veto over that constitution.

So we have to compromise to get a constitutional framework which would be legislated for in Parliament and bring to an end the existing constitution.

Further constitution-making can then take place...and be done by an elected national assembly which would be on the same lines as was proposed for a constituent assembly, with an addition that that national assembly will also be part of Parliament in that interim period.

Q: It is widely believed in liberation movement circles that power-sharing means maintaining minority rule.

A: It is wrong that a minority can govern a country. We would like all major forces getting involved - not through representation but by participating as well...

focus on Codesa

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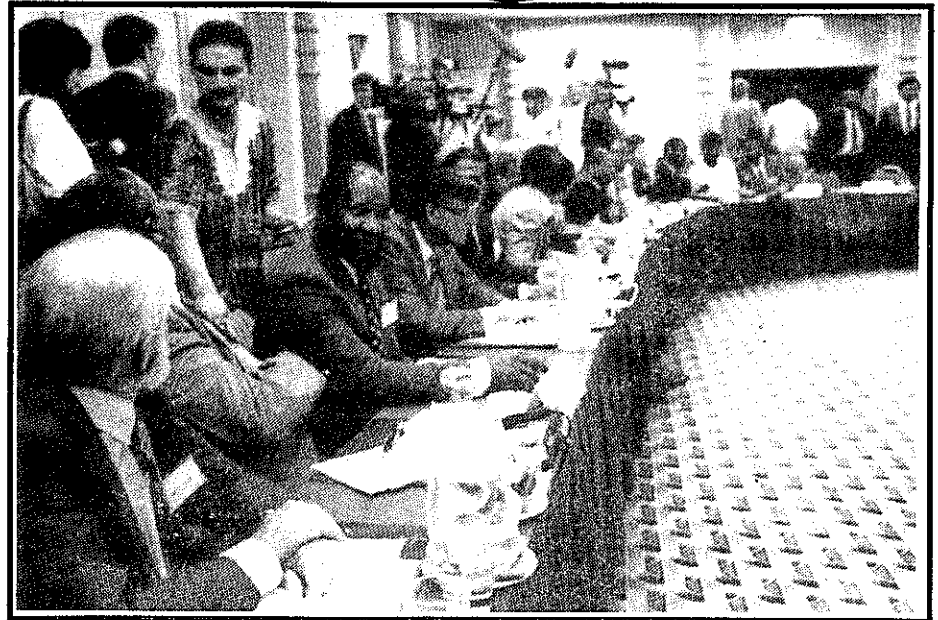
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Onslaught on advertisers planned

BID art 9/17/92
IN A two-pronged assault on the SABC, the PAC and Cosatu-ANC alliance have separately warned advertisers to withdraw commercials or face mass action.

The PAC announced yesterday that, in support of the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa) in its eight-week strike at the SABC, it would embark on a national mass action on Monday which would target for boycotts those companies advertising on the SABC.

However, Cosatu said it and the ANC had already decided to urge companies to

(11A) ~~(11A)~~ ~~(11A)~~
THEO RAWANA

withdraw their advertisements from the SABC or face boycotts if the SABC was not democratised within a timeframe as yet to be determined.

The PAC said its campaign would take the form of:

- Demonstrations at the buildings of major SABC advertisers and distribution of pamphlets and posters; and
- Banning furniture stores, supermarkets

To Page 2

Advertisers

BID art 9/17/92
and other outlets selling SABC-advertised items from operating in the townships.

PAC national campaigns committee chairman Ntsudeni Madzunya said in a statement meetings would be held to persuade township dealers to remove items advertised on SABC from their shelves.

A boycott of payment of TV licences would be instituted and Radio Metro would be ordered to stop broadcasts.

There would be a ban on appearances by liberation movements on SABC.

Individuals crossing the picket line would be blacklisted, Madzunya warned.

SABC crews would be banned from townships with immediate effect and journalists and TV crews would have to carry identification at all times.

Names of targeted companies and products would be made public tomorrow and the boycott would start on Monday.

(11A) ~~(11A)~~ ~~(11A)~~ From Page 1

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the ANC and Cosatu had decided some time ago to embark on a campaign to force the SABC and government to resolve the strike and restructure the SABC.

An ANC conference in May had resolved that the SABC and government should be given a deadline for democratisation of the SABC structure.

It was decided advertisers should help put pressure on the SABC to resolve the strike.

If the SABC failed to comply with the demands, advertisers should withdraw advertisements from the SABC. A boycott would be launched against advertisers who did not co-operate, and people would refuse to pay licences.

Mwasa administrative secretary Themba Hlatshwayo said his organisation welcomed the support.

... of ... (Zaneen, died near Cravelotte. A police spokesman said the ...)

Police, ANC at odds over blast death

STAR 10/7/92
Staff Reporters

The ANC and police have accused each other of "blatantly lying" about events leading to the death this week of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander George Mashele.

Mr Mashele died early on Tuesday when a grenade detonated inside his Vosloorus home.

Moments earlier, police had lobbed a teargas canister through a broken window to force Mr Mashele, a murder suspect, to open the door.

Mr Mashele's mother, Lillian Mogasho, was also killed in the

blast.

The ANC PWV region yesterday said the police were suggesting that Mr Mashele blew himself up with a grenade. The organisation accused the police of throwing the grenade and then shooting Mrs Mogasho.

Police have strongly denied the allegations, saying they arrived to arrest Mr Mashele, who was suspected of murdering a man and a two-year-old baby in a petrol-bomb attack.

A teargas canister was thrown in to force Mr Mashele to come out, and soon after, an explosion was heard. Mr Ma-

shele was later found dead and his mother fatally injured among the remains of a Russian hand grenade, police said.

ANC regional spokesman Wally Mbele yesterday rejected this version and accused the police of a cover-up designed to protect Mr Mashele's known killers and the real perpetrators of violence in Vosloorus.

"How could it be possible for Mr Mashele to shoot his mother when his body was so badly mutilated in the hand grenade explosion?" Mr Mbele asked.

"Since the police were still present when the hand grenade

exploded, why did they not go into the house to investigate the blast? We demand answers."

The police have called Mr Mbele's statements "blatant untruths", saying all indications were that Mr Mashele was handling the grenade when it detonated.

In addition, a post-mortem on Mrs Magosha's body revealed no bullet wounds.

● The Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal has called for the immediate arrest of Vosloorus town councillor Sidwell Mofokeng, whom they allege was at the blast scene.

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Donation of ANC facilities

11A

MGOROGORO, Tanzania. — The ANC yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian government the camps and farms where for years it trained its men and women to fight apartheid.

ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo, ANC president until Mr Nelson Mandela's release from detention in 1990, gave Tanzania's ruling CCM party the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, named after a slain radical South African activist, and two farms.

Some opposition spokesman in Tanzania's fledgling multi-party system have called for the facilities to be returned to Tanzanian people rather than the ruling party. — Sapa-
Reuter

Limited defiance in ANC station protest

CT 10/7/92 Staff Reporter

(11A)

FEWER than 30 people participated in the ANC's "pro-democracy campaign defiance action" at Cape Town station early yesterday morning.

ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak, who was expected to lead defiers with third-class tickets through the station's first-class entrance, did not arrive and the event went ahead without him.

He could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Other defiers, including the Rev Chris Nissen, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, Mr Hanif Tiseker and Ms Amy Thornton, walked triumphantly past unprotesting ticket examiners and through the platform exits on the "first-class" side of the station.

Umweno said Bitya had sent him to SA to express the president's "full support" for a new society. De Klerk in his endeavours to build a new society.

process in SA
"Carmeroon is also in the midst of a period of constitutional change and we can learn much from them."

Red Cross waits for ANC guidelines on camp visits

B [Day] 10/7/92

WILSON ZWANE

THE International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was still in the dark yesterday about procedures it had to follow when visiting the ANC's former detention camps in Tanzania and Uganda.

The committee has also not been cleared by Tanzania and Uganda to visit the camps.

The ANC has invited the committee to visit its former detention camps after allegations by ex-detainees that they had been maltreated there.

Committee spokesman Toni Psanner said yesterday the committee had accepted the invitation and was keen to visit the camps. "But we still have to discuss with the ANC the exact procedures which we have to follow during our visits," he said.

He added that because foreign governments were also involved, permission to visit the camps should be obtained from them. "We are busy working on that," Psanner said.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus has said the commission of inquiry which the ANC appointed in March was planning to investigate the camps.

The commission consists of three advocates — Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and B Mabandla.

Sapa-Reuter reports the ANC yesterday formally handed over to the Tanzanian government its camps and farms there.

The handover in Mgorogoro marked the

end of an era during which Tanzania, under former president Julius Nyerere, was a key ANC supporter and leader of the front-line states.

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo gave Tanzania's ruling CCM party the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, named after a slain SA radical.

He also donated two farms where refugees and activists from SA plotted the downfall of apartheid.

Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi called on the Pretoria government to deal decisively with those responsible for SA's township violence.

"It is only through sustained peace and stability that the current peace process in SA will stand a chance of success," he said at the ceremony.

He also called on the international community to help the repatriation and resettlement of the few remaining exiles.

Some opposition spokesmen in Tanzania's fledgling multiparty system have called for the facilities to be returned to the Tanzanian people rather than the ruling party.

"It was the people of Tanzania who made a great sacrifice for the liberation of southern Africa. It is only fair that the complexes be handed over to them and not to CCM," civil rights lawyer Mabere Marando said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela still refuses to see FW

Govt, ANC meet in move to revive talks

BIDAY 10/7/92

(11A) (3)

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC held discussions at senior level at least once this week in an attempt to restart stalled constitutional talks — but ANC president Nelson Mandela last night again rejected a meeting with President F W de Klerk.

However, in tones more conciliatory than the two groups have used with each other in recent weeks, Mandela urged De Klerk to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis". And in reply to Mandela, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said "the ANC has raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night confirmed he spoke yesterday to Meyer and that they had discussed memorandums exchanged by the ANC and government. He would not comment further on the discussions.

The ANC yesterday unveiled its response to De Klerk's memorandum and government sources said it offered no compromise in the dispute.

However, the ANC and government are relying on mediation on violence-related problems as an opportunity to restart constitutional talks. Next week Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will address a special sitting of the UN Security Council which will decide what form mediation should take.

Mandela said yesterday there was a way out of the impasse. "There is a way forward. It depends on how the NP government responds to our efforts to break the

negotiations deadlock and take practical steps to end the violence."

He suggested that in the light of his denial of blame for the violence, De Klerk take over the portfolios of Defence and Law and Order.

Mandela urged government to concentrate on a constitution-making body rather than putting its efforts into a transitional phase.

"The manner in which you have elevated the transitional arrangements to the central focus of negotiations betrays your preoccupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the NP, which you recognise will remain a minority party in the event of a democratic constitution," Mandela said in his letter to De Klerk.

Mandela said the ANC wanted an elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution and that the ANC "fully supports constitutional and legislative measures to ensure that there is no constitutional void".

"There should be a clear understanding that all interim arrangements relating to the administration and governance of regions shall be such as to not pre-empt the decisions of the constitution-making body," Mandela said.

Government has proposed a comprehensive transitional constitution drawn up at Codesa and making provision for regional boundaries and governments which could exercise a veto over constitutional changes affecting them.

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

BIDAY 10/7/92

(11A) (3)

□ From Page 1

The ANC is proposing that half a constituent assembly be elected on a national list, and half on regional lists. Changes in regard to regions would take place by a two-thirds majority of both national and regional representatives.

Mandela yesterday highlighted alleged government complicity in violence, its support for Inkatha and security force involvement in violence as reasons for his refusal to meet De Klerk.

Meyer said in response to the ANC that government would study Mandela's response and reply to it next week.

He said, however, there were serious differences between the two groups, which included the ANC's refusal to co-operate on violence and its "strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation".

Meyer said a government meeting chaired by De Klerk took place yesterday at which negotiations and Judge Richard Goldstone's criticisms of government were discussed. A similar meeting will be held next week to reply to the Goldstone report and the ANC document.

● Comment Page 8

NEGOTIATIONS

11A

FM

10/7/92

Sparring with our future

The outlook was not promising ahead of the ANC's considered response to President F W de Klerk's proposals for resuming direct negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's initial reply, last Saturday, said that "by responding in the manner that he has done, Mr De Klerk has chosen to drive SA into a collision course. I accordingly see no reason to mislead the public and the international community about the gravity of the crisis facing our country." No purpose would be served, Mandela added, in meeting De Klerk "at this stage."

The stock market dipped, potential foreign investors took fright and there seemed to be a rise in the numbers seeking to emigrate.

The guess was that the ANC would probably announce a qualified rejection of De Klerk's July 2 reply to its post-Boipatong demands of June 26 — but leaving room to manoeuvre. This prognosis depended on wiser, pragmatic counsels in the ANC (identified with the likes of Thabo Mbeki) prevailing over its insurrectionist wing (thought to include Ronnie Kasrils of the "Leipzig option" ilk), and acceptance that there is no realistic alternative to negotiations. An uprising of 1990 East European proportions hardly seems likely in SA — quite apart from the fact that the army is unlikely to switch in support of mass action aimed at evicting the government.

The next six to eight weeks are therefore likely to be rugged politically, as stepped-up mass action, led by Cosatu, threatens to raise the tension and the death toll.

A positive spin-off of Boipatong, following the Goldstone inquiry, though, could be better policing and security arrangements at potential flash points such as hostels.

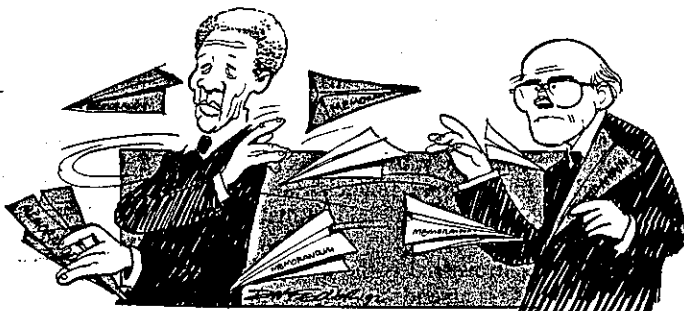
Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week admitted that the cause of township violence lay in rivalry between his supporters and the ANC's; the ANC maintains that the root of it all is in apartheid policies and government's direct involvement in fuelling black-on-black violence, not least in cahoots with Inkatha (see Goldstone report).

The ANC-led mass action campaign could, however, be subject to diminishing returns, given the bleak economic climate and the tough line being adopted by employers. Toyota and the hospital authorities, who last week fired strikers, seem to reflect this approach. Just how serious Cosatu's threat is

of a general strike on August 3 — still subject to discussion with its alliance partners — remains to be seen.

Few believe such a strike could be sustained for more than a couple of days in these times. The possibility still exists that a face-saving formula could emerge before then to resuscitate the talks process, leaving mass action to peter out. But this must be set against the stated commitment by some ANC-alliance spokesmen that the action will roll on until full democracy has been achieved.

However, the reaction of sporting bodies — especially soccer on the eve of the Cameroon tour — to the ANC's muted call for reimposing the sports boycott, indicated that the mood among blacks is not uniformly in favour of mass action. The same may apply to a general strike. Some observers wonder whether mass action, which was on the ANC's drawing board before Codesa 2



crashed, is not in the first instance an ANC exercise — part catharsis and part mobilisation practice.

Interestingly, the DP's Colin Eglin observed recently that government had had its equivalent of mass action in the white referendum campaign, enabling the NP to ginger up its support base — and that now it's the ANC's turn.

But the key issue remains deadlock in the negotiations and whether government and the ANC can establish mutual trust in order for the process to go forward. Trust is required both for ending the violence and for reaching constitutional compromise on the basic problem — that is, two radically different conceptions of what democracy is. These are the NP government's notion of "power sharing" democracy, and the ANC's more classical, majoritarian version.

Where the two sides evidently failed at Codesa was in tackling this fundamental difference head on.

In his reply to Mandela's memorandum, De Klerk, noting that an exchange of memoranda is no substitute for face-to-face talks, rejects the ANC's reasons for withdrawing from negotiations — government's alleged

involvement in violence and its lack of commitment to genuine democracy in the negotiations process.

"The fundamental difference" between their approaches to the purpose of negotiations, says De Klerk, "lies, on the one hand, in our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible; and, on the other hand, in the ANC's insistence on an unstructured and immediate transfer of power (to a constituent assembly) before a proper Transitional Constitution is negotiated." The ANC insists there can be no movement on a transitional government until government accepts that a sovereign constituent assembly will draw up a new constitution.

While government "firmly believes in democracy," said De Klerk, which "entails universal adult suffrage and majority decision-making procedures," the ANC's suggestion "that simple majority decision-making is the sole essential feature of modern democracy is over-extending the notion. A far more fundamental feature of modern democratic states is the extent to which all citizens enjoy meaningful participation and fair representation in government institutions." Government did not accept the ANC's reduction of SA politics to a battle between black and white; this "ironically exposes the ANC's approach to be founded upon outdated racial considerations."

It was dangerous to think that the road to democracy was simple, he went on. Mere majoritarianism was not sufficient to bring peace to SA. The "exclusion of significant minority political parties from decision-making regarding a matter as fundamental as the terms of a future constitution would be courting disaster," said De Klerk, who presented government's proposals for a transitional constitution.

UCT political scientist David Welsh, a DP adviser on constitutional affairs at Codesa, believes the NP should forget about a constitutionally enjoined coalition on the grounds that they do not work. He advises the ANC to show statesmanship, plus acceptance of a "pact" with the NP and other major players, which embodies a broad-based coalition for a period of about 10 years. In that time, says Welsh, the country could settle down and hopefully become a political system in which normal competition could occur.

The problem with this approach is that the ANC says there is no successful precedent for it; and there is no example of such a pact working in acutely divided societies, says the NP. Solemn pacts can simply be torn up afterwards. Trust is unfortunately not something that can be guaranteed in a constitution. ■

STATE OF THE NATION

Keep your nerve

FM 10/7/92

The most serious sin of all, it is said, is despair. For once you despair you have no hope; and without hope there is no point in carrying on. We detect a mood verging on despair, in particular, among the business community.

Naturally the only reason to ride out tough times is the belief that, eventually, the tough times will pass; without that belief, despair is unavoidable. And it is this belief, which has sustained us through many a dark period, that finally appears to be crumbling at the edges.

The gloom is understandable. After the Convention for a Democratic SA was launched last year, there were grounds for cautious optimism about a settlement which would be binding on all the main political players.

The National Party was prepared to ditch its insistence on racially defined group rights and accepted the principle of universal suffrage in a united SA. President F W de Klerk made it clear that he would be prepared to serve in a government headed by someone else. Some Cabinet Ministers went about apologising for the damage and hurt caused by apartheid; others were moved out of sensitive security portfolios.

The African National Congress, for its part, shifted away from revolutionary rhetoric and toyi-toyi economics and began to demonstrate an appreciation of the intractability of problems. It elected a tough but respected trade unionist as its secretary-general. The sport boycott was lifted.

It was the delirium of the cricket World Cup which seemed to confirm just how far we had come since the dark, repressive Eighties. After all, if the ANC's Steve Tshwete could be photographed hugging the Afrikaner cricket captain Kepler Wessels after a thrilling defeat of Australia, could a political solution be far behind? And with it, growth, better profits and a start along the High Road.

Unfortunately, no. We forgot that Codesa was not running along rails that stretched to the horizon; it was dependent daily on its members to keep up the momentum. And those members were, after all, politicians.

Codesa went wrong when the National Party introduced the idea of a Senate veto in a future parliament, which the ANC quite rightly rejected. And the Nats refused to soften their demand that a new constitution would have to get 75% support in a future elected constituent assembly; the ANC wanted a two-thirds majority, then moderated this to 70%.

The view that government miscalculated is supported by the fact that, in its latest offer to the ANC, it has given way on both counts — which suggests that it was complacent, that it had come to take both Codesa and the ultimate acquiescence of the ANC for granted.

But why has the ANC not accepted the fullness of the Nat concessions and come back to the table to help set up an interim government? There are several reasons.

The violence, and especially the horrific massacre at Boipatong, has caused emotion to outweigh reason, strengthening the hand of the radicals. We must also remember that the ANC, despite its carefully fostered image as the dominant political grouping, has never been tested electorally. It

is nervous that its support base might be eroded on the Right by De Klerk (witness what is happening in Indian and coloured politics) and on the Left by the PAC and unlettered, vengeful revolutionaries.

The ANC badly needed to rally support, to give itself the same kind of popular boost that De Klerk received from his stunning referendum victory. Let down by the Nats at Codesa, the ANC capitalised instinctively on Boipatong — but there are signs that the ANC has gone too far. This can be seen in its embarrassing behaviour over sport tours.

The ANC leaders appear at present to be driven by the mob, which may be a reflection of their political naivete. After all, if De Klerk's resolve had been shaken by the barbarism of white rightwingers at the Battle of Ventersdorp, where would we be now?

But he was not shaken, because, as an elected leader, he knows that the mob is seldom a reflection of the people as a whole. It is possible that the ANC leaders are paying excessive attention to the mob, precisely because they have no experience of being judged by a broad electorate. Outrage at Boipatong was justified, but it appears to have swamped (for the moment, anyway) any awareness of broader needs.

It is not only the ANC's massive sulk that is depressing. Trade union leaders and communists — both allies of the ANC — talk lightly of destroying the economy in order to attain freedom. Hospitals are reduced to desperation by strikers who also viciously intimidate volunteers. There are threats of a general strike, of bringing the government down. Rugby tours are in the balance.

This is certainly all very depressing — but we do not believe it is grounds for despair. Progress since February 2 1990 had been too smooth. When we came to the crunch — the manner of handing over power — disagreements and tantrums were inevitable.

Despite the current deep unease, we must admit that we have progressed much further than we ever dared imagine during the grim days of the Angolan war, the Rubicon speech, the hit squads and the State of Emergency.

What shrewd observers have said all along remains true: in the transition to a new order, the ANC and the National Party cannot do without each other and they know it (though the ANC is pretending it has forgotten). This truth will regain its force as the memory of Boipatong recedes — and, crucially, as long as there are no more Boipatongs.

The whites know in their hearts that political power must eventually be given up; the Nats must stop trying to wangle some kind of veto in a future government. And the ANC knows in its heart that De Klerk is not deliberately killing blacks; it must stop calling him a Nazi. Above all, they must all start listening to the Goldstone Commission, whose existence in itself is reason for hope.

We can get through this bad time, even if it does come to a test of strength with mass action and strikes. Some nasty things may happen — but we did not vote "yes" in the referendum in order to panic when the going got tough. It is essential that we all keep our nerve. ■

Police warning on Sebokeng

STRANGERS of all races are warned to stay away from the violence-torn township of Sebokeng near Vereeniging. *Sowetan 10/7/92* (128)
Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that violence in the township had escalated to such an extent that it had become a danger area. - Sapa.

Clegg home for concert

AN exhausted Jonathan Clegg, leader of the band Savuka, arrived yesterday from the United States to prepare for the group's four appearances at the Sun City Superbowl.

They are due to perform at the Bophuthatswana venue on July 18 and 19 and on July 24 and 25.

"It is really hard to feel ready to go up and about after a 22-hour flight," he said after walking through the customs enclosure at Jan Smuts Airport.

- *Sowetan Reporter*

Cops bicker over fees

ABOUT 230 black policemen at Vosloorus barracks have threatened to go on strike if huge deductions from their pay for food are not stopped. *Sowetan 10/7/92*

The policemen said they were told that they "eat too much" when they complained about the deductions to a senior officer at the barracks.

Mandela 'no' to talks

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected President FW de Klerk's call for urgent face-to-face talks about the crisis in the country. *Sowetan 10/7/92*

"We would sit down to do no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and eliminating violence," Mandela told a packed international news conference in Johannesburg.

Appeal to civil servants

Following mounting tensions involving pension funds, Venda's military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana has appealed to embittered civil servants to act rationally. *Sowetan 10/7/92*

During a meeting with a delegation of trade union leaders this week, Ramushwana agreed to a demand that pension funds should be made available to contributors only.

Report not biased in favour of ANC, claims Amnesty

STAR 10/17/92

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Amnesty International has rejected suggestions that its latest annual report is biased because of its failure to report ANC attacks on Inkatha.

The international human rights organisation this week castigated South African authorities over alleged security force involvement in — or their failure to prevent — acts of murder and violence against supporters of the ANC.

It also claimed Inkatha was acting against its political opponents with the tacit approval of the security forces.

However, an Amnesty

spokesman yesterday rejected a suggestion that the report was flawed. She said: "The focus this year was on killings and violence directly linked to governments or their agencies. There has been some confusion in reporting the report where the State link has been overlooked."

"This is not to say we are not aware of alleged ANC attacks on Inkatha supporters or of young 'comrades' on police. We receive a great deal of information from a highly organised network of informants, and this has been part of the information received. It is simply that we have no evidence whatsoever of any ANC attacks which were carried out in collusion with State security forces."

Inkatha dragged into fray

IN AN important annexure to his letter to President de Klerk, Mr Mandela goes further than ever before in confirming the ANC's conviction that the Government and the IFP are in political cahoots.

He also launches a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk for condemning ANC involvement in violence, but maintaining silence on the IFP.

In his letter to Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela says: "The Government and the IFP have always acted together. We have yet to see a single condemnation of the IFP even though there are numerous cases of the IFP planning and instigating violence."

The annexure, entitled "SA Government support for the IFP", charges Pretoria with "supply-

ing, arming and training Inkatha in order to foment and extend violence (and), as indicated in the Trust Feed case, security forces have deliberately acted to extend Inkatha control over territory and people.

"The failure of the Government to implement agreements and recommendations regarding hostels, and their actions concerning

so-called traditional weapons, serve the same purpose."

The newest element of the ANC's line of attack is that regarding Mr de Klerk's perceived inconsistency in "failing to condemn IFP violence or the public display of dangerous weapons by IFP supporters".

Mr de Klerk is taken to task for never having condemned the activities

of two KwaZulu members of parliament, Samuel Jamile and David Ntombela, who were charged with serious crimes of violence.

The document also asks why Mr de Klerk, who spoke in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on June 16, "made no comment on inflammatory remarks made by the leader of the IFP". □

STAR 10/7/92

IFP

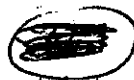
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The weapons are lobbyists and affluent pressure groups, reports **Hugh Robertson**

ANC-IFP clash in US too

STAR 10/7/92



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IF SOUTH Africans were a trifle awed by the \$700 000 (almost R2 million) annual fee which the ANC contracted to pay its chief United States lobbyist, Walter Fauntroy, (a contract now apparently frozen after an initial payment of \$250 000 and a disappointing return on the investment), they might be thunderstruck to learn that this is but small change in a continuing and often shadowy battle for influence in the US between political rivals who confronted one another in Co-

desa. Almost as the ANC was parting company with Mr Fauntroy, for instance, an American industrialist was making available a substantially larger sum to pay for repairs to the tattered image of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the US.

According to the buzz, the money was an extravagant personal gesture by the industrialist who is a personal friend of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He has asked one of the more accomplished Washington firms of

image launderers, Sawyer-Miller, to do the job.

At the same time, an affluent group of rightists who raise funds for Inkatha, the South African Educational Foundation, expanded from its California base to set up office in Washington with a permanent director and lobbyist.

Also on the side of Inkatha are a panoply of conservative groups with extensive business connections and who have been involved, at least partially, in promoting Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi in the past.

Among them are the Jefferson Educational Foundation (reputedly with more than 10 000 sponsors in big business), which among other things pays for visits to South Africa by mainly conservative Republicans, and the Cato Foundation and Heritage Foundation, both of which eagerly seek out Chief Buthelezi as a speaker.

On the ANC side there are several equally influential groups — chief among them the Africa Fund, which has some astute financial advisers and lobbyists raising money for the organisa-

tion, and its parent body, the American Committee on Africa.

There is also the Mandela Freedom Fund and the sputtering efforts of TransAfrica which, among its projects, finances visits to South Africa by black Americans who devoutly support the ANC.

Relegated to the sidelines in the mounting battle between the ANC and Inkatha for money and influence in the US is the South African embassy which, on the initiative of ambassador Harry Schwarz, has dramatically cut back on the lobbyists who did virtually all the embassy's networking in the heyday of Piet Koornhof.

Instead, the embassy has mounted its own staff public relations and lobbying drive which is the envy of just about the entire diplomatic corps. The results are impressive — Mr Schwarz gets more exposure in the US media than any other diplomat in Washington, and the embassy now has cordial contact with politicians, businessmen and bankers who would not have been seen anywhere near a South African diplo-

mat only a year ago.

But the real tussle remains that between the ANC and Inkatha — and it is turning thoroughly nasty, with many aspects seeming to impinge on their rivalry at home.

Last month, during a fundraising and image-building visit to the US, for instance, Chief Buthelezi faced — for the first time — an orchestrated campaign of obstruction at the hands of the ANC's US allies. They claimed victory when he abruptly cut short his visit and flew home, allegedly seething. But Chief Buthelezi insisted that the ANC's plans for mass action prompted his early departure.

Either way, he faced a drubbing in the US — and a promise of more of the same if he comes back. Organisers of the campaign telephoned as many of the Americans he was scheduled to visit as they could reach, and appealed to them not to see Chief Buthelezi.

According to one account in the Miami Herald, seven of the 11 appointments he had scheduled in the area were cancelled. Later, the mayors of New York, Atlanta and Miami confirmed that they

would not be seeing him.

In New York, where he addressed a luncheon sponsored by the presidents of major Jewish organisations, picketers paraded outside handing out leaflets denouncing Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, and urging Jewish groups to challenge the decision to receive the Inkatha leader.

Some equally rough tactics come from the supporters of Inkatha. Among these are some Christian fundamentalist groups which raise money for Inkatha by portraying it as a Christian organisation standing virtually alone against a conspiracy of atheists and communists who, among other failings, have a predisposition for eating their victims after burning them alive.

Ghastly stuff it is, but it is put out in fundraising brochures which have been sent to some prominent Americans.

At this stage of the battle for influence, the ANC undeniably has the upper hand. It has the support of the major black American groups, of the congressional black caucus, and of most of the media.



Furthermore, rightly or wrongly, Inkatha has been more starkly identified in the US than it has been in South Africa as the perpetrator of most acts of violence.

In the battle for funds, the outcome may not be so clearly defined. While the ANC has a far larger official presence here — fully staffed offices in Washington and New York to Inkatha's part-time office in Atlanta — it probably cannot match Inkatha's contacts with big business and it suffers from its legacy of socialism and strident outbursts against free enterprise by some of its officials.

But the battle lines have been drawn, and many Africanists in the US are viewing it all with apprehension, fearing that much of the money and influence needed to sustain the feud in South Africa is being garnered here and that against all the efforts of its leaders and politicians, the US may become a part of the problem rather than the source and inspiration of its solution. □

● Hugh Robertson is The Star's Washington correspondent.

It's up to Govt to break the deadlock, says Mandela

ANC takes harsh line

STAR
10/7/92

By Shaun Johnson ¹¹⁴
and Esther Waugh

The ANC declared last night the "war of memoranda" was over, and said only "practical steps" by the Government to address the organisation's demands could get negotiations under way again.

The ANC released a strongly worded letter from Nelson Mandela to President de Klerk, which suggests that formal negotiations can resume only once one side or the other has been forced to give considerable ground.

While saying there was "a way forward" for negotiations, the ANC placed the responsibility for breaking the deadlock squarely on the Government.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that if there was no positive response to the organisation's latest communication, the ANC had "no options left other than mass action ... Already a number of forces are massing to ensure we win democracy. In a few weeks we will be hearing these voices much more forcefully."

In his letter the ANC president warned Mr de Klerk: "You may succeed in delaying, but never preventing, the transition of South Africa to a democracy."

More reports - Page 11

The 10-page letter, in response to a letter from Mr de Klerk released on Thursday last week, was accompanied by three detailed annexes. At a media conference, Mr Mandela and other senior ANC officials answered questions.

Mr Mandela rejected out of hand Mr de Klerk's earlier response to ANC demands, and said the ANC no longer believed the Government was committed to a demo-



"You have not addressed the issues" . . . Nelson Mandela talks at yesterday's press conference.

Picture: Stephen Davimes

cratic negotiated settlement.

"You have not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum," he said. "Instead you deliberately obscure matters."

Mr Mandela refused Mr de Klerk's request for a face-to-face meeting, accusing the Government of wanting to elevate "peripheral" issues to the status of "fundamental" ones, and thereby stalling the transition process.

He said the Government had made transitional arrangements the central focus of negotiations and had failed to commit itself to the "acid test of democracy", a sovereign, elected constituent assembly.

This "betrays the positions your Government has been taking and which lie at the heart of the crisis".

The ANC now believed the thrust of Government negotiating tactics had been to guarantee a constitutionally entrenched role for the National Party.

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted, by the end of this year, all-in elections for a democratic constituent assembly. This would have a single chamber and would reach decisions by a two-thirds majority. Half of the delegates would be elected on a national list and half on a regional list. Decisions on regional matters would require two-thirds approval by both categories of delegate.

Mr Mandela strongly denied Government allegations that the ANC sought an unstructured and unconstitutional transfer of power.

He rejected the recent Government proposal for a three-year cut-off period, whereby fresh elections would be held if there were deadlocks in reaching a permanent constitution.

He accused Mr de Klerk of trying to "entrench federal-

● To Page 3

ANC in tough line with Govt

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From Page 1

ism by subterfuge".

Mr Mandela angrily rejected "bland" Government denials of any role in the current violence, and referred to detailed annexures in support of his argument. He berated Mr de Klerk for "not carrying out agreements reached more than a year ago with regard to measures aimed at curbing the violence".

He called on Mr de Klerk to "immediately take over personal responsibility for the portfolios relating to the security forces and the police".

He said Government "concessions" on allowing international involvement on the Goldstone Commission "have not addressed our demand for an international commission of inquiry and the international monitoring of violence".

"It is unacceptable that your police force, which is an alleged party to the violence, should be charged with investigations."

He attacked the president for "unilaterally restructuring the affairs of our country at a time when you are supposed to be negotiating a transition to a dem-

ocratic order."

Accusing Mr de Klerk of giving a "party political" response to the ANC's demands, he rejected allegations of SACP-Cosatu control of the ANC.

Mr Mandela insisted mass action would go ahead. He called for a "peaceful and disciplined" campaign.

He ended with a call to Mr de Klerk to "find a way within yourself to recognise the gravity of the crisis... Find a way to address the demands that have been placed before you with regard to the negotiations deadlock and those relating to the violence so that negotiations can become meaningful and be vested with the urgency that the situation requires.

At the media conference, Mr Ramaphosa disclosed he had had discussions "about the exchange of memoranda" with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. But, he said, there would be no "negotiations by stealth". If the Government did not respond to ANC demands, deliberations would remain "in an impasse".

Armbands: ANC compromises

THE South African Rugby Football Union and the ANC yesterday reached a compromise regarding the controversy surrounding the wearing of pro-democracy armbands. *Sowetan 10/7/92*

At a media conference at ANC headquarters, Sarfu joint president Ebrahim Patel said the issue had been amicably resolved.

"The wearing of armbands will be voluntary," he said after a three-hour meeting. *(IA)*

ANALYSIS Talking tough on the ANC's request for peace and democracy armbands on the field

Tuning in to the Luyt show

SITTING in his spacious oak-panelled office at the Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg, Transvaal rugby chief Louis Luyt shoots straight from the hip: "Nobody is my master".
"Five years ago when the ANC was still banned I went to see its leaders in London, all over the place in fact. I know them very well. I was castigated for this in front of television cameras by the present State President who was then a Minister.

■ CONTROVERSY *From the scrum*

rugby supremo Louis Luyt passes

some tough talk to Themba Molefe:

Sowetan 10/7/92

body else'.
Luyt insists that he does not like making political statements and that what he says is not political.

"Don't ask me to make a political statement because I do not want to make one.

"But I'll tell you this: If you pacify the ANC or the PAC then you have Inkatha against you, the AWB against you. And that is not defusing things.

"You will recall that I am a founder of the Democratic Party because

while I am apolitical I got upset with what was going on. I called the three leaders - Denis Worall, Zach de Beer and Colin Eglin - to my house and told them we had to have some way to get peace back in this country.

"So, that's how the State President, FW de Klerk, has taken a lot of our philosophies and why he has done what he has done."

Of the ANC, which he says he has no intention of fighting, Luyt says: "I met them because I wanted peace.

"I undertook with Thabo Mbeki (ANC foreign affairs director) to try to arrange - at a neutral venue - a meeting with Pik Botha (Minister of Foreign Affairs) to resolve the problem so that they could come back into the country.

My private jet

"That's true because I even wrote a memorandum to the Government on this.

"I even said to Mbeki that I would make available my private jet to fly them to Zambia or Botswana or wherever.

"I was castigated by PW Botha. And rugby, I have done my bit, at least," says Luyt.

He says there is no battle between him and the ANC.

"Ask Nelson Mandela why he always asks me to come and sit next to him during our meetings at Sheela House (ANC headquarters in Johannesburg)."

Whites have constituencies

However, Luyt says the ANC should not believe it is the only party with constituencies. "Even the whites have constituencies."

Democracy, he says, is not telling someone what to do or dictating to him.

About the current controversy surrounding him, the ANC and sporting bodies' call to sportspeople to take a stand on violence, peace and democracy, Luyt says politics and sport do not mix.

Massacre victims

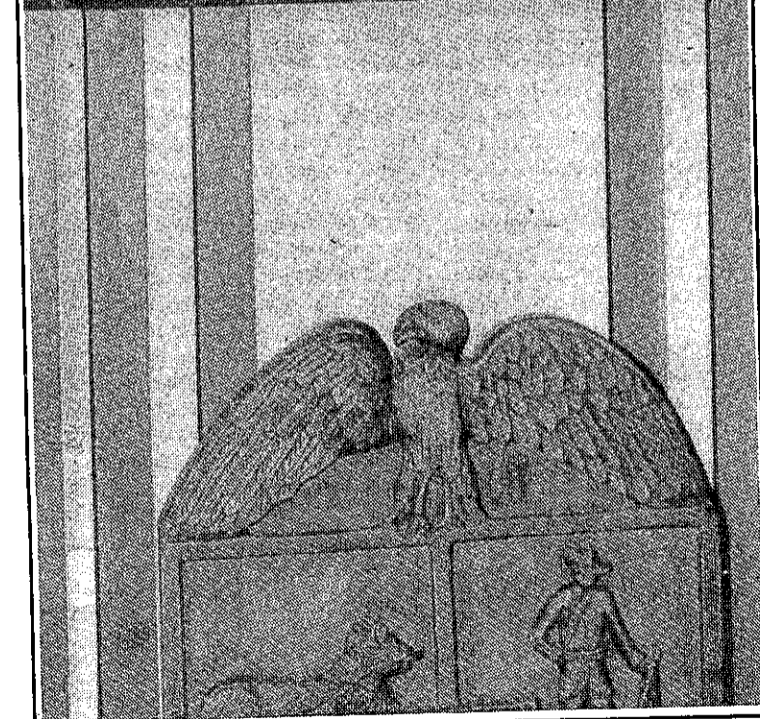
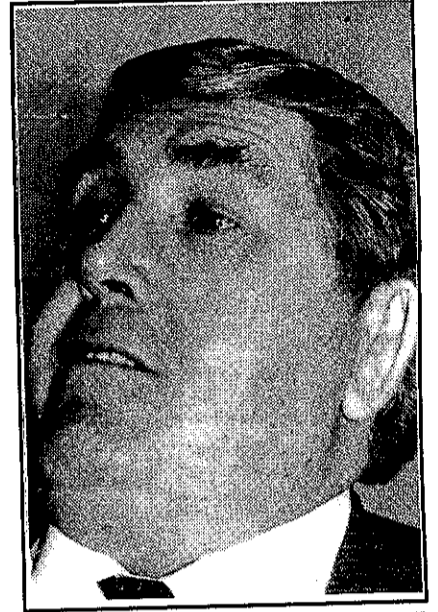
"What should I do if the State President asks me tomorrow to wear a National Party flag?

He was referring to the decision that rugby players should wear "peace and democracy" stickers or armbands at forthcoming matches against New Zealand and Australia.

"Boipatong massacre victims should not be separated from other victims of violence nationally."

But I'll tell you this: if you pacify the ANC or the PAC then you will have Inkatha against you, the AWB against you. And that is not defusing things

Boipatong massacre victims should not be separated from other victims of violence



He has spoken ... Louis Luyt lays down the law from the 'pulpit'.

Scrumming down with Louis Luyt

Place of birth: Karoo, Northern Cape, 60 years ago.
Education: Master of Business Administration, lawyer, Doctor of Philosophy and currently studying for a doctorate in law.
Hobbies: None but loves history.
Likes: Peace
Dislikes: Poverty. Father was peasant farm labourer earning equivalent of R3 a month.
Involvement in rugby administration: Purely accidental but played for Western Province in younger days. Also shareholder of Moroka Swallows Limited Football Club.
Present position: President of the Transvaal Rugby Union.

ANC rejects talks with Govt

Sowetan 10/7/92

By Themba Molefe

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■ TOUGH STANCE

ANC LEADER Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected President FW de Klerk's call for face-to-face talks to break the negotiations deadlock.

Instead, the organisation has issued an ultimatum, demanding that open elections be held before the end of the year.

In a snap response, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer rejected allegations by the ANC of security force collusion in the violence.

In an optimistic note, Meyer said the memorandum "floating" between the two parties was "useful because it helps to identify points of difference and the possible basis for further discussions."

"However, it is not a satisfactory substitute for direct negotiations, which remain the best way of dealing with the current impasse," Meyer said.

The ANC president, however, told an international Press conference yesterday that De Klerk's response to the organisation's 14-point demands did not address reasons leading to the negotiations

Mandela makes urgent

call for open elections :

crisis.

He said the reasons were fundamentally the National Party's refusal to accept majority rule and end the violence.

"The essence of the crisis is that the ruling National Party keeps looking for ways to exercise power even if it loses a democratic election.

"The main task of the ANC is to bring democracy to the nation as a whole," Mandela said.

Mandela said the Government had refused to acknowledge its complicity in the violence. The Government, he said, had also ignored the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that Koevoet and 32 Battalion be disbanded.

He said members of hit squads remained unpunished and had been reintegrated into the South African Defence Force.

Strategy is of grave concern, says Meyer

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11/17

The ANC's response to the State President's letter contained matters representing serious points of difference which would have to be dealt with at great length and discussed multilaterally, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

In his initial response to the ANC's memorandum to the Government yesterday, Mr Meyer said matters such as the ANC's refusal to co-operate with the Government and other parties on the subject of violence would have to be discussed multilaterally.

"A further cause of grave concern is the ANC's strategy of imposing its views on other parties through confrontation and mass mobilisation, rather than continuing the search for acceptable and inclusive solutions through negotiations."

On a more conciliatory note, Mr Meyer said the exchange of letters and memoranda between the Government and the ANC was useful because it

helped to identify points of difference as well as a possible basis for further discussions.

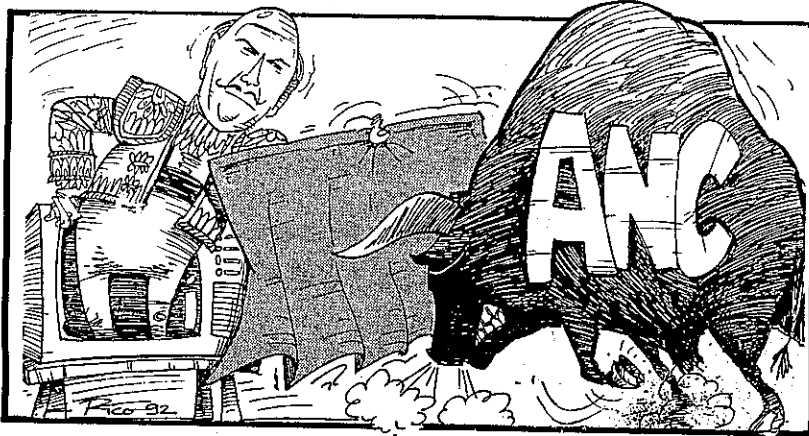
He said that from an initial analysis of the letter, it appeared that the ANC had raised a number of matters of justifiable concern to all parties. These matters were receiving attention from the Government.

"Other matters which were raised in the ANC's letter represent serious points of difference and will be dealt with at greater length in the Government's response next week."

● The Government would discharge its duty at all costs and not allow South Africa to slide back into isolation and helpless stagnation, President F W de Klerk told the federal youth congress of the National Party in Stellenbosch last night.

"We will make certain that we use every avenue to get negotiations back on track, to ensure progress and do our duty in ending violence and fighting radicalism," he said. — Sapa.

What FW was really telling Mandela:



Do your damndest!

w/ Mail 10/7-16/7/92.



In his television address last week, FW de Klerk presented himself as the reasonable man. But beneath the benign tone lay a much harsher message



By
PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Both President FW de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela have claimed democracy as their mistress, in the blizzard of words that has passed between the ANC and the National Party in the past weeks.

Perhaps the public can hardly help the fact that they do not share this avowed passion, or even understand what is going on.

The newspapers and political analysts don't always help. Almost to a man, they told us to ignore the harsh rhetoric of De Klerk's radio and television broadcast last Thursday night and read the fine print instead.

Embedded in the proposals were supposed to be concessions that in the long run could lure the ANC back to the negotiating table.

Alas, there was no such thing. De Klerk's updated proposals merely put flesh on the NP's constitutional plans and offered nothing significantly new since the deadlocked Codesa II talks.

They are proposals that would permanently entrench the NP in government, and provide the party with a veto on the constitution: the right to say when and if majority rule can come into being in South Africa.

In fact, in offering so little, in such a gung-ho manner, De Klerk's political body language was to tell the ANC to do its damndest.

The 70 percent special majority that is required to approve a final constitution, regarded as one of the NP's concessions, involves both the national assembly and the senate sitting together.

While the NP has agreed that the senate will be elected, it will not be by straight proportional representation and hence will have an inbuilt distortion.

Every region (and the regions will be based on the country's 10 development regions) will have an equal number of seats. The inevitable effect of equal weighting of all the regions will be to load the more rural, more conservative parts of the country with a disproportionately high representation in the senate.

Thus, the northern Cape with perhaps half a million voters will have the same number of seats as the PWV with, say, eight million voters. The ANC, with a hypothetical 70 percent support in the PWV, will earn the same number of seats with 5,6-million votes as the NP with 350 000 votes in the northern Cape.

Maybe there is a rationale for that in the final constitution as there is for the similar composition of the United States senate. But is it fair to incorporate its distortions into a constitution-making body that already has a threshold mark of 70 percent? It could mean that the mark is really closer to 75 percent.

The ANC and its allies would have to win more than 70 percent of the vote merely to achieve a final, democratic constitution at all. That is a tall order.

De Klerk's memorandum says that "for the amendment or substitution of the transitional constitution, a majority of 70 percent will be required and 75 percent for the Charter of Fundamental Rights".

The crucial point is that the memorandum mentions no deadlock-breaking mechanism, no time-frame within which a new constitution has to be agreed upon.

Instead De Klerk says: "If the transitional constitution has not been replaced within three years, a general election will be held in terms of the transitional constitution."

In a second general election the ANC, having been rendered impotent and unable to deliver by having to share power with the NP for three years, could fare even worse than in the first.

Thus, the ANC's worst fears of being trapped into legitimising an interim constitution that would remain the final constitution until such time as the NP decides it has had enough of power and agrees to relinquish its minority veto are confirmed.

Nothing is said in De Klerk's special annexe on constitutional proposals about the composition of the government, the most controversial of the NP's interim constitutional proposals. Here one has to take a clue from an earlier part of the memorandum.

Note the language in which De Klerk couches his proposals: "Universally acknowledged constitutional mechanisms like bi-cameralism, regional autonomy (federalism), effective proportional participation in government by all significant parties ... serve precisely the purpose of curbing majority domination."

What this gobbledygook amounts to is that no single party can form a government. Any party with "substantial" support will automatically be part of the executive.

Behind the high-minded language of political science, De Klerk is attempting to do what the NP did in their previous failed experiments of

grand apartheid and the tri-cameral parliament: to defy the arithmetic of democracy and to maintain minority control, all at vast expense to the country.

The effect of the NP's proposals is government as a permanent dictatorship of all the leading political parties. In short, you will not be able to vote it out of power, and there will be no opposition.

Let us be practical for a minute. Would you like to see the combined arrogance of the NP, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party carving up the spoils of office? Who will be outside the government serving as a watchdog? The Black Sash?

Will an ANC member of the national assembly attack an ANC minister for a rise in the bread price? Or will his criticisms only be heard when an IFP minister raises the bread price? But what if the decision to raise the bread price was taken by the cabinet on the basis of consensus?

The ANC has acknowledged that a form of power-sharing, a government

of national unity, will have to be formed as a temporary first step in the socio-economic reconstruction of the country. The movement has also been open to discussion on the question of minority protections in the constitution and other democratic guarantees.

None of these questions can really be dealt with in a forthright way until the end product — majority rule — is guaranteed.

But there is something even more dangerous in the proposals.

While the day-to-day running of government will be a form of consensual government by cabal, the constitution of the country, far from being a uniting force, is ultimately rendered the most divisive area in politics. It is the arena where political parties will squabble over power, attempting to overcome or resist the threshold of 70 percent.

This has less to do with political science than with a bad habit of messing with the constitution that the NP developed back in the 1950s, when they loaded the senate to disenfranchise the coloureds, and refined in the 1980s to bring in the gerrymandered tri-cameral parliament.

If one follows the proposals literally, the first election in this country will be fought over what kind of constitution we will have.

In Namibia, many South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo) activists hoped that their party would not get the two thirds needed in the November 1989 election to write the constitution on their own. They wanted the constitution to be as inclusive and non-controversial as possible, which it is, and which is why the Namibian transition has been relatively so easy.

One of the most disturbing features of the NP proposals is their slippery, eel-like quality. There is more in what they don't tell us than in what they do. But they tell us enough to be deeply bothered.

What is equally disturbing is the absence of voices, particularly from within the liberal press, raised against them. Instead, one has the sense that the ANC, by rejecting De Klerk's proposals, is being an unreasonable party-pooper.

White liberals have fallen for yet another clever sleight of hand by De Klerk. The motherhood and melktert concept in our politics is negotiations, not majority rule.

The desired outcome of the constitutional negotiations, in this perspective, is a compromise between the NP and the ANC, not a constitution that enshrines the will of the people.

Which raises the most dangerous facet of De Klerk's proposals. No matter how many eminent professors from Harvard tell us otherwise, there is ultimately only one explanation for the rejection of majority rule, and it is a racist one.

Mandela puts the ball in FW's court

W/Mail

10/7 - 16/7/92

THE African National Congress has rejected President FW de Klerk's hard-line response to its preconditions for the resumption of talks and smashed the ball back into the president's court, urging him for the sake of the country to "find a way to address the demands we have placed before you."

The tone of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's memorandum to the state president released on Thursday was sober and measured, eschewing the emotional rhetoric that has accompanied much of the political squabbling between the country's two major political parties. But it was in deadly earnest, warning that in charting a way out of the crisis there are "hardly any points of convergence" between the National Party and the ANC.

De Klerk last week accused the ANC of fabricating a crisis to sabotage negotiations and launch a mass mobilisation campaign to seize power undemocratically. He alleged that the ANC had fallen under the sway of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Mandela is straightforward in his rejection of De Klerk's claims, which his memorandum says was made worse by a number of "factual inaccuracies, distortions, and blatant party political propaganda" in the manner in which he raised the issues.

He also rejects NP calls for talks about talks to get the negotiations up and running again.

"The call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable," the memorandum says. "We would sit down to no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and eliminating violence."

The battle between the government and the ANC is now on centre court, but no one appears to be serving up the aces.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

The memorandum, drawn up after an ANC National Working Committee meeting this week, continues the dialogue by document that has replaced the bilateral and multiparty Codesa talks suspended by the ANC in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

This has meant that for the first time the full debate between the ANC and the government is in public, clearly exposing the parameters of a basic deadlock between the two parties.

It also means the ping-pong dialogue is couched as much with an eye on the international and domestic community, and at securing the moral high ground, as at responding to one another.

The ANC's response yesterday details and motivates charges that the NP is holding out for an undemocratic constitutional solution, of government complicity in violence, of the involvement of the security forces in the fomenting and escalating of violence and of government support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is likely to be an effective counter-smash to De Klerk's attack on the ANC last week, prompting an inevitable further riposte from De Klerk and his party.

The dialogue is not a substitute for negotiations. The NP and ANC memoranda make it clear that there has been no movement towards resolution since the breakdown of talks.

Rather, they are statements of position in advance of the increasingly inevitable showdown on the street, specifically the strike next month.

Yet at the same time, the ANC memorandum offers De Klerk a way out by once again appealing to him to "recognise the gravity of the crisis".

He asks De Klerk to "find a way to address the demands we have placed before you with regards to the negotiations deadlock and those relating to the violence so that negotiations can become meaningful and be vested with the urgency that the situation requires".

Mandela takes De Klerk to task for the undemocratic nature of his proposals, elevating the transitional proposals to the focus of negotiations, thus betraying a "pre-occupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the NP".

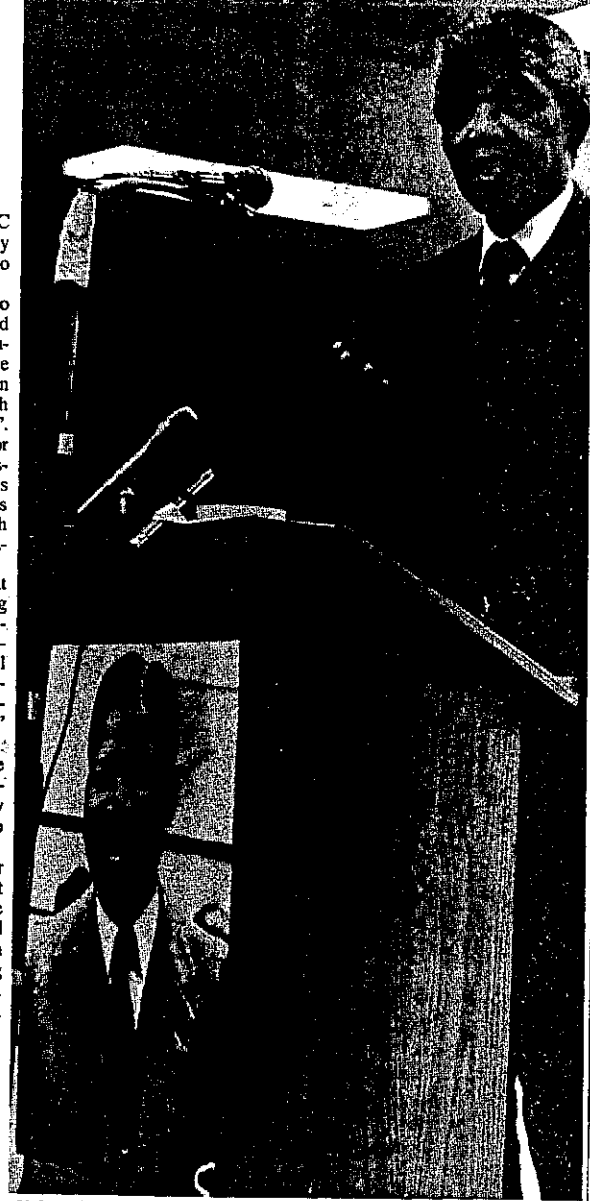
He says De Klerk's statement that the purpose of negotiations according to the NP is "our commitment to constitutionality and a transitional government as soon as possible" is a "novel description of the purpose of negotiations ... and bears very little resemblance to the Declaration of Intent" adopted at Codesa I in December.

He says that in the light of the ANC's proposals, outlined in the document, it is hard to understand "why your party persists in seeking to impose undemocratic solutions".

Mandela makes it clear that its offer at Codesa II, that the constituent assembly should take decisions on the basis of 70 percent, has been rescinded and taken back to the original position of two thirds. The ANC is demanding that the constituent assembly be a sovereign body and not subject to a veto by the senate or upper house.

The ANC president again sets out what he sees as the government's blame for the township violence.

Mandela concludes that failure to respond by dealing with the demands can "only exacerbate the crisis" and that: "You may succeed in delaying but never in preventing the transition of South Africa to a democracy".



Nelson Mandela ... 'Hardly any convergence'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way

w/maail

10/7-16/7/92

11A ~~VOTA~~

HAVE the insurrectionists within the alliance between the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party won the day, as the government seems to think?

Not so, according to a key SACP document which rejects insurrection as unrealistic, "given that we are further (and we were arguably never that close) from insurrection now than we were three or four years ago".

There is, undoubtedly, a strong desire among grassroots militants to take the mass action campaign to its limits and seize power. But while some senior leaders are openly using the language of insurrection, sources within the tripartite alliance see this more as an attempt to mobilise support for the campaign than as a part of any coherent insurrectionary strategy.

The SACP document, entitled "The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way: a critique of some strategic assumptions in our ranks", was written by national executive committee member Jeremy Cronin and circulated at the SACP's extended central committee meeting last month.

It strongly suggests that the widely-held view that there is a hidden insurrectionist agenda

THE WEEKLY MAIL

Published by M&G Media, Pty Ltd, cnr Frederick and Smal streets, Johannesburg. Printed by Caxtons, cnr Bloomberg and Commando Roads, Industria.
Editorial comment in this issue by Anton Harber. Newsbills by Irwin Manoim. Headlines and editing by Laura Yeatman. All of 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg. Phone: Editorial: 334-2400

There is intense debate in the alliance between the ANC, the SACP and Cosatu about mass action, its meaning and purpose.
PHILLIPA GARSON reports

underpinning the mass action campaign is far-fetched.

Not surprisingly, the government has vested interests in discrediting the campaign as a victory for the insurrectionists, portraying a liberation movement divided into "communists" and "moderates" and leaving the door open for a government crackdown.

In his response to the ANC's decision to pull out of negotiations, President FW de Klerk accused the organisation "and particularly its allies in Cosatu and the SACP" of following "their own agenda towards the seizure of power".

Familiar accusations, to the effect that the "communist cabal" forced moderates within the alliance to capitulate to demands for an insurrectionary take-over, have repeatedly been made in government circles, harking back to the days of Operation Vula.

Last week the Sunday press, citing a document by SACP stalwart Raymond Suttner, warned: "In dealing with mass action the possibility must be kept in mind that the campaign has a hidden as well as a public agenda." Other internal alliance documents have been quoted in an attempt to pin down a "hidden agenda" and exactly what the mass action campaign is

expected to achieve: insurrection or forcing sufficient concessions from the government to allow the ANC to go back to the table.

The *Weekly Mail* last week quoted a confidential ANC paper which argued the case for an extended political strike to paralyse the country and force the government to capitulate. The paper is an updated Youth League document, the original of which has been in circulation in alliance circles for some time.

Cronin's document identifies three strategic strands within the alliance: the "don't rock the boat" school; "the tap" school (the strategic switching on and off of mass action), and the "Leipzig option" (a popular uprising like that which toppled Eastern European communist governments).

He argues that all three approaches fall short.

Cronin criticises the insurrectionary stance touted by the Youth League leadership as an "elite, conspiratorial fixation" which has detracted from developing grassroots youth programmes of action.

His document argues in favour of mass action as a continual feature of the political process, both now and in the future, and sets out to show that all three strategies fail to guarantee this.

Most interesting, however, is that the document confirms different strategic positions within the alliance. It also points to a rejection of the insurrectionary road from the SACP think-tank, despite claims that it is the party has pushed the ANC towards insurrection.

The document to some extent shows that, while the decision to pull out of Codesa may have been more or less unanimous, perceptions within the alliance of what the mass action cam-

paign is to achieve may be less so.

The paper describes the moderate "don't rock the boat" outlook within the alliance as seeking democracy primarily through "negotiated pacts between elites". In this view — which many observers identify with international affairs department head Thabo Mbeki — conflict should be resolved through bargaining, not militant mass action.

Cronin criticises this strategy, which he sees as likely to gain popularity if and once the ANC becomes the government: "The temptation of (this strategy) is therefore, likely to be particularly alluring to some in our ranks who are beginning to see themselves as future bureaucrats."

The "tap" option, said to be favoured by president Nelson Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, is seen as a more militant version of the first: mass action and other militant struggles should be used to win concessions at negotiations, but no more.

Cronin sees this approach as dangerously "instrumentalist" — that mass action can justifiably be resorted to as no more than on-off pressure to achieve voting rights for the majority, a device used in periodic spurts, for example, during elections. "It begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform itself narrowly into an electoral machine," says Cronin.

On strategy three, "the Leipzig way", Cronin supports the principle of "a mass uprising that builds dual power, that overthrows an incumbent regime and replaces it with the emergent organs of popular power", but ultimately rejects

●To PAGE 5

Continued →

The boat, the tap and Leipzig option

W/Man 10/7-16/7/92

(11A)

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● From PAGE 2

it as unrealistic at present. This strategy, he says, is "now enjoying a significant resurgence of popularity as a result of utter dissatisfaction with the preceding two strategic outlooks, particularly after the deadlock at Codesa."

The "Leipzig option" is widely identified with SACP secretary general Chris Hani, ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils and Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

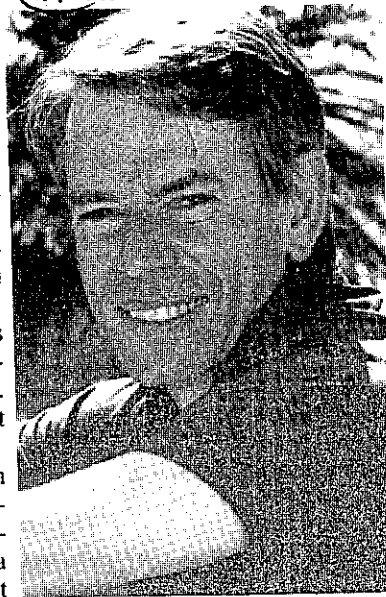
In the first place, Cronin argues, the option has more in common with the "tap" strategy than insurrection. Rather than transferring power to the masses, the demonstrations in Eastern Europe "created the space for elites to bargain over transitional processes", he argues.

But he goes on to argue that an insurrectionary approach is even less realistic than it was three years ago.

Given the strength of the security forces, more consolidated since the withdrawal of troops in Angola and Namibia, and an international balance of forces even less favourable to the liberation movement, Cronin concludes:

"Our present political situation is neither on the brink of an insurrectionary moment, nor is it blocked ... as it was through much of the past three decades.

"We are now living in an extremely fluid political conjuncture. In this situation there are particular dangers in propogating a strategy whose medium success is at best uncertain."



Jeremy Cronin

Govt must end crisis - Delport

STAR 11/7/92

POLITICAL STAFF

A TOP Government negotiator yesterday accepted it was the responsibility of the De Klerk administration to take the initiative in breaking the negotiations deadlock. This comes after ANC president Nelson

Mandela, in a strongly worded letter to F.W. de Klerk, said negotiations could get under way again only if the Government responded with "practical steps" to the ANC's demands. Mandela refused De Klerk's request for a face-to-face meeting until such steps had been taken.

Speaking in Stellenbosch at the National Party's youth congress, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Tertius Dr Delport said: "The Government is the trustee of constitutional government in South Africa, and must therefore see that there is progress. It is the Government's responsibility to take the initiative to get out of this stalemate situation."

Emotional

However, Delport had harsh words for the ANC. He said the Government was being accused of causing the deadlock, but it had consistently asked the ANC to continue talks and to table its differences.

"The so-called deadlock we are in is due to the fact that the ANC has not been able to move away from emotional politics."

He said 1992 could not be allowed to end without a further step along the negotiations road. The ANC's latest communication with the Government was being considered in this light.

'ANC was too keen for a settlement'

SOUTH 117-1517/92

Chris Hani admits the ANC alliance made mistakes in their dealings with the government — not only at Codesa but also in how they dealt with South Africa's return to the Olympic Games.

QUENTIN WILSON spoke to the SACP chief and ANC executive member:

AT CODESA II the ANC went too far in trying to placate President FW De Klerk, says South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani.

It was fortunate the government rejected the offer of a 70 percent consensus in a constituent assembly — it would have trapped negotiators forever while trying to make decisions on a new constitution, he argues.

"We realise we made a mistake and the proposal was not acceptable to the government. We were lucky to get away with it. In future we should consult more broadly before making such far-reaching decisions that affect so many people's lives.

"These are some of the lessons we learnt," Hani contends. The reason for compromising to such an extent was that "ANC negotiators were very keen to reach an agreement so that interim rule could happen quickly".

He says the ANC alliance has reverted to its previous position of 66,6 percent.



But not only ANC eagerness to capitulate at Codesa worries Hani. The ANC's agreeing to South Africa taking part in the Olympic Games is another concern to the SACP head.

While those guilty of the Boipatong massacre are free and nationwide political carnage continues, Hani believes optional armbands for sportspeople is not enough to protest against the ongoing killings.

"We need to pull out of the Olympics. My own view is that we must convince sports bodies to re-impose the sports moratorium on international tours. We cannot normalise sport while the country is on the brink of collapse. Sacrifices will have to be made by everyone and not only by those in the townships.

"The issue of the sports moratorium must be re-addressed by the progressive movement. Many views are held within the ANC, but we must adopt the right position.

"The sports bodies are exerting a lot of pressure on us and we respect their independence. Until now, we did not want to prescribe to them," Hani says.

The re-emergence of a hard-hitting stance

In future we should consult more broadly before making far-reaching decisions which affect so many people's lives' (11A)

crosses up again when Hani speaks of the need to step up the building of defence committees.

"The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance must go out of its way to ensure that vulnerable communities are protected increasingly by defence committees. More attention must be paid to improve their ability to defend innocent people.

"When we were unbanned, most of us took De Klerk seriously when he finally expressed his wish to reach a negotiated settlement. Many people inside the country and most of the international community expected us to give up the armed struggle.

"We suspended it but we found that the violence did not abate. In fact, it escalated. A new element in the violence emerged. Many hostels were converted into military bases that sprung attacks on neighbouring communities. Inkatha became another vigilante army that was especially destructive in Natal and the PWV area. It was revealed that military intelligence were training warlords in the Caprivi strip and elsewhere.

"There was a strong feeling on the ground

to review the suspension of the armed struggle and our response was to build defence committees. MK is playing a key role in establishing these units.

"People defended magnificently in the Midlands and Southern Natal and created space for our organisations to set up structures and begin operating without being attacked.

"On the Witwatersrand, the defence committees have operated with varying success, but I believe there would have been more violence had it not been for these units," he says.

Regarding the future, Hani pledges "the lessons learnt about De Klerk" have been incorporated into the struggle formula of "continuous rolling mass action" until a new government is elected.

"We must ensure, through a huge operation by the oppressed, that the regime's attempts to govern are made impossible. We must push this government to a democratic settlement by occupying strategic buildings and other creative forms of mass action.

"This is our main strategy at present — mass action and more mass action. We can learn from the successful struggles in the Philippines, Iran and Eastern Europe. Mass action will result in the demise of this government," Hani predicts.

Regarding SACP policy relating to the ANC and Cosatu, Hani hinted there was more room now to establish a more "independent" role for the party than in the past.

"We are going out of our way to assert our independence from the ANC and, in my view, the SACP is more visible as a party for the working class than the ANC is.

"We are getting more involved with Cosatu and are not just following ANC decisions any more. In relation to our alliance partners, the party has been the most vocal in pushing De Klerk to resign," Hani says.

Cobwebs still choking Codesa

SOUTH

11/7-15/7/92 17192

(11A)

By Quentin Wilson

NO INDICATION was given this week that the cobwebs choking Codesa would be cleared. According to ANC and NP sources, the "waiting game" in the negotiations deadlock continues.

And it looks set to continue for some time.

Mr Roelf Meyer, chief negotiator for the government, says Pretoria is holding its breath until the ANC/Cosatu/SACP mass action campaign loses its momentum.

"We have to sweat it out until the end of August," Meyer said. "We will probably only be able to proceed with negotiations after the mass action campaign."

Speaking in his personal capacity, Mr Jacko Maree, chief director of NP publications, agreed and said he did not think the government could meet all of the ANC's 14 demands.

"A lot of the demands are nothing more than pure rhetoric. Of course, some of the demands are valid but we have to negotiate them," Maree said.

"There is a lull in talks as the ANC has decided to use extra-mural activities to try and twist the government's arm and force them to make concessions they would not have wanted to make.

"We will have to wait until their mass action campaign ends. By that time, they would have played their trump card, and, whatever the outcome, we could go from there. Until then, we have to sit tight," Maree said.

A week has passed since the ANC suspended its involvement in Codesa. So far, the conditions laid down for the government to meet, which include an international commission of inquiry into the massacre at Boipatong, have largely been ignored.

Mr Saki Macazoma, ANC spokesperson, repeated the steps to be taken before the ANC is prepared to resume talks.

"It is perfectly clear. We have put to them a number of demands that are intended to move this country towards peace. If they decide to implement these demands, then there will be talks,"



Roelf Meyer

Macazoma said.

In his response to the ANC demands, President FW de Klerk proposed tri-lateral talks with the ANC, Inkatha and the government where they would discuss the demands but added: "All the information at our disposal points inevitably to the conclusion that

factions within the SACP and the ANC were not happy with what was being negotiated at Codesa and that they initiated, before Codesa II, a strategy to abort the negotiation process by deliberately creating a deadlock."

According to another ANC spokesperson, Mr Carl Niehaus, the ANC is convinced the government is not taking their demands seriously.

"Unfortunately, the prospect of getting meaningful talks back on track seems to be more and more unlikely.

The SACP's Mr Chris Hani likened De Klerk's response to "an exercise in sabre-rattling" and said "it is only sustained mass action that will bring about a properly-elected government now."

The attempts of business groups to shuttle between the ANC and NP have not produced an end to the deadlock. Despite cajoling each camp to back down from their incompatible stances, a long winter of street confrontation is widely expected until one side is forced to budge.

Cape Town South 11/7-15/7/92 voters wise up for elections

THE WESTERN Cape's "don't vote" tradition switches track soon when 15 local organisations take part in a voter education course.

The voter training programme, hosted by the Peninsula Technikon's Centre for Continuing Education, forms part of a national programme training 320 people.

The programme is being run by the Johannesburg-based Matla Trust, formed in 1990 to help provide material and financial assistance to prepare for a democratic society in South Africa.

The Western Cape training course will run for two weeks starting on Monday and for another two weeks in August.

It will cover aspects such as canvassing, polling booth organisation, election day strategy, principles of electoral law, proportional representation, publicity, voter registration, budgeting and finance.

Politicos profess 'love for the press'

SOUTH 11/7-15/7/92
By Guy Berger (2) (11A)

WE LOVE the press and we love press freedom, was the message from the leaders of South Africa's major political parties to journalists in Johannesburg last week.

Sceptical correspondents from across Southern Africa heard these sweet sentiments emanating from across the political spectrum, at a conference organised by the African-American Institute and the Nieman Foundation.

From the man who was badly dented by the Inkathagate press expose, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, came praise for the media as a watchdog "to expose ills of administration in public office."

Similar sounds came from Mr Leon Wessels, a member of a government not especially well-known for its respect of the press.

The deputy minister ducked the argument when journalists pointed out that for the press to play its watchdog role, the government had to live up to its calling and let cabinet heads roll.

Neither Buthelezi nor Meyer favoured subjecting political negotiations to press scrutiny, unlike speakers like PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke and the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

All four politicians, however, came out strongly against physical attacks on journalists by militant youths.

But Moseneke refused to back down following conference criticism that the "one settler, one bullet" slogan had encouraged attacks on white journalists at the Boipatong funeral last week.

Ramaphosa admitted it may have been dangerous for him and other speakers to engage in unqualified press-bashing in speeches at the funeral.

Other speakers highlighted intimidation of black journalists by activists and of Afrikaans-speaking journalists by rightwingers.

Veteran journalist Mr Allistair Sparks warned that the lack of an ANC-supporting daily paper could prompt a new and insecure ANC government to violate press freedom.

Codesa (11A) ~~SECRET~~
is dead, SOUTH
rally told 1117-1577/92

By Mluleki Gantsho

CODESA is dead and President FW de Klerk is a horned devil. So say the thousands of protesters who marched to the Lingelethu Town Council on Saturday.

SACP, Cosatu and ANC supporters attended the march led by Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP, and Mr Sam Shilowa, secretary general of Cosatu.

Speaking at the rally at the Site C Stadium, Shilowa said Cosatu had at first supported the decision to negotiate because "we thought the regime was genuine. But since the March 17 referendum, De Klerk has grown horns".

Regional ANC executive member Mr Vincent Diba also addressed the crowd, saying: "Codesa is dead; let us continue with rolling mass action."

Hani and Shilowa also addressed a rally in Mossel Bay on Sunday.

Call for cultural 'space'

SOUTH 1117-1517192

11A ~~202~~

By Edwina Booysen

ROBBEN ISLAND and that part of Kliptown where the Freedom Charter was adopted should be declared "cultural spaces", ANC southern Natal regional co-ordinator of arts and culture Mr Mewa Ramgobin said.

Speaking in Durban at the recent South African Museums' Association (Sama) conference, Ramgobin said the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria and the 1820 Settlers' Monument in Grahamstown would then be justified.

"If South Africans are serious about peace and co-existence then we should concede our failures and errors. The conservation or preservation of cultural spaces or culture per se has until now been determined broadly by the architects of domination.

"We, who are reflecting on the past to determine the future, need to commit ourselves to the concept of conservation as part of cultural liberation, reconciliation and reconstruction."

Ramgobin said it would be a source of inspiration to future generations if we were to:

- interface the statues of Louis Botha and Jan Smuts with those of Albert Luthuli and Mahatma Ghandi;
- create a "Hero's Square" in South Africa where the remains of the late Johnny Makatini, Bram Fischer, Yusuf Dadoo and the hundreds of fallen heroes of the resistance movement could be honoured.

Responding to Ramgobin, Mr George Hofmeyer, director of the National Monument Council (NMC), said his institution was open to recommendations regarding important sites or buildings.

The NMC was gathering information about Kliptown and had conducted surveys regarding important buildings on Robben Island, he said.

"We are having discussions with various groups and state departments concerning the island. A meeting is also planned with the ANC."

Cops: Third Force may exist

THE ANC on Friday denied responsibility following Thursday's arrest in Durban of two alleged ANC members who were found in possession of a 9 mm pistol and two sets of army uniforms. (SAP)

Police said members of the Durban City Police arrested the men, whom police described as "prominent members of the ANC". 11A

A police statement said this was not the first time ANC members had been found in possession of security force uniforms.

The statement said: "Is it not possible that the third force referred to by certain organisations is a reality, created by people pretending to be security force members?" CIPREM 12/7/92

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said he was still investigating the incident, but added that police were withholding the names of the two men, which made investigations difficult.

Makhaye said: "The ANC or Umkhonto we Sizwe cannot be held responsible for such behaviour as there is no order which says our cadres must put on police or army uniforms."

By SEKOLA SELLO
and SAPA

THE government has slightly opened a window of hope that it may embark on fresh efforts to get the constitutional talks back on track.

This is the view of political observers following a statement by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport on Friday that "it is the government's responsibility to take the initiative to get out of this stalemate we are in".

Delport remarks signal hope

"The government is the trustee of constitutional government in SA and must therefore see that there is progress," said Delport.

Delport's statement follows this week's rebuttal by ANC leader Nelson Mandela for an urgent face-to-face meeting with State President FW de Klerk about the crisis in the country.

Rejecting De Klerk's

proposal for an urgent meeting, Mandela reiterated his earlier stance that such a meeting would not serve any purpose. He went on to say: "We would sit down to do no more than haggle about what should constitute the agenda of such talks, rather than the serious business of taking our country to a democracy and developing firm foundations for curbing and

eliminating violence."

Mandela added: "To call for face-to-face talks in such a situation is entirely unacceptable." The ANC leader's response was contained in a 24-page memorandum addressed to De Klerk.

This was in reply to De Klerk's response to the original demands of the ANC when it announced it had pulled out of the negotiation process.

"It is unfortunate that your reply has not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum of June 26," Mandela said. "Instead, you deliberately obscure matters."

Mandela said it appeared there was agreement SA faced a "serious crisis".

"When it comes to charting a way out of the crisis, however, it is clear that there are hardly any

points of convergence." He said this was because De Klerk had chosen "to elevate a number of peripheral issues to the status of 'fundamental' ones, while relegating those of critical significance to a secondary place".

"Reaffirmations about your commitment to a negotiated resolution to the South African conflict need to be supported by stating positions which offer the potential to break the deadlock," said Mandela.

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Plans to change ~~the~~ fishing monopoly

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THE ANC is leading an investigation into the SA fishing industry in an attempt to develop an alternative management policy for marine resources.

The organisation wants to restructure the industry by moving away from large fishing conglomerates to smaller, community-based fisheries.

Traditional fisher folk in SA have long had no say in the fishing industry.

At a recent meeting with Environmental Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar, an ANC-led delegation of the beach-net fishermen of False Bay near Cape Town called for representation within the Sea Fisheries Department.

A management committee will now be formed and will be able to reformulate regulations to date imposed on them without consultation.

Community-based fisheries have been severely restricted, which the ANC said was without scientific basis.

CIPres 12/7/92
The government agreed, and admitted no consultations had taken place with those who make their living from beach-net fishing.

In a memorandum to government, netters said recreational ski-boat owners had been favoured, resulting in fewer licences being granted and heavy restrictions imposed on beach-netters.

"The progress of this sector in securing representation will inform other sectors in the industry striving for a fair system," said the ANC's Johnny Issel.

LOVE ACROSS PRISON BARS

ANC bomber marries childhood sweetheart

By THEMBA KHUMALO

MTHETHELELI Mncube, the ANC's "Messina Bomber" who is serving a life sentence at Pretoria Central Prison, married his childhood sweetheart, Nomsa Nkwanca, in a ceremony that took place behind bars last month.

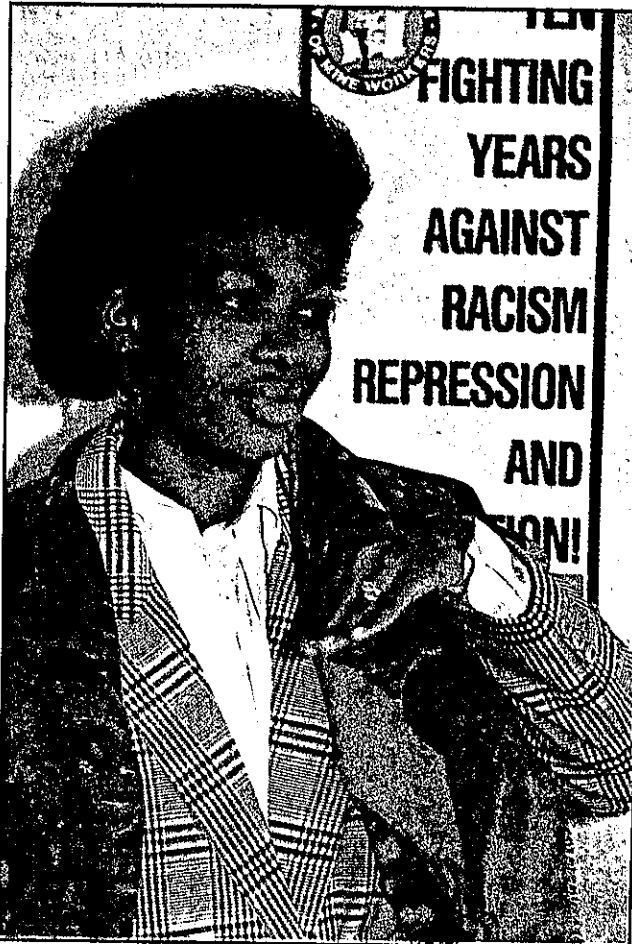
Nomsa, 27, a soft-spoken Soweto beauty, breathed sporadic sighs of relief as she recounted to City Press the sequence of events that culminated in their marriage on June 29.

She said the occasion was attended by scores of ANC supporters from Diepkloof, but only the families of the bride and the groom - including three children - were allowed in. The wedding was blessed by Father S'mangaliso Mkhathshwa of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Mncube and his co-accused, Mzondeleli Nondula, hit newspaper headlines during their marathon trial in Messina in the northern Transvaal where they were sentenced to death for a series of limpet-mine blasts in the region.

This year the government commuted their sentences to life after repeated appeals by the ANC for their release in terms of the Pretoria Minute which saw the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners.

A second-year BA university student, Nomsa spoke of the pain she went through as a result of Mncube's disappearance in 1980 when he went into exile. She was 16 years old and apolitical at that time. He resurfaced five years later as an ANC guerrilla, Nomsa said.



GUERRILLA'S GIRL... Nomsa shows off the ring given to her by hubby Mthetheleli Mncube, the Messina Bomber. **By PLO: EVANS MBOWENI**

Nomsa, who accompanied ANC president Nelson Mandela during a tour to Eastern Europe as his private secretary, said when her husband was sentenced to death in 1988, he told her not to worry because he would not hang. At the time the couple's only daughter,

Thandisizwe, was a year old, Nomsa said.

Mncube earned admiration from political activists when he told the judge during his trial that he was a disciplined ANC soldier, and that given another chance he would continue to plant more

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limpet mines.

Nomsa said her husband's arrest and subsequent conviction served as inspiration and made her politically aware.

“He is my greatest inspiration. I’ve never seen a man so strong in the face of difficulty,” she said.

Since her husband's imprisonment Nomsa has touched him only twice. She did so for the first time on April 5 1990 when she “sneaked” into prison with Mandela as his secretary.

The ANC leader had gone to brief all political prisoners on Death Row about the outcome of talks his organisation held with the government regarding their release.

“For about two hours me and Thethe (Mncube) hugged, kissed and talked animatedly, despite the presence of senior prison authorities in the consultation room. It’s an event I will never forget,” Nomsa said.

The couple went through the same experience again during their wedding ceremony last month. Mncube bought his bride a diamond ring.

Nomsa said among their well-wishers was Dieter Gerhardt, former naval commander in Simonstown who is serving a life sentence for spying for the Soviet Union.

She said although Gerhardt was not allowed to attend the ceremony, he gave them R50 and sent her a card.

Nomsa said her husband had not given up hope of release.

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test at the FNB Stadium near Johannesburg.

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

Hands off ANC, Transkei cops told

CP Correspondent ^{C/PRESS} 12/7/92

TRANSKEI police may no longer arrest ANC members for criminal offences without first consulting the organisation's leadership.

This directive has been dispatched to all police stations throughout the territory by the office of the Commissioner of Police, General Smuts Spambo.

This emerged in a circular dated April 13 1992 leaked to City Press this week and signed by deputy CID chief, Brigadier Ngunbenkomo.

The circular introduces a highly trained Umtata-based MK member, Ndima Saliwa, as a contact person, or any other person appointed by Saliwa to act on his behalf.

News of the directive has been greeted

with mixed feelings by members of the Transkei police and the public.

Policemen who did not wish to be named said the directive turned them into toothless watchdogs.

Meanwhile police authorities are rumoured to have pulled out all the stops to suppress news of a shooting incident in Qumbu three months ago involving members of the Transkei police and MK.

Despite reports that a policeman was injured in the shootout, City Press has established that no investigations or arrests have occurred.

In another development two MK members facing charges for allegedly killing an ANC dissident, Siphon Phungulwa, and wounding another, Siphon Dyasop, have yet to stand trial after an initial court appear-

ance. The shooting occurred nearly 18 months ago.

ANC media spokesman Saki Macozoma said the liaison between the Transkei police and the ANC was established to prevent certain elements within the Transkei police force - "who are trying to oppose the Hlomisa government" - from victimising MK members and was similar to the agreement established between the ANC and the SAP as a result of the Groote Schuur Minute.

"You can't have a situation where the law does not apply to members of a certain organisation. This ANC/Transkei arrangement was reached only to safeguard our members against victimisation by undesirable elements from the Transkei force," he said.

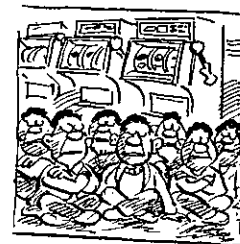
ed! A cattle killing right here in Toti!



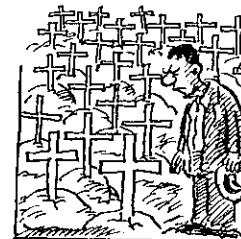
JULY 1-15: 'Agitational' period — now happening



JULY 15: 'Occupation' of government buildings



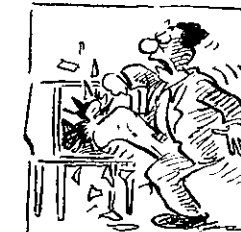
JULY 18: 'Focus' on the Bantustans



JULY 22: 'Focus' on violence nationally



JULY 25: 'Occupation' of city centres



JULY 31: Campaign for SABC 'democratisation'



AUGUST 3-9: Implementation of 'general strike'

1: Introduction

THE meeting's agenda included reports on phase 1, a brainstorm on our political perspective on mass action and three commissions on rolling action, the general strike and building coalitions. This report needs to be discussed in the constitutional structures of the Tripartite Alliance and a programme finalised as soon as possible.

2: 'Our political perspective on mass action'

2.1 We are striving through our programme of action to politically defeat De Klerk. When we return to the negotiating table, it should be to discuss the transfer of power to the people.

2.2 However, our mass action needs to continue so that:

- The hand of those at the negotiating table should be strengthened.

- People are part of the process of deciding their own futures.

2.3 Our programme of action should include building a broad pro-democracy movement.

2.4 We need to consider returning to the strategy of politically and administratively establishing organs of people power.

2.5 We should bear in mind the objective of preparing for elections.

2.6 We need to avoid getting trapped into long and protracted negotiations.

2.7 We want a reconstituted negotiations forum where the holding of free and fair elections by December 1992 is discussed.

COUNTDOWN TO CHAOS

WHILE political leaders trade memoranda, the ANC, SACP and Cosatu are laying their plans for massive civil action. These extracts from the minutes of a recent meeting of the triple alliance spell out, in deceptively bland terms, the barrelling protest South Africa may expect to see in the coming weeks

3: Rolling mass action

3.1 Our rolling mass action should be planned with the following in mind:

3.1.1 The need to build and consolidate our own organisations as well as the Alliance and our relationships with the broadest possible range of organisations who support our demands.

3.1.2 Activities should be co-ordinated across the Alliance, for example, the ANC should join marches against retrenchments.

3.1.3 We need to empower our people to take action into their own hands.

3.1.4 The leadership needs to provide the lead by engaging in defiant actions.

3.1.5 We need to have a tactical approach to paying bail. We may at some points in time decide to all refuse bail — especially where prominent comrades are involved. However, we need to be careful not to be seen to be involving our people in action, and then deserting them when they are caught.

3.2 Possible activities which could form part of the rolling action include:

- Naming of people's squares in communities.
- Marches
- Actions directed at those implicated in the violence, eg marches to policemen's homes in the suburbs.

3.3 Timetable of actions. Guideline dates were suggested:

3.3.1 July 1-15: Agitational period.

Stivies 12/7/92

a) This should include spreading the message to our members through meetings and mass media as well as tactics such as painting police stations red, nailing Freedom Charters on government buildings, etc.

b) Mass meetings in communities should be arranged to explain the programme of action and work out how different local areas can contribute to the programme and link to local issues, eg evictions, no pension payouts, lack of housing, etc.

c) We should also consider creating a culture of street meetings and impromptu meetings in the city centre using megaphones.

3.3.2 From July 15: Occupations of government buildings.

a) This should continue beyond the general strike. While this phase of the campaign should be publicly announced, it should be left to the discretion of sectors and regions to decide on exactly which date they would occupy which buildings.

b) We would need to consider also radio stations to make demands about the SABC and local municipalities to protest unilateral restructuring of these institutions.

3.3.3 July 18: Focus on Bantustans.

a) The Alliance together with our Patriotic Front allies needs to plan a focus on our demand for the restoration of citizenship and reincorporation of Bantustans.

3.3.4 July 22: National focus on violence.

a) This is the second anniversary of the Sebokeng massacre. We need to use this day to highlight our demands to end the violence. Dramatic actions should be planned.

3.3.5 July 25: Occupation of city centres.

3.3.6 July 31: Campaign for democratisation of the SABC. We need to urgently make a call for the democratisation of the SABC and for major advertisers to come out clearly on their position. If they do not do so by July 31, we need to call for a boycott of products advertised on TV.

3.4 The Alliance Campaign's Committee to follow up:

3.4.1 The establishment of a mass action fund which could be used for bail monies and other such expenses.

3.4.2 PAYE campaign and

establishment of a Fund for a Democratic South Africa.

3.4.3 A code of conduct for comrades who participate in defiance actions.

4: General strike

4.1.1 The main demands of the strike should be for the democratisation of our country or for the transfer of power to the people.

4.1.2 However, we should conceptualise the general strike within the context of the programme of action and also use it to focus on:

- An end to poverty.
- Living wage demands.
- The unilateral restructuring of the economy, so that transfer of power is not empty.
- An end to violence.
- End of Bantustans.

4.2.2 It said the strike should be a minimum of seven days which should involve the following forms of action.

August 3, 4 and 5: Local activities, eg marches and rallies, student activities, occupation of local municipal offices.

August 6 and 7: Regional marches and occupation of city centres.

August 8: Assessment day. A national forum of the alliance should be held.

August 9: Church activities including interdenominational services where priests address issues of relevance to our POA.

4.3 Other points include:

4.3.1 The need to put pressure on employers not to victimise and dismiss workers. Political organisations must also be part of taking up the consequences of mass action, eg ANC to meet Chamber of Mines if there are mass dismissals.

4.3.2 Wage strikes should overlap with the general strike.

4.3.3 The education sector is considering their form of action during the strike.

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4.3.3 The education sector is considering their form of action during the strike.

4.3.4 Cosatu is debating factory occupations.

5. Building broad coalitions

The Commission considered the following initiatives:

5.1 On June 18, 35 organisations discussed the establishment of a broad front opposed to corruption and murder. An ad hoc committee of about 12 organisations is preparing for a second summit.

5.2 Cosatu reported on an initiative between Cosatu, the churches and business to establish a "Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy".

5.3 Reviving the Patriotic Front.

5.4 The Tripartite Alliance.

To guard against sending the wrong or mixed signals to people, on the one hand, and attempts to divide the ANC from its allies, and the SACP and Cosatu in particular, we need to have a consistent, collective and common approach to issues. This was stressed in relation to the sports issue.

TIME is running out for the ANC to move more than 27 000 tons of arms from Angola.

Senior ANC members based in Luanda warned National Executive Committee members at the end of February that the massive arsenal — which includes at least five Soviet tanks — had to be moved before the Angolan elections in September.

However, the ANC has not been able to find a host country willing to accept the arsenal, and has been given a July 31 deadline by the Angolan government to move the arms or forfeit them to the MPLA.

The ANC was warned of this risk in a letter dated February 24 and signed by the ANC's former chief representative in Luanda, Fanie Phakola (alias MK Rufus), chief ordnance in Luanda Lister Sokhele (alias Makeke) and Nicholas Xabanisa.

Problems

The letter said: "We are facing a risk of losing all the materiel kept by Fapla because of the political and military developments in this country. Our main concern is change in the top administration of the military. Our claim to this materiel is only known by the MPLA and the Fapla administration.

"As the control of the peace process here is not aware of the existence of foreign arms, the discovery may cause problems for the MPLA."

By DE WET POTGIETER

Copies of the letter and a full inventory were sent to ANC president Nelson Mandela, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and MK commander in chief Joe Modise.

As a result, an ANC delegation headed by Willie Williams, Jacob Chilwane and MK Che O'Gara visited Luanda on April 20.

Sources in Luanda have confirmed Mr Modise — who admitted the existence of the cache in Washington this week, despite earlier denials by ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus — discussed the arms with MPLA representatives and with the Namibian government on a recent visit to Dakar.

Foiled

The ANC's plan to move the arsenal to Namibia was foiled when the International Freedom Foundation revealed its existence towards the end of last month.

The alternative plan, to move the arms to Tanzania, is dependent on the ANC finding a cargo ship to transport them.

The weapons are being housed at Grafamil, next to the railway line to Viaria, where the ANC used to have a transit camp.

A spokesman for the SA Defence Force said this week the stockpiling of arms in Angola contravened agreements between the South African government and the ANC.

"The ANC was to have pointed out all its arms caches and was to have ceased recruiting for MK as well as the training of MK personnel," he said.

"It is surprising the ANC dismisses the issue of what it intends doing about these weapons as not in the public interest."

The Sunday Times has a copy of the ANC inventory. In addition to the five Soviet tanks, there are also five light armoured troop carriers and 15 400 armour-piercing shells. Also listed are:

430 Adrianov and artillery compasses, an AGS grenade launcher, a box of AK-47 night sights, 2 188 AK-47 rifles and 2,2-million rounds of ammunition, 899 M41 and M44 7,62mm carbines, 32 infantry binoculars, 727 Makarov pistols and 49 720 rounds of ammunition, 22 PKM company machineguns, six SVD Dragovov sniper rifles, 21 heavy calibre ZPU-1 14,55 machineguns, 1 575kg of TNT, 800kg of plastic explosives from Yugoslavia, 8 400 F-1 DJF hand-grenades, 5 690 82mm mortar shells, 15 400 armour-piercing shells, 19 442 anti-tank missiles, 13 908 anti-personnel landmines, 5 443 limpet mines, nine pieces of anti-tank guided missile control panels, six Strella missile trigger mechanisms, 462 RPG-7 rocket missiles, 4 284 PKG-3 anti-tank hand-grenades, 460 Nagan 7,62mm revolvers, 24 000 Capsule detonators, 14 290 electrical detonators (plain), 290 electrical detonators (screw-type), four launching pads for 60mm mortars, five bipods, five tubes and six base plates for 82mm mortars.

S/Times 12/7/92
11A

ANC quarry over arms pile

Now the PAC feels vindicated

STAR 13/7/92. (11A)

After the deadlock in Codesa 2, and the ANC's subsequent withdrawal from negotiations, Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA puts the spotlight on the latest thinking in the PAC, the organisation which kept out of the negotiations from the beginning.

WITH negotiations on hold and a furious slanging match under way between the Government and the ANC, calls are beginning to be heard for the reconstitution of Codesa in a different form.

Prominent among those urging Codesa's restructuring is the Pan Africanist Congress which, since attending the multiparty talks preparatory meeting in Kempton Park last year, has remained on the outside looking in. Among organisations to the Left of the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the PAC have been most vocal in their criticism of both Codesa's inadequacies and the ANC's involvement in the forum.

Their criticism, which has since been echoed by some disgruntled ANC supporters, included the fact that apart from the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the National Party/Government, most of the groups represented at Codesa did not have popular support on the ground. Examples often cited are the homeland leaders.

Also mentioned is the fact that these parties side either with the Government/NP, or with the ANC. This ensures that any radically dissenting voice such as the PAC's would be drowned out in any debate.

But what is the PAC's thinking on Codesa and negotiations now that these have stalled?

In an article entitled "The way forward" — in the possession of The Star — PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke argues that the PAC is not, and never has been, opposed to the idea of negotiations as such. It is the manner in which Codesa was structured, and its modus operandi, to which it remains opposed.

Mr Moseneke catalogues the PAC's criticism of Codesa:

- It is "unrepresentative and undemocratic (and) is pre-packed with Government-created puppets with no (ground) support".
- Its structure can block majority rule "by rendering the de-

mand for a constituent assembly nugatory".

- It has no mandate to create a new constitution.
- There is no neutral convener, chairman or mediator.
- It has "a structure which is obese, bloated and inefficient".
- It lacks "transparency" because the press has no access to its deliberations.

Says Mr Moseneke: "The PAC has been vindicated in its assertion that Codesa is a kaleidoscope of political intrigue. It has now become abundantly clear that the minority regime has not been negotiating in good faith to create a genuine democracy and thus is not prepared to relinquish power." The language he uses is similar to that adopted by ANC leaders in recent weeks.

Mr Moseneke proposes elections be held for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution; that the Government publicly concede that a constituent assembly is the "only legitimate and democratic forum for (the) transfer of power and the creation of a new constitution"; and that a restructured forum, free of Codesa's present "defects", be convened to facilitate negotiations "in good faith and with the primary purpose of transferring power to a democratic majority (government)".

The new forum, he says, should have on its agenda elections for a constituent assembly, agreements on the creation of a transitional authority, and agreements on the role of the international community.

While the idea of a reconstituted Codesa appears to be gaining ground among liberation movements — and, to an extent, across lines of traditional rivalry — it is unlikely to reach fruition in the short term. This is because it will be vigorously opposed by the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, among other groups — and the liberation movements do not at this stage have the power to bend all other actors to their will. □

New bid to avert general strike

Crucial debate on SA crisis

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

South Africa's political leaders jettied out last night to present their cases to the United Nations, while business and trade union chiefs at home pushed ahead with an emergency joint plan to avert a period of unprecedented strike action and protest.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki left Jan Smuts Airport for New York last night to prepare for Wednesday's vital meeting of the UN Security Council. ANC president Nelson Mandela is expected to depart today.

Before flying to New York Mr Botha said South Africa's political crisis would not be solved at the UN Security Council. The answers had to be found internally.

He said he expected the meeting would concentrate on the violence but hoped it would return an even-handed verdict urging all parties to take responsibility.

Mr Botha believed South Africa would be told to go back to the negotiation table. "If we have to go to New York to hear that, it would be worth it," he said.

He said he hoped the meeting of President de Klerk and the Cabinet early this week would "give me some ammunition" in relaying the Government's viewpoints and the facts at its disposal to the Security Council.

Last week the UN issued an eleventh-hour invitation to all Codesa participants to give their views in New York, but there was no clarity last night on how many of the 18 groups would be attending. It was confirmed that President Lucas Man-



Just what the fans ordered . . . class South African midfielder Doctor Khumalo hurtled the ball into the net to secure a 2-2 draw and level the three-match series.

Soccer City fans show the way to a new South Africa

11A

Leaders jet off for vital UN meeting

● From Page 1 | 3/1/92

come within "a specified, short-term time-frame of, for example, six months".

It also holds out the possibility that business and labour could jointly convene "assemblies for peace, economic reconstruction and progress to democracy" on August 3 — the date on which a general strike is expected to begin.

The draft document proposes that "the support of all our members and the broader public" should be sought for the goals outlined, and says the document should be presented to "a broadly representative meeting or convention to be held before the end of July".

It is understood that Cosatu wants Saccola to declare its commitment to "the need to move as speedily as possible to political settlement based on one person, one vote, elections for a united South Africa". The draft document says "an elected constitution-making body or interim parliament will be central to the transition".

The labour federation also wants a commitment to "an effective interim government to ensure elections held during the transition are indeed free and fair", and the possibility of business mediation in disputes.

Wednesday's UN meeting will consider a resolution submitted by the Frontline states, which argues that the primary responsibility for curbing violence lies with Mr de Klerk's Government. It is understood that Mr Mandela's representations will be based closely on the contents of his letter to Mr de Klerk, delivered last week. The Security Council is also likely to be asked to take a view on possible international involvement in South Africa's transition.

Africa would be told to go back to the negotiation table. "If we have to go to New York to hear that, it would be worth it," he said.

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Last week the UN issued an eleventh-hour invitation to all Codesa participants to give their views in New York, but there was no clarity last night on how many of the 18 groups would be attending. It was confirmed that President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana would be there, but an Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman told The Star he did not know whether Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had reached a final decision.

In Johannesburg, business leaders and top Cosatu officials were set to forge ahead with talks on how to help speed up South Africa's transition to democracy, and thereby limit the damage to the economy which is expected as a result of scheduled protest action. Trade union leaders and their allies have been trying to persuade the business community to pressure the Government to move swiftly towards transitional arrangements and democratic elections.

This week marks the beginning of "phase two" of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign — which includes the possibility of the "occupation" of Government buildings, according to suggestions in an unratified draft document drawn up by the campaign's organising committee.

The business-labour talks are taking place within the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), made up of 10 major employers and Cosatu. Prominent figures in Saccola include businessmen Bobby Godsell, Bokkie Botha and Johann Liebenberg, and trade unionists Jay Naidoo and Sam Shilowa.

A draft document, in the possession of The Star, was drawn up last week and is now awaiting Cosatu approval. The draft document expresses deep concern at the breakdown of negotiations, rising violence and economic hardship, and sets out practical steps to be taken on violence, poverty, conflict mediation and political transition. It suggests that key stumbling blocks in the transition process could be over-

Date for Mandela

NEW YORK — ANC leader Nelson Mandela will attend the Democratic Party's national convention on Wednesday evening as a guest of chairman Ron Brown, a party official said at the weekend. *B1094 13/7/92*

Observers speculated that Mandela's appearance might be a pointed rebuke to Republican President George Bush for not putting pressure on the SA government to help end the violence in the townships. *(11A) (S)*

Mandela will be in New York to address the UN Security Council on Wednesday on the deadlock in SA's democracy talks. — Sapa-Reuter.

● See Page 4

● ANC's president reveals that there could still be a peaceful resolution to SA's conflict



Getting to meet the people ... popular Nelson Mandela chins it up with a group of nurses during one his rounds of his constituency.

“We have sent demands to the Government to say that before we resume talks, they must comply with those demands. We are not prepared to go back to Codesa until those demands have been met. There is no question of abandoning peaceful talks — Codesa in particular”

Sowetan 13/7/92
 continue besides the fact that there will be no further negotiations? And in the same context, other pressures such as the armed struggle and the sanctions campaign - are they things of the past? I would say so. We have suspended armed action. And whether armed action would be returned to is going to depend on future developments.

What is clear is that there are two ways of addressing problems: there is one that includes persuasion, discussion, criticism. We are busy with that and that is what we believe in.

We initially went into violence because we were convinced that this method could bring about a democratic South Africa.

If that is the position ... if the ANC returned to the armed struggle, then history would be repeated, because we are not prepared to sit back and fold our arms.

But we hope that that will never occur, because we believe that we have the muscle without resorting to violence to induce the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There have been people who, over the past months and weeks - we might as well call them by their names... the PAC and Azapo believe that they have been vindicated by the apparent collapse of Codesa. What are your views on this perception? Has Codesa failed in the manner they said it would?

That is an argument, you see, that comes from people who are not really involved with any constructive and positive measures of solving our problems in South Africa.

Firstly, there are 19 political parties involved in Codesa. The PAC withdrew because their point of view, without exception, was regarded as ridiculous. And they had to withdraw.

We have never had a romantic approach to negotiations. We have known that there would be hiccups, that there would be problems.

But we are convinced that life is the way to a democratic South Africa.

And already we have made enormous achievements from which Azapo and the PAC have benefited without doing anything.

We discussed with the Government and eventually agreed that they should release political prisoners. The PAC had no share at all in those talks.

We demanded of the Government that exiles should come back. They are coming back...

The PAC and Azapo have made no contribution at all as far as that is concerned. They have benefited by proxy.

We said we wanted an interim government, we wanted a constituent assembly.

The Government has now conceded, al-

though they are now blocking the way towards the achievement of these, but we are exerting tremendous pressure in this country, both by talking as well as by action.

Tell me just one action that has been started by the PAC and Azapo in this country over the last two years?

You and persons in your organisation have spoken in broad terms of international and foreign involvement in the country as monitors, observers, throughout the negotiation process, but more specially in the violence in the country. What is the exact role you see for organisations such as the United Nations, the European Community, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Commonwealth?

Well, it is important to have monitors, a monitoring group in the country, to see for themselves what is happening.

Because many people are not actually alive to what is happening in the country.

Therefore, the presence of a monitoring group from the various countries and various world bodies is of extreme importance.

I had called about three months ago for an international peace force to be deployed in the unrest areas. I still think that would be a good development. But short of that we would like a mission, goodwill missions, to monitor the situation here in the country.

Mr Joe Slovo mentioned it once and I believe Mr Cyril Ramaphosa did too, that Codesa could be restructured ... What I do recall them saying was that the actual forum should be a lot more transparent, a lot more open to media scrutiny, so the public could actually have an insight into exactly what it was that was happening inside Codesa. Do you see this happening?

We have to be careful with the word restructure. Because it might convey the impression that the present form of Codesa could be broken down and a new organisation, a new Codesa, is going to be built up - there is nothing of the sort.

We have no such programme at all, as the African National Congress, nor has the Communist Party, nor Cosatu, although some people have said so.

But as organisations, as official policy, we have no programme to restructure Codesa.

But this suggestion that the Press must be allowed - that we welcome. It was a proposal that came from Joe Slovo. We welcome that, because that would enable the public to know what is going on ... If you call that restructuring, then off course we are in favour of it.

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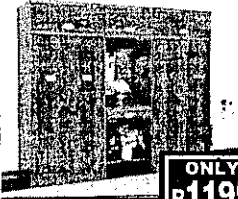
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focus on Mandela

Sowetan 13/7/92

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SOWETAN: Sir, I would like some clarity on the present crisis between the ANC and Government and I would appreciate it if you could define it - especially how it differs from that which everyone called an ultimatum which the ANC gave the Government last April.

MANDELA: The crisis is very simple to define. It is essentially a clash between a minority of about 15 percent of the population which wants to retain the monopoly of political power and a majority of 85 percent which is determined to destroy that monopoly today, not tomorrow.

That is the essence of the crisis.

We went to Codesa II with the intention of agreeing with the Government on the immediate installation of an interim government of national unity.

The Government blocked that development, because it wants, not only the white minority, but the National Party in particular, to remain ruling after a democratic system has been introduced.

That is the essence of the crisis... And then there is the question of the violence in the country, violence in which Mr (FW) de Klerk is implicated.

Now ... we have sent demands to the Government to say that before we resume talks, they must comply with those demands.

We are not prepared to go back to Codesa until those demands have been met. There is no question of abandoning peaceful talks - generally and Codesa in particular.

But Codesa will not meet until the Government is prepared to negotiate in good faith. That is the issue facing the country.

It is not easy, therefore, it is difficult for me to say what is going to happen tomorrow because this depends on the response of the Government to our demands.

We are certainly not prepared to meet them until they have complied with those demands.

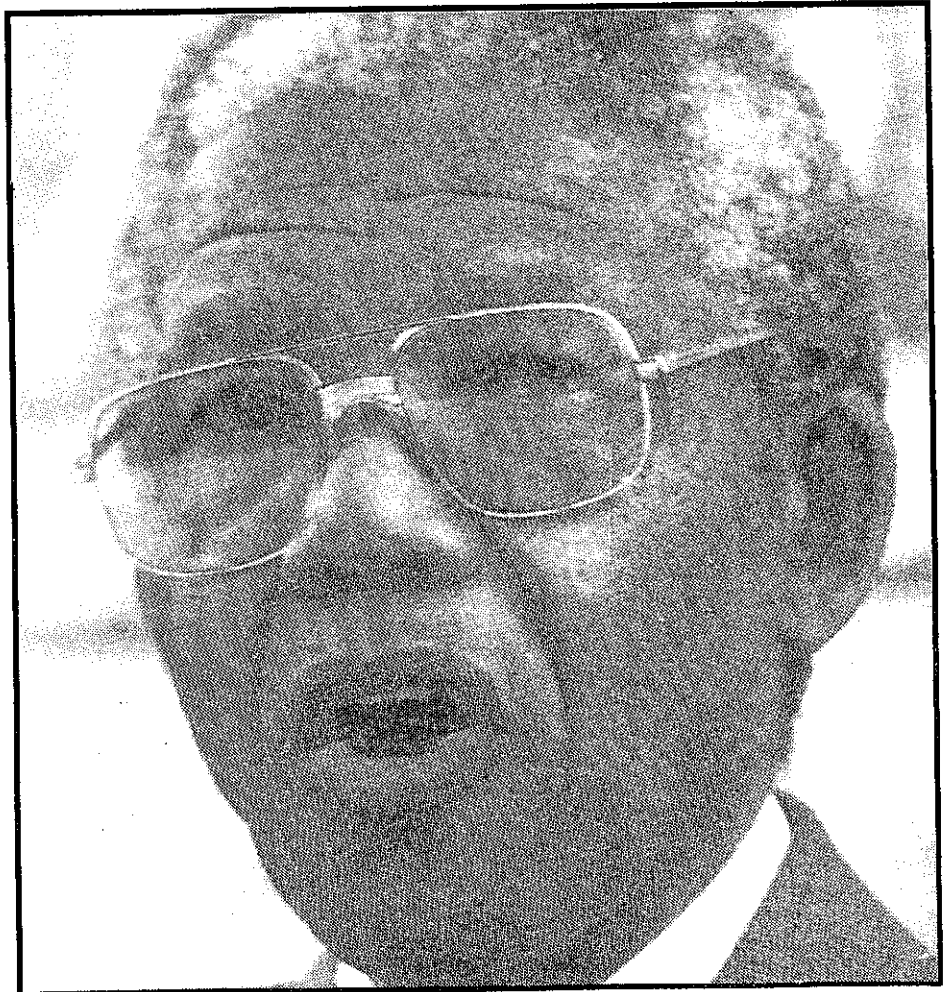
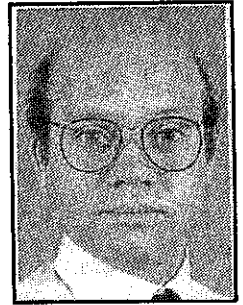
There's a question which has just come to mind - How are you tied to those demands? I am reflecting on last April's demands where you gave them a set of demands and talks resumed afterwards even though, if I remember correctly, the Government did not deliver everything you demanded. Will talks resume if they don't comply 100 percent this time?

That must depend on the response that they make. We have submitted 14 demands. And we have insisted that they should comply with each and every one of those.

Whether there is going to be any change from insistence that they comply with those demands will depend on the nature of their response.

But we would not have submitted those demands if we did not want them to be complied

Just four days before his 74th birthday on July 18, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela talks one-to-one with Sowetan Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** on the country's political crisis and suggests that there is hope yet.



Nelson Mandela ... suggesting that there is no reason to give up hope.

with.

I think you are mistaken in thinking that we lifted our ultimatum (of last April) without the Government doing anything.

We demanded the dismissal of Mr Adriaan Vlok (then Minister of Law and Order) and Mr Magnus Malan (then Minister of Defence).

They removed them from their portfolios.

We demanded the banning of dangerous weapons.

We demanded the phasing out of hostels from where this violence comes. They agreed to that... made a clear undertaking.

We demanded the setting up of a commission of inquiry into violence. They did that.

So it is not correct to say that they did not comply with the conditions.

So, if they do not comply with the 14 demands, mass action would also

Body to fight 'corruption, murder'

By Michael Sparks

STAR 14/7/92

A coalition of nearly 50 organisations was formed yesterday to fight Government "corruption and State-sponsored murders".

Dubbed the Coalition against State Murder and Corruption (Casmac), it was formed at Wits University and plans to send a representative to Harare to address a United Nations group investigating human rights violations.

Casmac comprises a broad spectrum of trade unions as well as political and religious groups, including the ANC, Congress of SA Trade Unions, SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, SA



Ramaphosa . . . urged vigorous public outcry.

Council of Churches, Lawyers for Human Rights, Human Rights Commission, Black Sash, Pan Africanist Congress and Five Freedoms Forum, among others.

Addressing the launch of Casmac yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa urged

the public to act to force the State to be more accountable for its actions.

He challenged the public to take part in a more vigorous public outcry so that the Government could not "get away with denials of complicity in the violence".

Casmac, in a document distributed at the launch, called for the dismissal and prosecution of all Government ministers and officials who had been involved in murder or corruption.

It also called for the full disclosure of secret projects and covert operations — and the creation of a multiparty commission, involving the international community, with full powers of ac-

cess and investigation into the security forces.

Casmac plans to meet Mr Justice Goldstone to voice its concern that recommendations by the Goldstone Commission are not being acted upon by the Government.

Members also hope to meet President de Klerk.

Casmac intends writing to the UN Committee Against Apartheid and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Among the 18 members elected to the steering committee are Cheryl Carolus of the ANC, Kallie Hanekom of Five Freedoms Forum, Brian Curren of Lawyers for Human Rights and John Lamola of the SA Council of Churches.

Dismissed Toyota workers stone job-seekers

Own Correspondent

STAR 14/7/92

DURBAN — Pandemonium broke out at the Toyota plant in Prospecton south of Durban yesterday and police were called in and fired tear-gas to disperse dismissed workers who had stoned and chased away people seeking employment.

Job-seekers arrived at the plant after Toyota's announced at the weekend that it would start recruiting new workers after the dismissal of 6 000 workers who had been on strike for more than a month.

Talks between management and the National Union of Metal-

workers of SA (Numsa) deadlocked on Friday.

From early yesterday, hundreds of people queued up at the gates to seek interviews. Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said a group of former employees stoned and threw bottles at the job-seekers.

"Repeated calls to those who were not seeking employment to leave the area were ignored."

Toyota public affairs managing director Phil Wilkon confirmed the incident.

Numsa regional secretary Eckie Esau was unavailable for comment.

SA political rift shifts

■ **CODESA IMPASSE** Political leaders go to

Security Council to present views on how to

resolve the negotiations deadlock at Codesa:

By **Themba Molefe**

Political Reporter

LEADERS of the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party left for New York last night for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council tomorrow.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo left for the same meeting on Sunday.

Addressing journalists at Jan Smuts Airport before their departure, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the purpose of the special session of the Security Council was to solicit a resolution which would make for the appointment of a UN representative to monitor violence and report directly to the UN.

He said the UN would be asked to strengthen the Goldstone Commission in its investigations and findings. Mandela praised Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for his efforts so far.

Mandela, however, warned that the ANC's mass action programme would not necessarily be suspended.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leading a three-man delegation, said he would present an 88-page document detailing attacks against IFP members since the signing of the National Peace Accord last September.

He said Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu had a case to present to the UN following what he termed an ANC's plan to destabilise those territories.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his delegation would tell the session that the violence was orchestrated from outside the townships and was not just a black-on-black faction

fighting. *Sowetan 14/7/92.*

He said an external solution was long overdue and was even more urgent now. PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will also take part in the UN debate.

Mandela said the fact that an external solution was being sought was an indictment on South African leaders to find solutions.

He said this was regrettable.

Buthelezi said he opposed foreign intervention but was going to the UN after its Secretary General, Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, assured him he would address the meeting.

● Mandela will also visit the United States, the Middle East and Spain. He will also attend the US Democratic Party's national convention in New York.

According to an itinerary released by the ANC, Mandela will fly to Teheran, Iran, after addressing the UN, and on July 21 will travel to Kuwait.

He is scheduled to leave the Middle East on July 29 to arrive in Johannesburg on July 30.

Meanwhile, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander left for London yesterday where he would speak at two-day seminar on violence in South Africa.

See Page 9

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ANC to request a visit by special envoy

THE ANC would ask the UN to send a special envoy to SA at tomorrow's special session of the UN Security Council, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at Jan Smuts airport last night.

He said the special envoy should examine the situation in SA and report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The ANC would then lobby the special representative to suggest "the next important step that should be taken" — a UN monitoring mission to SA, he said.

Mandela said the ANC would also ask the UN to "consider measures to strengthen the Goldstone commission".

Goldstone had "put his finger clearly on

the causes of violence," but did not have adequate facilities to address the problem.

"It is regrettable that we as South African leaders should not be able to find a solution to our problems and should invite the international community," he said.

Mandela repeated ANC claims the government could stop the violence.

He said the special session was "a victory for the democratic movement because the government did everything in its power to stop the calling of that special session".

610A/147192

He said police were victims of near Greytown in the Natal Midlands

bomb attack.

The dispute began when Russia's par- teuter.

Putco buses worth R2,8m destroyed during unrest

PUTCO has lost R2,8m in destroyed buses this year, but the company is not planning to ask the police for help.

WILSON ZWANE

countrywide.

Putco MD Jack Visser said at the weekend that 14 buses had been destroyed in unrest-related incidents in the PWV region this year.

Of these, three were destroyed in the East Rand township of Vosloorus last week after Umkhonto we Sizwe member George Mashele allegedly blew himself up with a handgrenade during a police raid on his house.

Another three buses were destroyed in the township this year. Five were destroyed in the Vaal area, two in the Pretoria area and one in Soweto.

Visser estimated the replacement cost of the buses at R2,8m.

Although he could not readily give figures of last year's attacks on his company's buses, he was convinced there had been an escalation.

Putco has 2 000 buses

ANC 'in breach of arms deals'

PRETORIA — The stockpiling of arms in Angola by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, contravened agreements reached by the SA government and the ANC, an SADF spokesman said.

"These agreements stipulate that the ANC was to have pointed out all their arms caches and they were to have ceased recruiting people for MK as well as training MK personnel."

The spokesman said in a statement to Sapa on Friday it was surprising the ANC dismissed the issue of what it intended to do about these weapons as "not being in the public interest".

Weapons similar to those stored in Angola were being used in SA against innocent people.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the cache included 2 188 AK-47s and 2,2-m rounds of ammunition, 22 machineguns and hundreds of pistols and revolvers.

Heavy weapons included five Soviet tanks and five light armoured troop carriers.

Many crimes 'the work of suspects granted bail'

SA's lenient attitude to the granting of bail resulted in a high number of suspected criminals committing more crimes while awaiting trial, legal sources said at the weekend.

Recent research by the SAP over a nine-month period showed that of a total of 61 306 accused released on bail, 10 353 breached their bail conditions and 3 850 committed crimes while on bail.

This situation not only placed a massive burden on police, but also caused growing dissatisfaction among the public, who suffered under a wave of crime, police said.

"In particular the black population finds it difficult to come to terms with this type of administration of justice and they take the law into their own hands or turn to people's courts," the police said.

Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, SC, said: "It is a well known fact that SA criminal law has a very liberal view on the granting of bail to accused."

The granting of bail to accused should be seen against the background of the presumption in SA law of an accused's innocence until he or she had been proved guilty, he said.

Other factors played an important role in courts' consideration of whether to grant bail.

13/7/92
STEPHANE BOTHMA

These included the limited prison facilities for awaiting trial prisoners.

"One must always keep in mind that bail applications by accused are brought at a very early stage of police investigations," Von Lieres said.

Therefore, it was not always easy to convince a judge or magistrate that there was a strong case against an accused.

Depending on the facts of the case — the seriousness or nature of the crime, or the possibility that the accused might commit another crime — State lawyers would do their best to oppose bail, said Von Lieres.

Until 1977, attorneys-general had the jurisdiction to issue a certificate prohibiting bail in serious cases.

Since then, it has been in the discretion of the courts to grant bail, or not, after an accused has satisfied the court that he should be released.

Recently the Law Commission recommended that, at hearings on whether to grant bail, the onus should be moved from the accused having to prove why he should get bail to the State having to prove why the suspect should not be released on bail.

If the recommendation was accepted, it would be even easier for courts to grant bail, informed legal sources said.



Tiny's 'gift' to Tambo

TIM COHEN

(11A)

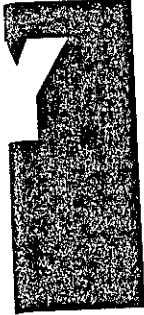
ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo's house in Johannesburg's northern suburbs was paid for by Lonrho chief Tiny Rowland, left-leaning journal Work in Progress (WIP) reports in its latest edition.

WIP's gossip column, "Left Behind", says although it was reported that the ANC turned down Rowland's offer to foot the bill, he did in fact pay for the "sprawling, peach-coloured mansion" which cost "a little under R3m". *BIDA 14/7/92*

Ownership of the mansion was transferred to a company called Henderson, WIP says, dismissing rumours that American comedian Bill Cosby and music producer Quincy Jones paid for the house.

"Rowland's success on the continent has been linked to his knack for striking up close friendships with heads of state," says WIP.

"Read innocently, the ... mansion gift reveals a considerable soft spot for the Tambos and the ANC. His corporation, after all, is in serious financial trouble, leaving Rowland dangling by his fingernails." An ANC spokesman declined to comment.



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ANC, govt clash over police deaths

A WAR of words has erupted between government and the ANC over the growing number of police deaths in unrest-related incidents. **21 DAY 14/7/92**

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze appealed to the ANC yesterday to "condemn publically" the killing of more than 100 policemen in incidents of violence this year.

He said a climate of "war talk and beligerent statements" by political organisations was to blame for the growing number of attacks on policemen.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday his organisation had condemned the killing of policemen in the past and would continue to do so.

He said it was remarks such as those made by Law and Order Minister Hernus

RAY HARTLEY (11A)

Kriel suggesting the security forces would be deployed for political ends that caused resentment of the police.

Kotze said statistics showed police killings had "virtually doubled" since apartheid legislation had been scrapped.

More than 100 policemen had died violently so far this year while the figure for the whole of 1986 was 68, he said.

"Investigations are being hampered by organisations who issue calls not to aid the police. This explodes the theory that we are tardy in investigating the violence," he said, adding that ANC statements had hampered efforts to arrest the Boipatong killers.

Tiny's 'gift' to Tandu...

THE UN Security Council meets tomorrow to help SA out of its current impasse. To most of the permanent members, and several of the im- permanent ones as well, this is not a proper use of the council's time. Unlike the Balkan crisis, SA's problems do not constitute a threat to international peace.

Nor, at this stage anyway, do they involve a conflict between sovereign states, real or aspiring. However much they may affect the surrounding region, they are at root a domestic matter. In taking them on, the council is setting itself an uneasy precedent. Few countries can honestly relish the prospect of the UN presuming to act as arbiter of their internal disputes.

Nonetheless, if UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the permanent members can keep their heads — and hitherto they have — this week's session should prove a valuable exercise. With all 19 Codesa members, plus the nine African foreign ministers deputed by the OAU, having the right to speak, the superficial theatre will be unedifying — a throwback to the days before the UN found itself custodian of the New World Order and was merely a Hyde Park Corner for the self-styled wretched of the earth. Beneath the surface, however, important business should be transacted.

The principal function of the meeting and of the resolution that emerges from it must be to restore the primacy of those within the ANC alliance — principally, one assumes, president Nelson Mandela — who wish the Codesa process to succeed along the lines the parties have mapped out for themselves.

Seen from this remove, the collapse of Codesa II and the post-Boipatong hysteria are symptoms of the quite understandable difficulty the ANC is having in making the transition from liberation movement to political party, from strugglers to electoral competitors within a constitutional framework.

The nature of the difficulty is illustrated by a couple of draft papers

ANC alliance's options limited as crisis goes to UN

B/DAY 14/7/92
SIMON BARBER in Washington

allegedly prepared for the SACP's June 20 consultative conference. The authenticity of the first, which Ken Owen discussed in his Sunday Times column two weeks ago, has been established. The second, which landed on my desk last week, may be genuine but could equally be a plant. I assume it has already been circulated at home. Whatever its provenance, its analysis — which is offered in the first person on behalf of an unidentified "we" — seems acute.

The author contends there are now three basic "strategic outlooks" within the liberation alliance. The first, which he describes as "Don't Rock the Boat", sees "the path to democratisation as depending primarily upon negotiated pacts between elites. Elites deliver their constituencies. The job of constituencies is 'to be delivered'."

"This perspective is grounded on the assumption that there is essentially a strategic convergence between responsible leaders on the side of both the regime and the national liberation movement. This 'moderate centre' must be allowed to congeal; it must be given the space and time to get on with the task."

The second outlook the author calls "turning on the tap", and is "essentially a militant version of the

first". Under this approach, mass action is conceived as a tool of the negotiating "elite" to strengthen their hand at the table. Like the first strategy, option two is said to appeal to those who view the ANC as a "government in waiting" and who "see themselves as future bureaucrats" when the waiting is over.

This "begins to suggest that soon the national liberation movement must transform narrowly into an electoral machine. Once more mass action will be confined to periodic spurts, this time in elections — yet another version of turning the tap on and off".

The third strand is "The Leipzig Way" — the mobilisation of truly spectacular demonstrations of the kind that brought down East Germany's Erich Honeker. This, says the author, is preferable to methods one and two in principle, and enjoys considerable support among less sophisticated, grassroots comrades. The trouble is in the practicalities: "How realistic is this option?"

Not very, in the author's view. "Internationally, as we know, there has been a very rapid and absolutely radical change in the balance of forces. It was essentially this funda-

mental change that allowed mass demonstrations in Leipzig and Prague to act as catalysts for the rapid demise of governments." However, that same change has meant that the world balance of forces is now foursquare behind negotiated transitions, and thus "entirely unfavourable" to mass insurrection in SA.

Nor are the government and its "repressive machinery" about to fold. To the contrary, developments since 1989, particularly the disengagements from Angola and Namibia, have "parseemically (sic) relieved the pressures on the SADF. Today, there are almost certainly more guns in the hands of the popular masses ... than ever before. But we are further (and we are arguably never that close) from insurrection than we were three or four years ago."

There are several further problems with the Leipzig option. One is that it will succeed only in "winding the masses up" and then demoralising them when it does not bear the expected fruit. Second, "because the insurrectionary logic tends to be one of disengagement from the negotiation process, it is liable to open the way to the regime unilaterally steering the process of transformation".

Another problem — and this

seems a particularly interesting point — is that the "insurrectionary orientation" has already "tended to become an elite, conspiratorial fixation" among certain groupings within the alliance, most notably the Youth League, proponent of the Leipzig variant it calls the "extended political strike". In other words, the author suspects that the third option's principal backers may see it as much as a means of seizing control of the liberation movement as of overthrowing the government.

Unfortunately, having critiqued what he sees as the three major strains of the alliance's thinking, the author stops short of offering any specific alternatives. He does, however, stress the need for achieving a unified line and does not rule out a strategy of rolling mobilisation that will leave the movement "maximally poised to exploit ... a sudden insurrectionary moment should one occur".

Whoever wrote the paper — and such is its tone that it hardly seems calculated to generate a Red Scare any more than the other, certifiably genuine document now in circulation — its analysis, albeit mechanistic, makes sense. It suggests what ought to be fairly obvious anyway, namely that the ANC front, having failed to win a Sandinista-like ouster of the existing powers, has run into an ideological and strategic hard place and is flying apart at the seams. This possibility, rather than government's overweaning constitutional demands and failure to "control" its police, may be at the root of the present breakdown.

What is needed now is to help the proponents of option one, even two, regain the upper hand. This is where the Security Council can help.

Those within the ANC who favour negotiation need bolstering in the eyes both of their constituents and their rivals. The council, as the official voice of the international community, can contribute to that. It can also indicate that there are limits to what the ANC can reasonably expect the government to concede.

If Mandela is the statesman he is billed as, this is why he has appealed to the UN.

ANALYSIS Security Council to assess views of SA leaders and help end logjam



ANC president Nelson Mandela



PAC president Clarence Makwetu



Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe

Most of these organisations are agreed on International Involvement, but differ on the form it should take

UN to hear views on SA

Sowetan 14/7/92

POLITICAL BODIES

favour international

help but differ sharply

on the nature of its

extent and functions:

By Themba Molefe

SOUTH Africa's disparate politics unfold at the United Nations headquarters tomorrow where the Security Council listens to views the country's politicians. The emergency meeting was requested by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Leaders from the ANC, PAC, Government, Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana have left the country and are due to address the world body.

The world body is expected to assess the views of these leaders, and then decide what to do to help the country's transition to democracy.

Tomorrow's sitting is an initiative of the ANC and PAC after presidents Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Clarence Makwetu asked the OAU to step in as a broker between the liberation movements and the UN as a matter of urgency.

Most of these organisations are agreed on international involvement, but differ on the form it should take.

Present views

Azapo has sent a memorandum to UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressing its desire to present its views.

These would be that the UN send a peacekeeping force immediately to take over security operations while South African forces are confined to barracks and quarantined.

The UN should arrange a neutral venue and chairman for negotiations to take place and that all agreements reached should be enforceable.

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe summed up the organisation's stance: "Agreement should be binding on all negotiating parties. This will ensure that participants do not renege on decisions they were party to."

The ANC believes in international monitoring rather than involvement.

Said Mandela: "It is important to have monitoring groups in the country to see for themselves what is happening."

The ANC also wants an international peacekeeping force deployed at unrest areas.

The Government and the IFP are opposed to involvement - what the Government terms international control.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha reiterated this before he left for New York yesterday.

He said the Government welcomed foreign advice, but "it is not outsiders but South Africans who should determine the country's future".

Last month Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the findings of a panel of international jurists that the IFP was largely responsible for the violence in the country.

Patriotic Front

The PAC wants the international world to help the liberation movements form a Patriotic Front.

In the short term it wants the UN to send a team to monitor the violence in the country and in the long term wants its intervention, and that of the OAU, in chairing talks between Government and the liberation movements.

The PAC believes negotiations should take place at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

Makwetu has told OAU heads of states and Boutros-Ghali that unity of the "organisations of the oppressed" was paramount and that the world bodies should help reconvene the Patriotic Front the PAC initiated jointly with the ANC in 1991.

PAC director of information Mr Waters Toboti said: "Now that the Codesa farce is over the need has never been so urgent for a neutral chairman and venue so that genuine negotiations can begin."

World body

The UN Security Council is regarded as the "inner Cabinet" of the world body because it has veto powers and at the end of the debate will decide whether the "South African situation" warrants its intervention.

For decades the UN's respectability waned to

an extent that cynics called it "the theatre of the absurd".

The tide turned when its peacekeeping force Untag was highly successful during the Namibian independence transition in 1989.

The UN Security Council's stature was enhanced even further in 1990 when it reached unanimity in agreeing with President George Bush that Iraq could not annex Kuwait.

Presently the UN is engaged in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict where it has deployed more than 1 000 troops in and around Sarajevo airport and continuing to send supplies in spite of UN carriers being attacked.

The Security Council comprises 15 permanent member nations. Five of these are drawn from the European Community and the Security Council is dominated by African and Asian countries. The current monthly chairman is Jose Jesus, UN ambassador to Cape Verde.

UN directory

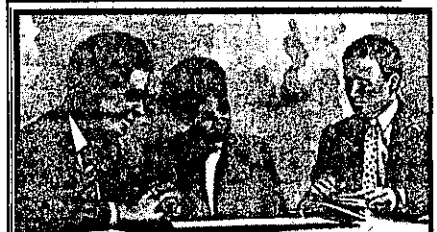
The UN recognises the ANC and PAC as legitimate South African liberation movements who have permanent observer missions and are listed in the UN directory.

The South African Government was unseated from the UN General Assembly in the 1970s for its apartheid sins and has yet to be readmitted.

Bophuthatswana and other homelands are regarded by the UN as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body has declared a crime against humanity. So, essentially, the homelands and the Government attend the meeting as participants in Codesa.

Botha last week requested the UN to allow Codesa participants to air their views at the special sitting.

Bophuthatswana and the other homelands are regarded as products of apartheid, an ideology the world body regards as a crime against humanity



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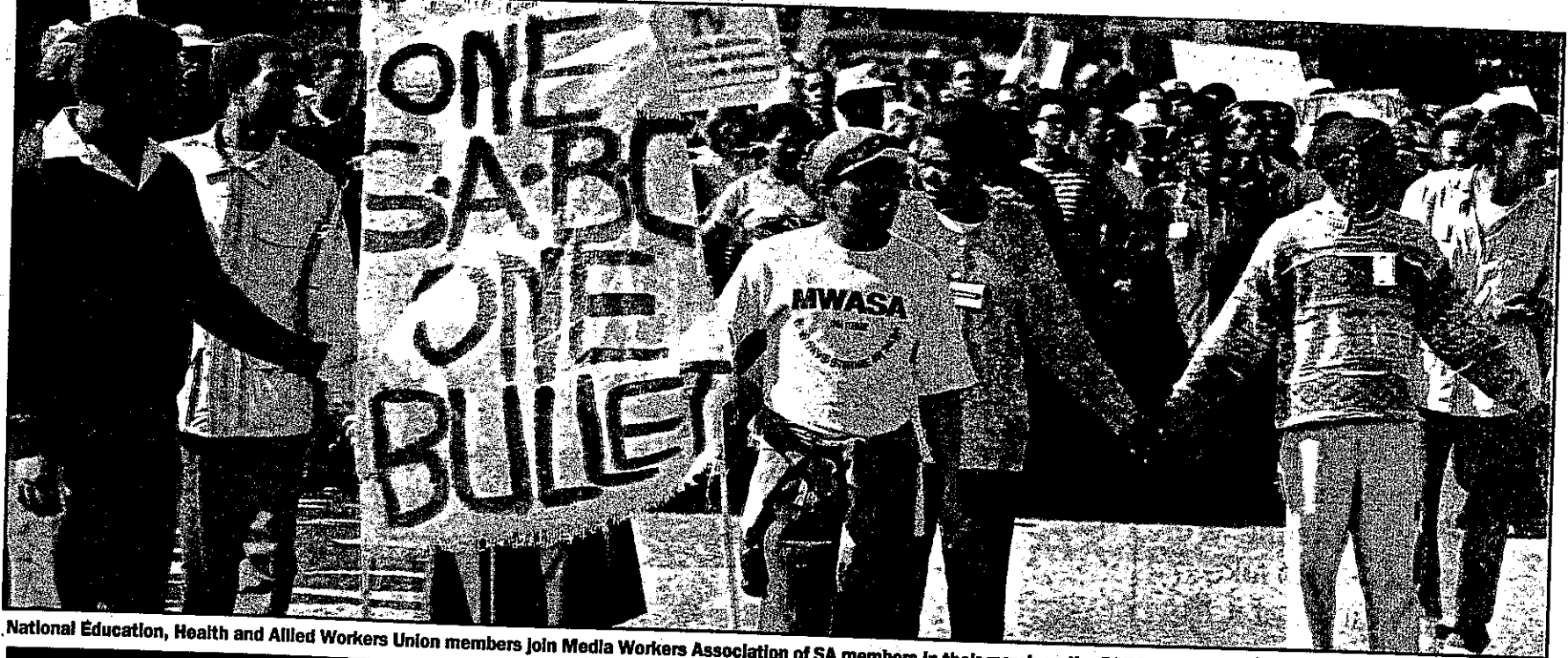
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FOR BARGAINS IN USED CARS



National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union members join Media Workers Association of SA members in their march on the SABC. SEE STORY ON PAGE 3 PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

Black voice at the UN

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■ **THE GATHERING** Black political organisations leave for UN for debate on SA's political crisis:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu and Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Azapo's president, left for New York last night for the UN's security council debate on South Africa tomorrow.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha

(11A) Sowetan 147792, and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope left on Sunday.

Mandela, Makwetu and Botha will address the council tomorrow. Last night it was not clear if the others will do the same. The departure of these leaders highlights the country's political crisis with negotiations at a standstill.

See story page

2

R W Johnson wants a referendum that generates a great gust of grass roots reality



Time for the people to rule

STAR 15/7/92.

~~2000~~ 11A

AS THE gloom, violence and demoralisation of the winter of 1992 wear on, it is important to remember that such a period was always likely, almost necessary, in the midst of the constitutional negotiations.

There is a sort of pre-ordained ritual in these matters, a dance of the scorpions in which both sides, having grappled and fought, pull apart, circle one another furiously, threatening to sting, each knowing, just as we know, that they must come back to grips again.

The concessions just made by President de Klerk — acceptance of a 70 percent majority for constitutional amendment, an elected Senate and a limited time-frame for an interim government — may seem reasonable, even conciliatory, but they will not bridge the gulf between the two sides now.

Indeed, these very concessions are a source of exasperation: the stupidity and greed of the Government in allowing Codesa to foun-

der over the difference between 70 percent and 75 percent now looks even worse when, not many weeks later, that and more can be so easily conceded.

One of the enduring problems of Afrikaner politics is the belief that there is something clever and praiseworthy about being "slim", about promising to play straight and then cutting corners. But it is the very opposite of clever.

The Government's concessions now reveal that it knew it was being offered a good deal at Codesa, but decided it would be "slim" to look that gift horse in the mouth. As a result, the whole country is being held to ransom.

But had that deal been done it would only have been because the Government had managed to disguise the clash of two very different visions of the future South Africa: of a power-sharing government in a federal state versus a majority rule government in a centralised state.

The result is a complete stand-off, with the ANC demanding that "the people shall rule" via straightforward majority voting,

and the Government mandated to a power-sharing solution by the white referendum.

The situation is hardly helped by the fact that in most African languages the same word is used to denote both "democracy" and "majority rule", so that for the Government to say it wants democracy without majority rule literally makes no sense in many black areas.

The way out is surely obvious: the mainly non-elected elites at Codesa have got as far as they can and it is time for the people to choose. The Government should call a one-person one-vote referendum on these two issues (which could be presented separately or rolled into a single question), and all parties should accept in advance that a simple majority of the popular vote would be taken as binding on all future constitutional negotiators.

In order to stop the sort of non-sense which went on with the whites-only referendum, it would be best if all questions relating to the phrasing of the question(s), the

impartiality of the broadcast media, fairness in campaign expenditure and the role of international monitors, were handed over to a special Electoral Commission.

Such a referendum would have many advantages. It would not only authoritatively settle the central issues before the country, but would begin the essential process of popular political education. A new, wider electorate would be given a sense of its own empowerment, would learn what it was to be courted in a campaign, would become acquainted with the concepts of federalism, power-sharing and constitutional politics in general.

A relatively lengthy campaign would be fairest, not only to allow a full presentation of the issues but to level the playing field for parties such as the ANC who have no experience of running an electoral campaign. It would be a valuable learning experience for politicians too.

It would do no end of good to many an NP parliamentarian or

radical urban activist to have to go and humble themselves to seek the good opinion of poor rural folk in Lebowa, the Transkei or elsewhere, listen to their grievances, and start to feel the real push of constituency pressures.

As a dress rehearsal for elections, the whole experience would be invaluable for the parties and voters alike — and at last South Africans could start getting used to deciding important matters not by killing one another, demonstrating or striking, but by voting.

Given that the opinion polls routinely show huge majorities of all races preferring a power-sharing solution, the Government might be tempted to see such a referendum as another "slim" trick — and the ANC might be tempted, on the same grounds, to call for a boycott.

Both would be wrong. It is difficult to see how one can call for "power to the people" and then boycott the first real attempt to give them that power — and the Government would no doubt find the poll figures changing as the

ANC threw its weight into the campaign. The IFP, Ciskei and Bop would doubtless form a block behind De Klerk — as would, after considerable agonising, the NP and CP.

The PAC and Azapo would presumably form a full Patriotic Front with the ANC — so both sides would have some uncomfortable bedfellows. The real drama would lie with coloured and Indian politicians and with the remaining homelands leaders, who might well find their personal interests and their voters going in opposite directions.

The fact is that no one knows how such a referendum would go — it would be a wide open race and all the better for it. The cosy, elitist world of Codesa would suddenly feel a great gust of grass roots reality. The people would rule — and a jolly good thing too. □

● R W Johnson is a former South African Rhodes Scholar now a political science don at Magdalen College, Oxford, and a columnist on international affairs.

Evidence points to police atrocities

■ SECURITY SCOURGE

The ANC, PAC and

Azapo say although the

Government has lifted some

security and emergency legislation, assassi-

nations and abductions continue. Last

week's killing of MK cadre George Mashele

is part of the campaign. **Monk Nkomo,**

our Pretoria bureau chief, reports:



Gomolemo Mokoae . . . family harassed.

Sowetan 15/7/92

THE recent assassination of an MK and an Apla cadre, plus the attempt to kill two other activists, is believed to be a renewal of attacks on black political organisations.

Two weeks ago George Mashele, an MK cadre, was killed under suspicious circumstances in Vosloorus.

This followed the brutal attack on ANC member Mr Oupa Masuku and an attempt to abduct and murder the family of a senior member of Azapo, Dr Gomolemo Mokoae, in Bophuthatswana.

First to be attacked this year was Masuku, who was stopped by men wearing army uniforms near the swimming pool in Saulsville during the night of March 21.

He sustained serious injuries. A woman passenger who was with him was raped.

Masuku, who was organising secretary in the Justice and Peace Commission at the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, reported the matter to the police.

"Until this day there have been no arrests. And this makes us believe that these are renewed attacks on political activists in the township," said Masuku.

Continuously harassed by police for many years, Masuku's mother, Mrs Esther Masuku, was killed in a handgrenade attack at her house on March 5 1986. The ANC blamed State agents for the attack because, until this day, nobody has been arrested.

"It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements," said ANC PWV media spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Assassinated

Deputy Commander of the African People's Liberation Army (Apla), Jan Shoba, was assassinated allegedly by white men at his sister's residence in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on May 29.

Before he was murdered, Shoba

was also attacked, assaulted and left for dead by white people near the same swimming pool. A woman who was with him was also gang-raped.

After Shoba's death, the local branches of the PAC, ANC, Azapo and church groups, resolved to form a united defence force which could include cadres from these camps.

Police liaison officer in the Northern Transvaal, Captain Andrew Lesch, this week said no arrests had been made yet in connection with Shoba's death. Police were still investigating.

Shoba was one of the leadership's bodyguards. PAC cadre Mr Oupa Peter Sekoboto of Sharpeville, who was also a bodyguard, was abducted by unknown persons travelling in a minibus while strolling with his girlfriend near his home in the evening of May 7. His whereabouts are still unknown.

Regional chairman of the PAC, Mr Moss Mavundla, said Sekoboto informed them before he was abducted that he had been approached while in prison by State agents who wanted him to spy for them.

He refused. "He was then told that he will not live long. His abduction leaves us with no doubt that he was abducted by State agents."

The family of Mokoae, Azapo's head of the Education Secretariat, was nearly killed by unknown persons who came looking for him at his home during the night early this year.

Azapo's publicity director, Miss Malebo Rammopo, said the men threatened to abduct and kill his 4-year-old son.

"Obviously State agents were behind the move," said Rammopo.

She added that Azapo's offices in the city were broken into and human excrement piled on the floor. Filing cabinets were also broken and important files seized.

"We view this in a serious light and believe that this is renewed harassment of political leaders in our area," she said.

Another senior PAC member, Mr

It has always been the aim of the State to eliminate influential leaders within all liberation movements

ANC PWV media spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

Elias Ntloedibe, who left South Africa in 1960 and is presently staying in Botswana, was also wanted by a group of black men who identified themselves as policemen, according to his family.

A PAC spokesman said the family had informed them that these men visited them almost daily since this year at their home in Suurman near Temba in Hammanskraal asking for his whereabouts.

Although they claimed to be policemen, these men refused to give their names. Ntloedibe was due to come back from Germany yesterday en route to Botswana.

"In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks," said Mavundla. "However, no harassment or killing of PAC members will stop the PAC from demanding the return of the land to Africans nor will they stop us from the struggle."

Investigation

He said the organisation was conducting its own investigation into all the incidents. He stressed, however, that Shoba was killed by State agents and "that explains why there have been no arrests up to now".

He added that the PAC suspected that the black men now looking for Ntloedibe were also State agents.

Sekoboto was first arrested at a taxi rank in Mafiking, Bophuthatswana, during a skirmish with security forces on June 20 1990. Another cadre, Mojanaga Nyanga, was killed. Sekoboto was later acquitted on charges of possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition.

He was arrested again on November that year for allegedly being in possession of a handgrenade. He was also found not guilty. "It was during this time while in detention that State agents approached and asked him to join the Askaris and spy for the Government," said Mavundla.

In the light of all these incidents, we believe that the entire PAC leadership is on a hit-list of State agents who are now bent on first eliminating their bodyguards and making them vulnerable to further attacks

Regional chairman of the PAC, Mr Moss Mavundla

(11A)
**PAC misses
strike talks
to go to UN**
STAR 15/7/92

By Montshiwa Moroke

Talks between the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and SABC management on the Media Workers Association of SA (Mwasa) strike did not take place yesterday because some senior PAC officials left suddenly to attend today's UN Security Council debate on South Africa.

PAC secretary for publicity and information Barney Desai said in Johannesburg the representatives who should have attended the talks included the organisation's deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke.

Mr Desai said the PAC hoped to reschedule the talks for today or tomorrow, but had been told senior SABC officials might be available only next week.

The PAC has threatened to call a consumer boycott of companies advertising on the SABC, and wants to approach sponsors of the Olympic Games to withdraw their advertisements.

Said Mr Desai: "The Olympic Games are due very shortly and we cannot keep our action on hold. It is for the SABC to make their top officials available."

● The Mwasa Support Committee in Natal is writing to companies calling on them to withdraw advertisements from the SABC.

ANC starts voter education programme for supporters

BIDA-7 15/7/92
11A
THE ANC has embarked on a "mass voter education programme" and will establish regional "election commissions" ahead of elections for a constituent assembly.

ANC election planning committee head Popo Molefe said in an interview yesterday about 4 000 ANC supporters had been trained in "basic voter education" and would be training others.

The US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and local training groups were helping the ANC with the "technical aspects", he said.

Molefe said the high-powered election planning committee included representatives of ANC president Nelson Mandela's office and involved at least eight other ANC departments.

He criticised government for going ahead with election preparations without waiting for Codesa to resume. He said government planned to "spring" an election on the ANC.

He said issues such as identification and the registration of those with prison re-

CORDS for political offences were yet to be discussed.

Responding to reports government was already preparing ballot boxes and polling booths, Molefe accused it of taking "unilateral decisions on matters that are not partisan".

Molefe said the ANC would have difficulty accepting an election organised unilaterally by government as free and fair.

"The government is determined to continue acting as the referee and the player in this whole business."

Home Affairs spokesman Thomas Dreyer said although elections were "obviously closely linked to the current negotiations" his department was responsible for getting ready "to conduct an election within a reasonable period of time".

He said planning only entailed the manufacture of polling booths and ballot boxes at this stage.

Civics to discuss bond boycott with lenders

BIDA-7 15/7/92
THE Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) has agreed to meet representatives of the Association of Mortgage Lenders to discuss the impending national bond repayment boycott.

Cast general secretary Dan Mofokeng said the meeting next week would probably include representatives from the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco), which called for the boycott earlier this month.

Whether there would be a bond boycott

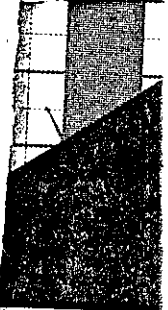
ADRIAN HADLANO

from August 1 would depend on the attitude of the financial institutions, he said.

Mofokeng indicated Cast would request a commitment from the association to put pressure on the government with regard to an interim political dispensation.

Sanco would also request greater participation in the regulation of financial institutions' lending and credit policies, Mofokeng said.

IG



C P E R T Y

Alexandra fears brushed aside

WILSON ZWANE

THE need to settle homeless people in Alexandra's Far East Bank area outweighed concerns of nearby residents about property depreciation, Alexandra Civic Organisation (ACO) official Richard Mdakane said yesterday. ^{B10AM 15/7/92}

East Bank homeowners have reportedly said they would boycott their bond repayments if squatters were settled on their doorsteps.

Reacting to complaints that East Bank residents were not consulted, Mdakane said they had until recently not regarded themselves as part of Alexandra. But that was changing, he said, and the East Bank Residents' Association had now applied to join the Joint Negotiating Forum.

Alexandra administrator Andre Jacobs said shacks would not be erected on the 7 000 sites, of which 1 700 had already been serviced.

Meanwhile, STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that an application by the Laezonia Landowners Association to prevent the TPA from resettling Zvenfontein squatters in their area was struck off the Pretoria Supreme Court roll yesterday.

Judge JMC Smit removed the matter with costs on the grounds the squatters were not joined as parties to the application.

In a similar action lawyers representing the Diepsloot Residents Association yesterday afternoon argued the legalities of having the squatters joined as parties to their application. A finding is expected today.

FW to get petition on hospital strike

LEADING medical academics from Wits University and Baragwanath Hospital said yesterday they would petition President F W de Klerk and Health Minister Rina Venter to intervene in the six-week-old strike.

They said 75 hospitals and 40 000 workers had been affected by the strike, a backlog of semi-urgent cases was building up and patients were being prematurely discharged.

The dean, deputy-dean and sub-deans of the Wits medical faculty and the chairmen of the Medical Advisory Committees of the PWV area's main hospitals said the strike had become a "national crisis".

"The ability of the medical and allied staff to continue under these circumstances is extremely doubtful," they said in a statement.

It called for a halt to dismissals until the crisis was resolved, even if this meant compulsory arbitration. The dismissal of workers would "almost certainly place hospitals, staff, students and patients at further risk".

The SAP warned yesterday that plans by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu), which is leading the strike, to occupy hospitals and government buildings would be illegal and "would invariably lead to confrontation with the SAP". Nehawu secretary-general

Phillip Dexter said that "if the police get involved then our membership will have to defend themselves".

Sapa reports that the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of SA has expressed its support for the strike, as had postal workers at Sowe-to's Power Park Telecommunications Yard. They have decided to stop installing and maintaining telephones at Baragwanath Hospital.

Amid new rumours of assaults and intimidations by strikers, Baragwanath's chief superintendent Chris van den Heever said that a fourth victim of last week's petrol bomb attack had died. The 13-year-old boy was the son of one of the three who died last week.

Dexter said an agreement which was reached yesterday afternoon in Cape Town between the Commission for Administration and employees organisations to give general assistants permanent status was "not concrete enough".

The commission also agreed to consider claims that public servants in the education sector had received over R1m more than they ought to have done and that other public servants might be reimbursed accordingly. Dexter, however, said that such a sum was totally insufficient.

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

ANC army on peace committee agenda

THE continued existence of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe is expected to be high on the agenda of today's national peace committee meeting. ^{B10AM 15/7/92}

A source close to Inkatha said yesterday Umkhonto's existence was a breach of the national peace accord, which outlawed private armies. The source said since talks between government and the ANC had broken down, the "unresolved MK issue" should be referred to arbitration in terms of the accord.

Inkatha had asked peace committee chairman John Hall to place the issue on

the agenda for today's meeting of the committee executive. ^{WILSON ZWANE}

It is understood Inkatha has also urged the committee to discuss statements by ANC Youth League officials, which it regards as violations of the accord.

League president Peter Mokaba was quoted by a newspaper as saying the intention of his organisation's mass action was to return townships to the era of "ungovernability", which characterised the mid-'80s.

Ploy to make burials a lever

ANGER at continuing political violence has shifted into high gear, with township civic organisations threatening to bury victims in white areas. ^{B10AM 15/7/92}

The civics are also threatening to stage marches through white suburbs unless government ends the violence.

Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary Dan Mofokeng said yesterday civic organisations needed to carry "the struggle in all its forms" into the white suburbs because whites were apathetic about the violence.

"We are sick and tired of the ongoing violence ... and unless government acts and puts an end to it, we are going to bury victims in the white areas," Mofokeng said.

He said when the cemeteries were full, civics would have "to find space anywhere in the white areas".

"If they see us burying our people in their areas, the whites are bound to bring pressure to bear on people they have elect-

ed to power to do something about the carnage," Mofokeng said. ^{WILSON ZWANE}

□ A policeman died in an attack yesterday, bringing the total number who have died this year to 109.

Sapa reports acting regional police commissioner Maj-Gen Gert May said the attack occurred during an investigation of an assault in Mailulapark, Vosloorus.

Two men armed with AK-47 rifles burst into the house, shooting dead Const FR Rikhotso, 33. A second constable was seriously injured while a third escaped unhurt.

A shooting incident in Zone 11, Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle claimed the lives of two men on Monday night, a police unrest report said yesterday.

Two men were gunned down in Boipatong on Monday evening, said PAC national executive member Mark Shinnars, but police were unable to confirm it.

the nation in brief

FW 'on trial'

STATE President FW de Klerk will be publicly "tried and sentenced" at an open-air demonstration by the ANC Youth League in Cape Town today. (11A)

Formal charges will then be laid against the former soldier who allegedly signed the order to kill four Eastern Cape activists in 1985, ANCYL Western Cape president Mr Mcebisi Skwatsha and publicity secretary Mr Themba Sikhutswa said in a statement. Also "charged" are Minister of State Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, former SADF officer Mr CP van der Westhuizen and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

6/11/92
Somofee

^{RIPAN}
^{16/7/92}
**PAC sees end
to TV strike**

THEO RAWANA

THE two-month-old SABC strike seemed headed for a settlement, the PAC said after meeting SABC management yesterday.

PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai, who headed the PAC delegation, said after the meeting there were positive signs of movement on the part of the SABC to settle the strike called by the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa).

Asked if the SABC had actually undertaken to resolve the strike, Desai said he could say no more than that "we detected a shift in their offer, where they had previously been rigid".

Middle ground exists if there's a will to compromise

STAR
16/1/92

~~11A~~ 11A

CUT through all the rhetoric and there are just two core issues which have caused the breakdown in negotiations.

One is the issue of violence, which includes the collapse of the credibility of the police in the townships and the perception that they are part of the problem rather than its solution. The other is the difference between the African National Congress and the Government over whether there should be majority rule or not.

Both are resolvable. Given a little more flexibility on both sides, and less politicking — particularly by the Government, which seems to have started its election campaign already — I see no reason why the main players should not be back at the negotiating table within a month.

The failure of the police to deal effectively with the violence remains the most baffling feature of the negotiating crisis. The catalogue of failure to arrest and prosecute culprits is now so long that the assumption of complicity becomes inescapable. The only question is, what is President de

Klerk's role?

That he has vicarious responsibility as head of state there can be no doubt. Yet I cannot believe he is directly responsible for directing a campaign of destabilisation, as ANC accusations sometimes imply. It cannot be in his interests to destabilise a negotiating process which he himself initiated and on whose success his whole future and place in history now rests.

Yet he does nothing to bring the security forces under tighter control. The obvious solution, as this column has repeatedly pointed out, is to change the command structure of the security forces and appoint someone from outside the National Party who can command trust across the political spectrum as Minister of Law and Order. But President de Klerk shrinks from doing this and, until yesterday, even from implementing the eminently sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

Whether his belated efforts to respond to those recommendations will be effective remains to



Allister Sparks

be seen. In the light of past experience, one cannot count on it.

Clearly, what is needed is a team of international monitors who can see and expose the abuses when they occur. Not a large peace-keeping force like the one the United Nations sent to Namibia for that country's transition to independence, but a small monitoring team to keep watch on key flashpoints and report what they see. It is to be hoped yesterday's Security Council debate ultimately results in one being sent here.

It could be strikingly effective. According to the Human Rights Commission, 90 percent of the violence on the Witwatersrand either emanates from the migrant workers' hostels or is a retaliatory attack against them. There are only about 30 of these hostels in the area. A permanent watch over

each could easily detect whether an attack was being mounted either way.

Similarly an international monitoring team could keep watch on all train stations and detect imminent attacks being staged there. Police responses to warnings could be assessed, and their actions in dealing with protesters monitored — such as the incident I witnessed in Boipatong after De Klerk's visit when the police opened fire with lethal buckshot into a packed crowd without orders and without warning.

Relentless exposure will end these abuses, whoever is behind them. Equally, impartial monitors can expose those responsible for the growing number of retaliatory attacks against the police. In this way the vicious circle can be broken and effective policing restored.

At the very least, the deployment of an international monitoring team would provide the kind of concrete action to control the violence that the ANC needs to placate its followers before it can return to the negotiating table.

This brings us to the second core issue — that of majority rule.

De Klerk says he cannot accept majority rule, the ANC says it cannot settle for less.

De Klerk says majority rule would mean black domination and he has no mandate from his white constituency to agree to that.

He demands "power-sharing" which means a system of permanent compulsory coalitions that would give the majority parties — notably the National Party — an equal share in power and a veto over all key decisions, thereby effectively entrenching the gross inequalities produced by apartheid.

The ANC says this is undemocratic and to accept it would be political suicide in the black community. In a sense it would be the same act of suicide Bishop Abel Muzorewa committed in Rhodesia when he accepted Ian Smith's parity plan of power-sharing between white and black.

How to find a compromise between these two positions is what lies at the heart of all the negotiating difficulties. Solve that and

you solve everything.

It is not easy, of course. Simply to state the issue is to show how incompatible the two positions are. But negotiation is about compromise, which means that if there is to be a solution it must be sought on middle ground between those positions.

That, I suggest, means a deal that provides for power-sharing now and majority rule later.

The formula, in fact, has already been advanced in a proposal put forward by the ANC some months ago but which seems unfortunately to have got lost in the dust of confrontation. The proposal was to have "sunset clauses" in the constitution — by which its present clauses that provide for power-sharing but which will fall away after an agreed period of time, whether that be two, five or 10 years, so providing a gradual but uninterrupted transition to majority rule.

The idea has not been taken up and developed, but it seems to me that it points to the terrain where a compromise can be found.

Govt steps to curb violence under fire

By Shaun Johnson
and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk's new steps to combat violence have been criticised across the political spectrum, and the ANC says the moves are not enough to lure it back to the negotiating table.

While political groups conceded that the steps on controversial SADF battalions, hostels and dangerous weapons could produce positive results, the reception has been generally uncharitable.

Mr de Klerk announced the initiatives in a statement timed to coincide with the start in New York of the UN Security Council special session on violence. The move followed criticism from the Goldstone Commission.

Yesterday the DP attacked the Government for not taking action earlier, and

CP spokesman on law and order Moolman Mentz said the latest moves wrongly placed the police under suspicion.

In the ANC's preliminary response, spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr de Klerk's announcement contained "positive elements but does not go far enough".

The ANC national working committee met yesterday to consider Mr de Klerk's announcement. The ANC welcomed the disbanding of 31 Battalion, 32 Battalion and Koevoet, but said their integration into other SADF and SAP units was still to be clarified.

The violence moves came after a meeting of top Government negotiators in Pretoria chaired by Mr de Klerk. Observers interpreted the timing as a Government attempt to seize the initiative at the UN meeting.

NEWS Call for special UN envoy to SA ● Pleas for Kobus

Mandela lashes at FW

Sowetan 16/7/92

■ **ANC LEADER** blames Government and

Inkatha Freedom Party for the violence:

THE ROLE of the United Nations Security Council would be undermined unless it took swift action to intervene in the South African situation, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night.

Mandela was speaking at the opening of the Security Council's special debate on South Africa's constitutional crisis.

He said the continuing violence which had forced his organisation to halt constitutional negotiations was clearly to blame on the South African Government and its "surrogate", the Inkatha Freedom Party, which it armed, trained and funded.

"It is the criminal failure of the Government to properly address the violence, which has cost too many lives already, and is tearing our country apart and making further negotiations impossible."

In his 30 minute address, Mandela referred in detail to many incidents which he said had been found by various independent inquiries and courts to prove the Government's role, either by omission or commission, in the violence.

The IFP, which he described as proven to be backed, funded, trained and armed by State forces, was nothing more than an extension or surrogate of the Government. It was therefore not an organisation that the ANC could conclude any agreements with, as the Government in-

sisted.

Mandela reiterated his organisation's commitment to peaceful negotiations aimed at a non-racial democracy, without minority party veto over the majority.

It did happen that members of the ANC and its allies in the democratic movement became involved in counter-violence.

The ANC remained firm in its commitment to non-violence but implementing this policy was difficult as the violence was clearly targeted at the organisation, with the purpose of weakening its position at the negotiating table.

Special envoy

Mandela formalised the ANC's call for the UN to appoint a special representative to investigate ways in which the world body could help end the violence, monitor measures implemented, and get negotiations going again.

"We call on the UN to intervene in the South African situation to end the carnage.

"In terms of the 1989 General Assembly declaration on South Africa, the UN must act firmly and with the necessary speed."

Apartheid was still in place, with a repressive white minority regime ruling over a majority that could still not determine its own future.

"We believe that this violence, like the system of apartheid itself, is a direct challenge to the authority of the (Security) Council, and a subversion of its global tasks of furthering peace and promoting the objectives contained in both the UN Charter and the Declaration on Human Rights.

"Failure on the part of the Council to act firmly and decisively cannot but undermine its prestige and authority at a time when the Council and the United Nations as a whole are called upon to play an even more active role in the ordering of world affairs," Mandela said.

The Foreign Affairs Minister of Senegal, Mr Djibo Ka, as the first speaker at the historic meeting, made an impassioned plea for a UN presence in South Africa as one of the ways to revive the stalled Codesa talks.

Speaking on behalf of the Organisation of Africa Unity bloc, Ka charged that the current violence in South Africa could drag not only the country and the continent into an abyss.

TIM COHEN

Support FW, says ex-CP MP

the support of only 15% of blacks to win a majority, academics had found.

The ANC was making many mistakes, and increasingly De Klerk was looking like the "good guy" and Nelson Mandela the "bad guy".

As an example of one of the many ANC mistakes, Van der Merwe pointed to the TV blackout of the Cameroon soccer matches. "Mandela doesn't grasp that blacks play soccer," he said.

On the future of the Afrikaner, he said his advice was that Afrikaners should wait until the 10 regions of SA had been demarcated and the federal structure was in place. Afrikaners

could then decide whether they should trek to one of the regions and become a majority.

The demarcation of a regional structure was inevitable, encouraging Afrikaners to get involved in the negotiations that would define the nature of this regional structure.

He would not comment on his future, saying only that he had not yet made up his mind, although he spent much of his speech speaking of De Klerk in glowing terms.

His current role was to encourage right-wingers to join the negotiation process and support the NP — the lesser of two evils. He repeated his claim that there were irreconcilable differences between factions of the CP.

ANC preparing blacks for future public service

PRETORIA — The ANC has started intensive preparations to equip blacks to take up middle and senior management posts in the public service under a new government.

ANC senior spokesman Saki Macozoma said the ANC was committed to a more integrated and representative public service and this policy would be implemented soon after a

change of government. He said eight blacks were in the UK undergoing training in public administration in a programme prepared by the UK government.

Another 14 were in France studying the basics of international relations after which they would undergo training in the UK.

Offers to train blacks for public administration had also been received from Australia and from New Zealand. So far these offers had not been taken up.

Macozoma said certain senior public servants would have to retire to make way for black entrants after installation of a new government. However, their benefits — including pensions and gratuities — would be unaffected.

Public Servants' Association GM Hans Olivier said the body had no objection to black postings, provided incumbents had the required qualifications and were appointed on merit.

"But as soon as you start artificially pushing people into jobs for which they are not equipped, you have serious problems."

GERALD REILLY

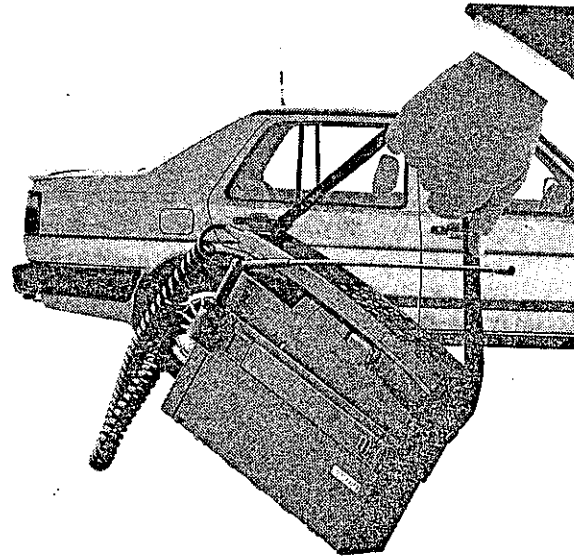
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...that only weapons which created

focus on talks

Sowetan

AZAPO secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng said: "Organisations of the oppressed must be rid of the notion that any one organisation can alone achieve the liberation of our people."

"The collapse of the Patriotic Front, National Peace Accord and Codesa can be directly linked to this notion."

"Azapo predicted that Codesa would fail. It was much against internal and international opposition that Azapo condemned the process as insufficient to bring about true liberation and democracy. We insisted that the regime was not yet ready to negotiate the transfer of power to our people. Azapo insisted that Codesa was not the correct mechanism through which power could be transferred to the majority."

"Azapo's refusal to form a Patriotic Front with sections of the oppressor camp was vindicated finally when during and after Codesa 2, the homeland and tricameral parties now appear to be equally divided between the oppressed and oppressor camps. The lines of demarcation have now been clearly drawn paving the way for the formation of a truly patriotic front of the oppressed."

"Azapo exiles and prisoners have so far refused to subject themselves to the conditions agreed to by the ANC and the Government."

"No one organisation can claim victory over the release of political prisoners because the release campaign dates back to the early days of our struggle. Mandela's own release was part of that broad campaign."

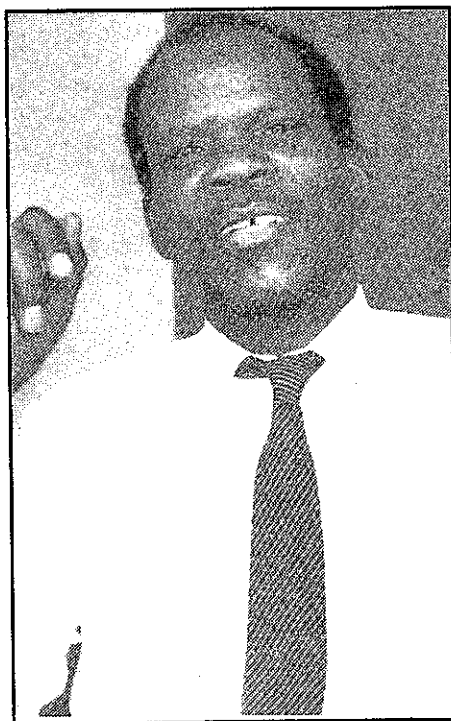
BARNEY Desai, PAC secretary of information and publicity said: "From the very outset of our unbanning the PAC has steadfastly asserted that the regime's agenda in negotiations was a ploy to co-opt the liberation movement and entrench white power with our help."

"The liberation movement was being entrapped to make unacceptable compromises in relation to African self-determination."

"We resisted the multi-party talks proposed by FW de Klerk because we believed that only a democratically elected constituent assembly was the vehicle for fashioning a new constitution for our country and facilitate the transfer of power to the democratic majority."

"While the ANC paid lip service to a constituent assembly, they had hoped to draw up a constitution through their All Party Conference. They denied that this was their agenda but what happened at Codesa was that they were on the verge of settling on an interim constitution which would have bound the dispossessed hand and foot to 10 years of white control. The agreement would have made the constituent

1617192
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela lashed out at the PAC and Azapo during an in-depth interview with *Sowetan* this week. He said: "The PAC withdrew (from Codesa) because its view was regarded as ridiculous. The PAC and Azapo benefited from the ANC's achievements without contributing anything." (11A)



Don Nkadimeng



Barney Desai

assembly a mere talk shop.

"In *South* newspaper of 11-15 July Chris Hani is quoted thus: "The ANC went too far to placate the Government...it was fortunate the Government rejected the offer of 70 percent consensus in a constituent assembly - it would have trapped us in negotiations forever...we realised we made a mistake and we were lucky we got away with it."

"We in the PAC have generally resisted saying to the ANC that 'we told you so'. We felt there was no point in rubbing salt into their self-inflicted wounds."

"However, Comrade Nelson Mandela opened the debate in a searing attack on the PAC in an interview with *Sowetan* on July 13 where he stated that 'there were 19 political parties the majority of them from apartheid structures involved in Codesa. The PAC withdrew because their point of view, without exception, was

regarded as ridiculous. And they had to withdraw. In view of what has happened in the past few weeks with the collapse of Codesa, the massacre at Boipatong and widespread disillusionment within the ANC axis, this is a remarkable case of beating your wife when you've lost your job."

"We refused to sign the Peace Accord because it did not properly identify the causes of violence. It was silent on the suspicious role of the SADF and SAP as fomenters of violence in the country. It was silent on the role of mercenaries like 32 Battalion and Koevoet. We called for international monitoring of the violence. Since then we have witnessed the horrors of Phola Park and Boipatong."

"The record shows that we withdrew from Codesa because the ANC and the regime had made an arrangement to use the rest of the participants at Codesa as rubber stamps."

ANC plan to occupy Union Buildings, install Mandela as President

BIDAY
17/7/92

RAY HARTLEY

ANC and Cosatu leaders met yesterday to draw up plans for the alliance's "Exitgate" phase of mass action, which includes the occupation of the Union Buildings and the symbolic installation of Nelson Mandela as President.

The meeting, described by a source as a "strategising meeting", also discussed nationwide tax defiance. It was attended by Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. It decided the plans would go ahead only if Cosatu failed to reach an agreement with employers at the weekend.

"Exitgate" has been billed as the fourth stage of the alliance's mass action campaign. It was raised at Codesa II by SACP secretary-general Chris Hani as a means of unseating President F W de Klerk.

Cosatu spokesman Keith Madonsela yesterday confirmed the plan to occupy the Union Buildings and install Mandela. The plan will be discussed at a Cosatu executive committee meeting today and will include an attempt to pressure employers to divert money paid in PAYE taxes to a "fund for a future SA".

Madonsela said industries "where there

are disputes" would continue to face mass protest during the fourth phase.

Cosatu envisaged a six-day national strike, from August 3 to 8, consisting of a two-day stayaway, a one-day "occupation of cities and towns", two days of "factory-based action" and a day of "assessment meetings".

Dates would be set for the occupation of the Union Buildings at the assessment meetings on August 8, but Madonsela hinted that today's Cosatu meeting might

make proposals in this regard.

Factory-based action would effectively be strikes because workers would "go to work, but do not do anything there".

The occupation of cities meant "blocking their strategic entrances", which would bring them to a standstill, Madonsela said.

Cosatu would call off the mass action only if government agreed to hand over to an interim government by December, because this would be the only effective way to deal with the violence.

"At minimum government must commit

itself to majority rule. The whole point of this exercise is trying to get De Klerk out of power," he said.

He said mass action would continue "in a different form" even if negotiations resumed because Codesa parties needed to be pressed to concede to majority rule.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation would announce today plans to occupy government buildings and other mass action activities.

He said no details of the activities would be given, to prevent "the regime" from thwarting the plans.

IFF commission's probe biased — ANC

AN INVESTIGATION of alleged ANC human rights abuses by the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas Commission would be "totally, totally biased", says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Niehaus said yesterday commission chairman adv R S Douglas "happened to be a member of the IFF", which he described as a discredited organisation set up to smear the ANC and other organisations. Meanwhile Mwezi Twala, chairman of

the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee — a group of former ANC members who claim to have been abused while in exile — has welcomed the commission.

Twala said he was "totally satisfied" with Douglas's credentials in spite of the fact he "was appointed by Nelson Mandela to investigate the causes of violence in Natal on behalf of the ANC".

RAY HARTLEY

Blomay 17/7/92



'Mock trial' just bit of theatre, says ANC

By Peter Wellman

The ANC yesterday defiantly dismissed growing criticism of the "mock trial" of President de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi by its Youth League in Cape Town on Wednesday.

President de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi were given "life sentences for apartheid crimes". So were top Nationalists, including Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Military Intelligence chief General Christoffel van der Westhuizen.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the trial was simply "a piece of theatre, but it does indicate what people feel".

But National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall said that

if the reported facts were correct, the trial was a breach of the National Peace Accord.

The Democratic Party condemned the trial "in the strongest possible terms" and the IFP said it would refer the trial to the NPC, which is already considering a similar "mock trial" last month in which 12 IFP leaders were "sentenced to death".

The National Party's youth leader, Randburg MP Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said: "It is no secret that the ANC Youth League has been a headache for the more moderate element in the ANC for quite a while.

"An example has been the particularly firm relationship of the league with Winnie Mandela."

STAR 17/1/92

11A
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Witch-burning link

propaganda - ANC

By Zingisa Mkhuma

STAL 17/17/92

The ANC has labelled as "unscientific propaganda" a recent report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) that linked the release of its president, Nelson Mandela, to an upsurge in witch-burning in the country.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation was "most upset" by this document and intended to take up the matter with the HSRC.

The study, undertaken by the council's Centre for Conflict Analysis, was released this week.

The study said there had been an upsurge in witchcraft cases since the mid-1980s, mainly for political reasons.

After the release of Mr Mandela, the report said, many youths apparently felt the time had come to root out all traditional beliefs and there was a consequent rise in witch-burning.

Mr Macozoma said it was an undisputed fact

that the burning of witches and ritual killings had increased.

However, he said, there was no scientific link between what the people were doing and the release of Mr Mandela or other political leaders.

"We are most upset about this report. These scientists must go and do a proper study," Mr Macozoma said.

The study also revealed that the number of killings involving alleged witches had increased in Lebowa and Gazankulu.

After the death of Venda president Patrick Mphahlele there had been a marked rise in the number of witch burnings and ritual killings reported in that area.

However, indications were that no political organisations were involved in the incidents, although people taking part in the witch-hunts used political slogans, sang freedom songs and sometimes waved ANC or SACP flags.



Call for resumed negotiations . . . Foreign Minister P. W. Botha addresses the United Nations Security Council yesterday.

Picture: AP

Star Bureau

Council told of ANC plot to bring weapons into SA from Zimbabwe

STAR 17/7/92

NEW YORK — Foreign Minister P. W. Botha told the Security Council yesterday the Government had received information this week of a conspiracy by the ANC-SACP alliance to infiltrate weapons into South Africa from Zimbabwe.

The weapons included automatic assault rifles and grenade-launchers and were to have been transported to the northern border of the

Transvaal with the assistance of the Zimbabwean army. Mr Botha said the weapons were stored at Masvinga, in Zimbabwe, and that the Government had learnt that the instruction to move them to South Africa had come from the ANC-SACP alliance in South Africa.

He declined to elaborate on the matter after his speech. Zimbabwe representatives at the UN said they had no information about the matter. No ANC officials were available for comment.

Mr Botha said a major cause of death in the vio-

lence in South Africa was the use of AK-47 assault rifles.

"Only two days ago, the ANC-Communist Party alliance, in a public statement, admitted to the existence of arms caches inside South Africa," he said, before going on to describe the alleged conspiracy to smuggle weap-

ons from Zimbabwe.

"These reports should be seen against the background of the admission by an ANC National Executive Committee member, Joe Modise, of an ANC arsenal located outside Luanda. If these reports are correct, it is a cause for grave concern.

"However, there is therefore all the more reason for us to talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process."



Dobsonville Police Station commander Captain Isak Ludick addresses rival taxi drivers operating in the area yesterday after a confrontation which has caused tension in the township. PIC: SELLO MOTSEP

Pik, Buthelezi hit back at the ANC

Sowetan 17/7/92

217 2028 IIA

■ FIGHTING BACK

Botha defends NP's constitutional proposals:

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha launched a stinging counter-attack against the ANC during his address to the United Nations' Security Council in New York yesterday.

The organisation also came under heavy fire from Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Responding to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's allegations of State terrorism, which Mandela made to the Security Council on Wednesday, Botha said the ANC was not the only victim of the violence.

He said investigations into the Boipatong massacre had indicated the violence could often be traced to a conflict between the ANC and IFP.

Reports of movement of ANC arms caches from Zimbabwe to South Africa were also a source for grave concern.

Defending the Government's constitutional proposals, Botha denied they were designed to

enable the Government to cling to power or to give whites a veto on a new constitution.

While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the ongoing violence and to kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi repeatedly deviated from his prepared speech to attack the ANC.

"My people are being killed by operatives of MK," Buthelezi, who was speaking in his personal capacity, charged.

He said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

"There will be no solution to the South African problem unless at least the South African Government/National Party and the KwaZulu Government/IFP as well as the ANC alliance are party to the solutions attempted," Buthelezi said.

The IFP was not opposed at present to any international peace-keeping function by security or military forces.

A proposal before the Security Council requests that UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali send an envoy to South Africa to investigate the violence.

"We also have no serious objection to the establishment of some monitoring machinery to observe, on a continuous basis, developments in South Africa and to make recommendations," Buthelezi said.

Six to speak at UN on role of women in SA

11A *Sowetan* *17/7/92*
■ Fast-paced developments at Codesa highlight the need for rural women's voices to be heard in changing world:

By Lulama Luti

IF you ever thought the happenings at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa are going too fast for your comprehension, take heart - you're not alone.

There are thousands of rural women in a similar position and are presumably worse off.

This is the reason why the Border Council of Churches' Ms Xoliswa Tom did not think twice about accepting the invitation to speak at the United Nations in a fortnight on the role of women.

"Our main concern is that Codesa is going too fast for them (rural women). They need empowerment more than ever before. And we need to tell the world that these women are there and they need help," she said.

Tom is one of six women who have been invited to address the United Nations on the role of South African women in the current

political situation.

The six prominent women leave the country on July 26 and will spend two weeks addressing and meeting other women's groups in New York and Washington DC.

The women are human rights campaigner and the Democratic Party's Ms Gill Noero; ANC research unit head Dr Frene Ginwala; PAC official Ms Patricia de Lile; head of the Women's Development Banking Ms Zanele Mbeki; and the Institute of Contextual Theology's Sister Bernard Ncube.

The trip has been organised by the African-American Institute; the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The co-ordinator of the tour, Mr Frank Ferrari, said the visit would enable the women to "underscore the role and voice of South African women within the current changing context".

UN told of 'Harare's complicity'

ANC cadres smuggling arms

BIDAM 17/7/92

Pik

SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK — ANC elements, with the complicity of the Zimbabwe National Army and possibly without the knowledge of the movement's leadership, were attempting to infiltrate weapons into SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha charged before the UN Security Council yesterday.

With the council on the point of adopting a studiedly even-handed resolution calling on all parties to return to the bargaining table, Botha asserted government's desire to end the violence and negotiate a new constitution.

Throughout his presentation, Botha pointedly referred to the ANC as "the ANC-Communist Party alliance".

Answering points raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, Botha:

□ Offered to hold immediate bilateral talks with the ANC on resolving the organisation's lingering claims that political prisoners are still being held and that government had failed in its undertaking to repeal all repressive legislation;

□ Hotly contested Mandela's assertion that government was determined to keep a veto for whites, arguing that the NP had every intention of becoming a majority party under a new constitution by aggressively competing for black votes which would only be alienated by the entrenchment of a white veto;

□ Urged the ANC and Inkatha to join government in setting up a joint monitoring body, possibly with international observers, to defuse township flashpoints; and

□ Supported the establishment of a code of conduct under the auspices of the Gold-



● BOTHA

Picture: AP

stone commission to ensure that mass action remained peaceful.

In what seemed a direct retort to Mandela's claim that government was conducting a campaign of "state terror", Botha countercharged that the ANC had publicly admitted the existence of arms caches both inside SA and in Angola.

He said that shortly before his departure he had received information that the ANC-Communist Party alliance had instructed its Zimbabwe representative to transfer assault rifles and grenade launchers stored at Mashvinga to the northern Transvaal for infiltration into SA.

This, Botha said, illustrated the difficulty of creating a climate for negotiations, but was also "all the more reason for us to

□ To Page 2

Pik

BIDAM 17/7/92

~~SECRET~~ IIA ~~SECRET~~ □ From Page 1

talk about these matters rather than simply walking away from the negotiating process".

Mandela was not present as Botha spoke.

At a news conference after his address, Botha said he would be "very much encouraged" if the council adopted the draft resolution before it, since it put the international community on record as believing that SA had to solve its own problems without outside interference and "telling all parties to hurry and get around the negotiating table".

He hoped the UN secretary-general would send his special envoy to SA as soon as possible. All outside assistance was welcome, so long as it was done in consultation with all parties and did not constitute an effort to "run the show" — a level of intervention, Botha added, that the Security Council would not support either.

In an interview with SABC TV last night, Botha said the ANC would "get a resolution they do not want".

"The ANC is going to get a resolution telling them to go back to the negotiating table.

"The UN has said 'the SA government is quite right. We have listened to all of you and you had better all get back to the negotiations table'."

Botha said the hearing was a victory for government. "The political attempt by the ANC to get at us was a total failure."

Sapa reports Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi hit back at the ANC in an aggressive address to the council yesterday. While he welcomed the efforts of the UN body to address the violence and to

kick-start the stalled negotiations process, Buthelezi said the ANC was bent on seizing power unconstitutionally.

Defending the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, he waved his ceremonial stick of office to a packed council and said he would carry it "to the end of my days".

He said his party would welcome a "strong, effective" international fact-finding mission to SA. But unless it was unbiased and fair, it would only exacerbate the situation.

In his address to the council, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday accused the ANC of destabilising its political opponents.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo also slated the ANC in his address, alleging it was no longer a progressive liberation movement, but had changed into an oppressive organisation bent on seizing power "through the barrel of a gun".

And PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Wednesday told the council it should empower the secretary-general to identify a neutral venue where the modalities of a constituent assembly for SA could be thrashed out.

He supported a draft resolution before the council empowering the secretary-general to send a UN mission to the country to investigate and make recommendations on the violence.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew told the council the international community could play a constructive role in resolving the crisis in SA, but in the end a new constitution would have to be drawn up by South Africans.

● Comment: Page 8

BIDAM

CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATION

Breaking the deadlock

11A
FM 17/7/92

The ANC would welcome any substantive new government initiative to deal with the violence. However, it seemed that on its own such an offer would be unlikely to make the ANC return to the negotiating table.

The ANC wants President F W de Klerk to take personal responsibility for the security and police forces. But it is also insisting that government must accept majority democracy in principle, at all stages. This would mean the acceptance that an elected constitution-making body would draw up a new constitution, without any regional or second house veto power.

National gloom deepened with last week's formal dismissal by ANC president Nelson Mandela of De Klerk's lengthy July 2 reply to ANC demands for rejoining the Codesa talks (*Current Affairs* July 10). It seemed that unless government caved in to the ANC's demands, there would be escalating and possibly uncontrollable civil strife. Some hope seemed to be offered by meetings between business and Cosatu.

We have argued that the ANC and government are like Siamese twins: at least until a new constitution is in place, they cannot get very far without each other — at least not if the country is to be preserved in working order. Government is visibly and acutely aware of this mutual dependence; the ANC has decided since Boipatong and the Codesa breakdown to ignore it, or is pretending to.

One ANC spokesman noted this week that "government can't govern the country without us," and indicated "an ungovernable State" when asked what would happen if government refuses to bend. Of course this is romantic, and the wiser heads in the ANC know it: there would be no point in the ANC inheriting chaos. But it must also keep its wild men placated. What it needs, therefore, is a face-saving measure that would enable it to return to the table. Whether this would be under the banner of Codesa, or some other acronym, is irrelevant. Such a way out could result from involvement in some way by the UN.

On the ANC's demands, listed above, they have a strong case on the question of democracy: there is really no chance of a white veto at any stage. It is not clear why they want De Klerk to take personal charge of the security forces, unless they hope that he would be discredited if the violence then continued.

Mandela says in his letter to De Klerk: "It is unfortunate that your reply has not addressed the issues I raised in my memorandum of June 26. Instead, you deliberately obscure matters. It is clear there are hardly any points of convergence" over charting a way out of the crisis.

De Klerk, adds Mandela, has chosen to

elevate a number of peripheral issues to "fundamental" ones while "relegating those of critical significance to a secondary place." Worse, Mandela says, were the "factual inaccuracies, distortions and blatant party political propaganda" in De Klerk's memorandum. De Klerk's call for face-to-face talks in such a situation was "entirely unacceptable." It was not good enough for him to reaffirm his commitment to a negotiated resolution of the conflict; this needed to be backed up "by stating positions which offer the potential to break the deadlock."

De Klerk's transitional constitution proposals are rejected as a stratagem. "Unless the question of the constitution-making body is dealt with as the primary focus of negotiations, issues relating to transitional arrangements are deprived of their proper relevance," Mandela says.

If there is to be a way out of this impasse "then it is imperative that we isolate the question of transitional arrangements from that of the constitution-making body (constituent assembly)." A democratic constitution will be "fatally flawed" if the body charged with drafting and adopting it is itself undemocratic, either in its composition or function, he argues.

"It is the authority of the people, through their elected representatives, that gives a constitution its fundamental legitimacy," Mandela states, adding: "Your response to our position is therefore critical."

The ANC's position was "founded on the

basic features of any democratic-structure charged with the task of constitution making," Mandela says. The features of a constitution-making body/assembly (CA) demanded by the ANC are:

- That it shall be sovereign;
- Bound by the general constitutional principles agreed upon at Codesa, with the necessary checks to ensure that these are adhered to;
- Be democratically elected on the basis of one person, one vote in the context of a multiparty democracy where each party would be represented in proportion to the votes gained;
- Be a single chamber and not subject to the veto or overseeing powers of any other body; and
- Constitute a unifying and legitimising process which must however not thwart the will of the overwhelming majority. Therefore, it shall arrive at decisions by a two-thirds majority.

Further, to ensure that regional differences, whether they arise from ethnic factors or vested interests nurtured by apartheid fragmentation, are fully accommodated, Mandela adds, the CA shall:

- Be composed of 50% of delegates elected by means of a national list and 50% elected on the basis of a regional list, both on proportional representation and one person one vote; and
- In deciding those aspects of the constitution which deal with regional structures,

Cont →

FM
17/7/92

CLUTCHING AT STRAWS

Any accord reached between organised business and labour will be welcomed if it helps to curb violence, combat poverty, help mediation in industrial conflict or spur the resumption of political negotiations. Those are certainly some of the broad headings under which exploratory talks were held between the employers' consultative conference on labour affairs, Saccola, and Cosatu on Monday.

However, certain reports of the indaba appear to have jumped the gun. They suggested, for example, that next month's general strike may now last only two days instead of seven; that business and labour might jointly convene "peace assemblies" on August 3 (the day the strike is due to start); and that employers were throwing their weight behind Cosatu's demand for a general election within six months.

These reports have created "danger-

ously wrong impressions," says Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha. There has been no agreement whatsoever thus far. The leaked document purporting to be an agreement, and which appeared in the press, was "an unmandated exploratory draft" which had in any case been overtaken by events.

"Saccola will not take sides with any political party in respect of the current political impasse," explains Botha. This would serve no purpose and is, anyway, outside Saccola's scope and competence. Saccola's "sole purpose" in seeking these discussions is to persuade Cosatu that progress in relation to peace, the economy and constitutional talks "can be made only through discussion and compromise and not through disruption or confrontation." To this end, Saccola will continue its discussions with Cosatu.

powers and duties, the CA would take decisions first by means of a two-thirds majority of the entire assembly and, further, that such a decision should require the endorsement of a two-thirds majority of that half of the CA delegates elected through a regional list.

To ensure a speedy transition to democracy, which is essential given the depth of the crisis, Mandela calls for effective and timely deadlock-breaking mechanisms in the CA. "We cannot accept three years as a time frame for the CA to discharge its duties."

Mandela told De Klerk that his reply evaded these questions. "The composition and function of this sovereign body is the acid test of your commitment to democracy. You deliberately distort our proposals to constitute 'simple majoritarianism'. You falsely accuse us of wanting the CA to function in a constitutional void. At the same time, you seek to preempt the work of the CA by the Codesa process.

"Besides subjecting the work of the CA to the veto of a regionally elected senate, you seek to entrench federalism by subterfuge. This becomes clear by your requirement that the boundaries, powers, functions and form of regional government will have to be approved by the majority of the representatives from each electoral region that will be affected in each case."

It is necessary, Mandela continues, that there should be a "clear understanding" that all interim arrangements relating to governance of the regions "shall be such as not to preempt the decisions of the constitution-making body . . . The question of the form of government, be it federal or unitary or whatever, is a matter that should be left to a democratically elected constitution-making body."

De Klerk's elevation of transitional arrangements to the central focus of negotiations "betrays your preoccupation with obtaining guarantees of a constitutionally entrenched role for the National Party, which you recognise will be a minority party in the event of a democratic constitution."

There was no truth in De Klerk's allegation that the ANC wants an unstructured, immediate transfer of power, said Mandela. The ANC had proposed, long before Codesa started, that there should be an interim government of national unity "to ensure that no party occupies the position of player and referee."

The agreements reached in the Codesa working group on transitional arrangements had, Mandela points out, stated: "The following agreements were reached with regard to the first stage of the transition. These agreements and their implementation are dependent upon agreement being reached by Codesa in respect of the second stage of the transition."

The records of the working group show that the ANC "fully supports constitutional and legislative measures to ensure that there is no constitutional void," says Mandela.

In the light of these proposals "we cannot understand why your party persists in seeking

to impose undemocratic solutions. All parties, including yours, are assured of a place in the executive in the interim period. To carry such interim arrangements into a future constitution . . . is to deny the principle of majority rule and vest minority political parties with veto powers. Furthermore, this would place minority parties in a conflicting situation with the majority and undermine the security minority parties seek." ■

IFP annual conference

THE Inkatha Freedom Party holds its annual general conference at Emandleni-Matleng Youth Camp in Ulundi this weekend, focusing on negotiations, violence and the peace process.

The theme of the conference is Peace, Negotiations and Democracy or Death, according to IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate.

Sowetan 17/7/92

ANC take over

RESIDENTS of Vosloorus may take over the local police station and man it with ANC defence units because they no longer have confidence in SAP impartiality.

This was said by community leader Mr Gwede Mantashe during the funeral service of the slain Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, Mr George Sgomora Mashele, at the Vosloorus Stadium yesterday.

Mashele and his mother, Mrs Lillian Magosha, were killed last week after police allegedly threw a grenade into their house. George returned from eight years of exile two months ago. - *Sowetan Reporter*.

the nation in brief

PAC slams attackers

*somehow
7/17/92*

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday condemned attacks on white journalists at last week's mass funeral of victims of the Boipatong massacre, and said disciplinary

action would be taken against guilty PAC supporters. In a letter to the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai assured him the PAC was "totally committed to freedom of the media".

Sins of Commission

CHARGE ONE: The government uses violence to strengthen its position and weaken the ANC's

Mr Mandela based the charge on a survey by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry. Case — which by its own definition serves “mass-based anti-apartheid movements” — took a prominent role in advocating sanctions and produced surveys, often hotly contested, concluding that most black South Africans supported sanctions.

The Consolidated Case Reports on the Reef Violence compiled by Dr David Everatt present graphs and statistics indicating that violence increases with heightened political activity.

The reports do not, however, even attempt to present concrete evidence of a direct link between individuals in the government and incidents of violence.

CHARGE TWO: The ANC is the most frequent victim of violence.

De Klerk in the dock: Consider

SITimes 19/7/92

The ANC held court at the UN this week to accuse the De Klerk government of two major sins: clinging to power and failing to control the violence in the country. Mr Mandela charged that President De Klerk was guilty of acts of “commission” and “omission” and held him directly and personally responsible. **BRIAN POTTINGER** examines the charges

Mr Mandela quotes Case in reporting 13 attacks on funerals or funeral vigils on the Reef between July 1990 and July 1991. These reflected an “overwhelming predominance of acts of aggression carried out by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. These attacks, moreover, were carried out with the active or passive support of the SAP.”

The Case report claims Inkatha was responsible for 51 percent of the “classifiable” attacks, the SAP for 23 percent and the ANC for

only four percent in the first 12 months of Reef violence. The figures have been criticised for not taking into account numerous “unclassifiable” individual murders of Inkatha supporters.

CHARGE THREE: The government armed, supported and directed Inkatha.

Mr Mandela raised the now confirmed training of 200 Inkatha supporters in Namibia in 1986.

President De Klerk's response is that these events occurred during

the rule of his predecessor, and that all such actions ceased under his administration.

This is not strictly correct. Some funding of Inkatha did continue and the investigation of the Trust Feed case in Natal proved that there was an unsuccessful attempt by investigators to protect police murderers during Mr De Klerk's term.

CHARGE FOUR: The government issued specific proclamations legalising the

carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

This, Mr Mandela said, created a situation in which “hordes of men would spill out into the streets and enter public places with dangerous weapons”.

The government insists the amendment to the proclamation was intended to clear up ambiguities in the Dangerous Weapons Act of 1968.

Two days before the UN Security Council meeting, Mr De Klerk announced that new measures would be promulgated making it an offence to carry any weapon of any kind in an unrest area.

CHARGE FIVE: The government continues to employ security hit squads.

Mr Mandela said a covert security

unit had recently been operating in the Boipatong area and 10 more in other regions to suppress the democratic movement.

Mr Mandela's reference was to the discovery of a unit of Koevoet, a paramilitary police unit, on mine property near Witbank. An informant told the ANC a unit member had admitted to taking part in the Boipatong massacre.

The ANC leader may also have had in mind recent Weekly Mail disclosures of police “safe houses” from which, claimed one ANC informant, hit squads were dispatched.

The ANC leader's charges are based on somewhat shaky ground. The Koevoet member supposedly involved in the killings at Boipatong denied before the Goldstone commission that he had ever

confessed to the ANC informant. The SAP, meanwhile, claim the safe houses were part of a lawful undercover police operation to track down arms smugglers.

Acts of Omission

CHARGE ONE: No one has been convicted in connection with political massacres.

Mr Mandela is correct, although a number of people have been charged. Recently, seven men charged after a massacre in Sebokeng were acquitted after the judge accepted their confessions had been extracted under duress. The SAP, for their part, insist that intimidation of witnesses by political parties makes it very difficult to secure convictions.

CHARGE TWO: Mr De Klerk allows security force officers

suspected of crimes to remain uncharged.

Mr Mandela referred specifically to two cases:

● General CP van der Westhuizen, head of Military Intelligence, who allegedly sent a message in 1985 saying that four Eastern Cape militants should be “removed from society”. The four were later murdered.

● General Lothar Neethling, head of SAP Forensics, who was found in a Supreme Court defamation action possibly to have been responsible for providing poison for use against opponents of the state. His appeal against the finding is pending.

The charge is largely valid. Very few prosecutions, and no convictions, have been recorded against officers allegedly involved in unlawful actions during the state's “dirty war” in the 80s.

General van der Westhuizen is still at his post and General Neethling has retired.

your verdict

What experts see in the crystal ball

W/maif 17-23/7/92

IN this heady time of momentous political change, hardly a day goes by without history being made: the political temperature is more conducive to frenzied debates in corridors than calm, composed analysis. *The Weekly Mail* spoke to several political experts in search of some perspective. All agreed that negotiations will resume, most speculating that talks would be back on track within two months.

Here are summaries of their predictions and perceptions:

WIM BOOYSE, risk consultant who advises foreign investors:

The current impasse and the strategic mudslinging between the government and the African National Congress has polarised attitudes on the ground, with whites becoming more conservative and blacks more militant. Whereas Codesa made it difficult for grassroots militants to continue to identify the "enemy", this no longer applies. However, bilateral talks between the government and the ANC will take place by the end of August, followed by trilateral talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party. The new forum won't be the same as Codesa, and "back-patting" between negotiators will cease. Key parties will deal with the fundamental issue: power sharing versus transfer of power. With trust destroyed, "we'll enter an era of pressure cooker politics" with each side bickering over every agreement. Interim government should be in place by March next year, and constituent assembly elections by September at the earliest.

Negotiations will be back on track within a couple of months but with more liaison at grassroots — that's the consensus on South Africa's short-term future from political experts. By PHILIPPA GARSON

each other's strongholds. This is unlikely to happen sooner than 1994.

1717-23/7/92
TOM LODGE, political science lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand:

Negotiations will most likely resume after, rather than before, the period of intensified mass action. Talks will first take the form of bilateral discussions between the ANC and government, possibly with United Nations facilitation, followed by multilateral talks. There may be a forum to succeed Codesa, but talks will resume where Codesa 2 deadlocked, rather than start afresh. "Codesa did make significant progress

and was by no means a failure." The current impasse has margin-alised the other players, including Inkatha, whose ability to act as a spoiler at the constitutional table will be much reduced. Elections are unlikely to take place by the end of the year — they could follow four months after agreement is reached at renewed talks. A compromise on the deadlock over different conceptions of



Tom Lodge

democracy is likely "with a set of arrangements that one group will call majority rule and the other, power-sharing".

EUGENE NYATI, economist and director of the Centre for African Studies:
Negotiations will resume within six weeks, with

the government meeting no more than 30 per cent of the ANC's demands. "They will clutch on to any crumbs President FW de Klerk will throw them." Mass action will flop as a result of the deterioration over the past two years of ANC-aligned structures on the ground. Intoxicated with the idea that delivery is around the corner, the ANC has alienated its most committed supporters — those active in United Democratic Front structures in the 1980s. By June 1993 agreement will be reached at Codesa and by the end of 1993, elections for a constituent assembly will take place, with the ANC having accepted a settlement that renders black majority rule impotent and favours the government's concept of federalism. The ANC will win the next elections and although there'll be a black majority in cabinet existing power relations won't change. After two to three years ANC leader Nelson Mandela's "moral authority" will wane and the ANC moderates will be discredited. By 1997 the ANC will remerge as a more radical organisation dominated by its trade union allies and with a strong black consciousness identity.

STEVEN FRIEDMAN, director of the Centre for Policy Studies:

Negotiations will resume, but only when President de Klerk makes credible moves to curb violence. The effect of the government's recent concessions will depend on their visibility on the ground and may help to shift the deadlock. The violence, not the constitutional deadlock, is blocking the resumption of talks between the two groups. Clearly the biggest problem of Codesa (among both whites and blacks) was that it was a "clique of politicians making deals no one faintly understood". Forthcoming agreements will have to be accessible to general citizens and political activists on both sides. Mass action will fail to the extent that it won't significantly tip the balance of power in the ANC's favour. For this reason the ANC moderates will have renewed legitimacy to return to the table. Negotiations are likely to resume some time after August.

ALLISTER SPARKS, director of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism:

Talks between the government and the ANC will resume within the next three months — precipitated by an agreement on international monitors in the country and government concessions to the ANC's demands. Elections for a constituent assembly could take place within a year. While the August 3 general strike may fall away, mass action will be "a continuous on-off phenomenon" to pressurise the government. Codesa will continue to be the negotiations forum but there may be structural adjustments to stave off further deadlocks. Bilateral talks will become increasingly important. Crises and breakdowns in the process are predictable, but the current impasse has not had irrevocable consequences — "the pressure driving both sides to negotiate remains unaltered". Breakdowns however cause each side to lose fringe supporters and the biggest danger is that by the time a deal is struck there will be no support for it. Once a compromise over majority rule is reached the rest will run smoothly. The ANC has already shown a willingness to compromise with its proposal earlier this year of "sunset" clauses — allowing for a defined period of power-sharing.

KEHLA SHUBANE, researcher based at the Centre for Policy Studies:

Talks will be back on track, possibly within the next two months. Given the government's violence concessions, and the important step taken by business this week, the general strike may be averted. This would mean that talks could resume even sooner, and an interim government could be in place by the end of the year. Though the Codesa talks will be more "two-sided" than before, the more peripheral parties will continue to play a role. "It would be difficult to get rid of them at this stage." Elections will only take place once violence has been curbed to the extent that the ANC and IFP can campaign peacefully in

ANC 'not insurrectionist'

By PHILIPPA GARSON

1717-2317192
A DOCUMENT released yesterday by the African National Congress' leadership has reiterated the ANC's commitment to negotiations and scotched claims that its mass action campaign has insurrectionist intent.

The document, entitled *Campaign for Peace and Democracy*, emanates from the ANC's national working committee. In what appears to be a clear attempt to woo business, it spells out that the campaign has no hidden agenda and "is not a programme for insurrection. Neither is it aimed at a 'peaceful overthrow' of the regime ... Insurrection is not on the agenda. Neither would it be a voluntary choice of

the ANC, both now and in the future."

The document stresses that the ANC will not return to negotiations unless the government concedes to both its constitution-related proposals and demands relating to violence — countering speculation that government concessions on violence would be enough to bring it back to the table.

(11A)
While a flexible stance on returning to the table was reiterated, entailing a constant review of the "total situation", the ANC leadership spells out that as a result of the Boipatong massacre, "we have now linked the demands on the (constituent assembly) to our returning to negotiations".

How the West was nearly won

W/maul 1.11.7-23/7/92

By IAN WILLIAMS: New York
IN an interview here this week, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela dwelt at some length on the pressure exerted by mass action, and only rather perfunctorily added that the ANC also wanted to marshal international pressure.

But since the United States now decides what happens at the United Nations, and to what extent its resolutions are implemented, this is a good time for the ANC to invoke international pressure. A major cause of inaction over the West Bank and Gaza is that the Palestinians have no domestic leverage in the United States to combat the pro-Israel lobby.

Majority rule in South Africa is a cause with millions of American black votes, a majority of whites and the full weight of world opinion behind it.

The sidelining of Jesse Jackson in the Democratic Party may give hope to President George Bush's faltering presidential campaign that it can attract the support of black American voters.

Significantly, Mandela himself described Bush in his telephone conversations as "very forthcoming", and it may have been concern to keep a line open to the incumbent which led Mandela to refuse the invitation to address the Democratic Party convention in New York. The official reason was that he was needed at the Security Council.

The UN, not least because of a US refusal to pay its arrears, is hardly in a position to launch costly new initiatives in South Africa. But the Security Council hearing on South Africa has to put the issue firmly back in the centre of the world stage.

Mandela may have been dismissive — asking "Why now?" — but Western diplomats see President FW de Klerk's agreement to disband controversial special forces as betokening the effectiveness of Security Council intervention.

The importance the world attaches to the South African issue was reflected in the size of the



Hello, New York! ... Nelson Mandela greets the crowd outside his hotel this week 11A 11A 11A Photo: AP

Security Council session itself, with no fewer than 54 speakers going late into Wednesday night and resuming the following morning.

The marathon exercise was, of course, strictly for the record, since the resolution had already been agreed before the meeting in several days of bargaining between the West and the Non-Aligned Movement. The text was subjected to the now traditional post-Cold War process of dilution to escape the Western vetoes. (Russia and China are now so taken for granted that British and American diplomats now refer to the "P3" — the Permanent Three instead of the Permanent Five on the Security Council.)

But the ANC is not the only organisation to benefit from the hearing. With the West giving unqualified approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African government has come in from the cold in international terms.

The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk.

Despite being described in Mandela's speech as "an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and surrogate", Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosutho Buthelezi has also succeeded in raising his world profile.

The South African government, addressing the Security Council

for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr JN Reddy to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

US Ambassador Edward Perkins, formerly based in Pretoria, now at the United Nations, has stressed privately that any solution must be internal, between the parties themselves, and that in the "new world order", the UN will not act without Washington's agreement.

Mandela's circumspection when faced with the question of UN effectiveness shows that the ANC is not expecting the cavalry to come to the rescue flying UN colours. Nonetheless, the involvement of an outside party, backed as it is by the world's last superpower, allows all parties to claim and make concessions in a way that gets negotiations off the ground.

At this stage and in the foreseeable future, there is little likelihood of a sizable UN peacekeeping presence — even if Pretoria were prepared to accept it.

But since the precedent of allowing the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to help the repatriation of ANC and Pan Africanist Congress refugees last year, the fact that Pretoria is prepared to accept the special representative reflects a toe in the door for the UN.

20 JUL 1992

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Tutu tells Christians to give up their privileges in a new South Africa See page 9

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NEWS FOR NEW TIMES

Mass action: Yes or No?

SOUTH 1917-2217192

TTA



'I pray that mass action be peaceful and disciplined'

'I want leaders to negotiate. South Africans need hope. Mass action is going to kill hope and jobs'



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

YES NO



Raymond Ackerman

YES NO

FINAL HOUR
KLERK BELONGS INTO THE JUST BIN OF HISTORY!

PEOPLE ASSEMBLY FOR PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT

'The pro-democracy campaign is an attempt to save a nation in deep crisis. Disenfranchised people have only one way of voicing their concern - through public protest and demonstration'

'The PAC will not be party to mass action to breathe life into Codesa which is nothing more than a mechanism to build a Berlin Wall around white privilege'



Dr Allan Boesak

YES NO



Patricia De Lille

YES NO



QUICK DRAW: A policeman draws his gun as he tries to rescue the remnants of a South African flag that was set alight

Inside NP's ^{I/A} occupied zone ^{SOUTH} 1817-221792

By Quentin Wilson

"LEADER for all times," declared the inscription on Dr DF Malan's bust, just outside the occupied NP boardroom on Wednesday.

It had clearly side-tracked a policeman from ANC Youth League (ANCYL) members who were making themselves comfortable next door.

He touched Malan's head with his forefinger. "I actually saw him once, he came to visit my school."

In the occupied NP boardroom the ANCYL were making themselves really comfortable.

They replaced a South African flag with an ANC flag and stuck bright orange stickers saying "No to NP rule" and "Murder and Corruption" over portraits of past prime ministers and NP leaders.

Policemen watched and did nothing. The same cannot be said about Ms Annelien Bloem, a representative for a company downstairs.

She stormed into the office, grabbed the South African flag and after admonishing the demonstrators, promptly tore off the stickers, which were immediately replaced.

"What is this all about? Why are you people so cross? What has the ANC ever done for this country?" she shouted.

Eventually, an NP organiser, Mr Hubert Loubser, entered the room.

"I'm on holiday now, and it's only because of you that now I have to take off some of my time." A touch of martyrdom entered his voice.

"Can't you do something?" he asked a policeman. "Just lay a charge and arrest them all. These are my offices."

Eventually the policemen got him into an adjoining room and gave him a quick workshop on "conflict resolution" after which he seemed to quieten down.

The Youth League decided after 10 minutes that their mission had been accomplished and left. Loubser was back on holiday and all was OK again.

Well, until they got outside and landed up in a clash on the Parade.

ANC action rolls into NP office

By Quentin Wilson and Mluleki Gantsho

VICTORY in phase two of the ANC's pro-democracy campaign is being claimed by the ANC Youth League (ANCYL).

The league claims to have outwitted the police on Wednesday when thirty-seven of its members occupied the National Party offices in the city centre for three hours while 2 000 supporters waited outside.

Mr Mcebisi Skwatsha, Western Cape ANCYL chairperson, said the League had "given false signals to the SAP" about which government building they would occupy.

They kept their chosen venue a secret and it came as a surprise to many on the parade that the NP offices had been targeted.

After Mr Hubert Loubser, an NP organiser, assured the 37 ANCYL members that a written response to the league's memorandum would be issued "as soon as possible", the occupants ended their sit-in and joined the crowd outside.

Before they marched to the Grand Parade for the final address, a small group in the crowd set fire to the South African flag outside the NP offices in Burg Street.

While the burning "symbol of apartheid" was held aloft to great cheers, eight policemen moved in with batons and retrieved the remnants of the flag.

Mr Sicelo Matiso was allegedly beaten by police during the incident.

After a series of scuffles between police and demonstrators, police were pushed back to the gates of the NP offices. Orange peels, an empty coke can and a brick were seen to be thrown at the police.

About 100 people stayed behind and argued with the police about the Peace Accord while the rest of the demonstrators moved to the Parade. A dog-handler chased this group away and Mr Neville Naidoo, an ANCYL regional executive member, was bitten on the leg.

Earlier in the day, the ANCYL staged a "People's Court" on the Parade where President FW de Klerk, General CP van der West-

huizen, Inkatha leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha were "sentenced" to life imprisonment for "apartheid crimes".

In the mock trial, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of State Affairs, was given the lightest punishment — a 25 year jail sentence with "a slight chance of appeal".

While this was happening, the 37 ANCYL members gained easy access to the NP offices, walked into the lift and filled a boardroom on the first floor.

They handed a memorandum to an NP official. The memorandum included demands for an interim government and an elected Constituent Assembly.

By the time the 2 000 supporters had worked their way to the NP offices from the Parade, the gates outside the entrance had been closed and nobody was allowed to enter.

About 40 policemen, including members of the Internal Stability Unit, waited outside the occupied boardroom until the 37 demonstrators had left.

Major Denise Brand, SAP spokesperson, said two policemen were injured.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Nel was hit behind his right ear by a bottle and Lieutenant-Colonel Parker was hit below his right knee by a brick outside the NP offices.

"One of the demonstrators tried to kick a police dog, but the dog bit him. We offered him medical treatment but he refused it," Brand said.

She also claimed that while ANCYL supporters were going home by train, 10 seats in two first class carriages "were destroyed" along with five lights and an aluminium rack.

There were no arrests.

The Youth League's memorandum called for "an end to the regime's low intensity warfare on the ANC and its allies; the establishment of an interim government and an elected constituent assembly; the arrest and conviction of those perpetrating violence; answers to the corruption of the government; and an end to NP rule".

Yunus Mohamed took the photographs



WOE IS ME: Ms Annelien Bloem after she tried to ward off the ANC Youth League members in the NP office



KEEPING MUM: State President FW de Klerk is silenced by a demonstrator's sticker

40 make their crosses for democratic election

South 1817-22/7/92
By Rehana Rossouw

FOR THE first time in their lives, 40 Western Cape people this week entered a polling station, went into a polling booth to make their crosses and dropped their ballot paper into a ballot box.

No, the first democratic election in South Africa's history had not been called at short notice — the 40 were participants in a voter organiser training programme hosted by the Centre for Continuing Education at the Peninsula Technikon.

The month-long training programme was arranged by the Matla Trust, a Johannesburg-based project which aims to train 320 organisers throughout the country.

The Western Cape course which started this week and will be followed up with another week-long session in August, drew 40 participants from community, religious and political organisations.

The course will help them to devise election campaigns and to educate voters about the Electoral Act, proportional representation and Westminster forms of government.

"The Matla Trust does not want to tell people who to vote for, but how to vote," said the trust's director, Mr Billy Modise.

"People are indoctrinated into believing that voting is something that other people do for them.

"Our major concern is that the majority of new voters will have no



BALLOT TRAINING: South Africans who have been denied the vote learn the ropes

South 1817-22/7/92
experience in participating in the election process.

"For somebody to be excluded from participating in an electoral process through ignorance, or whatever reason, will not be good for a democratic South Africa."

Modise said for the election to be truly democratic all South Africans had to understand the significance of the vote and to feel comfortable about the process.

The next election would be the first in which all South Africans

participated. Thus the question of voter education was crucial.

Modise said the Matla Trust was committed to ensuring that ordinary citizens were educated about the significance of the vote and why they should participate.

ANC 'spy' confesses

^{ST Times}
AN ANC member confessed at yesterday's IFP annual meeting in Ulundi that he was recruited to spy on Inkatha members at Kwamadala hostel.

The 17-year-old youth, Matanzima Nosenga, spoke to the Sunday Times after a scathing three-and-a-half hour attack on the ANC by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"I was asked to come here, but I was not forced," he said showing no signs of fear or intimidation.

He said that on Tuesday, he and four others were given instructions by a leading ANC figure from Evaton.

"I was advised that I

191 7192
By TERRY VAN DER WALT

must go to Kwamadala and say that I had been thrown out of Evaton because my father is a councillor.

"I did this and I was accepted by the hostel dwellers and was given food and a place to stay.

"I was told to follow five IFP members living in the hostel and work out their daily movements and get their car registration numbers," he said.

Asked what the aim of the mission was, Nosenga said: "So they can be assassinated".



SALVO ... IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi slammed the ANC at the IFP's 17th annual congress.

I won't sit in same room as Mandela — Buthelezi

By S'BU MNGADI

CP Press
1917/92

THE National Peace Accord teetered on the brink on Friday night when IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would refuse to sit in the same room with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

In a scathing attack on the ANC leader, Buthelezi said this would be his position unless instructed otherwise by the IFP membership.

Opening the IFP's 17th annual general conference in Ulundi, Buthelezi specifically referred to the crucial peace accord meeting scheduled for July 30 at which its original signatories would be expected to review the peace process.

He told the 10 000 strong crowd: "How on earth does one sit down and talk to a person like Mandela when, in fact, he has thrown down a gauntlet which we have to pick up or suffer total political ignominy

among those sections of the community who are prepared to die for the ideals we serve."

He was speaking barely hours after arriving back from the United Nations Security Council special session in New York at which Mandela slammed the IFP, saying it was a surrogate of a government which was waging a campaign of state terrorism against opponents.

Buthelezi said he did not see how there could be a common negotiation process while the ANC was adopting such a hardline stance.

He slammed the recent mock trial by sections of a crowd of ANC demonstrators in Cape Town which "sentenced" him and other IFP leaders to death. "How can I sit and talk peace with them?" he said.

The 10 000-strong conference at Mandleni-Matlang Youth camp

applauded among others, the SA deputy Justice Minister and National Intelligence chief Dannie Schutte, Public Affairs Minister Dawie de Villiers, senior representatives of fraternal organisations in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Qwa-Qwa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, town councillors from many parts of the country as well as Natal CP leader Carl Werth and Durban CP city councillor Duncan du Bouis.

Buthelezi said the IFP should send a delegation to the NPA meeting to demand the final disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe.

"If negotiations cannot get off the ground, then violence will escalate. If violence escalates, much more than it is doing now, we might be pushed into a situation in which violence will have to run its course before we can again begin the negotiations," Buthelezi threatened.

Yesterday's foe is today's VIP

By SEKOLA SELLO

C/Press 19/7/92

THE government will lay out a welcome mat for one of its former harshest critics, Cyrus Vance, when he arrives in SA next week as a UN special envoy.

Vance, a strong critic of Pretoria while Secretary of State in the Jimmy Carter administration, heads a mission to this country to try and end the current political crisis and the violence.

Soon after his arrival from addressing the Security Council on the problems of SA, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday night that the government would be comfortable with Vance heading the mission.

"I have already told my office to issue them with visas," he said jokingly.

While Botha expressed the hope that the present political impasse could be resolved soon, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Paris that violence would have to stop before the organisation could think of resuming talks with State President FW de Klerk.

Strained relations

Mandela addressed the Security Council this week before leaving for France where he held a meeting with Junior Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman. Mandela said the ANC found it unacceptable "to continue to talk with a regime which has the capacity to put an end to violence but which is not doing so, simply because it is black lives that are being affected".

Mandela's latest statement is likely to strain relations further between his organisation and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha. The ANC leader was very critical of Inkatha at the UN hearing and accused it of being backed and funded by Pretoria.

Buthelezi, who also addressed the Security Council for the first time, said the tone of Mandela's speech in New York did not augur well for a reconciliation between the two.

The three main parties which addressed the UN - Inkatha, the ANC and government - expressed satisfaction with Resolution 765, which Botha described as the "best we ever had".

In a statement released to Sapa, the ANC said: "The Security Council reaffirmed the commitment of that international body to the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic SA and called upon the De Klerk government to take immediate measures to end the violence which has cost thousands of lives."

Nitty gritty of ANC's mass action strategy

THE ANC has released details of an intensified phase of mass action, including national strikes and "occupation of cities", to which it says it will resort each time there is a deadlock in negotiations.

The action is to try to ensure a range of demands directed at the government are met.

The ANC and its main allies Cosatu and the SACP want:

- An interim government set up to elect a one-chamber constituent assembly;

- An end to violence by

disbanding special security forces, phasing out township hostels, banning dangerous weapons in public and implementing an international commission of inquiry to investigate the violence; and

- An end to economic restructuring.

In a document on its mass action campaign titled "Guidelines on Programme of Action", the ANC national working committee said: "We are at one of those rare mo-

ments since February 1990 in which the democratic movement enjoys the strategic and tactical initiative and occupies the moral high ground."

The campaign should ensure that "democratic forces", in the form of the alliance, held on to that initiative.

"Whether or not there are negotiations and advances in Codesa, the people should continue to act around local and national grievances: from water

and electricity to housing, health, jobs and higher wages.

"When there are deadlocks in negotiations around the central questions, it becomes necessary to resort to unprecedented actions. This should be sustained rather than once-off events, and should aim at further shifting the balance in favour of the democratic forces."

In the later stages of its mass action campaign the

alliance aims to occupy the Pretoria seat of the SA government, the Union Buildings.

However, the document said: "In the current situation, insurrection is not on the agenda."

The phase of intensified action which began on July 15 with the occupation of government buildings continues on July 21 and 22 with a look at violence. The two days include the 25th anniversary of former ANC

president Chief Albert Luthuli's death and the second anniversary of a massacre in Sebokeng.

Protests against the SABC will also be launched.

The next phase is subject to alteration depending on the outcome of talks between Cosatu and the SA Consultative Conference on Labour Affairs.

It could mean that business will recognise

towns, including blockades, marches, pickets.

Thursday August 6 and Friday August 7, sectoral actions by workers and others to include factory demonstrations and occupations."

Phase four includes a prolonged general strike and a campaign to occupy the Union Buildings, cities and factories.

"The total situation (will) be reviewed from time to time, depending on the response of the regime and the practical steps regarding the problem of violence," says the document. - Sapa

August 3 - the day a national stayaway has been called - as a legal holiday and even participate in "jointly agreed activities".

The phase is scheduled to begin on August 3 and 4 with "a complete withdrawal of labour with local rallies, marches, pickets and other actions," says the ANC document. The programme continues: "Wednesday August 5, regional initiatives to occupy cities and



SWITCHED LOYALTIES ... Bekkersdal Inkatha Youth Brigade members Nontobeko Mjamba, Lefty Motaung (vice-chairman), Minkie Loliwe (chairman), and Paseka Kasi (project co-ordinator). PHOTO: ANDRIES MCNEKA

BC 4 join IFP in Bekkersdal

By **MOSES MAMAILA**

FOUR young people from the strongly anti-Inkatha township of Bekkersdal on the West Rand have stunned fellow residents by quitting the Azapo-aligned Azanian Students Movement to join the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The four are Nontobeko Mjamba, 18, Paseka Kasi, 19, Lefty Motaung, 19, and Minkie Loliwe, 21.

Mjamba, Kasi and Motaung were all Azasm members while Loliwe was an active supporter of the movement.

This week the four outlined why they ignored death threats and joined the Youth Brigade.

They also launched a broadside against Azapo and Azasm.

"I compared various ideologies prevailing in this area and finally concluded that In-

CIPRES 19/7/92
**Azasm: Feel free
 to go, but quit
 all the claims**

... katha has the most vibrant and relevant one," said local Youth Brigade chairman Loliwe.

"The revolutionary Azapo stance which advocates armed struggle as the principal form of struggle was nothing but a dream which would never be attained," she said, adding that freedom would be achieved through negotiations.

Youth Brigade project co-ordinator Kasi said Inkatha was a "peaceful" organisation.

... People hated the IFP because they understood very little about the organisation.

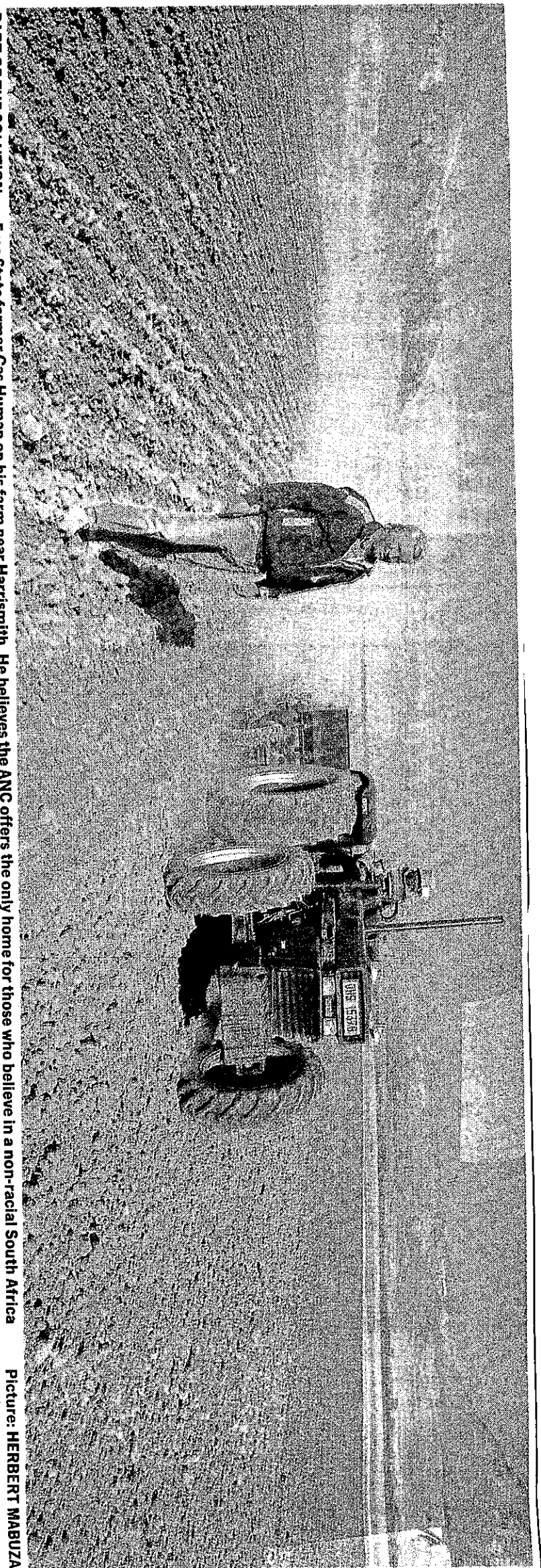
Appealing for political tolerance, Kasi called on Azapo's national leadership to order their members to "stop intimidating people".

Youth Brigade vice-chairman Motaung said "threats" by local residents were aimed at forcing them to resign.

"We know our names are on a hitlist of people who have vowed to wipe out IFP members in the area ... We shall obviously defend ourselves if attacked."

Mjamba, also on the local executive committee, said she resigned from Azasm because Black Consciousness followers accused her of being an informer as her mother was an IFP member.

Azasm general secretary Palisa Rachid dismissed the claims, saying Azasm believed in free political association.



PART OF THE SOLUTION . . . Free State farmer Cas Human on his farm near Harrismith. He believes the ANC offers the only home for those who believe in a non-racial South Africa

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Free State Boer signs up for ANC

By CHARLES LEONARD

STIWER 19/1/72

A DIRECT descendant of President Paul Kruger is the latest true-blue Boer to join the ANC.

Free State farmer Cas Human, 37, left the Democratic Party — for which he once stood as a parliamentary candidate — and joined the ANC a few months ago “because I’m a democrat, not a liberal.”

“There is a role for liberals to play in South Africa, but if you support a non-racial society, there is only one organisation for you, and that’s the ANC,” he believes.

Born in Pretoria and raised in a traditional Afrikaner home, Mr Human — a devout member of the NG Kerk — took a BSc degree in agriculture at Stellenbosch University.

“It was at university that I began to realise apartheid was wrong. It was 1976, and politics formed an important part of student discussions, sometimes right through the night.

“After ’76, the Afrikaner lost his vision. The ‘swart gevaar’ propaganda took hold, total onslaught became the watchword.

“Now the Afrikaner has had a new awakening. My generation is slowly but surely becoming part of the

solution again. The difference is that my father’s generation solved the poor white problem by looking after themselves — perhaps a little too well — whereas we are part of a broader South African solution,” said Mr Human.

The path that led him to the ANC was via the public service — as an agricultural information officer in the Bethlehem district — and post-graduate study at Pretoria University.

He started farming part-time near Harrismith in 1981.

“That’s when I began to realise something was wrong with our economy, and with our politics. Almost daily, I was being confronted by people asking for a place to live, a bag of mealie-meal, anything, just to stay alive.”

In 1989, Mr Human stood as the DP candidate in Harrismith.

“We didn’t do too well — pulled in only 400 votes — but the spin-offs were important. I didn’t really want to stand for office, but a man from the district told me I should, as it would let him use his vote for the first time in 65 years.

“The DP enrolled quite a few active black members in the eastern Free State, especially from

Qwaqwa. At the beginning of 1990, when the homeland government called an election, the DP and the ANC were part of a broad alliance opposing the election.

“That was my first encounter with mass meetings and grassroots democracy, and it became clear that the ANC and I were talking the same language.”

But it was not until five DP MPs joined the ANC this year that he

switched his allegiance.

“Pierre Cronje is a good friend, and when he told me they had been kicked out of the DP for joining the ANC, I knew the right thing for me to do was join as well. I went to the local township office of the ANC the very next day and signed up.”

Mr Human’s political affiliation is common knowledge among his friends and neighbours.

“I’ve made no secret of it, but ev-

eryone seems to have accepted it. Recently, I was elected chairman of the soil conservation committee despite my politics. No one discriminates against me, my wife or our three children.”

One thing Mr Human and his neighbours are in full agreement on is the effect of the drought.

“It doesn’t matter if you’re NP, CP, DP or ANC, the drought is taking its toll on all of us, but with drought relief, we’ll probably survive.

“I just hope the economy recovers, and agriculture along with it. Once that happens, there’ll be room for more people on the land. What we have to guard against is the trap of concentrating on particular kinds of farmers. There should be land and state support for all,” he believes.

Mr Human’s relations with the labourers who till his 3 700ha farm are interesting to an outsider.

This week, as they planned wheat, some called out “dag Cas” while others opted for the time-honoured “dag baas”.

Mr Human said: “We’re all facing the crisis in farming together.”

PIK'S TOUR DE FORCE AT U.N.

SI Times 19/7/92

11A
23/11/92

SIMON BARBER judges Pik Botha to have emerged as the victor of the Security Council debate on South Africa in New York this week

ANC president Nelson Mandela came to New York this week to ask the UN Security Council to take his side on the question of violence. The council, a different animal entirely from the General Assembly, where the ANC has generally prospered, chose instead to address the issue of peace.

In so doing, it handed a substantial moral victory to President FW de Klerk and his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, whose performance before the council was widely judged masterful and which did much to revive Mr De Klerk's image after the beating it has taken in the wake of Boipatong.

With peace and the resumption of negotiations at centre stage, Mr Mandela failed to justify the ANC's withdrawal from talks to the council's permanent membership, most of whom made it clear, albeit in exquisite diplomatic terms, that they believed the ANC president was overplaying his hand.

For the first time in decades, Mr Botha managed to portray his government as sincere and genuinely aggrieved. One of his most extraordinary strokes was to raise allegations that elements of "the ANC/communist alliance" were trying to infiltrate arms into South Africa, and then say that this was "all the more reason" for getting back to the table — particularly since Mr Mandela and other senior ANC leaders might not be aware of what was going on.

A senior deputy to American permanent representative Ed Perkins passed a personal note to a colleague in the South African mission calling Mr Botha's speech one of the best and most moving he had heard in the council. It ended: "Anyone who has a horse like that has an easy

time being a jockey."

Mr Botha spoke with supreme confidence. He had reason. After lengthy haggling, the council had already agreed on a consensus resolution which represented a substantial victory for the government and which rendered hollow Mr Mandela's impassioned, but seemingly defensive, catalogue of the regime's complicity in the violence at the opening of the debate.

The final text was a far cry from the original draft submitted on Mr Mandela's behalf by the OAU. Its one concession to the ANC was a giveaway: a call for whatever sanctions that now remained in place — and, as Mr Botha observed, the array is scarcely imposing — to be maintained "for the purpose of bringing an early end to apartheid".

The only act for which the government was specifically condemned was the shooting of protesters after Boipatong. And, while the council agreed, uncontroversially, that the government (no longer, note, "the regime") had the responsibility for protecting life and property, it pointedly declined to assign blame for the broader violence.

THE General Assembly would almost certainly have been more open to Mr Mandela's point of view, and indeed would have let ANC representatives participate directly in the drafting of a resolution. But the council is different. Its job is peace (even if that means having to go to war as in the case of Iraq), and it could have no other justification for getting involved in South Africa.

If he failed to understand this, Mr Mandela miscalcu-

lated badly. On the other hand, he, too, has gained if his purpose was to return to his followers with the news that the ANC's international stature is being undercut by its boycott of talks.

The council took the view that the key to resolving the violence was getting the parties back to the negotiating table.

IN A CLAUSE insisted upon by the Russian representative, Mr Yuliy Voronstov, on express instructions from Moscow, it emphasised that the parties must resume talks "as speedily as possible".

The Secretary-General's special envoy was to try to be helpful in this regard; the resolution implied, but there should be no prevarication in the expectation that his report to the council might tip the scales in favour of one party or the other.

This point was reinforced by the US representative (a former ambassador to South Africa). Using the phrase favoured by Pretoria, he said he envisaged the Secretary-General's envoy leading a small "goodwill team" to South Africa to help the council get a "better perspective" and to "enhance the complex negotiations" but not "seek to supplant that process".

As far as the council's key members are concerned, the role of the international community must be to augment existing institutions such as the Goldstone commission and the National Peace Accord, and add legitimacy to new ones.

When Mr Botha said Mr De Klerk was anxious to discuss with Mr Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi the creation of a "joint monitoring body" with international observers, both

Mr Perkins and the British representative, Sir David Hannay, nodded appreciatively. This was precisely what they wanted to hear.

It was difficult to gauge the impact of Chief Buthelezi's presentation and those of the other Codesa parties. Many of their spokesmen, including the SACP's initially reluctant Essop Pahad, were on hand by accident, brought over by the National Democratic Institute to watch at the Democratic convention.

The speakers' list was long even without them, a fact alluded to by the Spanish ambassador when his turn came on Thursday afternoon. As

per the ritual, he began by congratulating the president of the council (this month the representative of Cape Verde) for his statesmanship, political acumen and other qualities. To these he added "patience".

Nonetheless, the Codesa parties were there. And by that very fact the council was giving its de facto blessing to the Codesa process whether individual speakers liked it or not. Some, most notably Mr Pahad, did not. He thought Codesa was supposed to be dead. He spoke anyway.

After all, it's not often that one gets an opportunity to address the high priests of the New World Order in their inner sanctum.



PIK BOTHA drives a point home during the debate

Mbeki: Vance visit only first step

By Jo-Anne Collinge ^{Star} 20/7/92

The visit by Security Council special envoy Cyrus Vance was just the first step towards the deployment of further UN personnel in South Africa, ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki confidently predicted on his return from New York last night.

Stressing that Mr Vance's brief was to investigate the question of violence, and not to get parties back to the negotiating table, Mr Mbeki said he believed it would be possible for the Security Council to convene

in about three weeks to decide what additional steps to take to help halt the bloodshed. They would be guided by Mr Vance's recommendations.

Mr Mbeki said he was pleased with the outcome of last week's historic UN debate and especially with the speed with which Mr Vance had been appointed.

Mr Vance, who is due to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow, is set to meet ANC officials on Thursday. The ANC would "put forward steps which we believe the Security Council can and

should take" to prevent further outbreaks of violence, said Mr Mbeki.

The national working committee of the ANC will meet during the first half of the week to formulate its position.

Mr Mbeki argued that it was a distortion of the situation to present the primary aim of Security Council Resolution 765 on South Africa as the reconstitution of the negotiating process.

"Everyone in the Security Council is seriously concerned about the violence," he insisted, and this concern was embodied in the resolution.

Neil van Heerden praised by ANC

ADRIAN HADLAND

11A

FOREIGN Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, who was reported at the weekend to be leaving his post to become SA's ambassador to the EC, would be welcome to serve as a diplomat in an ANC government, an ANC official said.

ANC international affairs department deputy head Aziz Pahad said Van Heerden would "always be useful in the new SA".

"Clearly Van Heerden has been a diplomat of high standing and will always be useful in the diplomatic world in the new SA," Pahad said. BIDA 2017192

He said Van Heerden had built a reputation as a diplomat of standing and had always had a positive attitude towards change in SA.

He said his decision to step down reflected confusion in the Foreign Affairs Department in particular and in government in general on a number of key issues.

Van Heerden has been in government service for more than 30 years.

He played a pivotal role in SA's negotiations with the US, Cuba and Angola to end the Angolan war and put Namibia on the road to independence.

He was also prominent at Codesa, where the negotiating skills he put into practice for the Angolan deal were highly valued.

A spokesman for Van Heerden's office declined to comment on reports of Van Heerden becoming SA's man at the EC in Brussels — a post he would probably take up in September or October.

NEWS FEATURE *Lawyer refuses to take summary dismissal from party job lying down*

Fired Mpfu takes fight to ANC



Dali Mpfu

■ **DISCRIMINATION** *Black political organisations and trade unions, culprits in basic workers' rights:*

11A

Sowetan 20/7/92

By Joe Mdhlela

YOUNG LAWYER Mr Dali Mpfu, dismissed three months ago by the ANC, is not prepared to take the dismissal without taking the fight back to the ANC.

"I am not bitter but I think it is not right to fire a person without giving him a fair hearing."

He complained that the general secretary of the ANC, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, summarily fired him without following procedures.

"As a former trade union leader he should know there are correct procedures to follow.

"I was not afforded a hearing. This was a clear case of abuse of individual rights by Ramaphosa, a man elected general secretary of the ANC on the strength of his knowledge of labour relations matters.

"That is the crux of the matter I am questioning."

Mpfu served legal papers on the ANC for unfair labour practice three weeks ago.

"Even the most oppressive companies afford their workers a hearing before taking severe action against them. But Ramaphosa elected not to do so."

As a person, he did not have problems with Ramaphosa.

"I am just fighting injustice, and I will continue to do so as long as basic human rights are trampled on...and it does not matter from which quarters the injustices come."

He said it was the love for his countrymen that forced him to shelve the idea of practising law and take up a job in the ANC welfare department.

"I desired to help in the welfare department because that was an area where I thought I could best utilise my talents to help the under-

privileged," he said.

Now that he has been fired, he said he would channel his energies to practising law.

Spokesman for ANC Dr Pallo Jordan said they had not received papers commencing legal action and the general secretary's office would not comment.

Mpfu did not hide his feeling about his admiration for Mrs Winnie Mandela, former head of the ANC welfare department.

"She has been persecuted enough by both the enemy camp as well as selfish individuals, even within the ANC.

"She is vulnerable and needs our support," Mpfu said.

Turning to allegations that he was romantically linked to Winnie, he said that was an attempt to destroy him politically.

"I am going to fight back ...these allegations are intended to harm my professional life...there is a limit to diplomacy."

Born at Duncanville in East London 30 years ago, Mpfu took a B Proc degree at Witwatersrand University in 1986. He is left with three courses to finish his LL B degree.

Before being sacked by the ANC, he was appointed secretary of the commission of inquiry looking into alleged malpractice at the ANC camps in Angola and other African countries.

Legal file DALI MPOFU

Place of birth:
Duncanville, East London

Educational qualifications: Finished B Proc degree in 1986 at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Career: Admitted as an attorney in 1990

December 1991: ANC treasurer-general suggested Mpfu move to the legal department

● **April 21, 1992:** Mpfu wrote a two-page letter to Ramaphosa suggesting solutions to staffing problems in the welfare department.

● **May 4, 1992:** Dismissed by Ramaphosa as deputy to Winnie Mandela in the welfare department.

ENTERTAINMENT *Lively debate between three ex-prisoners*

Is there a new SA?

■ HUMAN LOOK

Three men reflect class tensions in the ANC: (1/1A) *[Handwritten initials]*

By Thabiso Leshoai

WHETHER OR NOT there really is a "new South Africa" is presently the subject of much overseas political debate between the Government and its opponents.

A new TV documentary that should help answer that question, at least for foreign viewers, is *The Long Journey of Clement Zulu*.

Made by Cape Town film maker Liz Fish, the hour-long film looks at the new South Africa through the eyes of three men just released from prison - Clement Zulu, James Mange and Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim.

Zulu is a migrant worker with strong tribal links; Mange is an urbanised black and Soviet-trained guerilla who now wants to become a pop musician while Ebrahim, an Indian, is a top military commander in the ANC.

Whether or not there is a place for them in the new South Africa is the theme of the documentary.

A stylish and sophisticated piece of



Political prisoners on their first day of freedom in the *Long Journey*.

Sowetan 20/7/92

film-making, the documentary avoids diatribe and rhetoric while making the point that there is no new South Africa. It repeatedly alludes to endemic violence and homelessness.

It is an extremely human look at political transition.

For example, the three men reflect class tensions within the ANC but this is not explored. Ebrahim is incoherent about where he stops being Indian and

starts being African but Fish ignores it. Mange is not made to confront the contradiction in his situation.

Fish seems more concerned with choosing and compromising scenes carefully for greater cinematic effect - entertainment is the overriding value here.

Our viewers may never take this debate up for as long as such films have to seek sponsorship overseas.

Mandela secures Islamic support

BIDAY 21/7/92
11A
JEDDA — ANC president Nelson Mandela arrived yesterday to seek the support of Saudi Arabia's leadership and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

Mandela started talks with Hamid al-Gabid, secretary-general of the Jeddah-based, 47-member OIC, an umbrella organisation for the world's estimated 1-billion Muslims.

Al-Gabid called on the SA government "to lift the obstacles which stand in the way of the adoption of a democratic non-racial constitution benefiting all the South African people under an interim government".

Al-Gabid stressed "the pressing need for the SA government to adopt measures immediately to end violence ... and protect the lives and goods of the black population."

Mandela's agenda included a meeting with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal and an audience with King Fahd, diplomats said.

Officials said Al-Gabid assured Mandela of the firm support of the Islamic nation for the "just cause" of the SA people.

The OIC has a standing ministerial committee on SA which meets once a year in New York during the UN General Assembly session. — Sapa-AP-AFP.



ESTABLISHING CONTACT . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela greets Iran's President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani on his arrival in Tehran, where he was given a statesman's welcome yesterday. 117 27/1/92 Picture: AP

Mandela asks Iran for political backing

ATHENS. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, on a visit to Tehran, had asked the Islamic republic for its support in setting up an interim government in South Africa, Tehran radio said yesterday.

Mr Mandela, who arrived in Tehran early yesterday, made the request at a meeting with Iranian foreign minister Mr Ali Akbar Velayati.

Tehran radio quoted Mr Velayati as pledging that Iran would "try to increase (its) support for your struggle".

Mr Velayati said: "We favour the formation of an interim government in South Africa."

Mr Mandela visited the tomb of the late Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and held discussions with the ayatollah's son, Ho-

jatoleslam Ahmed Khomeini.

Mr Mandela called on Iran and the United States to settle their differences, saying the world would benefit from a reconciliation.

Iran, which has had no diplomatic relations with South Africa since the 1979 Islamic revolution, has given financial and political backing to the ANC.

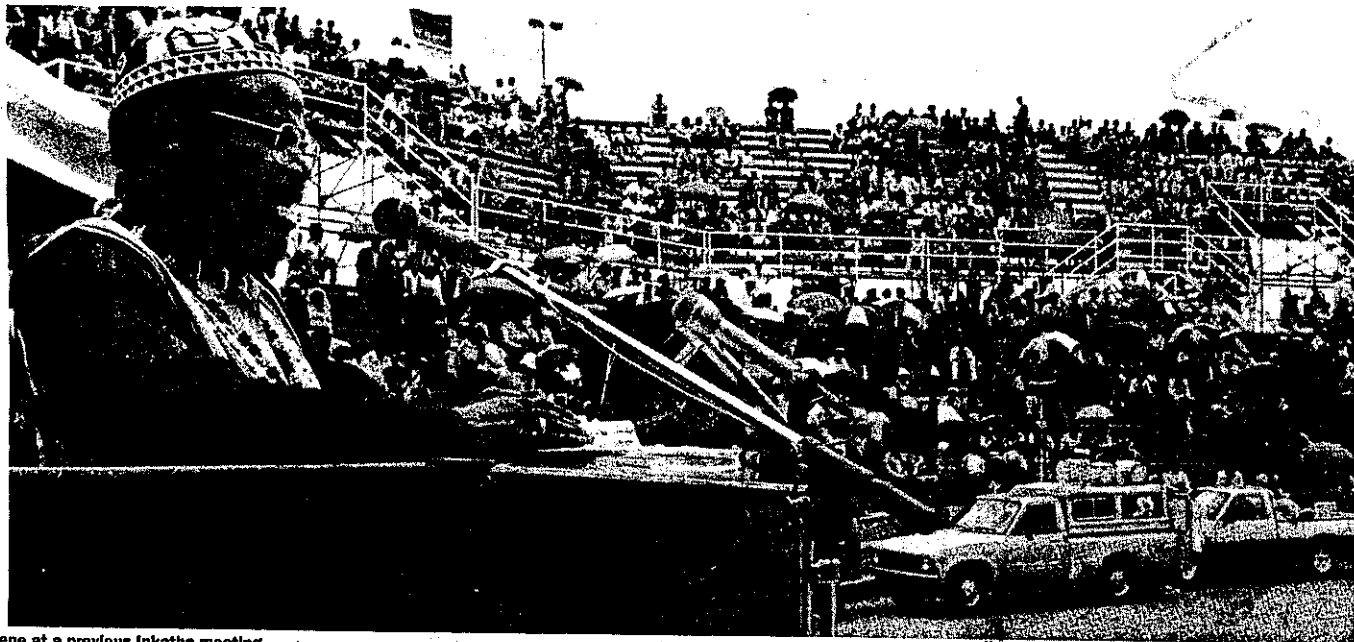
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NEWS FEATURE Chief Buthelezi threatens to pull out of negotiations with the Government



Scene at a previous Inkatha meeting.

Buthelezi wades into ANC, Mandela at IFP meeting

IFP leader says party may withdraw from negotiations if MK issue was negotiated exclusively between the

ANC and the government:

Sowetan 22/7/92

**By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's annual general conference this past weekend in Ulundi coincided with heightened international focus on South Africa and again underscored the country's polarised state.

In a spin-off to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's scathing attack on the African National Congress at the United Nations Security Council's emergency meeting on South Africa on July 17, the IFP emerged from its conference with a two-pronged attitude: to put pressure on the Government and confront the ANC and its president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In his speech Buthelezi said he returned from New York deeply disillusioned about the political process in which the relationships between political parties could be normalised.

He also launched a scathing attack on the ANC and Mandela, reminding delegates that Mandela called the IFP surrogates of the Government at the UN.

Significantly, the future of the National Peace Accord, which was threatened when the ANC angrily broke off talks in the wake of June 17's Boipatong massacre, is again threatened as its first anniversary on September 14 draws nearer.

"Peace, negotiation, democracy...or death" was the theme at the IFP's meeting.

An analysis of its resolutions, forecasts a long political winter ahead.

The party has threatened to withdraw from a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories planned for July 30 if the ANC did not respond to its demand that it disband Umkhonto We Sizwe, its military wing, by Septem-

ber 14.

Also, the IFP has given notice to the Government that it is prepared to pull out of negotiations and the peace process if the issue of MK continued to be discussed exclusively by the ANC and Government.

Although having withdrawn from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, causing its collapse, the ANC is still a major signatory of the Accord together with the Government and IFP.

Conversely, as the ANC insists the Government is behind the violence, the IFP says it is the ANC. In fact, it charges that MK is the common denominator in all political violence.

In his speech Buthelezi said the ANC and Mandela were not committed to peace. It thus resolved that its national chairman lay a formal complaint charging Mandela with violating the accord.

Some of the major resolutions of the conference were:

- * That members establish defence units in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Accord and that maximum training be provided by the IFP;

- * Workers who are IFP members withdraw membership fees from Cosatu-affiliated unions because of the federation's mass action programme;

- * To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance "for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gain";

- * To demand that the Goldstone Commission investigate any mass action campaign which leads to violations of the terms of the Peace Accord.

Saying it was committed to negotiations the IFP resolved to call a multi-party conference of review charged with reviewing the peace and

To condemn the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance for courting economic disaster in the process of seeking their own party political gains



Some of Inkatha's supporters

negotiations processes and which should be given statutory powers.

Federalism as an option should be given maximum publicity and the IFP would call for negotiations about regional boundaries and regional autonomy, the party resolved.

ANC plans to 'open' cells

BIDAM 22/7/92 (11A)
MASS action-linked arrests are set to rise today, with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance planning to march on Johannesburg's John Vorster Square to "symbolically open cells".

The alliance's PWV region is also planning to occupy businesses, including chain stores "especially those which are presently in dispute with workers".

About 700 people have been arrested since the campaign to occupy government buildings began in the Transvaal at the weekend.

Police said they arrested 450 people yesterday for obstructing traffic outside Hillbrow Hospital, and other arrests were made in Carletonville and Soweto.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa

(11A) WILSON ZWANE
said in an interview yesterday the symbolic opening of cells at John Vorster would highlight his organisation's demand for the release of all political prisoners.

He would not explain how this symbolic action would be carried out.

"The actions are a buildup to two major marches to be staged in Johannesburg and Pretoria this Saturday," Mamoepa said. The marches would be on John Vorster Square and the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Applications had been made for permission to stage the marches.

Mamoepa said the PWV campaign would continue even if Cosatu and business

□ To Page 2

Mass action

BIDAM 22/7/92 (11A)
did agree to call off a general strike. "The general strike is part of the mass action... not the culmination of it," he said.

Meanwhile, people continued to be arrested in the Transvaal yesterday as they participated in sit-ins and demonstrations at government buildings. An ANC spokesman said 75 people were also arrested in Carletonville, western Transvaal, for occupying a local magistrate's court and Home Affairs Department offices.

Sapa reports that more than 1 000 Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association (Potwa) members downed tools in northern Johannesburg yesterday as part

(11A) □ From Page 1
of the mass action campaign.

Potwa general secretary Mlungisi Hlongwane said the strike followed a recent attack outside Soweto's Meadowlands Hostel on a bus ferrying Telkom workers to work in Johannesburg.

The striking workers were demanding that Telkom management play a role in ensuring that hostels be demolished as soon as possible.

Mamoepa said five people occupied a police station in the Pretoria township of Mamelodi yesterday, while another five were arrested for occupying a magistrate's court in Orlando East.

Official harassed, claims PAC

STAR 2217192
By Guy Jepson

The PAC yesterday claimed that police harassed its Vaal region spokesman Thami Plaatjie at his Sebokeng home on Monday night after a report on SABC television in which he blamed police for Sunday's Eva-ton cemetery shooting.

Three PAC mourners

were killed in the attack. Police said they opened fire after shots were fired at them. The PAC says police acted without provocation.

The PAC said yesterday about 50 armed policemen had surrounded Mr Plaatjie's home and ordered him outside saying they were there to "teach him a lesson fol-

lowing his claims on TV news". They left after shooting in the air.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Captain Pieter van Deventer was yesterday unable to confirm the incident. "If the PAC feels that the police acted beyond their powers, they must come forward and make a statement which will be thoroughly investigated."

11A

Sowetan 22/7/92

Mandela in Iran

TEHRAN - ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Tehran yesterday for talks with President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and to "thank" Iran for its support over the years.

Mandela was met on arrival by Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who praised his "historic struggle" on behalf of his people. Iran, which has had no diplomatic relations with South Africa since the 1979 Islamic revolution, has given financial and political support to the ANC - Sapa-

Reuter-AP-AFH



Economists warn of strike's toll

B10A 24/7/92
GERALD REILLY
 PRETORIA — Cosatu's general strike next month would push the economy deeper into recession, Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research economist Nic de Jager said yesterday.

This year's first quarter had had negative growth of 0,6%. The bureau's forecast for the second quarter had been -0,3% and for the third quarter 0,7%. However, the strike would almost certainly mean three consecutive quarters of negative growth.

Pressure on the economy, already stressed by drought and a deeply disturbed political climate, would intensify in the three days, he said.

Econometrix director and chief economist Azar Jammine said the loss of output over the three days could amount to 40%. Hardest hit were likely to be the manufacturing, mining and construction industries. The work stoppage over the three days could chop half a percentage point from the year's growth rate. Jammine said the three days had the potential to explode into widespread violence and intimidation, degenerating into chaos and a massive decline in black workers' confidence in the trade union movement.

The consequences of the strike — wage losses and a growing disillusionment with the trade union movement — would be a severe test of Cosatu's support, especially if there was no benefit for workers.

He said August would be one of SA's most damaging months.

US's Cohen warns of civil war in SA

B10A 24/7/92
 WASHINGTON — SA faced civil war unless ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were willing to put aside their differences, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen said in Congressional hearings yesterday.

He emphasised that any attempt to force the government out of power through mass mobilisation was "unacceptable".

He also flatly rejected any attempt to use the violence as a reason for breaking off talks: "We oppose linking continued negotiations with an end to violence ... Negotiations are even more essential precisely because there is violence."

In the Bush administration's toughest statement on US policy towards SA, Cohen outlined in unusual detail what was expected of the three major parties to get negotiations back on track.

Step one had to be "a moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" by all parties, as "inflammatory rhetoric" was serving only to fuel violence.

Government's willingness to investigate the Boipatong killings was "a crucial test of its credibility", he stressed.

In addition, government had to implement more fully the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, in particular its calls for increased police accountability and stepped up security at hostels.

The ANC had to be "receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations".

SIMON BARBER

The movement had to ensure that its mass action campaign did not lead to further violence, and had to "exert greater influence over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence."

While the administration was "neither for nor against mass action" and recognised that it provided a means for black South Africans to "express themselves politically", "it must be done peacefully".

He called on the ANC to "dispose safely" of the arms it had "not denied" having cached both in and outside the country, and warned that transferring weapons into SA would violate the national peace accord.

Inkatha had to do more to ensure that its members were committed to peace, and had to tell its members that "carrying weapons in public is unacceptable".

Citing the Goldstone commission's finding that a common thread to the violence was conflict between the ANC and Inkatha, he warned that the "impasse" between Mandela and Buthelezi "contains the seeds of civil war which neither leader will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

He was "confident" that UN special envoy Cyrus Vance "will come up with a series of compromises that are useful for both sides", but stressed that "it is up to South Africans themselves to find their way back to the negotiating table".

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The factors that shape world policy towards SA have changed, reports Hugh

Roberton

Waking up to a new order

STAR 24/7/92

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BOTH the Government and the ANC are claiming victory in last week's UN Security Council debate on South Africa when, in fact, both of them received a sharp whack on the derriere from the international community and, what is more, there can be no doubt that they both know it.

For the Government, the whack took the form of a severe admonishment over its handling of the violence and its failure to take some of the most elementary steps recommended by the Goldstone Commission.

And for the ANC, there was a somewhat brutal demonstration that the world really has changed, no matter what contrary notions fill the heads of some on the ANC's executive, and that accordingly the UN has changed too.

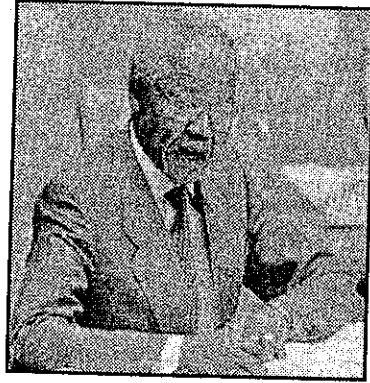
It is no longer the ideological arena of yesteryear, where liberation movements could count on the support of a Third World majority to ensure the passage of shrill resolutions and where the superpowers could be played off against one another.

While the ANC miscalculated badly in rushing to the UN for succour, and ended up with a resolution that both sides could arguably claim as a victory, there are some signals for all South Africans in the ANC's experience.

The first is that the South African debate showed more starkly than any event since the Gulf War how pervasive is the influence of the only remaining superpower, the United States.

America's new power, indeed, is being felt in most international forums. After the G-7 summit, US newspapers reported German and French leaders complaining that it really was a G-1 summit: what the US decided almost invariably became a G-7 decision because of Washington's economic clout.

And those in the know will testify to the fact that the resolution on South Africa last week largely was crafted by the Americans. It reflected the meticulous neutrality of the present US administration, and Washington's desire to be a constructive "facilitator", and it prevailed in spite of attempts to



At the Security Council . . . Mandela and Botha.

get a more condemnatory resolution approved.

What is significant for all South Africans in this new flexing of American power is, paradoxically, the fact that America's power is not limitless and that increasingly it is being deferred to the UN in the form of consensus action, such as was the case in the Gulf, simply because the US does not have enough money or resources to do everything alone.

These limits on US power will apply no matter who presides in the White House, and the use of the UN as a means of exercising US power and spreading the burden of costs and resources will be a compelling fact of international life for a long time.

For the SA Government, this will mean that any domestic disputes that spill out of the country's borders will more than likely end up at the UN. If there has to

be intervention, or some peace-keeping mechanism, or the international supervision of elections, or whatever, it will probably be planned and executed from New York, even if the crunch decisions are made in Washington.

And for the ANC, or other parties, the fact has to be faced that embroiling the UN in South Africa's problems does not mean the same thing as it meant a scant 24 months ago. It now means embroiling, by extension, the US first and foremost.

No doubt US policy will change as new presidents come to power. But any new president will discover the same realities President Bush has been quick to recognise — that in using the UN, there is a need to seek consensus. While Washington can — and does — throw its weight around, there are limits beyond which it cannot go if it wishes the world at large to follow its lead and help pay the bill.

Thus the starry thoughts that came to some in the ANC delegation at the UN last week of a benevolent Clinton presidency prob-

ably were misplaced

The factors that shape US policy towards SA, and at the UN, are not whimsical choices. They are deeply entrenched and by and large their thrust is towards precisely the neutrality and consensus that mark the Bush administration's policy.

Every indicator trend points to the strong likelihood that Americans would have no stomach for the extremes of the Cold War and that the UN will not readily take sides when consensus everywhere is proving to be a more potent strategy.

If the world is asked to play a role in SA's domestic disputes, it will probably be limited to merely helping South Africans themselves find the solutions. That certainly is the limit of the charge given to UN envoy Cyrus Vance in last week's resolution. He cannot take decisions that South Africans themselves are not willing to take, or serve as the bridgehead of some force from abroad that will side with the angels and bring peace and harmony forever. □

UN envoy for townships and hostels

Soavefan 24/7/92
11A
need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence."

■ Weekend itinerary under wraps after Vance meets IFP, ANC, PAC and Azapo yesterday before a session with Judge Goldstone today:

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

UNITED Nations special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who is in the country to assess violence, will visit townships and hostels on Sunday after meeting black political organisations yesterday.

Full details of the tour and the townships Vance would visit are being withheld for security reasons, according to UN High Commissioner for Refugees Mr Kallu Kalumiyi.

Vance held in-depth talks with the PAC, IFP, ANC and Azapo in separate meetings throughout the day in Johannesburg yesterday.

Today, the UN envoy meets Mr Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Violence; a delegation of the National Peace Secretariat led by chairman Mr John Hall; Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu;

and Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a press conference after meeting Vance yesterday that he told him:

"The United Nations can send as many missions to South Africa as it wanted, but there can be no peace as long as the African National Congress/SA Communist Party alliance continued its mass action campaign."

"It is quite clear that the Codesa deadlock is complete for now, and therefore it is clear to us that the thing to do now is to call this multi-party conference of review so that we can go into the whole issue of Codesa."

The Pan Africanist Congress told Vance that only international intervention could end political violence in South Africa.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told journalists: "We said that the issue of violence that is confronting us is beyond our control. We

need an outsider, an impartial body to look into ways and means of bringing an end to violence."

He said the PAC had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in the country.

The Azanian People Organisation told the UN representative that any future negotiations must be anchored on the transfer of power, president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told journalists.

"We said the Government must indicate the desire to resign.

"The security forces must be quarantined and an international peace-keeping force be sent to the country on a monitoring role and the UN Security Council preside over the transitional phase and transitional authority."

The ANC's delegation was headed by deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

Vance leads a five-person delegation in terms of Resolution 765 of the UN Security Council and will leave the country on July 30.

He meets the South African Communist Party and homelands leaders tomorrow.

Call for general strike

Sowetan 24/7/92
WHEELS OF ACTION ANC alliance

will launch a "week of action for peace and democracy" following abortive talks with Saccola:

By Abbey Makoe and Sowetan Correspondent

THE COLLAPSE OF negotiations between Cosatu and employers on Wednesday night has led the ANC alliance to reaffirm its call for a two-day general strike starting on August 3.

The talks were aimed at averting a general strike and getting the stalled constitutional negotiations back on track.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party said they would now step up preparations for "a week of unprecedented action for peace and democracy."

This had been planned before the launch of the abortive initiative between Cosatu and the employer body, the SA Employers Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) two weeks ago.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the alliance "deeply regretted the inability of employer organisations to transcend long-standing prejudice and to cross the democratic threshold and a lack of commitment and resolve to address the crisis facing South Africa".

Ramaphosa also said the action would end with the installation of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela as the new head of state.

He said this would take place after the "coming elections by our people". The alliance "feels satisfied that our people are angered" by the Government's intransigence and the people would "rise up to the challenge".

Flanked by Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo and the SACP's Mr Chris Hani, Ramaphosa warned companies which might take disciplinary action against their workers for staying away from work during the seven days of the mass action campaign.

The ANC would not allow such a move to go unchallenged and such companies would be

faced with mass action taken against them, he said.

Ramaphosa said the week of action would comprise:

- A stayaway from work on August 3 and 4, accompanied by rallies, marches and pickets;
- City and town occupations and demonstrations on August 5;
- Protest actions by workers and other groups on August 6 and 7 to be determined locally; and
- Report-back meetings on August 8 followed by Women's Day celebrations and prayers for "peace and democracy" on August 9.

"We reiterate our call to all our people that our marches, rallies, occupations and other activities are to be peaceful and disciplined," said Ramaphosa.

The Saccola-Cosatu meeting failed because of insufficient consensus among employers to sign the charter and to secure public sector participation in a proposed one-day shutdown on August 3.

Apart from limiting the proposed strike to a day, the charter sought to commit signatories to seek ways to curb violence, fight poverty, extend labour rights to farm and domestic workers and to facilitate a speedy transition to democracy.

Meanwhile, the SA Council of Churches and other groups yesterday expressed disappointment at the failure of the Cosatu-Saccola initiative.

Continue world involvement, Vance urged

STAC 24/7/92



Reaching out . . . special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Representations for continued international involvement in South Africa were made to UN special envoy Cyrus Vance yesterday by both the ANC and PAC.

Mr Vance separately met top delegations of the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and Azapo in Johannesburg to gain insight — in terms of United Nations Security Council Resolution 765 — into political violence and the stalled democracy talks.

Mr Vance's mandate is to draw up a set of recommendations to the UN on how to end violence.

Yesterday's talks were described as positive by the various parties.

At a press conference after its 2½-hour session, ANC international affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki was cagey on the ANC's exact representations to Mr Vance.

However, Mr Mbeki revealed that the ANC's

detailed proposals were in the "context of looking at the best and most effective ways by which the Security Council could intervene to help us address these various questions".

At an earlier press conference, PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said his organisation had proposed an international commission to investigate and monitor the political situation in South Africa. — Sapa.

Area	Place of residence	Hostel		House in black township	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Pietersburg	Unmarried	February 1992	769,74	377,85	231,34
		August 1992	817,09	399,82	244,71
Pietersburg	Married	February 1992	6,2	5,8	5,8
		August 1992	6,1	5,8	5,8
Port Elizabeth	Unmarried	February 1992	785,17	390,92	238,82
		August 1992	833,30	413,49	249,20
Port Elizabeth	Married	February 1992	6,1	5,8	4,3
		August 1992	6,0	5,5	5,2
Richards Bay	Unmarried	February 1992	778,19	387,42	238,08
		August 1992	822,75	406,22	246,51
Richards Bay	Married	February 1992	5,7	4,9	3,5
		August 1992	5,7	4,9	3,5
Roodepoort	Unmarried	February 1992	815,54	421,20	270,02
		August 1992	861,87	441,87	282,74
Roodepoort	Married	February 1992	5,7	4,9	4,7
		August 1992	5,7	4,9	4,7
Rustenburg	Unmarried	February 1992	778,19	385,53	232,42
		August 1992	827,73	409,51	246,02
Rustenburg	Married	February 1992	6,4	6,2	5,9
		August 1992	6,4	6,2	5,9
Springs	Unmarried	February 1992	805,03	415,27	248,43
		August 1992	850,06	434,98	262,43
Springs	Married	February 1992	5,6	4,7	5,6
		August 1992	5,6	4,7	5,6
Uitenhage	Unmarried	February 1992	776,30	380,59	214,44
		August 1992	819,46	397,85	223,35
Uitenhage	Married	February 1992	5,6	4,5	4,2
		August 1992	5,6	4,5	4,2
Vanderbijlpark/Vereeniging	Unmarried	February 1992	816,48	420,19	272,04
		August 1992	866,38	444,36	287,01
Vanderbijlpark/Vereeniging	Married	February 1992	6,1	5,8	5,5
		August 1992	6,1	5,8	5,5

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)

FM 24/7/92

The only game in town




Cyrus Vance symbolises world concern that constitutional talks resume soon



There are a few spring-like signs that the crisis sparked by the impasse at Codesa 2 is abating. For the foreseeable future, any outbreak of violence — or further revelations of government complicity in as-

sorted dirty tricks — must dampen optimism. But the complex elements which were the fuel of the crisis are beginning to play themselves out.

The major participants in this drama — President F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the troika of leaders shown on our cover — may all be nearer a way out than only a week ago. Generally, prospects for coming to grips with the violence and resuming direct constitutional negotiations have improved markedly following the historic special hearing on SA before the UN Security Council.

There the main Codesa underwriters — and some not party to the deadlocked convention — were afforded the opportunity to state their case before the world body, or merely to let off steam. They were, in effect, pursuing negotiations through another, rather more lofty forum. The proceedings were televised live and widely viewed at home and this international airing of the SA burden seemed to lift the despondency that had descended over the country since the Boipatong massacre. The debate seemed to offer the best hope of a way forward since Codesa 2 floundered on May 15, precipitating the

ANC walkout.

It remains up to the troika to demonstrate true statesmanship if peace is to prevail — and for a workable democratic constitution to be attained. Mandela and Buthelezi especially have to find ways to instil into their followers a culture of tolerance of political opponents.

The first tangible result of the Security Council's concerned but low-key involvement — reflected in the even-handed wording of Resolution 765 — is the arrival in SA this week of former US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance as the special representative of the UN Secretary-General. Vance, relatively fresh from one of those doomed peace missions to the altogether more intractable ethnic conflagration of Yugoslavia, should find this assignment far simpler — by comparison with a nightmare.

Resolution 765, passed unanimously by the Security Council, sends a message to all South Africans. In essence, it is that the main international powers believe "Plan A" — negotiation — remains the only game in town for the new SA. The resolution's tactful avoidance of any apportionment of blame was intended to have three main effects, according to foreign ministry sources in Britain and Germany.

Paramount is the urgency attached by the international community to a resumption of the Codesa process, even if it has to be under another guise. In that context, the axis of De Klerk and ANC president Mandela is con-



Mbeki

sidered essential.

To this end, 765 was designed to:

- Get the ANC off the hook posed by its impatient militants and give it something which may help prevent the mass action programme running out of control; and
- Lean gently on the Nationalist government over its former intransigence on a veto prerogative — and put pressure on it to get to grips with township

violence and suspect elements in the security apparatus.

Preoccupied by the intractable horrors of Bosnia-Herzegovina — where a substantial UN presence on the ground, sanctions and international diplomacy at the highest level have not yet stopped the killing — any deeper involvement in SA by the UN or the European Community is not on the cards.

"Ideally, none of us wanted to intervene, apart from encouragement to help sustain the momentum, but if it is likely to help, we will," said a UK Foreign Office source. Hence the likely follow-up to the Vance visit will be a phalanx of European Foreign Ministers — from the UK, Portugal and Holland — which will probably not take place until after the Goldstone Commission reports on Boipatong.

At present, there is no sign of any serious Western disenchantment with De Klerk. Though the evident inability of the SA Police and other security forces to prevent violence does raise questions, the President's credibil-

ity is not in doubt, especially among the conservative governments which predominate in the West.

"He is still regarded as the only white politician capable of keeping the process moving towards peaceful resolution," says Professor Jack Spence, director of studies at the Royal Institute for International Affairs.

At the same time, there is a strong element of sympathy for the ANC and Mandela. The harder line adopted by De Klerk at Codesa 2, especially over the majority required for constitutional change, meant that the ANC had to take action to bring negotiations back on track or lose the support of its constituency. That is understood.

According to one German foreign ministry spokesman in Bonn: "It is unfortunate that the government failed to recognise Mr Mandela's problem as quickly as the SA business community has done. The difficulty with mass action, however, is that it works best as a negotiating lever only if kept under control."

"In the present climate in SA, mass action is a high-risk tactic which could set off terrible violence and backfire dangerously on the ANC leadership. This is why we hope that by sending an international statesman of the standing of Mr Vance, the ANC will feel more supported by the international community and go back to the table."

So Vance's arrival is very much on a wing and prayer. His broad mandate is to "recommend measures which would assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and in creating conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, nonracial and united SA."

This injunction is clearly seen as part and parcel of the broader desire to kick-start negotiations. It was, therefore, unfortunate that, on their return, Foreign Minister Pik Botha — who made his finest speech ever to the council in New York — and the ANC's international affairs chief, Thabo Mbeki, engaged in hair-splitting arguments over which side had "won." Such point-scoring recalls what happened over a recent report of the Goldstone Commission, whose findings were selectively used for petty political one-upmanship. But the important thing is that government, the ANC and Inkatha welcomed Resolution 765.

What kind of role can Vance play? He represents a UN whose standing has been greatly enhanced by Operation Desert Storm last year. It is not so easy to deride the UN these days. While the UN's involvement in SA is essentially symbolic, it may well be the catalyst for securing a return to the negotiating table.

Despite this week's arrests, mass action has so far also been largely symbolic in character — much of it nothing out of the ordinary for this time of year, when wage bargaining is in full flood. The ANC may be

trying to scale down, if not end, a campaign which it knows it cannot sustain. Spokesmen are suddenly pointing out that the ANC has always said that "political developments" would be taken into account and that there is no rigid programme of action.

Thus, it is explained, next week's general strike may be called off or scaled down, though other forms of action will continue. Talk of some kind of apocalyptic general mobilisation is receding.

The ANC's basic demand on government now comes down to a requirement that the Nats accept majority rule and an elected constitution-making body with sole responsibility for writing the new constitution.

In this, it has received less help from the UN than it wished. The ANC hope that Vance will "assist the international community in devising the appropriate forms of intervention to ensure a swift transition to democracy" may be in vain.

Resolution 765 does not take sides. It "underlines . . . the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the negotiation process as speedily as possible." What the ANC must do is decide whether this is compatible with a campaign of civil disobedience and the dislocation and violence it brings in its train.

Happily, Vance's mission coincides with other propitious developments. This week could see the adoption of the important

accord hammered out between the employers' organisation, Saccola, and the trade unions led by Cosatu. And a meeting of all signatories to the Peace Accord is scheduled to take place next week.

Most significant of all is that on the eve of the Security Council debate, De Klerk moved substantially forward in meeting the ANC's violence-related demands. The notorious Battalions 31 and 32 were disbanded and suspects in the Boipatong atrocity made their first court appearance.

De Klerk's sudden ability to act, of course, vindicates Mandela's constant allegation that not enough was being done about violence, a charge which always had the ring of truth when one recalls the zeal with which the security police acted under John Vorster and P W Botha. However, the ANC has to recognise that government cannot on its own stop all violence, that not all of it is instigated by policemen and that Inkatha is not simply a catspaw of the Nats. Violence in SA has become endemic and all parties have a role to

play in trying to end it.

The ANC can plausibly claim that government's acceptance of international involvement is a victory — even though the

Security Council stopped short of meeting Mandela's call for much greater UN intervention.

Furthermore, its withdrawal from Codesa has had the desired effect. From the ANC's point of view, says Wits University's Tom Lodge, it was necessary to get government in a more flexible frame of mind. It also may have brought De Klerk down a peg or two after his remarkable domestic and international triumphs this year.

Can Codesa simply resume now? Though the convention as such has not been functioning since May 15, negotiations have not quite broken down, says the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin. But the process has undoubtedly taken a different form.

It includes, for example, the exchange of memoranda between De Klerk and Mandela — and, indeed, last week's UN debate — which gave various parties, including the PAC and Azapo, who are not Codesa signatories, a platform for their views.

The negotiation process has expanded to include the business-Cosatu accord, adumbrating new and constructive approaches to industrial peace and economic policy. The business-labour talks are another example of the continuity and expansion of negotiations, says Eglin.

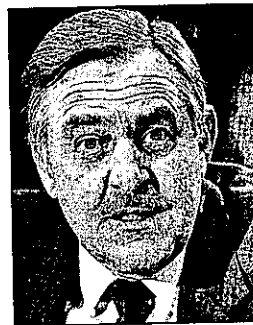
Violence, as Lodge observes, is by no means an unusual phenomenon in societies on the eve of transformation: indeed, at such times, political rivalries intensify. With the possibility of containing the violence now better than it has ever been, the chances of negotiations being resumed within months are immeasurably better than since the collapse of Codesa.

It is, therefore, logical for the ANC to be preparing to re-enter the talks, rather than pinning its hopes on escalating mass action. Its demand for a sovereign constituent assembly — like the question of regional powers — is the kind of issue best pursued at the negotiating table.

On a practical level, government and the ANC should perhaps consider separating the issue of an interim government from that of the constitution-making body.

The divide over these questions can be bridged. The fact that the UN has provided it with a major face-saver in the form of Vance means that the ANC can accept De Klerk's concessions in reasonably good faith — and rejoin negotiations.

But we must all pray that there is no further outbreak of evil and orchestrated terror.



Botha



Vance



Eglin

News

in brief

500 game carcasses

ABOUT 500 game carcasses will be donated to welfare organisations over the next two months by the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

MEC member Mr Willie Hoods said yesterday the donation would comprise about 150 wildebeest, 250 springbok and 90 impala and blesbuck carcasses, with a market value of about R70 000.

He handed over the first consignment of 84 game carcasses to the O'Connor Foundation at the Roodeplaat Nature Reserve yesterday. The carcasses will be distributed to needy communities in the Johannesburg area. The culling of game had been necessitated by the drought that caused grazing in some of the 40 Provincial Nature Reserves in the Transvaal to become limited.

Gunmen attack two

A PERSON was killed and another injured after they were attacked by unknown gunmen at Esikhawini near Empangeni on Wednesday night.

KwaZulu police said Mr Musa Mpanza died after gunmen shot at him through the window of his Port Dunford cottage. The gunmen then went to the next cottage where they shot Miss Sibongile Mabaso (24). She was wounded in the right thigh. Police have not yet established the motive for the attacks and are investigating cases of murder and attempted murder. No arrest has been made.

Fine for firing cops

A 20-YEAR-OLD man who shot and wounded two policemen in May last year was yesterday fined R3 000 or two years' imprisonment in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Magistrate Mr AJS Boucher sentenced Clyde Booysen to another two years in prison suspended for five years. Booysen was convicted of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm. The original charge was one of attempted murder. Boucher said Constable Edward Goliath and Constable Jacques Bezuidenhout were wounded at a discotheque where Booysen was working as a security guard.

Sowetan 24/7/92

Sadtu-Lebowa row

THE Northern Transvaal branch of the South African Democratic Teachers Union yesterday called on the Lebowa Department of Education to reopen three colleges in the territory.

Sadtu claimed in a statement the department had closed Sekgose, Mamokgalake-Chuene and Kwena-Moloto colleges "without tangible reasons".

The department, however, denied it had closed the colleges. It said: "The Lebowa Department of Education wishes to reiterate that it cannot open colleges of education which are open" and urged Sadtu that "if they wish to actively participate in politics they should look for a convenient political forum such as Codesa".

Homelands warned

THE ANC Northern Transvaal region yesterday announced that four homelands would be targetted for mass action from August 3.

Regional deputy secretary Mr Norman Mashabane said marches would be staged in Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and KwaNdebele where memoranda will be submitted to the homeland leaders deploring corruption and urging the establishment of an interim government. "The bantustans are a creation of the apartheid regime and must be dismantled. The mass action will be followed up by sit-ins and the occupation of state buildings such as police stations, hospitals and education departments."

Sowetan 24/7/92

SA to import wheat

MORE than 50 percent of South Africa's wheat requirements will have to be imported next year because of the drought in the Free State wheat-producing region says the chairman of the Winter Wheat Producers Organisation, Mr Chappie Ferreira - Sowetan Reporters, Correspondents and Sapa

Sowetan 24/7/92

ANC plans for a strike

Sowetan 24/7/92

(IIA) (P)

■ **TALKS FAIL** ANC, Cosatu and SA Communist

Party plan a week of mass action in August:

The ANC, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party yesterday announced a general strike on August 3 and 4. This follows the failure of talks between business and labour on Wednesday night. Plans for the strike and a week of action were announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg by Cyril Ramaphosa, Jay Naidoo

and Chris Hani. "A unique opportunity has been missed for the business community to join millions of South Africans in concrete actions for democracy," Mr Ramaphosa said in a statement.

See story page

2

NEWS FEATURE New works extol the gr

Tutu is reminded of oppression

Sowetan 24/7/92



■ **NEW GROUND** Archbishop at launch of trilogy of books called "Know Africa":

By Mathatha Tsedu

Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu this week recalled the first time he was in a plane whose crew was all black.

It was, he said, an incident that had become indelibly cemented in his mind, what with having grown up in South Africa, where black people were not supposed to be capable of anything technical.

"I sat there and felt proud that here were Africans really getting this big aeroplane off the ground and keeping it afloat," he said. "Then there was turbulence in the air and the plane started jerking."

Mental oppression

"And I am telling you the truth when I say I was scared and started thinking, 'will these Africans be able to control this plane. Would it not be better if there was a white man in the cockpit?'"

Tutu said the incident clearly showed the mental oppression that had been almost permanently indented in black minds by white colonialism.

He said there was a greater need to get blacks to believe in themselves as a person who had no proud history can never fight for freedom and be able to keep it.

He was speaking at the launch on Monday night of the 'Know Africa' book series, published by a Nigerian writer, Chief Ralph Uwechue.

The trilogy of books, *Africa Today*, *Makers of Modern Africa*, and *Africa's Who is Who*, are the only books of their kind that have been compiled by Africans for an African audience.

Uwechue, who had travelled to South Africa for the occasion, said the motivation behind the books was to correct stereotypes that have been created by non-African writers who have presented Africa as a backward area.

This was despite the fact that Africa gave humanity writing skills, created kingdoms that ruled democratically in Monomotapa and Timbuktu, the latter also a major intellectual centre when Europeans were still living in caves.

The books are not confined to Africans in Africa but extend to black people all over the world, who are described as Africans in the diaspora.

Their achievements, including the first open heart surgery in 1893 conducted by a black American, are recorded in this immensely useful collection that is a must for schools and families that can afford. The books sell at R1 980 but are presently available at a discounted price of R1 782.

Those interested should contact the agents at tel:(011) 643 8471 or write to them at Box 1700, Johannesburg 2000.

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When there is doubt, the 'Red Threat' helps, writes Esther Waugh

Dusting off a useful old bogey

STAR 24/7/92

THE Government's latest tactic — to charge that the Communist Party and Cosatu have lured the ANC back on to a "revolutionary" political path — is a low blow, and a calculated one at that.

In his recent letter to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President de Klerk said he had "information" that the SACP and Cosatu were "redirecting" ANC policies away from "realism" in the negotiations process and towards an insurrectionist approach.

In his confrontational response to the ANC's demands, Mr de Klerk once again demonstrated that while the NP might change its policies, it does not change its tactics: when under attack, it attacks right back. Repeatedly, as the Government has come under pressure in the stop-start negotiations, it has fought back by hitting the ANC in its soft underbelly: the alliance with the SACP. In so doing, it portrays the ANC as an organisation which is not its own master, and is susceptible to relatively easy manipulation.

The Government's response to the latest and most serious impasse is no different. In the first of six detailed annexures to his letter — titled "The current influence of Marxism-Leninism within the ANC" — Mr de Klerk taunted the ANC openly. He said:

- SACP members in the ANC "constantly" influence ANC strategy.
- The ANC has become captive to "outdated" SACP and Cosatu doctrines.
- The SACP persuaded the ANC to make the crucial decisions on the implementation of the programme of mass action, "attempts to deadlock Codesa", and to break off negotiations.

Mr de Klerk said: "Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the SACP and Cosatu. These elements undermine the attempts of many ANC realists to

negotiate in good faith and also induce within the ANC the spirit of radicalism and militancy of the insurrectionist school, which was evident at the SACP's 8th congress in 1991."

The trouble with the allegations, from the ANC's point of view, is that they are not demonstrably implausible. The Government is quite correct in detecting a hardening of attitude towards negotiations in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu. But by resorting to a conspiracy theory, the Government by implication fails to take into account the many and complicated reasons underlying that stiffening of resolve.

Many who President de Klerk would categorise as "realists" within the ANC believe that the organisation and its allies simply had no choice but to adopt a more militant approach.

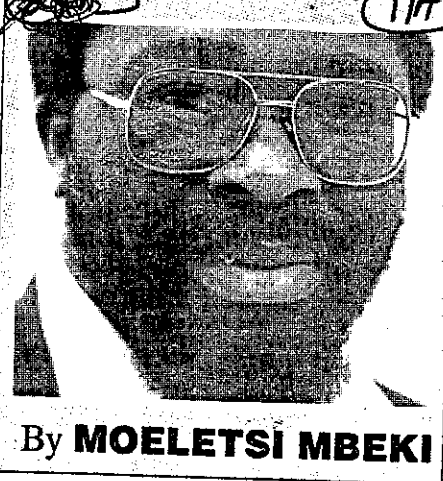
What the Government does not understand, they say, is the level of township anger at the ongoing violence and the dearth of concrete benefits resulting from months of negotiations, as well as the effect this has on the ANC.

Ordinary people have not been privy to the detailed discussions going on behind closed doors at the World Trade Centre, and they are disillusioned.

The intentional focus of the Government response to the ANC was on "militant manipulation". Attention was thereby deflected from the constitutional concessions which were included in the same document. The result of this tactic is certain to delay the negotiations process: though the Government concessions might prove constructive in the medium to long term, the "Commie bashing" has ensured that the ANC cannot — even if it wants to — come back to the table quickly without losing face. The Government tactic therefore affords it short-term propaganda advantage, but at the cost of the timeous reconvention of Codesa. □

ANC must clamber out of the quagmire

with mail 24/7-30/7/92
The African National Congress
needs to make the first move to
get negotiations going — such
as withdrawing the demand for a
constituent assembly



By **MOELETSI MBEKI**

largely self-defeating — it unwittingly hands over a veto on the ANC getting power to the very people, the perpetrators of the massacres, who do not want the ANC to get into power.

The ANC, on the other hand, is out of power and wants to get into power as soon as possible. Any delay in the negotiations process therefore works against the ANC's overriding objective — to get into power now and stay in power for as long as possible.

The difficult question that confronts the ANC is how it should leverage the NP into relinquishing power soon, given that the NP says it now accepts the principle that it will not rule South Africa forever. Force was, of course, one way to leverage the NP to relinquish power. The ANC gave this option its best shot between 1961 and 1990 but has, for all practical purposes, now given it up.

The only remaining option for the ANC is therefore negotiations and compromise, perhaps in combination with peaceful mass action as need arises. This, in effect, is the only formula with which to unlock the constitutional crisis that has dogged this country for so many years.

The trouble with this formula is that it is unpalatable to the ANC because it demands that in negotiations, the ANC, as the party out of power, makes more concessions than the NP, the party in power.

THE uncompromising performance of Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the recent United Nations Security Council session, where he defended his government's indefensible record on violence, must have surprised many people at the UN.

Less than four years ago, also in New York, the same Botha, tail between legs, had had to sign a document forcing South Africa to pull out of Namibia after its army had taken a hammering in southern Angola. The white minority regime, notorious for its intransigence, was, at the time, also snared in an elaborate trap set by the world-wide movement for economic, financial, cultural and diplomatic sanctions.

When, at the end of 1989, Pretoria was handed the African National Congress-designed and Organisation of African Unity-approved Harare Declaration, it had no choice but to agree to undo its apartheid laws, legalise all previously banned organisations and start talking to them about a different future for the country.

After more than two years of intense bargaining, the constitutional negotiations are today in a deeper quagmire than at any stage since the process began in May 1986 with an exchange between ANC leader Nelson Mandela, serving a life sentence, and then state president, PW Botha. Judging by the aggressive tone of recent memoranda fired at Shell House from the Union Buildings, the NP regime appears to have bounced back from its punch drunk state of a few years ago, no doubt because of the collapse of sanctions.

The question facing the country is how to get out of the quagmire and back on the road to a new constitution for South Africa.

The emissary of the UN secretary general may be the man to do the job, but evidence suggests otherwise. The burden thus once more falls on South Africans to save themselves and their country. But who should make the first move or, more accurately, who is likely to make the first move to unblock the process?

The hard logic of the imperatives of power dictates that the ANC will have to make the first move.

The NP is in power and wants to stay in power as long as it possibly can. Whatever delays the negotiations therefore works in the NP's favour. This is why the NP is not particularly perturbed when the ANC pulls out of negotiations. Several observers have noted that the NP would have used anything to stall the constitutional principles negotiations at Codesa II — had it not been a quibble over percentage points it would have been something else.

This is also why the ANC's tactic of suspending negotiations to pressure the NP regime to do something about violence is

This therefore brings us to the thorny questions in the current negotiations: what is meant by compromise and, secondly, when is a compromise a compromise and not a sellout or capitulation. The answer to both questions is: when compromise leads to democracy.

What is it then that the ANC can compromise on that could lead to democracy without constituting capitulation — or co-option, to use a more evocative term in the South African lexicon? The answer is the elected constituent assembly.

By any calculation the whites comprise a tiny fraction of the adult population of this country. If the constitution is drawn up in an elected body, however elaborate the safeguard for minorities, that body will be made up of blacks. An elected constituent assembly as the body drawing up a new constitution is thus putting in polite terms a demand that only the blacks should write the future constitution. This is tantamount to calling for an unconditional surrender from the NP.

In the world of practical politics this is unlikely to happen and, in any case, unconditional surrenders take place only on the battlefield.

On the other hand, the ANC loses nothing by compromising on the constituent assembly and agreeing that the constitution be drawn up at an all-party conference. According to all studies, the ANC is the single largest party in this country. This is known to all, including its strongest opponents. This is why when the ANC pulled out of Codesa the process came to a standstill.

An all-party conference, however, would allow the constitution to be drawn up in a give-and-take situation, thus reducing the fear that the ANC alone would write it.

The ANC should not, however, give up the constituent assembly without concessions from the NP. These could include acceptance of the principle of election by electoral district or constituency rather than through party lists.

A constituency-based system gives ordinary voters control of MPs. Proportional representation means MPs are elected because they are on a party list — and therefore answerable only to party bosses.

Because South Africa still has effective geographic racial segregation, a constituency system also means that both racially-based and regionally-based parties will be assured of representation in parliament. This will have the added benefit of giving these parties a say without preventing the majority from governing.

●Moeletsi Mbeki is a consultant to the ANC and Cosatu on a project to set up a daily newspaper.

Removals victim goes to court

W/Man 24/7-30/7/92

BY CARMEL RICKARD

OLD age pensioner Andries Radebe, victim of the government's "black spot" removals 15 years ago, wants the supreme court to declare the expropriation of his land unlawful, and give it back to him.

Radebe, who had title deeds to his farm in Cremin, Natal, has begun action in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court testing the legality of his 1977 forced removal. However, 99 other people removed from their land at Cremin during the same period are waiting in the wings to see whether Radebe is successful.

His is the first case this decade giving the courts an opportunity to test the legality of removals carried out under apartheid legislation. Radebe was moved under laws which allowed the state to expropriate land, force black title-holders off their properties (called "black spots") and clear them from areas the government designated "white".

By 1985, an estimated 3,5-million people had been removed under these laws, and another 1,9-million were under threat of removal. Many, like Radebe, have never given up hope that they will return to their land. Even before the court starts to hear his application, it could encourage "black spot" victims in other parts of the country to look for possible grounds for similar court action.

Lawyers from Durban's Legal Resources Centre who are acting for Radebe argue that in (non-political) expropriation cases, the courts protect the rights of the landowner by insisting that every procedural technicality is observed to the letter.

However, in Radebe's case a number of formalities required by the law were not carried out. For example, the Land Act and the

Expropriation Act say the owner of a property must be properly notified of a planned expropriation. Radebe claims he never received any notification, nor was any notice put up on his house or the boundary fence.

The Expropriation Act also says if the owner cannot be traced the notice must be published in the *Government Gazette* and other media. This too was not done.

The law further states that expropriation must be carried out "for public purposes". However the land lay fallow for 11 years after Radebe and his family were removed to Ezakheni township in northern Natal. Only then was it sold to cattle farmer Derek Dreyer who used it for pasture.

Radebe says that if his land had been needed for public purposes, it would have been put to that use immediately after it was expropriated, or very soon afterwards.

Therefore, he argues, "the minister did not come to his decision to expropriate fairly and honestly because the property was not in reality required for public purposes".

A major hurdle for this and any other case brought to test "black spot" removals is that it happened so long ago. To explain the delay, Radebe outlines steps he took over the years to contest and query the expropriation as well as the R4 017 cash he was paid in compensation, which he offers to return.

Former Catholic priest and author of several books about the effects of the removal policy, Cosmas Desmond, supports Radebe's application in an affidavit. Desmond explains how removals affected the communities — usually illiterate, frightened, rural people. He says the results were so devastating that "immediate and effective litigation to rectify wrongs" was almost impossible.

ANC-Cosatu plan daily paper

W/Man 24/7-30/7/92

By REG RUMNEY

THE African National Congress-Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance is planning to launch its own daily newspaper.

The publication will not, it is reliably learnt, rely solely on donor money but will mobilise private sector funds. Details are still sketchy but it is understood a company will be set up to run the paper. The company will be controlled by a trust, comprised of two ANC representatives, two Cosatu representatives, one South African Communist Party representative, one other and private investors. The trust and the private investors will appoint the board of directors of the new company.

The ANC and Cosatu have started to raise funds. Nigerian investors are said to be interested, and the ANC has commitments from Italian unions and the Italian government to set up a democratic media centre. Potential local investors such as the Federation of African Business and Consumer Organisations and National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry have also been approached.

Whether to buy an existing operation or start a new paper from scratch has not yet been decided. But it is unlikely the Anglo American-controlled English media groups will sell any of their papers. Anglo is believed to be strongly opposed to selling any of its newspaper interests to political organisations.

Argus chief executive Doug Band says his company's position is clear: it has no publications for sale to political organisations. However, it will be willing to help any "political" newspaper with distribution and printing and the like. "Should the ANC and Cosatu wish to buy or start a newspaper we would help them in any possible way."

Are you interested in

THE Pan Africanist Congress has to some extent been vindicated by the breakdown of negotiations at Codesa. It has consistently maintained that it is futile to negotiate with the "enemy" from a position of weakness, and regards the African National Congress' withdrawal from the negotiations and mass action campaign as an attempt to address this.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander says Codesa is plagued by a host of structural problems which are due to the absence of a neutral convenor and can only result in secret, elitist deals or deadlock. When the negotiations get back on track, it will be a "matter of days before they deadlock again and the PAC will reap even greater rewards then".

When an organisation moves in and out of the negotiating process, he adds, in an obvious reference to the ANC, it gives the impression that it is unstable and does not really know what it's up against, resulting in a serious loss of support at grassroots level.

"When we said Codesa could not deliver, everybody said the PAC would be sidelined. Everybody was worried except the PAC. The deadlock has increased support for the PAC dramatically," he says.

Nonetheless, there is a widespread perception that the PAC has failed to capitalise on the realisation of its prophecies and to gather support on the ground, where militants within the ANC, particularly the youth, appear more interested in the PAC's language of guns and insurrection than the temperate tones of Codesa's negotiators.

Alexander concedes a failure to seize the initiative: "I admit that we have not taken advantage ... as we should have. This is mainly because of a hostile media, but also due to a tactical consideration."

"The PAC does not want everyone to see how it is preparing itself. It is playing its cards close to its chest. We don't reveal details of our strategy because we have to build up an advantage. The manner we use might not be very attractive for media consumption, but we are moving very fast."

Given the organisation's dictum "no press built the PAC, no press will destroy it" and its approach of tactical secrecy, blaming the media appears to be a contradiction.

Director of the Centre for African Studies Eugene Nyati comments that

What's kept the PAC so quiet? Electioneering

11A

The Pan Africanist Congress has been surprisingly quiet about Codesa's deadlock. But it says this was a tactical decision and that its grassroots support has risen dramatically.

PHILIPPA GARSON
reports

the PAC has a deep-rooted problem arising from inept leadership. "The PAC has a very powerful message which no African can fail to relate to, in part or in whole. But it takes more than a good message — you need to translate it into good political leverage. The PAC leadership has not gone beyond articulating an enticing message at press conferences," he says.

The PAC is partly hampered by dwindling funds — even from Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, whose ideology is closer to that of the PAC than the ANC. This is due to a prevailing sense that the PAC is simply not doing much, says Nyati. He believes the organisation could do a lot more in the way of mobilisation, even without vast resources.

But Alexander is enthusiastic about recent inroads made by his organisation. He is also tempted to flash a few of its closely-guarded playing cards.

He reveals that the PAC's signed-up membership is now about half a million, without counting the members of its student, youth and women's wings, which have recently become subordinate to the PAC, rather than affiliates of the organisation. About 3 000 delegates attended this year's PAC congress, he adds.

Like the ANC, the PAC has large numbers of "political football fans" and its "membership is not indicative of our mobilising strength", he says.

Alexander explains that the PAC is perceived as inactive and invisible because if chose to operate as an underground organisation in the 1980s, rather than through a front body like the United Democratic



PAC lions at a funeral ... militant talk, but not much activity

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Front.

But, he says, the PAC has recently gained much ground in its traditional rural support base and has won over at least 800 villages in the far northern Transvaal. In other parts of the country, he adds, support for the organisation is widespread, with 20 regional structures and 250 to 300 branches

nationwide. The Natal Midlands and Port Elizabeth are the only areas where lack of support is cause for concern.

"We have upgraded all our regions and they are now all fully equipped. We have increased our headquarters staff from 18 to 50, and we are moving to new offices ... We are preparing

ourselves — either to take part in elections or to oppose them, and the latter option needs greater infrastructure."

Alexander denies that the PAC is plagued by leadership problems and dismisses claims by reliable sources that key PAC leaders Barney Desai and Dikgang Moseneke were initially in favour of participating in Codesa.

"It's a long race" is another dictum of the PAC, which is patiently holding out to hopes of negotiations done its way: in a foreign country, with a revived Patriotic Front sitting at one end of the table and the government at the other.

When the PAC puts its case before United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance this week, it will request the establishment of a UN committee to supervise discussions on constituent assembly elections. "These would not take long. Thereafter, the committee should supervise the elections," says Alexander.

"If we could have the international community involved and free the political process of its structural weaknesses, there would be no reason for the PAC not to be involved," he adds.

Meanwhile, the organisation continues to run the risk of being left behind by a swift transitional process. "If Codesa continues without deadlock, we'll see what they come up with. More likely than not, it'll be something unacceptable."

Alexander adds that the PAC "will go on the offensive" against the establishment of a joint executive council to manage phase one of an interim government. "We will expose it as a glorified native advisory board. With executive powers vested in the cabinet and parliament, any council outside of this cannot have real executive powers."

However, he does not rule out the possibility of the PAC contesting elections even if the arrangements are unsatisfactory. If it swept through with a majority, the PAC could override any inbuilt safeguards for regionalism and minority rights, he says. "Even that constitution will have to make provision for changes to itself."

Alexander describes the proposed agreement between business and labour for the August 3 shut-down as a "revisionist betrayal — we won't support it for one day". And the PAC, still awaiting overtures from the ANC, will only join forces with the ANC-led alliance over future mass action if this is not aimed at reviving Codesa, he

THE YOUNG FIREBRANDS 'DON'T WANT TO LIBERATE CORPSES'

11A

By PHILIPPA GARSON

ARTICULATE, bespectacled Thabiso Mosokotso, chairman of the Sharpeville branch of Azanian Youth Unity (Azyanu), is the model of studious decorum. Quite plainly, his standard dress is a crisp white shirt and smart-casual trousers, and his favourite pastime is educating the masses.

It is on his slight shoulders that the task has fallen of investigating the attack by 50 angry youths — many of them wearing the colours and shouting the slogans of the Pan Africanist Congress — on white journalists at the funeral of the Boipatong massacre victims last month.

"Attacking white journalists is not part of our strategy at all," says Mosokotso.

He explains that the youths are members of an expelled group of Azyanu supporters from Kattlehong who call themselves The Watchdogs. They were "democratically ousted" at an Azyanu congress last year after causing havoc when a decision was taken that the youth organisation should no longer be independent but become a component structure of the PAC. "They are not part of us, although they still use our emblems," he says.

Mosokotso (21) is deeply concerned about the continuing carnage in the Vaal, which has claimed the lives of at least 13 people since the weekend, three of them shot dead by police at a PAC funeral in Evaton. He points out that African National Congress members are not blameless in the violence, which is mostly perpetrated against innocent residents.

The consumer boycott started in the wake of the Boipatong massacre has been imposed on township residents without proper con-

sultation, he says. "If you start a campaign no one understands, you end up imposing your will on them."

"We are not opposed to consumer boycotts and stayaways. It's a part of mass action that we endorse. But this should not be accompanied by people being burnt alive, assaulted, killed. That's three steps backward for every one step forward."

Mosokotso acknowledges that the high levels of anguish and anger in the Vaal are conducive to random anti-government action, but points out that the PAC is cautious about badly thought-out strategies which can have negative consequences.

"We don't want to liberate corpses," he says. "It's the responsibility of the liberation movements to give people proper direction. At the moment, things are in disarray ... It's not that we're not in a hurry, but this is not a game. We are not gambling with the lives of our African people."

While some young PAC supporters may help their ANC counterparts man neighbourhood defence units, they generally prefer not to "go around in gangs" and try to keep aloof from the violence between the ANC and Inkatha, he says.

"We do not believe Inkatha is the real enemy. Inkatha is the whip that the government is using on us. We are not interested in fighting the whip, but in cutting the hand that wields the whip."

"We still see Inkatha as part of the oppressed section of our community. We must have dialogue with them and win them over so we can all fight against the government."

While some point to the lofty PAC ideals of African unity as an explanation for the organisation's lack of involvement in the factional violence on the Reef and in Natal, others hold the more cynical belief that the PAC is too insignificant to test the ground and is not regarded as enough of a threat to engage in battle. In areas where the PAC has a visible presence, like the eastern Cape, violence has broken out between the ANC and the PAC.

Comments PAC secretary general Benny Alexander: "We have decided not to target people who can engage us in a side war and sap our energies. You won't see us issuing statements condemning Inkatha and the homeland leaders. We simply act as if they don't exist, and they don't feel they have any reason to defend themselves against us."

If the PAC rank and file is following the path of peace for the moment, what role is its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, playing? Apla has claimed responsibility for the deaths of a number of policemen this year.

Says Alexander: "We cannot comment on Apla's operations, only on the political necessity of the armed struggle. The simple truth is that we don't know." He explains that Apla's headquarters is in Dar-es-Salaam and that it has its own administration and command hierarchy.

But some members warn that this "speak-to-Dar-es-Salaam" attitude is a tactical error which serves to reinforce perceptions of a weak PAC leadership, lacking sufficient conviction to support openly the actions of its armed wing.

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Mandela: I'm no atheist

NELSON Mandela's 27 years in prison is a kind of religious symbol, a summary of 'bottom-line' values: things worth dying for. What sustained him during those years? What values guide his life? Does he believe in God? CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO spoke to him.

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THE relationship between a person and his or her God is a deeply intimate and personal matter, Nelson Mandela told me. "It is a matter I do not usually regard as open for comment in the media," he said.

"In many ways I am a private person. There is also a sense in which, for me, religious experience is a matter beyond articulation. It is something I do not fully comprehend, but also I think it is more important to live values, whether religious or otherwise, rather than to talk about them."

Asked whether he thought religious belief was an important ingredient of social existence, he responded: "Religion is important because the majority of people in society are religious, and at the centre of all the great religious traditions is the pursuit of peace."

"I am convinced that if we were to put into practice the central tenets of the religious traditions practised in South Africa, all of which have a lot in common, there would be social justice and peace."

Mandela readily acknowledges the impact of religion on his life during his years in prison. He speaks at length of chaplains whom he met on Robben Island.

One he mentions with affection is a Father Hughes of the Anglican Church: "His religion was an impressive spiritual understanding of life — never something separate from it." Then there was Rev André Schäfer of the NG Kerk in Afrika, "a little hostile towards us at first, but later becoming one of the best-liked chaplains. Here was a very honest man."

He spoke too of the Rev Theo Kotze, who was a Methodist chaplain for a while. "The Government regarded him as being too political, and he was prevented from visiting the island."

Mandela enjoyed the ecumenical approach of the chaplains who never asked who belonged to what church or religion. "I never missed a service and often read the scripture lessons ..."

Equally important for him were the religious services provided by other faiths: "I enjoyed the visits of Imam Abdurahman Bessler with whom I had long conversations, remembering that it was Maulvi Cachalia who first outlined to me the basic tenets of Islam many years earlier."

Referring to the existence of the *kramat* on the island, said to be that of Sheik Mantura, he observed: "The religious convictions of people like the sheik move me deeply." Impressed that the sheik's belief drove him to resist Dutch imperialist designs in south-east Asia (causing him to be exiled and jailed on Robben Island in the mid-1700s) Mandela insisted: "That kind of religion simply must be taken seriously."

WRITING to Sheik Omar Gabier in March 1985, Mandela observed: "I literally harassed the commanding officer of the prison for permission to visit the *kramat*. Permission was finally granted only in 1977. That was a day I will not easily forget."

"Symbols and monuments,



NELSON'S CREDO: It is more important to live values rather than to talk about them. Photograph: KEN OOSTERBROEK

especially those which represent great movements or national heroes, can move one beyond words. My fellow prisoners and I spent more than an hour at the shrine and came away feeling proud and happy that we were able to pay our respects to so great a fighter for justice."

After being moved to

Pollsmoor prison it was decided that prisoners could be visited only by chaplains of the specific church or religion to which they belonged.

"This was a source of great disappointment to me. It was, however, also an occasion for me to develop a friendship with Rev Dudley Moore, of the Methodist Church to which I belong.

"He visited me frequently and I received holy Communion from him on a regular basis. The sacrament gave me a sense of inner quiet and calm. I used to come away from these services feeling a new person."

I asked him if he would regard himself as a religious person. "No. I am not particularly religious or spiritual.

I am just an ordinary person interested in trying to make sense of the mysteries of life."

He then quoted a verse from Tennyson, telling me that Alexander Kerr, rector of Fort Hare University during their student days, would often use these words:

Strong Son of God, Immortal love,

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*Who we, who have not seen thy face
By faith and faith alone embrace.
Believing what we cannot prove.*

I told him that Govan Mbeki had recalled these words in the same way, insisting that he was an atheist. "Oh, no!" Mandela volunteered. "I am not an atheist. Definitely not."

"One of the greatest joys after my release was the privilege of closing the front door and sharing privately in the decisions which any family person is required to make. In some ways the violation of this right was the most painful part of my years in prison."

HE went on: "Work on the island was demanding but also, in its own way, quite fulfilling. It exposed us to the outdoors. I watched the tides come in and go out. I considered the rock formations. I enjoyed the elements even when they were harsh. Isolated from society, I became one with nature."

People were also important — not least the prison warders. "Of course there were some unpleasant characters, but also some essentially good people ... I still keep in touch with Lieutenant James Gregory and Warrant-Officer Swart. They are fine human beings."

"We have got to learn to live together, to transcend our prejudices, to resolve our differences amicably, to respect one another and together to reach towards co-operation and attainable common goals. Those are some of the things I learnt again and again during my years in prison."

Regarding religion as a personal matter, the values that characterise Mandela's life are values that believers regard as sacred. Religious people are often slow to practise what they preach. But some of us recognise this praxis when we see it.

□ *The author is Professor of Religion and Society at the University of Cape Town.*

Tail may have been assassin Hani

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BRONWYN
WILKINSON

SOUTH African Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani, who claimed he was tailed by an armed man in central Johannesburg yesterday, said the man could have been part of a State plot to assassinate senior party leaders.

Hani and SACP Border regional secretary Fkenjna Eorji were followed by the man when they went for a walk in Marshall Street at 10 am. Hani told a press conference yesterday that some women approached the two men and warned them they were being tailed.

The women said they had been inside a hair-dressing salon when the man, in his twenties, had entered and fiddled with what they believed was a hidden gun. "The women asked him what he was doing and he hid his face and walked out immediately," Hani said.

When the women pointed the man out, he noticed the two men watching him and, according to Hani, became nervous.

Lawyer Brendan Barry told the press conference the man was in such a hurry to get away that he was almost knocked down by a car.

The man ran to a metallic green Toyota Cressida, in which sat two white men in dark glasses, and the car sped off, Hani said.

He believed the incident was either a bungled assassination attempt or incompetent surveillance.

Police, however, yesterday denied they were planning to assassinate Hani. Colonel Frans Malherbe told a news conference in Johannesburg that Hani had reported nothing to the police and they therefore could not comment further on his allegations.

World knows ANC had to act as it did, says Mbeki

Dismay at mass action, but also understanding

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FIRST appointment of another hectic Friday, and Thabo Mbeki was running late.

It might amuse opponents of the ANC that the organisation's head of international affairs had been stuck at home because of a problem with his vehicle's immobiliser.

Immobilise, they would say, is what the ANC is trying to do to the country.

Mbeki's specific portfolio is international relations — he held extensive talks with United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on Thursday — but he is also one of the ANC's key domestic diplomats.

It was in that capacity that he flew to Bloemfontein last night to meet Free State businessmen and professionals, who needed some convincing that mass action was a bitter but essential pill for our society and not a dose of poison.

Mbeki has probably been doing quite a bit of this recently. "There is certainly concern in business and diplomatic circles, a wish that mass action were not the only way to resolve this dispute," he says.

"There is a sense of dismay." But Mbeki disputes that this translates automatically into criticism of the ANC. "There are some people who are clearly opposed to our stance and don't understand it.

"But the standing of the National Party is not very high either. There is a lot of distrust, even if there is a more positive attitude to individuals like P W de Klerk.

"There is also understanding that the ANC needed to act as it has. Businessmen convey to us that they want the solutions to be as peaceful as possible; we convey to them that they can make a contribution."

Comfortable

Mbeki describes the failure of labour and industry to reach a pact to avert next month's general strike as "unfortunate". South African business, he says, does understand that there are grievances.

"Part of the problem, though, is that some of them now claim that they are not political, that they don't want to get involved.

"But there was a time when they had a comfortable relationship with Government and they were happy to attend all

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

those summits with P W Botha, where they more or less got what they wanted. Now that has changed and there is resistance. An agreement between Saccola and Cosatu could have made an important contribution."

Foreign businessmen, says Mbeki, tend to take a longer-term view of the situation than their South African counterparts. "They have a basic concern about the speed with which we are moving, more than a concern with what is happening day to day.

"There were a lot of expectations that Codesa 2 would produce an interim government, and a number of corporations were standing by to make announcements about investment. Once Codesa failed, they held back.

"An interim government is important because it would signal that the process of changing the political-power relationship in South Africa has started, that the country is no longer simply ruled by a white minority government as of old. There is a very serious concern

about the levels of instability that derive from the absence of a political settlement."

Instability, some would argue, will also derive from mass action. "It is unfortunate that the scenario has been portrayed in this way, that mass political action equals violence and unrest. It doesn't.

"What all of us should be saying is that we have the civil liberty to express an opinion by meetings or marching in the streets. In that context we call on everybody to behave themselves. But saying that mass action produces violence simply justifies that violence," Mbeki says.

"The overwhelming majority in the country would have wanted a solution to our problems without the levels of conflict we have now. But we have a practical problem. The deadlock at Codesa did not occur between equal parties.

"If the Government were not both player and referee, it would not be necessary for us to have demonstrations."

Looking at the international picture, Mbeki rejects the view expressed by Foreign Minister Pk Botha that mass action would be in conflict with the

spirit of United Nations Resolution 765. "The matter did not even arise. There was no suggestion that peaceful activity of this sort must be stopped."

Mbeki believes the ANC's shift into tough-talking mode has not cost it support abroad. "One must understand that in the rest of the world it is normal to have peaceful demonstrations, it is not extraordinary to have strikes. You don't have this hands-up-in-horror attitude.

Understanding

"In all of the meetings we have attended, both conferences and bilateral talks, there is understanding for the position which the ANC has stated on majority rule," he says.

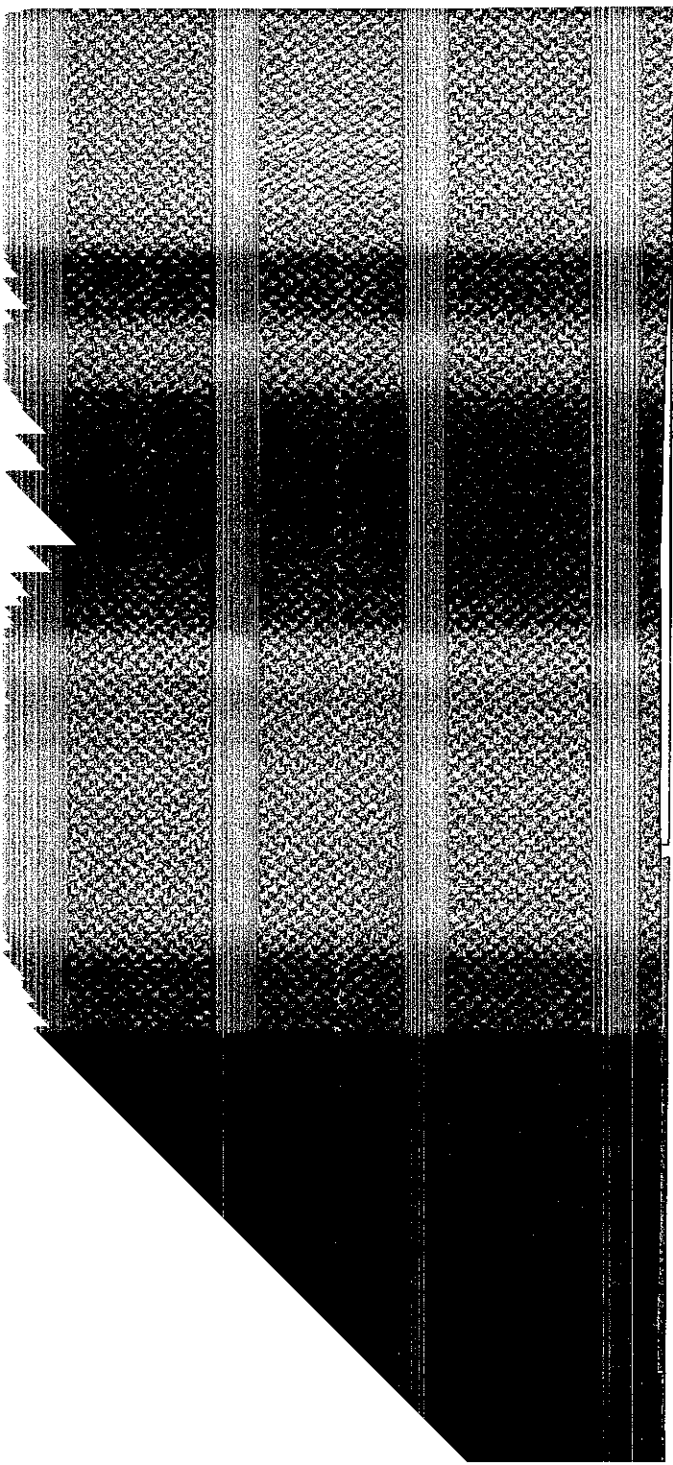
Today, Mbeki hopes to take a break from all this diplomacy by watching the Kaizer Chiefs-Orlando Pirates cup tie at the FNB Stadium — well, sort of a break. Diplomatically, he will not be drawn on which team he supports.

"I like both of them," he says. Any soccer fan, of course, will tell you that's impossible. But for now, at least, Mbeki probably has enough wrangling on his plate as it is.



Thabo Mbeki's action is a bitter pill that must be taken.

Photograph: JOHN HOGG



'You just cannot trust a Nat'

LARGE-SCALE success in the National Party's current "Seduce a Coloured" campaign will not be achieved if coloureds remember how the NP repeatedly abused them in the past.

The complete absence of an NP apology to the people they have brutalised over the years is a clear indication that they show no remorse for the horrors of the apartheid era, says Professor Roy Du Pre, a political historian at the University of the Transkei.

"The abolition of apartheid in 1991 appeared to be a sign that the NP had repented of their 'sins'. The obvious step then would have been to take their victims aside, express sincere regret for the way they had treated them, apologise for the atrocities perpetrated by them for the past 43 years, and ask sincerely for forgiveness," Du Pre argues.

But they have not, and, according to Du Pre, it proves the NP "felt nothing for the misery they caused".

"It is now apparent that they did not abolish apartheid because it was the Christian, civilised, or the moral thing to do."

Du Pre recognises that attempts have been made by government ministers to appease the insistent calls for an apology. The quotes Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the NP delegation at Codesa, as saying in December: "It was not the intention to deprive other people of their rights and to contribute to their

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In his forthcoming book, 'The rape of the Coloured People: the Political and Social onslaught on the Coloured People in the 20th Century', Professor Roy du Pre spells out how the National Party has doggedly tried to use coloureds for its own political ends. **QUENTIN WILSON** reports:

misery, but eventually the policy of separation led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it."

Du Pre argues that for De Villiers to claim that the NP did not intend to promote the interests of whites at the expense of other people, "is downright dishonest".

"Imagine Adolf Hitler confessing in 1945: 'It was not the intention of the Nazi Party to kill six million Jews, two million Slavs and Poles, and cause the death of five million other people, but eventually our policy led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it.' Can you imagine the world's response to such a confession?"

"After conducting a reign of systematic, cold-blooded and premeditated terror for over 40 years, the NP has the gall to make such a claim," he says.

"The NP not only refuses to apologise for its brutality but also refuses to give back what it stole and plundered. How convincing is De Villiers' half-hearted attempt at

an apology if he and his people hang onto all the wealth and privileges which their policies provided?"

"If the government considers compensating the oppressed for losses suffered under apartheid, the victims of apartheid may begin to consider forgiving the NP. Sadly, it does not seem as if either of these will ever happen," comments Du Pre.

Thus, in 1991 and 1992, the unapologetic De Klerk and the remorseless NP vigorously set out to pursue the coloured voter to bolster a planned "Christian Democratic" alliance which would attempt to thwart the ANC at the polls.

"Just before the 1924 election, the NP promised the coloured people a 'New Deal' if they supported the NP. Although the NP won the election, the 'New Deal' never materialised, says Du Pre.

"The NP was also instrumental in the formation of a coloured party, the Afrikaner Nasionale Bond, and gave backing to the Cape Malay Association. The task of



Roy du Pre

these coloured organisations was to woo the coloured people from the South African Party (SAP) to the NP," he claims.

Thus, between 1924 and 1929, the NP made an all-out effort to attract coloured voters (who were at the time enfranchised in the Cape). Hertzog wanted to gain a large enough majority in 1929 so as to "deal decisively" with the African peoples.

"As a result, the 1929 election came to be known as the 'Swartgevaar' election as the NP tried to scare the coloured people into the NP fold. However, when the coloured voters rejected NP overtures and voted overwhelmingly for Smuts' SAP, the NP turned nasty.

"Hertzog's Coloured Bills were hastily dropped; the white electorate was quickly bolstered by the enfran-

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chisement of white women. In addition, a law was passed making it possible to challenge the qualifications of coloureds to vote."

The NP no longer needed the coloured voter when Africans were removed from the Cape Common Roll in 1936, but the NP certainly needs them now.

Du Pre argues that the "NP took revenge" on coloureds because of the latter's rejection of them in 1929, and that the same will happen again "if the NP gets the opportunity to use them once more."

He says: "The NP wants the coloured vote so that it can withstand the ANC at the polls in the first and subsequent elections. When that has been achieved, the NP will dump the coloured people as it has done in the past.

"Anyone who thinks the NP has suddenly had a change of heart, realised the error of its ways and 'turned to loving' is in for a big shock. The single-minded NP is a devious, untrustworthy, immoral party which will use the coloured people to achieve its own nefarious ends and then discard them when they have outlived their usefulness.

"The NP wants to form a white-led bloc and it needs the coloured people to assist it in frustrating the majority and deprive them of access to the reigns of power," he predicts.

"The coloured people must open their eyes to the danger of the NP fox which has infiltrated the coloured chicken coop. History has given them ample warning."

The call for reparation and retribution for apartheid crimes is a contentious one. It drew a wave of protest last week after the ANC Youth League held a mock trial in the city.

Rehana Rossouw examines why this call will not disappear:

SOUTH 2517-2917192

THE audience enjoyed the spectacle of 'President FW de Klerk' apologising for his crimes against the people of South Africa in Cape Town last week, but political parties to the right of the ANC were not amused.

"A slap in the face", "irresponsible" and "inflammatory" were some of the responses of these parties to the ANC Youth League's mock trial and sentencing of key National Party and Inkatha officials on the Parade last Wednesday.

But the ANC is unrepentant. The organisation's Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni promised: "Even though this is a mock procedure now, we will sentence them (the government) at a later stage."

The call for reparation for grievous wrongs committed against black South Africans is not a new one, nor will the call disappear because some are uncomfortable with the thought of punishment for the damage they inflicted on society.

And the damage is well documented.

World's paria

Apartheid was a man-made policy and individuals in the National Party — at least — could be held responsible for violating human rights.

White South Africa was the world's pariah for decades because the policy of apartheid had been declared a crime against humanity.

Apartheid denied blacks basic human rights — like the right to self-determination — but even more, it was likened in international human rights circles to genocide and systematic violations of human rights.

The International Law Commission included apartheid in its list of Crimes against the Peace and Security of Mankind in July 1991.

Reparation to provide remedies for grievous wrongs committed against a country or a group of residents is not a new concept.

'Bygones cannot be bygones'



SHOW TRIAL: Will the ANC mock trial on the Grand Parade become reality in the courts of a democratic South Africa?

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In Chile, torturers and murderers were prosecuted after the restoration when a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation was established to purge the horrors of dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet.

In the Soviet Union, the past is being exhumed to provide some insight into the degradation which gripped the Soviet people during the rule of Joseph Stalin.

But the most remarkable process of reparation occurred when the German government offered compensation to victims of Nazism in Germany and occupied Europe.

The programme, which returned land and property stolen from Jews especially, to the victims or their descendants, cost the German government over 80 billion Deutsch Mark (about R42 billion).

The Nuremberg trial, which sentenced Nazi war criminals in 1946, held individuals responsible for crimes committed during the implementation of government policy.

Yet in South Africa, National Party politicians refuse to acknowledge that apartheid was wrong or immoral and they are therefore incensed by references to retribution and reparation.

ANC constitutional committee member Professor Kader Asmal believes reparation in favour of the victims of apartheid is vital — without it a new democratic order in South Africa will be like a house built on sand. "A veil cannot be drawn across the vile and unspeakable acts committed in our country," Asmal said recently.

Accountable

"The legacy created by the monster of racial oppression and exploitation cannot be easily removed, both in its physical form and in the hearts and minds of the people."

Asmal said there would probably be no trials on the scale of Nuremberg following the election of a democratic government because the ANC believes in reconciliation.

However, hit-squad members and their political superiors were warned that they would be accountable to a democratic government, regardless of any immunity conferred on them.

"But reconciliation not only requires liberation — after all a slave and master can hardly ever establish a free relationship — but

also justice," Asmal said. "There can be no real protection of human rights in a free South Africa unless there is some redress for the wrongs committed by the apartheid regime.

"How can anyone provide for respect for personal property rights, such as your home and your personal belongings, in a future South Africa unless the victims of forced removals, group areas and the land acts are able to obtain compensation or the return of their land and property?" Asmal asked.

Political historian Professor Roy du Pre said reconciliation in South Africa could not happen unless the NP apologised for apartheid.

De Klerk has only admitted that apartheid was "impractical", "inefficient" and "outdated", but never that it was "unjust".

"This presents an enormous problem to the NP because, with confession goes penance, atonement and restitution," Du Pre said.

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

"De Klerk knows that once he apologises for apartheid he is confessing that the past was riddled with injustice. Having done that, he will have to go the whole hog and pay compensation."

Du Pre said the victims of apartheid could consider forgiving the National Party if the government considered compensating blacks for losses suffered under apartheid.

Du Pre suggested that for the sake of justice, it may also be necessary to have a Nuremberg-type trial, which he believed was vital to the process of reconciliation.

Such a trial need not necessarily punish the assassins and torturers but could merely bring out all the facts of the past to achieve national reconciliation.

"However, the NP's refusal to come to terms with the past and apologise for apartheid means that this will probably never be implemented or considered," Du Pre said.

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By Quentin Wilson

'Robert stood head and shoulders above us all'

MK veteran quits the ANC over his son's 'betrayal'

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UMKHONTO we Sizwe (MK) veteran, Mr Derrick McBride has resigned from the ANC following the organisation's "betrayal" of his son, Robert, who is still being kept prisoner for his involvement in MK operations.

McBride believes the ANC "is hushing up" that remaining political prisoners are no longer an obstacle to constitutional negotiations.

Mr Robert McBride entered a seventh year in jail this week after being charged in 1986 with "furthering aims of the ANC" which included 10 counts of terrorism.

Robert has spent four years on Death Row while awaiting execution for his part in the Magoo's Bar car bomb blast in June 1986.

After President FW de Klerk commuted his sentence to life imprisonment in April last year, Robert was moved to Westville Prison in Durban.

The government insists McBride is a criminal and not a political prisoner, which means he does not qualify for indemnity in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

But when McBride was sentenced to death in 1987, the indictment by the State made clear what motivated him — "to achieve, bring about or promote constitutional, political, industrial, social and/or economic change in the Republic," it read.

While acknowledging the responsibility for Robert's release lies with the government, his father believes the ANC should only negotiate with the government when all political prisoners are freed.

He claims the ANC have consistently silenced this argument even though it was set as one of the pre-conditions for negotiation in their Harare Declaration of 1989.

Derrick McBride, who was also convicted for MK work and spent time on Robben Island, says he is "tired of lying about ANC campaigns against the continued imprisonment of Robert and others".

Not only is he disillusioned about the ANC's "insensitive attitude" towards jailed ANC members, he also alleges the ANC has "continually neutralised" the campaign work of Robert's family — including his ailing mother, Doris — and friends for his release.

McBride claims the ANC:

- Offered him an all-expenses-paid trip to Lesotho for last year's ANC July conference. He claims the ANC did not want him to raise the issue of his son at this conference.

- Refused to distribute 1 000 copies of a letter written by Robert at the Patriotic Front conference in October last year.

- Helped draw up a document with the government in June 1991 which conceded there were no more political prisoners held.

- Refused to assist financially with any campaign work to free his son. In November last year, Derrick alleges he paid R7 000 of his own money for his ongoing campaign.

- Have snubbed him continually in the Southern Natal region when he asks them to do something for Robert's release.

"Robert was part of the best MK unit in the country," his father says, "He was exceptionally brave and capable and stood head and shoulders above us all.

"During the three months from April 1986, our unit was responsible for 90 percent of all armed activity in the country — the ANC needed him then, but now they are quite



ANC: 'We understand'

MR Durnisane Makhaye, Southern Natal ANC spokesperson, said: "We regret the utterances from McBride's father. One thing is for sure, when people join the ANC, they don't join as families, they join as individuals. So when a family member is having problems with the ANC, he should not involve other members in that dispute.

"The ANC in Southern Natal, of which Robert McBride is a proud member, has done everything possible to campaign for his release, not only for his release but for all political prisoners."

"His branch has actually elected him as chairperson in absentia. The ANC here has produced leaflets and has conducted discussions arguing for his release.

"What must be clear, whatever his dad says, Robert McBride remains an unwavering member of the ANC and MK.

"We regret, and perhaps do understand, the problems his father is experiencing."

Makhaye added the ANC in the region had organised several McBride-visits by senior national executive members, including Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Calvin Khan, MK spokesperson, said they were "not in a position to comment" when asked whether they believed the ANC was doing everything possible to secure the release of political prisoners.

ANC members mentioned in McBride's accusations were unavailable for comment.



Robert McBride's wife, Paula (above) and mother, Doris (left).

SOUTH 2517-2917192

regarding his son's position. "The list of examples just goes on and on," he says. "Another instance was when I approached the regional office and asked them to give me a list of ANC members in the region.

"With that list I could have approached every single member for their support in our campaign. They promised to give me the list but every time I went to the office, they told me they didn't have it. They tell me I cause mischief but I don't see anything mischievous in wanting my son released.

"Once I came to them with a petition, but they said that they could not sign it unless it was on an ANC letterhead. I would have understood if they had just said 'Listen, comrade, there is a problem with this' and explained why. But instead they dealt with me in a very off-handed way and sent me back home.

"I am an old man and it is getting difficult for me to walk the three kilometres to the office, back and forth all the time. They could have re-typed the petition on an ANC letterhead for me, but they just didn't help me."

McBride said he has approached ANC leaders in the region to discuss his problems, "but nothing really comes of it".

He claims that once Robert's wife, Paula, flew from Pretoria to discuss her husband's position with Natal ANC leaders, but she was stood up when she got to the offices.

About the Patriotic Front conference, Derrick said: "Robert drafted a letter on behalf of all the remaining political prisoners asking for an 'explanation' of why multi-party talks were being considered when they were still being held.

"I made a thousand copies of that letter and asked ANC leader Mr

Mac Maharaj if they could be distributed to delegates. He refused, saying that the other parties present would disapprove.

"I spoke to PAC people and Azapo people, and they said they did not mind but all the copies of the letter vanished after I gave them to Maharaj."

McBride said that ANC executive member, Mr Jacob Zuma, drew up a document with Government minister Mr Kobie Coetsee in June last year which reads, "... in regard to the release of prisoners, it is deemed that finality in the process has been reached today ..."

"How could Zuma agree to that when Robert and others are still in jail. The only reason I can see is that Zuma wants to be seen as a friend to the government so he can secure a top position in an interim government," Derrick said.

McBride said Robert was also getting "frustrated with the ANC, but does not see any point in falling out with them".

● Zuma last week said a joint ANC government committee had failed to agree on remaining political prisoners

DERRICK McBride was arrested on May 4 1986 for the part he played in forcibly freeing fellow MK soldier, Mr Gordon Webster.

Working with his son, Robert, they helped overpower security guards watching over Webster at a hospital in Edendale.

He was given an effective 12-year sentence for charges that included murder and attempted murder.

After three years in prison, McBride was transferred to Pretoria because, he was told: "your son is going to hang, you must be with him during this time".

McBride recalls a discussion with his son: "We both knew a lot of people were being executed while he was still on Death Row. One morning, Robert said, 'Daddy, they hung three people this morning', and we could only look at each other.

"We couldn't say anything."

prepared to let him rot in jail."

McBride, 60, who is unemployed, believes he will achieve more outside the ANC than within because of the organisation's "insensitive attitude"

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TAKE 5 MINUTES NOW TO READ THIS AD

(IT MAY CHANGE YOUR ENTIRE FUTURE)

SOUTH 2517-29/7192

The Codesa peace negotiations have faltered because the National Party has refused to negotiate on 14 key issues which the ANC considers essential. Addressing them can mean the commencement of future negotiations.

The ANC is asking for:

1 The creation of a democratically elected and sovereign Constituent Assembly to draft and adopt a new constitution; and

2 The establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity. This is the only way for all South Africans to be part of a decisive move to end white minority rule.

Our country and people cry out for peace and democracy. The campaign of terror against the people, irrespective of political affiliation, must end. In this regard the Government must immediately carry out the following measures:

3 Terminate all covert operations including hit squad activity.

4 Disarm, disband and confine to barracks all special forces including those detachments made up of foreign nationals.

It is unacceptable that members of these units be simply reallocated to other units.

5 Suspend and prosecute all officers and security force personnel implicated in the violence.

6 Ensure that all repression in some of the self-governing and nominally independent states is ended forthwith.

Agreements with the government on ways to curb violence were reached. These included in particular:

7 Banning the carrying of all weapons in public on all occasions.

8 The immediate implementation of the programme to phase out the hostels and convert them into family unit accommodation.



9 Installation of fences around these establishments. 11A

10 Guarding of these hostels by security forces on a permanent basis, monitored by multi-lateral peace structures, and the expulsion of those who occupy the hostels illegally.

11 Regular searches of hostels with the participation of multi-lateral peace structures.

IN ADDITION

12 It is urgent that an International Commission of Inquiry into the Boipatong Massacre is established and International monitoring teams come to South Africa.

TO HELP ACHIEVE PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL WITHIN A CLIMATE CONDUCIVE TO GENUINE, NEGOTIATIONS. THE ANC CALLS FOR:

13 The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

14 The repeal of all repressive legislation, including those laws which were so hastily passed during the last days of the recent session of parliament.

You may not agree with all of these demands, but if you find them reasonable you can also make a meaningful contribution.

We call on all fair-minded South Africans to take action in a positive and responsible manner to bring about the changes which will lead to a peaceful and democratic society.

A better South Africa for all South Africans

ANC recruits 200 marshals to monitor city demonstration

SOUTH 2517-2917/92
By Mluleki Gantsho

TWO HUNDRED marshalls have been recruited to control a "peace and democracy demonstration" which is to be held in Cape Town on Saturday.

"This is as a result of the outcry in the newspapers over the recent march organised by the ANC Youth League," said Mr Willie Hofmeyr, the deputy secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape.

He said those who commit acts of hooliganism will be handed to the police, but also urged the police not to disrupt peaceful demonstrations.

"According to the Goldstone commission even if a march is spontaneous the police should not disrupt it as long as it is peaceful," he said.

The organisers of the demonstration will meet the city council and traffic police to discuss arrangements for the protest.

Hofmeyr said no trains would be hired because of the high cost. Organisations expected to participate include the taxi organisation Codeta, the NECC, Call of Islam, and the lawyers' organisation Nadel.

By S'BU MNGADI

THE elusive, long-awaited meeting between Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini and ANC president Nelson Mandela remains uncertain until a number of obstacles have been removed.

This became clear at this week's meeting between a high-level ANC delegation, led by deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma and the king, backed by half the KwaZulu cabinet and IFP leadership. The meeting took further steps to pave the way for the historic meeting.

Zuma's delegation included foreign secretary Thabo Mbeki and senior ANC leaders Josiah Jele, Penuell Maduna and Joe Nkademeng, while Zwelithini was supported by health minister Baldwin Ngubane, finance minister Dennis Madide, justice, education and culture minister Celani Mtetwa, works minister Simon Gumede and princes Gideon and Reggie.

The king's delegation was in keeping with a clause in the KwaZulu government which precludes him from meeting visitors or accepting invitations without the approval of the KwaZulu cabinet.

In 1990, when Mandela was released from prison, he expressed his willingness to pay his respects to the king.

But in March 1990, the ANC leader cancelled his plans to visit the king after apparently being unhappy with what he regarded as interference in the issue by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a joint statement after the three-hour meeting both parties announced that no final decision had been made on the Zwelithini-Mandela meeting, promising to hold further discussions as soon as possible.

No agreement on Zwelithini, Mandela talks

11A
C/Phen 26/7/92

Following discussions regarding previous attempts to get the two leaders to meet, the statement said it had been agreed that the king's response should be conveyed to Mandela.

But behind the cordial spirit which characterised this week's meeting was tough talking, which, City Press learnt, resulted in lack of finality on the proposed meeting.

Although the king's response was not made public, insiders said he demanded clarification on or withdrawal of Mandela's alleged "offending" statements regarding the long-overdue meeting.

In particular, Zwelithini expressed his displeasure about Mandela's alleged statement during his Natal tour earlier this year that the ANC leader was not prepared to kiss the ground in front of the king to secure a meeting with him and that he would ask Zuma to approach the king for the last time.

Conspicuous by his absence was Buthelezi, who last weekend took personal credit for facilitating this week's meeting.

Any meeting between Zwelithini and Mandela looks uncertain until relations between the ANC leader and Buthelezi have thawed.

In a scathing personal attack on the ANC leader last weekend, Buthelezi said he would refuse to sit in the same room with Mandela.

11A
C/Phen 26/7/92



King rules, or barons, or the upstarts take over

~~2/11/92~~
11/11

THE breakdown of Codesa has claimed two important victims: President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. Both have been diminished in stature, in their political authority, and in their control of their own followers.

Their weakness has been vividly demonstrated in the range and variety of interventions by other, lesser players: Cosatu and Saccola, the United Nations and Mr Cyrus Vance, the Goldstone commission and Dr Peter Waddington of Reading University. Also, on both sides, the hardliners are back in action, and the moderates have been put on the defensive.

A line from TS Eliot sums it up: "King rules, or barons rule." Neither President De Klerk nor Mr Mandela can heal the rift between them, or stop the violence, or bring order, or carry the process of negotiation forward, so other people try. Where Codesa breaks down, Cosatu and Saccola try to step into the breach.

The scattering of authority shows itself in a dozen ways. President De Klerk cannot keep his police under control, so he calls on Mr Justice Goldstone, who in turn calls on Professor Philip Heymann from Harvard and Dr Waddington to tell us what we have known for years: that our police are untrained, undisciplined, and at daggers drawn with the society in which they try to operate.

Mr Mandela cannot find ways to protect his followers against the consequences of the war between the ANC and the police, on the one hand, and between the ANC and Inkatha on the other. So he appeals to the United Nations, which condemns the violence, immediately hands the responsibility for stopping it back to President De Klerk, but sends Mr Vance anyway to monitor the situation and recommend solutions.

Upstarts clamber to prominence, so that television viewers, passively bewildered, find themselves constantly lectured by Brigadier Gqozo or threatened by General Holomisa, leader of a wing of the ANC which is entirely sustained by the South African taxpayer.

Sittines 26/7/92
Weakness seeks to pacify, not to control or dominate. When the embassy in Umtata is besieged and invaded, the Department of Foreign Affairs whimpers and hands over more money to General Holomisa, like a defeated mother bribing a brat with candy.

King rules or barons rule... Actually, it's not quite so simple. Saccola, moving into the vacuum created by the collapse of Codesa, has tried valiantly to tie Cosatu into a relationship based on a social charter; Cosatu has tried as hard to win Saccola over to the cause of "mass action" aimed at bringing President De Klerk to his knees.

In the end, President De Klerk's allies in Saccola were hardly likely to sign an agreement that would enable Cosatu, and perhaps even the ANC, to claim that "big business has joined our struggle". There is a limit to how much power the barons can usurp, and the pact between the bosses of labour and the bosses of industry was stillborn.

A year ago, conventional wisdom held that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela depended on each other for survival, and that they would therefore stick together. The first part of that equation has proved true, the second proved false when Mr Mandela, reacting to an ill-advised speech at Codesa 1, demolished the president's character — and the relationship between them.

Codesa 2 was doomed in the closing hours of Codesa 1.

So now comes the show of strength for which the SACP hardliners and the labour barons have lusted ever since Mr Mandela agreed to the suspension of armed struggle, and for which the securocrats have been praying ever since President De Klerk clipped their wings.

THE instruments of ungovernability — the block committees, the comrades, the kangaroo courts, the barricades in the streets, the massing of young bucks — are back. The strikes, the obstruction of normal life, the sit-ins, the occupation of public and private spaces, are still to come.

So far, most of it has been street

theatre, albeit street theatre of a peculiarly violent South African kind. As communist guru Jeremy Cronin has tried to warn his less intelligent allies, the Leipzig option — the forms of mass action that brought East Germany, and indeed Poland, to a halt — is not a viable strategy in this country.

Nor can industrial action be turned on and off like a tap. The foreign investors are scuttling off, the financial rand has weakened, the local businessmen are in despair, and economic depression is gnawing at the very sinews of industrial South Africa. The jobs destroyed today won't be back for years.

THEREFORE, street theatre is inescapable. The theory is that turmoil, or even the appearance of turmoil, will somehow generate pressures on President De Klerk which will, in due course, compel him to sue for peace. After all, the argument runs, "ungovernability" forced a retreat from apartheid and from the militaristic policies of President Botha; so why should it not force another retreat?

There is no need to dwell on the folly of this argument. President De Klerk still presides over a powerful bureaucracy, though at the cost of dispensing patronage on a ruinous scale. Could he but stop the corruption in his government, he might easily double the size of his police force and send all its officers to Germany or Britain for advanced training in crowd control. He would not need to call in Dr Waddington.

King rules or barons rule, Eliot wrote, the strong man strongly, the weak man by caprice. Last year's strong men have made themselves weak, and they have put the country into the capricious hands of those who waited off-stage during the time when hopes ran high — the anarchists of street theatre, and the militarists who watch the rising disorder with lip-smacking anticipation.

KEN OWEN

LP grapples with future may join the ANC alliance

STimes, [C]metro 26/7/92

11A

Political Reporter

THE Labour Party is grappling with its future status and may decide at its annual conference in December to disband as an ethnic "coloured party" and join the ANC as an alliance partner.

This is the view of top Labour sources attending a meeting of the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) in Cape Town yesterday.

They said they were aware that the move would be "unpopular" and meet with "resistance" from many of their traditionally rural voters.

At yesterday's NEC meeting it was resolved to recommend to the national conference in Port Elizabeth in December that the party should no longer contest any future "ethnic" election.

The decision affects the Border (East London) constituency, a former "safe" LP seat which became vacant when sitting MP Mr Peter Mopp resigned at the end of the first half of this year's parliamentary session.

It also became clear yesterday that should the Labour Party veer "left" and join the ANC-SACP alliance, many of its more conservative MPs would review their future allegiance with the party.

In private conversations, some MPs openly admitted that any attempt by LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to align the LP with the ANC would give them no option but to resign.

It also became clear from the agenda of the NEC that many regions were questioning the viability of Labour as a "coloured" party in a future South Africa.

Press officer Mr Peter Hendrickse admitted there was great difference of opinion on the continuance of the LP in the Tricameral Parliament.

He said MPs questioned whether it served any further purpose to continue fighting "ethnic" by-elections either for the House of

Representatives or third-tier bodies like local management committees.

In talks with MPs and other delegates a clear feeling emerged that the LP had "served its purpose" — filling the void caused by the government outlawing liberation movements like the ANC and PAC — but that since their unbanning in February 1990 by State President F W De Klerk, the LP was "irrelevant".

Mr Hendrickse admitted that the future role of the LP formed the basis of an intense debate within the ranks of the LP.

Proposals on talks 'don't go far enough'

(11A) ~~2007~~

BIDA4 27/7/92

GOVERNMENT would have to go a great deal further than it had with specific proposals, and abandon any form of minority veto, before the ANC would sit down and talk about negotiations, a senior ANC executive member said yesterday.

This came after President F W de Klerk and Cabinet colleagues said at the weekend that Cabinet had formulated new initiatives aimed at breaking the negotiations deadlock.

The ANC source said of government's statements: "From what we see there is nothing new in what they are saying and there has to be a lot more than has come out up to now before we are prepared to agree to their two-day meeting." The ANC had not seen details of the proposals yesterday.

Government sources said they were sure the impasse could be resolved, but were not prepared to say what the new initiatives involved.

They said channels for communicating with the ANC still existed and would be used to convey decisions taken at the Cabinet's "bosberaad" meeting last week.

Government would no longer allow negotiations to be conducted through public memoranda, one senior negotiator said.

The Cabinet was optimistic about achieving a resolution through bilateral and multilateral talks.

He said the Cabinet had worked out ways of resolving the impasse in the three major areas of difference — a constitution-making body, a transitional executive and a transitional parliament.

However, he warned that the "time frames" debate, with the ANC wanting

**BILLY PADDOCK
and ALAN FINE**

elections within six months, was impractical. He said practical considerations meant that even if agreement could be reached immediately it would take a year before elections could be held. He urged the ANC to stop employing delaying tactics.

The ANC source said that when government communicated its decisions and proposals they would have to be measured against the ANC's demands. The organisation would then decide whether to meet government.

"But it appears to us that government wants to keep things vague and flexible in the hope that the mass action campaign fails," he said.

He said government's apparent flexibility on a three-year period for a transitional government was interesting, but insistence on a senate being involved in transitional legislature was questionable.

He said government was happy for a constitution to be drafted without the senate, but he was sure it would insist on the senate having veto power when the time came to adopt such a constitution.

He said there was also no clear indication government was prepared to forgo minority veto powers, which would result in the regional question not being settled and the whole process becoming bogged down.

"There is no move from De Klerk's memorandum of last month on the regional question. What they are effectively saying is that when deciding functions, powers

□ To Page 2

ANC BIDA4 27/7/92

(11A) ~~2007~~

□ From Page 1

and duties in a specific region that region should have an extra vote regardless of how it affects the neighbouring regions," he said.

For example, no arrangements could be made with regard to the Natal region unless KwaZulu agreed, and this gave KwaZulu a veto right.

He also said government was aiming to give regional authorities an effective minority veto in some instances.

The ANC's position was far more democratic and internationally acceptable in

that the organisation insisted the national assembly, comprising 50% of regional seats, take decisions on a two-thirds majority, with the senate or second house approving these decisions with a two-thirds majority, he said.

The ANC source questioned government's proposal of weighting regional representatives to the senate.

He added that the future of negotiations would also depend on what practical steps government had taken to end violence and create conditions conducive to talks.

Colin Legum writes it has taken 16 years to heed Tutu's bloodshed warning

Violence major threat to Codesa

STAR 27/7/92

~~301A~~ ~~301A~~ (11A)

BECAUSE violence and its insidious companion, political intimidation, are the major threats to finding an agreed solution for South Africa's racist society, it is timely to recall what the Rev Desmond Tutu (as he was in 1976) wrote to the then Prime Minister, P W Botha:

"I am writing to you, Sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that, unless something drastic is done very soon, then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa, almost inevitably. A people can take only so much, and no more... A people made desperate by despair and injustice and oppression will use desperate means."

It took 16 years for his warning to be heeded by President F W de Klerk, and for the last two and a

half years promising progress has been made towards finding a peaceful settlement. But the cloud that has hung over the negotiations has been that of violence, with the Government, the ANC and Inkatha all blaming each other for it.

While it is clear that none of the parties has been entirely free from blame, the onus for dealing with the violence must rest with the security forces.

The Government has put the blame on the ANC for the current violence because of its decision to embark on a campaign of resistance to try and force a resolution of the deadlock in the talks at Codesa. This accusation overlooks the fact that the beginning of the campaign was peaceful, and that the violence was triggered by the

attacks for which Inkatha supporters are clearly responsible.

The question remains whether the Inkatha attackers were aided by elements in the security forces. It is this dispute over whether one or, more probably, several "Third Forces" involving elements in the security forces are engaged in attacks on the ANC. So long as the Government continues to deny the possibility, despite evidence to the contrary, there can be no hope of resolving this issue.

The answer is to reach agreement about an independent international team of observers with authority to monitor the sources of violence as they occur.

The Government has already taken a step in this direction by agreeing to have observers present from the United Nations, the

Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity at the Codesa talks. It has also not ruled out the possibility of international observers.

The ANC has argued in favour of observers being brought in to monitor the sources of violence. There would thus appear to be little difference between the two major parties in Codesa over observers.

All the parties engaged in Codesa know that there is no alternative to the process of negotiations since none of them has any fallback position and all have a shared interest in preventing the total collapse of law and order. It is this shared interest in making a success of the negotiations which, in the end, holds out promise for the future. □



Police move in to arrest demonstrators who had occupied the Jeppe Street Post Office in Johannesburg on Saturday. Those arrested appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court the same night.

Pic: PAT SEBOKO

ANC 400

Secretary 192
27-1-92
charged

■ Sit-in staged at Johannes-
burg's main post
office: 11A

MORE than 400 ANC supporters ar-
rested for staging a sit-in at Johannes-
burg's main post office were being
released yesterday with a warning to
appear in court in two weeks time.

Police spokesman Lieutenant
Wikus Weber said the 460 protesters
arrested on Saturday faced charges of
trespassing.

The ANC said 500 people had been
arrested in the hour-long occupation
of the central Jeppe Street Post
Office.

The protesters, who are residents of
Palm Springs in the Vaal Triangle,
were highlighting demands for health
and educational facilities in the area,
a spokesman said.

Nonracialism is a dangerous myth

B/DAY 27/7/92

KIERIN O'MALLEY

A commitment to nonracialism has become virtually synonymous with the much talked about, little seen "New SA". Everyone from radical socialists and modern-day successors to Biko's black consciousness tradition on the left to white nationalists, who until recently would have gone to the wall for apartheid, pledge allegiance to nonracialism. Only those on today's right who remain huddled, confused and directionless, refuse to accept the term.

The problem with terms which are used frequently and by a wide range of political actors — democracy is another — is that they become little more than empty slogans.

Nonracialism has become such a term in SA. Since having been popularised by the United Democratic Front — the de facto internal wing of the ANC during the '80s — it was adopted first by formerly multiracial liberals and subsequently by De Klerk's new NP.

To the ANC, and those who together with it constitute the SA left, nonracialism means not only the rejection of all race-based legislation and discrimination but also that voluntary ethnic mobilisation has no place.

Government's understanding of nonracialism, on the other hand, is that race-based legislation and discrimination be eliminated, but that social space within which ethnic minority groups can operate be promoted, not eliminated. Hence government's support for — and the ANC's opposition to — a regional or federal solution.

There is thus a major difference between the government and the ANC's understanding of nonracialism. The answer to Nelson Mandela's Codesa II question whether all participants at Codesa were committed to a "nonracial, democratic SA" is thus a categoric no — at best a heavily qualified yes.

These divergent understandings of nonracialism reflect an even more fundamental cleavage between today's left and centre in our politics, namely whether SA is essentially an

ethnically divided or plural society or an essentially homogenous one.

To put the question simply is not a popular thing to do in the current political climate. Ethnicity as a concept has been thoroughly tainted by its misuse by apartheid ideologues. The difficulties in defending a plural or ethnic perspective in SA are highlighted by what occurred within the old liberal centre.

In spite of their well-documented opposition to apartheid, the DP's Progressive predecessors who recognised the ethnic reality of SA were unable to articulate a sufficiently strong plural perspective in the face of pressure by the "nonracial" left during the '80s.

There can be little doubt that the issue of whether SA is ethnically plural remains submerged and was not faced head-on by Codesa. The stumbling block that deadlocked Codesa's working group II superficially involved differences about the degree of consensus needed within a constitution-drafting body but essentially reflected the dichotomy between the ANC's "non-racial", non-plural majoritarian perspective and the NP's "nonracial" but plural and hence powersharing perspective.

The NP's view that SA is a plural society has been weakly and sporadically articulated, among other reasons because the governing party fears the political costs of articulating a strong ethnic perspective.

The ANC's view that SA is essentially not a plural society is reflected in the ubiquitous use of the term "nonracial" (a term which was rather carelessly adopted by liberal political players who have a plural perspective), and in the ANC's rejection of powersharing as a political paradigm.

In simplified terms, the ANC or Charterist

perspective is that apartheid has caused SA's ethnic plurality and that once apartheid is abolished the "artificial" ethnic divisions of the apartheid era will disappear.

The American Donald Horowitz — a leading scholar of ethnicity — showed up these kinds of arguments for the wishful thinking that there are in his tragically underread 1991 book *Democratic SA? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*.

In the author's own words, "the struggle against apartheid has created illusions about the homogenous character of a future SA". The recent survey findings of the HSRC which estimated white support for the ANC at less than quarter of one percent reflect an ethnic reality which the SA left unwisely refuses to recognise.

There was undoubtedly a sober recognition of the sensitivity and potential explosivity of the issue of ethnic plurality at Codesa (Codesa's refusal to use what David Welsh has referred to as the f-word — federalism — illustrates this), but one must surely guard against the dangers of ignoring the issue.

If the political transition is to result in a constitution suited to the nature of our society and not a nonracial myth, which has been little more than a convenient notion to mobilise opposition to apartheid and to downplay the reality of a patently plural society, the issue of ethnic plurality needs to be honestly addressed.

Handling it half-heartedly — or worse still pushing it under the constitutional carpet because it is widely, albeit incorrectly, perceived as "apartheid-related" is the worst thing that SA constitutional engineers and politicians could do.

A highly plural society like Malaysia which recognised its ethnic plurality at an early stage and created appropriate institutions and structures has done far better than a less plural state like Sri Lanka which failed to do so.

□ O'Malley is a lecturer in Unisa's political sciences department.

BOOKS

the nation in brief

Labour's options (11A)

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party has decided to give its regions two options - either to form an alliance with the ANC and the PAC, or to form a centrist party.

This decision was taken at the "coloured" political party's national executive meeting in Maitland, Cape Town, on Saturday. LP media relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said the party expected the regions to provide a solution at its annual conference in Port Elizabeth in December.

Sowetan 27/7/92

Sowetan 27/7/92 Gqozo slates mass action

CISKEIAN leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told UN envoy to South Africa Mr Cyrus Vance at the weekend that the African National Congress' programme of mass action presupposed dispute.

Gqozo blamed the ANC for 25 acts of violence in the past fortnight alone and said by definition the mass action could not be peaceful.

Poor attendance for ANC's 'peace and democracy' demos

Sowetan 27/7/92

11A

■ Inkatha supporters angered by plans to hold trials of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and FW de Klerk:

THE THOUSANDS of people expected by the African National Congress to converge on cities on Saturday to take part in "peace and democracy" marches generally failed to turn up.

The Pretoria march was aborted because of a disagreement between the ANC and police over the route to be followed, while those in Durban and Johannesburg could attract no more than 2 000 people each.

In Cape Town, about 5 000 people participated in a "human chain" which circled the city's central business district while police estimated about 12 000 to 15 000 people in Port Elizabeth.

The marches, part of the ANC's mass action campaign to bring the Government to its knees, proceeded without incidents although there was a tense stand-off in Durban between ANC and armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

IFP supports prevent marchers

The IFP supporters, numbering about 200 and armed with spears and sticks, prevented the marchers from taking their planned route through the city centre.

They had been angered by a planned mock trial in which ANC IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President FW de Klerk would be "sentenced".

Heavily armed police formed a barrier between the two groups. After assurances by the ANC that the planned mock trial and flag burning had been called off, the IFP supporters reluctantly dispersed.

A senior policeman said they got wind of plans by IFP supporters to converge on the city centre and had turned hundreds away from trains and refused others entry to the city.

The ANC criticised police for failing to disarm the IFP supporters.

In Pretoria, the march was cancelled after the marchers took the wrong route to the Union Buildings. A water cannon was deployed about 10 metres in front of the marchers while police and ANC leaders discussed the route.

Police refuse marchers route.

The police refused to let the marchers take the route of their choice via Church Square to the Union Buildings.

ANC leaders then asked the angry marchers to disperse, saying another march would be held later.

The Cape Town human chain and subsequent march to the city hall was without incident although two people, one a ticket inspector, were slightly injured during a scuffle on a train.

Police said some people, apparently on their way to the march, could not produce train tickets and refused to get off the trains. They were arrested.

In Johannesburg, police said they arrested 300 ANC supporters at the city's main post office after a sit-in. The group occupied the building on Saturday morning and refused to leave when ordered to do so by police.

Some shops closed down for the duration of the marches but owners said it did not affect their business significantly. Traffic flow was necessarily disrupted but officials generally had an easy time redirecting it. - Sapa.

the nation in brief

BCMA trio gets 7 years

THREE members of the Azanian Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, were convicted for sabotage at the Potgietersrus District Court on Friday.

Samuel Maluleka (22), Anthony Palagangoe (21) and Michael Mothoagae (24) were sentenced to an effective seven years' imprisonment each for a bomb attack on a TPA camp 10km outside the Northern Transvaal town last year.

They were sentenced to a further 18 months for assaulting security guards.

The sentences will run concurrently. A fourth accused, Mr. Cornelius Kekana (24), was acquitted.

Sowetan 27/7/92

NEWS FEATURE Mass action kicks off with a long history behind it

Taking it to the streets

■ **HISTORIC ACTION** Labour reporter
Ike Motsapi traces the history of mass
action and finds it goes back 43 years:

Sowetan 27/7/92

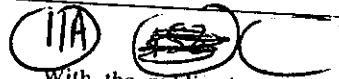
THE MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN called by the African National Congress and its alliance to be intensified from next week Monday, dates back to 1949.

This information is contained in a book titled Forum On Mass Mobilisation edited by Anthea Jeffery and published by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

And, incidentally, it was ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, his deputy, Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Anton Lembede and Mr Robert Sobukwe, considered to belong to the Africanist group, who said: "We should start in 1949 with the development of the ANC's Programme of Action."

Until then, the ANC was not seen as a mass movement, even by its own supporters.

In terms of its present political concepts, it was a liberal movement which focused on petitions, deputations and delegations, aimed at sending people to see government and thus express opposition to ruling policy.



With the publication of the Programme of Action and a change in leadership when Dr James Moroka was elected president, the ANC changed its attitude significantly.

From being very docile it became far more militant. One of the first direct outcomes of this change in attitude was the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

This identified laws which should be defied. The pass laws was one of them. This was the real occasion on which it drew and mobilised mass support.

So, like the present ANC mass action campaigns, there is a call for the total removal of apartheid laws and the establishment of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly by the end of the year.

This was followed by the preparations for the Congress of the People in Kliptown which formally adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955.

There was a countrywide campaign to collect demands, which also served to activate and mobilise people.

As the ANC looks back, however, the Sharpeville incident has become important as an example of mass mobilisation.



Cosatu officials eagerly waiting to hear the response of big business at Saccola offices in Johannesburg last week before embarking on the campaign.

The Pan Africanist Congress had called for the burning of the passes. This was done in large scale in other areas countrywide.

However, the Sharpeville story is seen as one of the major examples of mass mobilisation.

Historically, the ANC also refers to other examples of mass mobilisation, for example, the Bambatha rebellion in Natal and the 1960 "peasant revolt" in the Transkei.

When the ANC was banned, it had to change its nature of mass mobilisation. This was because it had to operate underground.

The 1960 period was very quiet after the Rivonia arrests.

This period also marked the beginning of the armed struggle when the ANC formed its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Mass mobilisation must however be seen within the context of broader strategy of the ANC.

This was often referred to as consisting of four pillars of the revolution.

These are:

- The underground structures;
- Mass mobilisation;
- Armed struggle; and
- International isolation and mobi-

lising support.

Since the unbanning of political organisations and black leaders during February 1990 and the signing of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, the ANC and its tripartite alliance, although suspending the armed struggle, decided to embark on mass action as what is now known as "the deadlock-breaking mechanism".

Mass action is viewed by the alliance as an "aim to bring people together in structured bodies to reflect their common interests". Political mobilisation is aimed at getting people to take action to further their interests.

Focus on media

WHEN PRESIDENT FW de Klerk unbanned political organisations and released leaders such as Nelson Mandela in 1990, the foreign Press told the world about "the ANC and others".

In fact, a banner headline in a Cape Town newspaper read: "ANC and other organisations unbanned."

Today the foreign Press in particular - and to a very large extent the white local media - still dictates who should be the major political players.

They also decide who should get prominent coverage, and are campaigning for a future government about which they have already decided.

United States and European readers largely believe that in South Africa Mandela is the only black political leader and the ANC the only liberation movement.

It is not uncommon in the US to read about the PAC and Azapo being referred to as "small radical groupings to the left of the ANC".

Working in the US a while ago, I saw such a description featuring like a permanent addendum to the PAC and Azapo names - if they got any publicity at all.

Some major newspapers even called Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika the ANC national anthem.

A recent glaring example of this blatant bias was the coverage of the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa - before and after July 17.

Only Mandela's lobbying at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal graced the media. PAC president Clarence Makwetu's address to the OAU was ignored; his letter of appeal and subsequent meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali were not reported.

Add insult to injury

In his opening speech, the chairman of the OAU took time to commend Makwetu "for his initiative to approach the African heads of states who made the Security Council debate possible".

Worse still, Makwetu's address to the Security Council was ignored in the local media the next morning and days after.

As if to add insult to injury, foreign correspondents were absent at the PAC and Inkatha pre-departure Press conferences at Jan Smuts Airport on the eve of the UN debate.

They were milling in the terminal, waiting for Mandela's briefing or were still arriving and asking, "what did they say?"

Only seven local journalists bothered to attend Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Makwetu's obviously pre-announced briefings.

And no fewer than 10 television crews were present in the VIP lounge when the ANC leader

Sowetan 27/7/92

The foreign press - and to a lesser extent the local press - would like us to believe that the African National Congress is representative of black South Africans. Political reporter **Themba Molefe** looks at the fallacy of this perception:



CRY FREEDOM: Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie punch the air after his release.

Sowetan 27/7/92

arrived; the room was as packed as is now accustomed.

Actually, a foreign journalist once told me that his brief was Mandela and that's it. And it appears to be the brief for local journalists who are supposed to know this country's political ramifications and polarised nature better. Ask Azapo, the PAC and IFP.

Local journalists covering the political story seem to rely on their foreign counterparts to tip them off about where "the story" is.

Many will argue that objectivity is a myth, but it is the quest for this illusive journalistic ethic which has created some of the world's greatest newspeople and media.

It was Mandela himself, on June 16 1991, who angrily told local journalists at a rally that they lacked inquisitive and investigative minds.

Was it perhaps an indictment on our ability or was it a confession on the ANC's part as to why - until recently - foreign reporters often got

priority attention at ANC offices?

Now the townships are burning with even more ferocity and white colleagues are apparently on the receiving end. This is wrong and stands condemned.

Only a few years back in the mid-1980s black reporters faced the dreaded "necklace" because they were seen to be partisan. Indeed, after Mandela's release foreign media was given preference and had in-depth face-to-face interviews with the legend at his Orlando West, Soweto, house.

Local black and white journalists were told to pool questions. When I returned later I was afforded 15 minutes for an in-depth interview.

But do average South Africans ask why they seem more knowledgeable about British and American politics than they do about Pandelani Nefolobhogwe and his influence on the country's political future.

ANC moderates eclipsed, but the dragon has turned into a pussycat argues R W

Johnson

Mass action into soap opera

STAR 27/7/92

IIA ~~III~~ ~~IV~~

FOR more than a month now South Africa has been bracing itself for attempted insurrection, as ANC spokesmen have grimly detailed the "mass action" to come. But now, as the crucial moment nears, it looks very much as if the ANC's revolutionary dragon has turned into a pussycat.

There is no doubt that the original turn towards mass action and away from continued negotiations with the Government represented a considerable victory for radicals within the ANC.

The ANC's negotiation team stood accused not only of having failed to bring home the goods from Codesa, but of having come within an ace of reaching an agreement which might have locked the movement into a power-sharing compromise for years to come.

While the ANC's two top leaders, Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, loyally echoed the new line, moderates like Thabo Mbeki and Ramaphosa's deputy, Jacob Zuma, were suddenly eclipsed.

The key pronouncements on the insurrection to come issued from radicals such as Ronnie Kasrils, widely regarded as the most adventurist of the SACP leaders; from Peter Mokaba, the head of the ANC Youth League; and from the more radical elements within the Cosatu leadership, notably its general secretary, Jay Naidoo.

The organisers of mass action, claiming to draw their inspiration from the "people's power" revolutions in eastern Europe, drew up a four-stage plan: mobilisation, starting with a one-day strike on June 16; a national offensive stage, to run for the whole of July; a general strike to start on August 3; and finally "exit-gate", when the marches, strikes and factory occupations, combined with the sabotage of telecommunications, the occupation of public buildings, and the jamming up of city centres would enable the ANC to "do a Leipzig", sweeping the Government from power.

Some saw the mass action campaign climaxing with the occupation of the seat of government, the

Union Buildings in Pretoria, and the "symbolic" installation of Mandela as president, but other voices from the SACP saw mass action as a way of life, a sort of demonstrator's version of Trotsky's "permanent revolution" in which marches, strikes and sit-ins went on forever.

Even without these surrealist garnishes, the mass action programme was, from the start, pure fantasy. Attendance at the normal June 16 (Soweto Day) rallies and marches had been relatively sparse and even with the stimulus of the post-Boipatong protest, few believed that there was much popular appetite for marches and strikes.

South Africa is in the grip of its third consecutive year of negative growth. The gold price is low, the housing market woe-begone, agriculture decimated by drought and manufacturing, in which everyone assumes the country's future lies, has fallen back badly. Bankruptcies and job-losses proliferate and workers are frequently accepting sub-inflation increases in order to

preserve their jobs.

When a general strike of two or three weeks' duration was announced, many simply shook their heads at the impossibility of the thing. Quite clearly, the only way to organise such an event would be by massive intimidation in the townships — which would be bound to trigger large-scale violence, with the ANC/Cosatu on the wrong and losing side.

The planned occupations of factories and buildings had a similarly fantastical air for, by announcing such targets in advance, the ANC was merely guaranteeing such attempts would be foiled.

But the radicals were in the driving seat, much to the anxiety of ANC moderates.

Belatedly realising that the whole campaign might be a disastrous flop, even the SACP leader, Chris Hani, began to back off: mass action, he announced, was "the strategy of the weak and powerless" and insurrection was "not an option".

A similar attack of cold feet began to grip Cosatu, with many

unions grumbling at Jay Naidoo's headstrong leadership.

Suddenly the planned general strike was downsized from two or three weeks to one. The unions then met the employers' organisation and, to the latter's visible surprise, almost immediately announced that they were close to agreement on limiting the strike to a single day.

Meanwhile, at the UN, the ANC received an extremely firm push back towards the negotiating table and accordingly, from Paris, Nelson Mandela simply announced that the general strike would last one day, adding that this was "a victory".

This left the ANC attempting to repeat on a larger scale the recent fiasco over the on-off sports boycott, where it had to beat a hasty retreat under the cover of solemn phrase-making and ritual about peace and democracy.

Cosatu, in effect, tried to decree August 3 as an extra public holiday (with wages paid and a voluntary employer shutdown) with business and the churches brought

in to consecrate the event with declarations in favour of peace, democracy, motherhood and apple pie. (In true Orwellian style, the workless day was to be entitled the Day of Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction.)

This has now foundered, so toys are being hurled around the cot and we are currently back to a two-day strike. Much of the conviction has, however, gone from the mass action campaign and other mass action plans have taken on a deliberately theatrical air, with the holding of mock-trials of Mr de Klerk, Chief Buthe-lezi and so on.

If the "exit-gate" plan survives at all it will doubtless be only in this radical soap opera form now.

The country's relief as it draws back from the brink will be too deep for many to want to laugh out loud at this denouement, but South Africans like a good joke and as the ANC heads back towards the conference table, there will doubtless be the sound of muffled chuckles from many a braaivleis. □

ONE GOOD thing can be said for the American policy of attempting to apportion congressional seats on the basis of race. The deliberate effort to increase black and other minority access to elected office by gerrymandering voting districts into ethnic bantustans has meant that some white politicians have found themselves forced into early retirement, among them Michigan's congressman Howard Wolpe.

Wolpe's departure at the end of the present session is good news for all who seek a swift transition to non-racial democracy in SA. Even now, the former chairman of the House Africa subcommittee is attempting to impede that goal by spreading the falsehood that there is mounting support in Congress for the reimposition of federal sanctions should Pretoria fail to meet ANC demands for ending the violence and resuming negotiations. This is dangerous nonsense.

It is dangerous because it may encourage the ANC alliance's more maximalist elements to shun compromise on the theory that Wolpe's Democrats may retake the White House and shift the international balance of forces back into the ANC's favour. It is nonsense because even though the House Democratic caucus granted politely when Wolpe recently resurrected the sanctions option, the old sanctions coalition is dead and the votes needed to pass new legislation are not there.

More importantly, however, the days of unilateral US action are over. SA, thanks in large measure to ANC president Nelson Mandela's decision to appeal to the UN Security Council last month, is now a multi-lateral issue. The US is drafting its policy in concert with other powers among whom, for the first time, there is remarkable unanimity on what needs to be done. November's presidential election may determine which instrument and in what section of the orchestra the US plays — currently it is somewhere between conductor and first violin while a Clinton administration might prefer the brass — but it will not change the music.

Right now, the orchestra is playing the overture, elaborating on the opening chords struck by the recent

SA parties which flout new rules will be out in the cold.

BIDAY 28/7/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Security Council resolution. Lest anyone has misunderstood those chords, they were restated with fortissimo clarity by Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen in hearings before the House Africa subcommittee last Thursday. In explicit and unusually prescriptive terms, Cohen laid out what the international community believes each party must do in order to get negotiations for an interim government back on track and to avoid a descent into outright civil war.

First, all sides must begin by recognising they all share the responsibility for the collapse of talks and for the climate that has led to episodes like Boipatong. All must be willing to make concessions. All must refrain from "inflammatory rhetoric" which serves only to fuel the violence. A "moratorium on finger-pointing and name-calling" must be called.

Next, a set of explicit instructions for each of the major parties.

Government must address the allegations of security force complicity in violence and build confidence in the impartiality of the police. That it has already moved to implement some of the Goldstone Commission's recommendations is welcome, but more must be done, especially regarding security force accountability and the hostels. The Boipatong massacre must be fully and transparently investigated and the findings acted upon. This is a "crucial test" of government's credibility.



□ COHEN

As for the ANC, the international community will tolerate mass action only so long as it does not lead to further violence. The alliance must "exert greater discipline over its members who continue to advocate and perpetrate violence". The movement's leadership must impress upon those who believe the government can be ousted through "mass mobilisation" that their project is "unacceptable" — as are calls to make the townships ungovernable and for the reactivation of "people's

courts". Arms caches, both in and outside the country, must be disposed of "safely".

Above all, the ANC "must be receptive to government gestures concerning reducing violence and restarting negotiations". In this regard, it should be noted that when Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the Security Council that government wanted to sit down with Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of a joint monitoring body with international observers, both the British and American permanent representatives nodded vigorously.

For its part, Inkatha must do more to ensure its members are committed to peace and to ensure that its members are not involved in incidents like Boipatong. The cultural weapons prevarication must end. Carrying weapons in public is "not acceptable" and Inkatha's leaders are responsible for making sure their members get the message. Buthelezi himself must see his way to participating personally once negotiations resume.

Jointly, the ANC and Inkatha must recognise — as they are already supposed to have done in terms of the national peace accord — the right of all parties to conduct lawful political activity wherever they so chose. "No go" areas are "unacceptable".

The international community accepts the Goldstone commission's finding that ANC-Inkatha rivalry is at the root of much of the killing and therefore remains "puzzled and trou-

bled" by the continued refusal of Mandela and Buthelezi "to put aside their differences". So long as it continues — and here Cohen really pulled out the stops — this impasse "contains the seeds of civil war which neither side will be able to control but for which they will bear much responsibility".

On getting negotiations restarted, it will not do to link talks with an end to violence since this only gives extremists opposed to negotiation "a veto over the process". The time to get back to the table is now. The only way to peace is through dialogue and the rapid installation of an interim government.

The ANC's other objection to reviving the talks — that government is insisting on heavily weighted majorities which will effectively grant a minority veto on a new constitution — is not without validity. All sides must recognise "the right of the majority to govern while assuring that all South Africans have a stake in their government". Nor will it be productive for one side to insist on "overly complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups which will frustrate effective governance. Minorities have the right to safeguards; they cannot expect a veto."

The best approach is federalism, a device which has served America's diversity well and could readily be adapted to SA's own special circumstances. Unfortunately, the word has become heavily loaded in SA's debate, "despite the fact that none of the regions under discussion would have a white majority". South Africans should "overcome this hurdle" and "actively consider the degree to which devolution of power might address many of the tensions inherent in ... their society".

Also sprach Cohen.

Such are the parameters within which the rest of the world, having been called in by Mandela, now expects South Africans to sort out their mess. All who stick within these parameters can expect sympathy and support, including the mediation services of UN special envoy Cyrus Vance and resources, human and financial, to strengthen indigenous peacemaking institutions. Those who stray outside will have the force of international opinion against them, regardless of who wins in November.

ing enrolled at Tembisa Hospital.

protest at Medunsa University in solidarity with striking Nehawu march would be held in sympathy future."

Gluckman made his allegations.

Picture: CATHERINE ROSS

Blacks hate the police, says PAC

THE PAC blamed the growing number of police deaths on a general climate of hatred and mistrust of the security forces, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

"The black population has a very poor impression of the SAP. You cannot isolate 1 700 blacks killed since the signing of the peace accord from the killing of policemen," he said.

He said he condemned all killings, but while they did not have the ballot, the bullet could not be abandoned.

Desai said he could not speak for the PAC's military wing Apla. People claiming to be members of Apla recently claimed responsibility for the campaign to kill policemen.

But Desai said he could not understand why the PAC had been accused of being behind the so-called "Kill-a-Cop-a-Day" campaign.

He said ANC supporters had been seen carrying placards with the slogan, but the ANC had not been blamed for the campaign.

Desai said recent revelations of police complicity in the death of prisoners were evidence of how the police raised the anger of blacks.

(IAP) RAY HARTLEY

"Against that background, how must the people feel when they think about this?" he asked.

Sapa reports that police commissioner Gen Johann van der Merwe said individuals or organisations threatening or harming policemen would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. *BIDAY 28/7/92*

Reacting to a claim purportedly made by "the national commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in SA", one Karl Zimbiri, Van der Merwe said the SAP had no evidence Apla had been responsible for the killings. "But an intensive investigation into the murder of each and every policeman is taking place.

"I want to warn those individuals and organisations concerned to refrain from making such threats (against policemen). Members of the SAP will defend themselves, and those who encourage or attempt to carry out such attacks will have to bear the consequences of their actions," Van der Merwe said.

18 people die in weekend unrest

(IAP) RAY HARTLEY

POLICE reported yesterday that 18 people died in unrest in Natal and the Transvaal at the weekend.

Five people were killed near Heidelberg in the southeastern Transvaal, while another five died in the Vaal Triangle. *BIDAY*

Eight people were killed and three were injured after violence broke out between residents and taxi operators at Folweni near Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Sunday.

The bodies of two men who had been stabbed and shot were found in the East Rand squatter camp of Zonkeziwe on Sunday. *28/7/92*

The body of a 21-year-old man who had been shot was found in an outside room of his parents' house in Sharpeville yesterday morning, police said.

In Sebokeng the body of a municipal police constable who had been shot was found on Saturday, while in Orange Farm a man was shot dead.

Two men were killed — one shot and the other burnt — in Boipatong on Saturday night.

Cholera threat to Vaal Triangle

ADRIAN HADLAND

AN OUTBREAK of cholera was imminent in the Vaal Triangle following the vandalism of municipal water mains and sewers, Vaal Triangle Negotiating Forum secretary Nigel Mandy said yesterday.

An urgent meeting of the forum this week will discuss the services crisis in the region together with possible measures to prevent vandalism to municipal installations. *BIDAY 28/7/92*

The forum's activities were suspended recently following the withdrawal of the Vaal Civic Association but the calling of an urgent meeting had been authorised, Mandy said.

Mandy said about R8m, "which the councils do not have", was required to repair damaged water mains, sewers and roads.

He said all services in Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Bophelong and Boipatong would continue to deteriorate and break down, while money to pay municipal workers was running out.

Electricity supplies in virtually every township in the region were likely to be disconnected following the continuing non-payment of services levies, Mandy said.

Levy payments for June in the Vaal Triangle had dropped to below 20%.

Sapa reports the Vaal Civic Association agreed to attend the forum meeting tomorrow..

But the civic body was prepared to discuss only a resumption of sanitation services and repairs to mains, said association general secretary Talitha Jona.

The ANC-linked civic group, through its contacts in Vaal townships, was prepared to ensure the safety of workers brought in to make repairs and to resume the services. "But the same does not apply to the collection of refuse, which has not been done since 1984," said Jona.

Meanwhile, DP spokesman Douglas Gibson yesterday blamed the ANC's mass action for the breakdown of the townships' essential health services.

He said the ANC leadership should ask itself which was more important — their political agenda or the health and perhaps the lives of ordinary people.

"The ANC will have to learn the responsibilities of power — power can be abused and political mass action, which harms the people instead of helping them, is surely an abuse of power."

How come huge ANC arms cache was left behind?

STAR 28/7/92

ABOUT the only thing that seems certain about the ANC arms cache uncovered in Angola is that the weapons will never be fired in anger. What the world will never know, probably, is how they evaded the prohibition on such caches and what the ANC intended to do with them.

When the Angola-Namibia peace accord was signed in New York in 1988 the presence of the weapons on Angolan soil became illegal and they were supposed to have been moved out of the country along with the ANC forces that had been based there.

MK's other armaments were moved to Tanzania and Uganda but somehow the arms cache in question was left behind. Technically, its continued presence in Angola is an indictment against the MPLA government's failure to fully implement the New York agreement, but nobody seems to be getting their underwear in a knot about that.

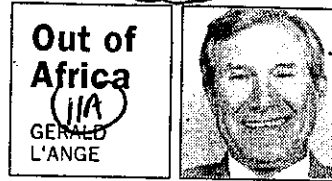
But why the arms were left behind in the first place remains a pertinent question. Surely not by accident; you don't accidentally overlook a cache of thousands of firearms, large quantities of ammunition and even some armoured vehicles (tanks, according to some accounts, and MK did not exactly have a surplus of tanks).

It is essentially an academic issue now, for there was little chance that the weapons could ever have been moved out of Angola and deployed by MK against the SADF or SAP after 1988. For that they would have had to be transported through Namibia or through Zambia and then Zimbabwe or Botswana and none of these countries is likely to have allowed such an exercise.

Could it be that MK simply wanted to have something available with which to stage a victory parade down Church Street in Pretoria after the ANC had won power through the ballot box?

If so, MK leader Joe Modise must have forgotten to tell ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who at first denied the existence of the cache only to be contradicted by Mr Modise.

It seems that we are no more likely to be told all about the



cache by the ANC than we are likely to be told by the International Freedom Foundation who leaked to it the information that enabled it to reveal the existence of the weapons.

What will happen to the weapons now? Most likely they will quietly be absorbed into the arsenals of the new joint army that the MPLA and Unita are supposed to be forming after having agreed to end their long civil war and resolve their power struggle through elections.

MK and the SADF are supposed to be doing something similar: examining the formation of a combined army after the politicians have worked out a new dispensation for South Africa. If MK and the SADF are in tune with developments in the rest of Africa they will be thinking in terms of a smaller armed force than either of them has been trying to build up in the past.

There are signs that militarism is on the wane in Africa, where popular opinion is that scarce funds should be spent on essential economic development rather than on unnecessary armies.

There has hardly been a single instance when an African army has had to repel an invasion from a neighbouring state. Rather the armies have tended to be used by dictators to suppress democracy or they have seized power for themselves.

In general, Africa has been ill-served by its armed forces and their record as protectors of the people and defenders of democracy has been abysmally bad.

Given the propensity of South Africans to use violence to promote group interests, it may be naive to expect that it will be any different here. But that doesn't necessarily mean we should abandon hope. For a start, perhaps we might expect MK to publicly abandon that arms cache in Angola. □

UN observer team not enough, says SACP

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAR
28/7/92

envoy Cyrus Vance.

An SACP delegation has told Mr Vance that an observer team was not enough because it could, at best, only note statistical patterns of violence.

Effective international monitoring of the security forces was the most realistic way of

establishing the truth about their alleged involvement in violence.

The SACP also proposed that the international team should monitor "political players".

The SACP said there was circumstantial evidence pointing to strategically planned vio-

lence by the security forces.

Today Mr Vance is scheduled to meet Cosatu and the CP.

CP chief secretary Dr J A L Theron yesterday said a delegation headed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley would meet Mr Vance

An international force with investigative powers and access to security force documentation should be sent to monitor the violence in South Africa, the SACP has told UN special

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Communist Party is wining and dining comrades from around the world in a new drive to bolster the party — one of the few in the world that is still growing.

Six members of the ruling Chinese Communist Party — the party that so brutally put an end to mass action at Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989 — are in South Africa as guests of the SACP. They are Mr Li Shuzheng, who is head of the department of international liaison of the party's central committee, and Mr Zhu Junfa, a deputy director of the department.

Four other delegation members were being flown around the country to meet public figures, SACP spokesman Mr Essop Pahad said. They were meeting people from a wide range of political parties, including the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Mr Pahad said visits from Germany's Democratic Socialist Party and from North Korea's rul-

SACP feasts with comrades

(119) CT 28/7/92

ing Communist Party were being arranged as part of the SACP's 71st anniversary celebrations.

Last week, SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani entertained his Chinese guests at a restaurant in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. One person present said the entire restaurant was booked for the SACP and 60 guests. Mr Hani provided after-dinner entertainment with a fiery speech.

Asked whether the SACP was funding the visits of foreign communists, Mr Pahad replied that the SACP would not ask fellow communists for "solidarity" and then pay for overseas trips for them.

The SACP is also entertaining a Cuban Communist Party delegation and held a demonstration outside the US embassy with their Cuban guests yesterday.

Sapa reports that demonstrators chanting "Down de Klerk!", "Down Bush!" yesterday called for the lifting of the 32-year US economic blockade against communist Cuba.

SACP rolls out red carpet for comrades

BIDA 28/7/92 (11A)

PATRICK BULGER

THE SA Communist Party is wining and dining comrades from around the world in a new solidarity drive to bolster the party — one of the few that is still growing.

Six members of the ruling Chinese Communist Party — which brutally ended protests at Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 — are in SA as guests of the SACP.

They are Li Shuzheng, head of the central committee's international liaison department, and Zhu Junfa, a deputy director of the same department.

Four other delegation members were being flown around the country to meet a

wide range of political figures, including members of government and the DP, SACP spokesman Essop Pahad said.

Pahad said visits from Germany's Democratic Socialist Party and from North Korea's ruling communist party were being arranged as part of the SACP's 71st anniversary celebrations.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani entertained his Chinese guests at a northern suburbs restaurant last week, apparently

booking the entire restaurant for the SACP and 60 guests.

Hani is said to have provided after-dinner entertainment with a fiery political speech.

Asked whether the SACP was funding the visits of foreign communists, Pahad replied that the SACP would not ask fellow communists for "solidarity" and then pay for overseas trips for them.

The SACP is also entertaining a Cuban Communist Party delegation and joined them yesterday in demonstrating outside the US embassy in Pretoria.

No overtures on fresh proposals

28/7/92
■ Government has maintained silence and kept their distance after "bush indaba" to break deadlock:

By Themba Molefe Political Reporter

THE GOVERNMENT has not forwarded new proposals on negotiations to the ANC, both the State President's Office and the organisation said yesterday.

The ANC said there had been no contact with the Government since it responded to Mr FW de Klerk's proposals to end the negotiations impasse early this month.

A spokesman for De Klerk said other than his statement on Saturday re-committing the Government to negotiations, there were no other overtures to the ANC he knew of but "probably the two would not disclose it".

De Klerk and his Cabinet emerged from a two-day "bush retreat" with what was described as new initiatives to break the deadlock.

In his statement De Klerk said: "Discussions in this regard will be continued next week during the Cabinet conference which had been planned earlier."

Concern over bond boycott

Mandela slaps down alliance hardliners

Blom 29/7/92

11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday delivered a blunt putdown to hardliners in the the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and said the ANC was keen to resume negotiations when government met its demands.

Addressing a media conference in Johannesburg the day after his return from his trip to the US, Middle East and Barcelona Olympics, Mandela said: "The general strike will take place, but there is no question of the object of mass action being an insurrection. Statements may have been made by individuals, but they do not represent the official policy of the ANC or the tripartite alliance."

He said mass action was intended to secure an immediate transfer of power, in the form of an interim government and free and fair elections to a constituent assembly. It had to be non-violent and disciplined, he said.

Replying to a question on a bond repayment boycott suggested by the SA National Civics Organisation, Mandela said the call "was a matter of great concern. It was not properly canvassed with opinion-makers across the spectrum".

He said this was not a decision that could be taken by the civics. People needed houses, he said. If bond payments were boycotted, no financial institutions would grant bonds in the future. He said the

PATRICK BULGER

matter would be discussed with the civics.

Mandela's comments are likely to be interpreted as being directed at high-ranking ANC/Cosatu/SACP officials — among them his estranged wife Winnie — who perceive mass action as a means of forcing government from power with protests backed by strikes and civil disobedience.

He has also sent a message to government that the ANC is committed to negotiations but will use mass action to bolster the demands of its voteless members.

While the ANC is not ready to return to negotiations until its demands are met, Mandela's comment on mass action indicates it is a question of time before negotiations resume.

Mandela said the ANC would not react to government's latest proposals on breaking the negotiations deadlock until it had seen the proposals. The ANC was keen to resume negotiations "but there is no way they can resume without the demands being met".

□ Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday his organisation had urged its members to consider disciplinary action, although this should comply with the law. Sacob welcomed Mandela's call for mass action to be peaceful.

Saccola told Sapa it, too, was pleased

□ To Page 2

Mandela

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□ From Page 1

with Mandela's call for non-violence. However, Saccola chairman Bokkie Botha warned again that mass action would have "enormously severe consequences" for the economy.

The fact of the matter is some businesses will be forced to close and jobs will be lost, some of which cannot be recovered, he said.

Botha said Mandela's statements would "lower the propensity for violence" but the problem was going to be with the more confrontational aspects of mass action.

Responding to Mandela's claims that workers would be victimised for taking part in mass action, Botha said companies were not adopting such an approach but were warning "there would inevitably be some disciplinary action" if their businesses were disrupted.

Botha reiterated Saccola's support for the resumption of negotiations between government and the ANC, saying it was in this light that Saccola perceived the current peace efforts by church leaders.

● Comment: Page 10

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Clerics meet FW in peace bid

PATRICK BULGER

CHURCH leaders met President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday in a continuing bid to restart constitutional negotiations.

A church delegation presented De Klerk with a memorandum which in part attempts to get government's view on an elected constituent assembly. De Klerk's office said no detailed statements on the meeting would be released at this stage, but that talks concentrated on the negotiations impasse, next week's mass action and the violence in general.

"The President indicates he appreciates the task of the churches in assisting to create a climate for recon-

ciliation based on justice and peace."

On Monday the clerics met Saccola and Cosatu to try to revive aspects of the charter for peace, democracy and economic reconstruction which the two organisations failed to agree on. An SACC source confirmed the meetings were not aimed primarily at averting the strike, but were a long-term effort to restart negotiations.

Mandela yesterday welcomed the church leaders' intervention. He said the churches were concerned that negotiations should resume and that mass action should be disciplined.

Mandela said next week's strike would go ahead as planned and it would be peaceful. He said the ANC was concerned over business threats to take disciplinary action against workers.

Sapa reports church delegation leader Catholic Archbishop-elect of Durban Wilfred Napier told a news conference it had been decided to make Sunday "a special day of prayer" for a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Other church delegation members included Alexandra cleric Beyers Naude, SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane and Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan.

news in brief

Meet demands first - ANC

Sowetan 29/7/92 (11A)
THE African National Congress will not resume negotiations until the Government addressed its demands, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg on his return from Barcelona, the Middle East and the United Nations Security Council debate on South Africa.

Asked to comment on reports that the Government had come up with new proposals at its secret strategy meeting last week to break the negotiations deadlock, Mandela said it was better to wait until the ANC had received the Government's latest proposals.

He said, however: "We would be relieved if the Government has addressed the demands we put forward, because we are keen to resume negotiations."

Sanco softens bond stance

IN an apparent softening of their stance on the rent and bonds boycott, the South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) said yesterday is was up to individuals to choose whether they would support the boycott.

Sowetan 29/7/92
Reacting to criticism by various organisations, Sanco vice-president Mr Moses Mayekiso was, however, adamant that his organisation was independent and would go ahead with the boycotts. He said Sanco would press ahead with the boycott since far too many people could not get bonds because of the high costs and prices involved.

"Several organisations which criticised our decision are out of touch. The simple fact is that the people are affected by high interest rates while others will never have access to bonds because they are not within reach," he said.

Cops search ANC offices

POLICE searched the ANC's offices in Alexandra, Johannesburg, and the nearby M1 Hostel yesterday morning.

Sowetan 29/7/92
Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed the searches and said the action was a continuation of the police's efforts "to stop violence and the high rate of crime in Alexandra".

It was part of the "intensifying of policing in the area which was started in June". Much of the violence in the township has been blamed on conflict between mainly ANC-supporting residents and dwellers of the hostel, who are allegedly members of the rival Inkatha Freedom Party.

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The ANC is reaffirming its credibility at a high cost, argues Heribert Adam

Fallacy of the Leipzig

STAR 29/7/92

11A

option

WHAT would be the worst scenario for negotiations in South Africa? If a compromising ANC leadership were rejected as sell-outs, the eventual historic accord would not be worth the paper on which it is written. Mandela perceived as a co-opted stooge would share the fate Muzorewa in Zimbabwe.

The deadlock of Codesa II has prevented this nightmare. An elitist ANC leadership that was out on a limb in its pace and scope of accommodation, aligned itself anew with its sceptical constituency and power base.

In as much as the Nationalists could not be sure of their mandate before the March referendum, so the ANC had to renew its legitimacy through its walkout of Codesa. In the absence of the franchise, the ANC is left with the street to gauge support, to mobilise and to discipline an increasingly undisciplined grassroots.

The heterogeneous ANC alliance had never reached an enthusiastic consensus about abandoning confrontation in favour of negotiation. The unconvinced insurrectionists among the youth found

a golden opportunity to make up for lost ground during the two-year-long demobilisation. The secret deals had not brought any tangible benefits to the townships.

Therefore, neither unsolvable disagreement over constitutional percentages nor the much-exploited tragic Boipatong massacre stalled negotiations. Codesa developed into a pre-election campaign where both sides needed time to consolidate support. Tragically, they also squandered an historic moment of unprecedented possibilities.

The ANC leadership's newly reaffirmed credibility among its constituency has been acquired at a high price: the risk of discrediting violence and further economic decline. If the "Leipzig option" of massive street demonstrations, the occupation of factories and city centres could "topple the regime", it would have been replaced long ago.

The ANC expects world applause for its street theatre in the same way as the West supported the pro-democracy movement in eastern Europe. However, the capitalist West backed an anti-communist upsurge in east Ger-

many. In South Africa, on the other hand, a communist-aligned opposition aims at transforming an arch-capitalist order.

The denunciation of De Klerk as a Nazi by Mandela, the mock trials and murder charges not only poison the negotiation climate but discredit the ANC among informed observers. The demonisation of the opponent is also short-sighted because it will backfire on its originators: the more the ANC leadership peddles the Nazi label, the more Mandela will be perceived as a sell-out for even talking to fascists, let alone compromising with them.

Two new trends have emerged: the political role of business; and Government-accepted international intervention. Their impact on breaking the logjam is overrated.

A long overdue business-Cosatu accord would pave the way for a welcome future social-democratic order. However, unionists deceive themselves if they expect conservative South African bosses to bring real pressure on a Government whose policies already are favouring business. Furthermore, the Afrikaner political class will

not allow the initiative to pass to Anglo-American.

Since the sovereign South African State will not allow international control over its wilder security operatives, foreign missions are reduced to monitoring, facilitating and pleading. The new feature of this outside involvement is its balanced, impartial exhortation, compared with the former automatic endorsement of the apartheid victims.

Given this experience, the legalised ANC overestimates its current international standing and clout. The world is disillusioned with Africa and has more pressing problems in eastern Europe. Foreigners of whatever political hue are likely to lean more on the ANC to be "reasonable" than the Government to abdicate.

It is also doubtful that any foreign monitoring can influence the township violence. Only a political accord, which includes acceptable provisions for the hostel migrants — and, regrettably, perhaps a general amnesty for the killers among all factions — can achieve a more lasting peace. The sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission on how to han-

dle demonstrations civilly and professionally can lead the way toward curbing the violence. Nonetheless, as long as every policeman is considered to be an enemy of the community, impartial policing would seem beyond the human capacity of equally brutalised uniformed youngsters.

The most dramatic breakthrough would be a Government-initiated non-racial referendum on power sharing versus majority rule. It would need the support of the ANC and other parties. International opinion could persuade the contenders to travel along this route in their own interest.

The limits to majority rule in a stalemated ethnic confrontation have not been comprehended by the advocates of a transfer of power. On the other side, many National Party sympathisers have not yet understood that they cannot keep ultimate control with mere constitutional devices but without majority consent. However, as surveys have indicated repeatedly, a majority of black South Africans favour blacks and whites (ie Nats and the ANC) ruling together, not a white minority regime displaced by a predominantly black majority party.

A referendum would for the first time empower the disenfranchised to cast an equal vote, the campaign would educate everyone in the complex constitutional issues, test the tolerance for opponents and prepare the ground for general elections.

The National Party has stalled possible constitutional compro-

mise about a minor percentage difference, which it has conceded in the meantime. Pretoria also wanted time to build up its black support beyond the estimated 15 to 20 percent at present. Ironically, the option of turmoil and inevitable intimidation may well play into the hands of the Government by discrediting the ANC among the mass of law-abiding voters.

Instead of retaining the moral high ground, a remarkably moderate liberation movement will be associated with anarchy and economic decline. Only advocates of violence without victors can hope to benefit from such events. □

● Professor Adam of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, is a leading analyst of South African affairs. He teaches at UCT's Graduate School of Business.

DET predicts mass failure

KATHRYN STRACHAN

AS THE third school term began this week, the Department of Education and Training (DET) predicted a further year of high pupil failure rates. *blom*

Johannesburg regional chief director Richard Motau said at a news conference this week black education was in deep crisis, with many black schools in the Johannesburg area having completed only 20% of the year's syllabus. *30/7/92*

Motau said threats made by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and the SA Democratic Teachers Union to bring schooling to a halt in solidarity with the mass action campaign only contributed to poor results. *(S)*

A recent department survey of schools with the lowest pass rates indicated that "lessons dodging" by teachers as well as pupils, and a total lack of supervision and control by principals, also played a part.

Many teachers were indifferent to their responsibilities, and parents and the community in general were apathetic about encouraging children to learn.

Mayekiso defies Mandela over call for bond boycott

blom 30/7/92

PATRICK BULGER

THE proposed boycott of bond repayments may go ahead despite criticisms made by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

ANC-aligned SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday the boycott would begin at the end of next month if financial institutions failed to meet Sanco's political demands.

Mayekiso, while not wanting to be drawn on Mandela's implicit criticism, said Sanco was an independent organisation.

Mandela told reporters on his return to SA on Tuesday the civics were not in a position to call for a bond boycott without consulting the ANC.

"The civics don't take orders from anybody," Mayekiso said. "The policy of the civics is independent and accountable to its membership."

He said Sanco was prepared to discuss the proposed boycott with the ANC or any other organisation.

Sanco is calling on financial institutions to support demands for interim government and a constituent assembly by pressure on government.

RAY HARTLEY reports that the ANC alliance's plans for a two-day stayaway next week suffered a setback yesterday when the PAC reiterated it would not back the general

strike next week.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander told reporters the ANC's mass protests could not be supported because they were not aimed at overthrowing government.

The Azanian Students' Convention lashed out at organisations calling on teachers and pupils to observe a two-day stayaway next week.

But the SA Students' Congress on Wednesday reaffirmed its call on students to boycott classes next week, and sharply criticised organisations which had expressed concern at the effect of the stayaway on studies.

Leading political commentator and ANC expert Tom Lodge said yesterday there were signs that the ANC's mass action campaign had less support than expected.

"It's early days yet, because the ANC hasn't had any major activities which have failed. You can argue the case both ways, but to say mass action has failed is premature," he said.

Lodge said it was clear the campaign would not be the largest civil disobedience campaign in terms of numbers of participants, as the ANC had promised, but mass action was widespread and constant.

"All this suggests the ANC's local organisation is in better shape than its critics have suggested," he said.

In another development, eight East London Cosatu leaders arrested on Tuesday for occupying the Receiver of Revenue's office were released yesterday without paying bail after appearing in a special court, reports DIRK HARTFORD.

The eight, who include Numsa's acting president Mtutuzeli Tom and regional secretary Enoch Godongwana, refused to accept bail in line with a recent Cosatu decision and were kept in jail.

Workers at Mercedes-Benz and other plants threatened to strike for their release and, after meetings between Cosatu, employers and the police yesterday, special arrangements were made to have the eight charged and released. The case has been remanded until September.

Meanwhile, Cosatu, responding to Sacob and JCCI guidelines to employers, said it would take action against any company which victimised or dismissed workers during next week's general strike.

These actions include declaring a national dispute with employers, consumer boycotts and an international blacklist of offending companies.

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ANC slates 'move to stifle' protest

Govt clamps townships in ring of steel

BIDA 30/7/92

11A

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday launched "stabilisation operations" in 14 townships — immediately raising a storm of protest and claims that the move was aimed at intimidating people against supporting the mass action campaign.

The plan to "saturate" 14 townships on the Rand, in the Vaal Triangle and in Soweto with SAP personnel and SADF troops conducting cordon and search operations was announced by Kriel in Soweto. He said this followed the success of similar operations in Alexandra and Phola Park.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus immediately launched a stinging attack on the operation, calling it "sheer intimidation designed to create an atmosphere of tension and allowing the police to get involved in repressive activity".

He said government was always accusing the ANC of intimidation but in this case government was the intimidator — "putting pressure on the community not to support the campaign of mass action and the stayaway next week".

"Government is making the situation much more volatile and will subsequently want to blame the ANC for it. We call on government to cease this operation of police intimidation because of the danger that it will foster violence," Niehaus said.

However, Kriel said it was a "peace offensive" which would create conditions in which government agencies could restore essential services and upgrade infrastructure and living conditions.

Intensified policing in Phola Park and Alexandra a few weeks ago had proved so successful that local authorities could once

again render essential services in the areas. The crime rate had also fallen, criminals were arrested and political violence had been prevented, said Kriel.

The operations are still in force in these areas at a reduced level.

Kriel said the latest operations were "aimed at restoring peace, essential services and infrastructure to areas affected by unrest". Violence in these areas had resulted in local authorities not being able to provide essential services such as refuse removal, the provision of water, health services and sewage.

This caused a serious health hazard to the people living in these areas. "I believe we have a duty towards them," he said.

Operations were started yesterday in Soweto, Boipatong, Bophelong, Sebokeng, Evaton, Sharpeville, Vosloorus, Kathlehong, Thokoza, Tembisa, Munsieville, Bekkersdal, Kagiso and Swanieville.

Kriel said it had become clear to government and the police that people in the "unrest-afflicted" areas had had enough of violence, the disruption of their lives and the "senseless destruction or disruption of essential services and infrastructure".

He called on the communities to support the security forces and also to use this opportunity to "hand in unlicensed firearms to the SAP".

A moratorium had been placed on prosecutions until Friday and the police would pay R400 each for AK-47s and R200 each for all other firearms handed in. After Friday offenders will face prosecution.

● Comment: Page 4

Church delegation plans last-ditch bid to cool political tempers

CHURCH leaders want President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet in a last-ditch attempt to cool political tempers ahead of next week's general strike.

A church delegation will meet senior government constitutional negotiator Gerit Viljoen today to relay details of its talks on Tuesday with Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

A church source said the clerics were pushing for a meeting between the two leaders. Failing that, they wanted Mandela and De Klerk to make statements to cool

the political climate.

The source said that while the two parties had serious constitutional differences, these could be bridged in negotiations.

But the breakdown in trust between De Klerk and Mandela was a serious obstacle to negotiations. And the ANC told the churchmen something had to be done to bring the violence under control before negotiations could resume.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday there were no plans for a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk, our political staff reports from Cape Town.

BIDAY 30/7/92

PATRICK BULGER

Church leaders from all major denominations under the auspices of the SA Council of Churches have been trying to restart constitutional negotiations and lessen the detrimental effects of mass action. They have met employer body Saccola, Cosatu, government and the ANC and are attempting to arrange meetings with Inkatha, Azapo and the PAC.

The meetings are intended to produce a code of conduct for the two-day strike.

The church leaders said although there

were serious differences between government and the ANC, they sensed a desire to move towards renewed negotiations.

They said they had urged Cosatu and Saccola to take up the issues raised in a draft charter on peace, democracy and economic reconstruction that the two groups failed to agree on last week.

They said they urged De Klerk to act on the violence and clarify constitutional issues causing the deadlock. They discussed their concerns with the ANC that mass action could lead to violent action.

"We were informed that it was the wish

of the ANC to take part in negotiations but that the continuing violence and the constitutional deadlock caused the withdrawal and led to the choice of mass action."

They said the constitutional differences separating the parties were that government wanted Codesa to decide on a constitution that would be difficult to change, while the ANC wanted Codesa to decide only on the principles of a new constitution and rules governing an interim period.

They also pleaded for immediate action from government on the recommendations of the Goldstone commission.

11A

Mass mobilisation bodes ill for negotiations, writes Stanley Uys from London

Playing the one-card hand

STAR 30/7/92

WHEN the ANC returned from exile in 1990 it had three cards to play: mass mobilisation; the armed struggle; and international opinion, which included sanctions. Now it has only one card left — mass mobilisation.

The armed struggle is a dead duck, unless the ANC returns to making South Africa ungovernable, in which case it will have to abandon negotiating its way to power and, ultimately, after more long years in the wilderness, inherit a wasteland.

As for international opinion, here the game has changed. The pace-setters in international opinion are the industrialised nations, who feel they have escaped at last from the years-long role of periodically pronouncing moral judgments on Pretoria. Their interest now is to play a conciliatory role, not to put either side in the dock.

This change has been strikingly evident in the past few weeks. The

ANC secured a Security Council debate and an experienced UN envoy, Cyrus Vance, was duly despatched to South Africa, but the mission was to reconcile the parties, not to nail Pretoria to the cross. The British government played a key role in steering the Security Council in this direction, but major objectors were few and far between.

Even Africa cannot be relied on any longer to support the ANC unquestioningly. Officially, the OAU still awaits the ANC's signal to allow South Africa to return to the African community, but member states are defaulting at a rate of knots. Governments like Kenya, Nigeria and Cameroon have publicly snubbed the ANC by refusing to keep their distance from Pretoria.

Even publications usually sympathetic to the ANC acknowledge that its victory at the UN was pyrrhic. The resolution drafted by Zimbabwe on behalf of the OAU

was rewritten to tone it down. The New York correspondent of an ANC-sympathetic publication, while pointing out that racism in South Africa is still a powerful issue in the US and that several dozen speakers queued to speak in the Security Council debate, wrote:

"With the West giving unqualified approval of Pretoria's progress, the South African Government has come in from the cold in international terms. The calls by Western diplomats for negotiations are addressed to the ANC as much as calls for the ending of violence are directed at De Klerk."

Even Chief Buthelezi, the correspondent said, succeeded in raising his world profile, while "South Africa, for the first time in recent history, secured speaking rights for Buthelezi as well as a string of other loyal supporters ranging from Solidarity's Dr J N Reddy to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo".

Another sympathetic (London) publication reported that UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his staff are "unwilling to continue the UN role as an advocate for the liberation movements ... (They) have effectively sidelined the UN Centre Against Apartheid, which since the 1960s has taken the lead in UN activities on South Africa".

An international hearing on violence in South Africa, convened in London in mid-July by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and co-sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, rallied most of the faithful (but few Western government representatives), and presented a solid case on violence. But when the final resolution was sent to the Security Council, it disappeared among the other applications.

Two important points should be noted. One is that most of the world is no longer interested in

reimposing sanctions as an instrument to control Pretoria's behaviour. Another is that although the UN and Western governments are ready to respond on the violence issue, it is because they are deeply concerned about it themselves, not because they acknowledge the ANC's moral high ground.

Where does all this leave the ANC? Only with mass mobilisation, currently being implemented through mass action. Cyril Ramaphosa describes mass action as a "rolling" campaign, but can the ANC ride the horses of both mass action and negotiations? Professor Lawrence Schlemmer expresses it rather well, I think:

"To the extent that the ANC has realistic anxieties about a loss of symbolic status and leverage in negotiations, it will continue to adopt strategies outside negotiations which generate reactions (by the IFP and the authorities) and, in turn, become impediments for negotiation for the ANC itself. The

strategic situation of the ANC, therefore, is trapping it in contradictions."

What lessons can be learnt from events of past weeks in South Africa? One is that negotiations will never be the same again. Bilateral talks between the ANC and the Government, and Codesa itself until the final stumbling block was reached, flowed exceptionally smoothly, too smoothly, because the meetings were between elites. What mass action has done, whether intentionally or not, has been to democratise ANC involvement in negotiations, and consequently make agreements so much more difficult to reach.

The other lesson is that it is not in the Government's interests to force the ANC to continue to play its last card of mass mobilisation. The longer the ANC engages in mass action, the more the country can kiss goodbye to fruitful negotiations. Along this route lies only tears. □



Cabinet ready to scrap key demands

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

STAR 30/7/92
11A

which also functioned as a constitution-making body.

The Cabinet is ready to scrap key elements of its negotiation position — including its insistence on an interim constitution — in a new initiative to get negotiations back on track.

Accelerating the timetable of change — and conceding a key ANC demand — the Government is now prepared to hold elections for a constituent assembly as the next step in the transition, sources said.

This constituent assembly would draft a final new constitution while a government executive drawn from Codesa parties ran the country, supervising the present Parliament, possibly in adapted form.

The new approach could considerably shorten the transition by cutting out an interim constitution drawn up by Codesa — and an interim legislature

These were key elements of the Government's previous bottom line.

Instead — as also envisaged by the ANC — the constituent assembly would do nothing but draft a new final constitution.

The present constitution would remain in force until the new one replaced it.

This would satisfy the Government's insistence on constitutional continuity while the supervising executive which would include members of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, would — the Government hopes — satisfy the ANC demand for an impartial administration of elections for a constituent assembly.

The new initiative addresses the ANC's key criticism of the Government's old plan that its intention was to install an interim constitution — in which minority parties like the NP had an equal say — which would be almost impossible to dislodge.

focus on Negotiations

SOUTH Africa will be faced with the problems of expectations. The black majority have reasons to expect an improvement in their circumstances in the often-talked about "new South Africa".

The problem though is that the most probable political settlement this century is unlikely to deliver on such expectations. Apart from the inability of the economy to underpin the settlement reached, the subsequent government will not have the power necessary to effect the needed structural transformation.

Growth, measured in terms of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for this year is forecast at near zero percent. The population in the meantime continues to grow at 2.5 percent a year.

Clearly the country's inability to support its inhabitants can only worsen in the short to medium term.

Rubber stamp role

The current Codesa negotiations are meant to resolve the political power issue and hopefully set the country on a course of majority government and domestic and international legitimacy.

The problem with Codesa is that it is structurally flawed. Most participating parties do not have any support whatsoever, a fact that robs the convention of the very legitimacy that it is supposed to deliver.

The South African Government and its allies at Codesa have an influence out of proportion to their numerical following which explains their preference that Codesa, rather than an elected body write up the constitution.

Evidence appears to suggest that the African National Congress (ANC) is prepared to drop its earlier demand for such an elected constitution-making body.

But as a face-saver for the ANC leadership in the eyes of its domestic constituency and the international community, Government is prepared to accede to an elected Constituent Assembly whose role will be to rubber stamp a Codesa-authored constitution. The emerging compromise between Government and the ANC on the issue amounts to an agreement to pre-empt democratic constitution-making.

Ruthless assassination campaign

Simultaneously, security agencies of the state accelerated the process of decay by unleashing a ruthless campaign of selective assassination of scores of civic, community and other leaders.

The strategic reality these days is that when the ANC leadership talks of sustained mass action, they just do not have the organisational infrastructure to deliver on the threat and Government must know this! The liberation movement remains both vulnerable and exposed.

Barring any miracles, and despite the current

Well known political analyst **Eugene Nyathi** addressed a meeting of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers in Durban. These are excerpts from his address:

Souefan 30/7/92



Codesa ... seriously flawed.

interruption in the negotiation process, South Africa seems headed for settlement in 1994.

The Government is keen to conclude a settlement during the current parliamentary term, while the preponderant group within the ANC leadership is in such haste to reach agreement that they are prepared to accept almost any settlement.

In 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change.

While the country will have a majority black cabinet, the effective power relations between the races will not change much.

Overall, the most the settlement will do is create a black elite that will be too small to threaten white control of the economy, but hopefully be conspicuous enough to serve the purpose of being a psychological buffer between white interests on one hand and the

radical demands of the hungry black masses on the other. For the majority, conditions will remain what they are or quite possibly get worse.

While numerically small, the black elite (political and professional) is very visible and because its aspirations are closer to those of whites than the majority of blacks. They can be co-opted. They take money!

Given its inequitable nature, the settlement is unlikely to stick longer than three to four years.

Public disillusionment and the lack of improvement in their quality of life will galvanise resistance against the settlement.

Civil and labour unrest will resume and render the country ungovernable once again. At that point, the moral authority of leaders like Mandela (assuming he is still alive) and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge.

...the biggest net in SA if many try, despite requests. It sa

ANC endorses conduct code

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a code of conduct drawn up by church leaders and aimed at ending violence during next week's general strike.

The code, released yesterday, calls for an absence of weapons and intimidation, with an appeal to the security forces to uphold the right to peaceful protest.

Other clauses of the code suggest protest organisers make their plans public, employers deal sensitively with the stayaway, and journalists and emergency workers be allowed to operate without interference.

At a media conference yesterday, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said copies of the code would be sent to every regional and local branch of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

"Our participation should reflect the values and principles we are striving for — peaceful, disciplined and with respect for the right of free choice," Ramaphosa called on government to adopt a similar code, instructing security forces how to handle next week's mass action.

A delegation of church leaders pre-

sented proposals on ways of ending the constitutional impasse and preventing violence to senior constitutional negotiator Gerrit Viljoen and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday.

The meeting was one of a series this week between church leaders and business, union, government and political representatives aimed at getting negotiations back on track.

SA Council of Churches communications head Bernard Spong said the delegation had come away from yesterday's meeting with Meyer and Viljoen expecting a "positive response" to the proposals.

It is believed the church leaders called for the creation of an elected constitution-making body and a commitment by government to act on the resolutions of the Goldstone commission. In a church leaders' statement this week, the State President was urged "to take bold action to avert what could be a national disaster".

BIDA 31/7/92

Right-wing pair refused bail by judge

SUSAN RUSSELL

TWO right-wingers wanted in Namibia on charges of murder, arson and sabotage were refused bail by a Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday, pending a decision by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on whether to extradite them.

Dismissing their bail application, Judge M J Strydom held that Orde Boerevolk members Darryl Stopforth and Leonard

Veenendal had failed to make out a prima facie case that the ends of justice would not be defeated if they were granted bail.

The pair, who have been in custody in SA since April, are wanted by the Namibian authorities to stand trial for a machine-gun attack on the UN office in Outjo in August 1989. A security guard was killed.

They are also wanted in connection with the death of a policeman who was shot when they escaped from Namibian police custody and fled to SA.

Bail was opposed by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and his Namibian counterpart.

The judge said it was clear that Stopforth and Veenendal had no intention of standing trial.

BIDA 31/7/92

FW confident that talks will be resurrected

(1A) BILLY PADDOCK (1A)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk predicted last night that government-ANC talks would resume shortly after next week's work stayaway. (DAY 31) 7192.

Speaking on TV1's Agenda programme, he said that after Wednesday there was "no other option for all the parties, but to resume talks".

He said important agreements had been reached in principle and following the bosberaad last week government was ready to resume exploratory talks to see how negotiations could be put on track again.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa announced yesterday that government and the ANC had met on Tuesday — further raising hopes that the impasse could be broken within weeks.

Ramaphosa said the release of remaining political prisoners was discussed. Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki led the respective parties.

Ramaphosa said more than 400 prisoners were still behind bars and after the talks Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was meant to deliver a crucial communication to the ANC. By yesterday he had still not done so.

The ANC had asked Vance to convey the importance of the matter to De Klerk during his meeting with him yesterday.

Tuesday's ANC-government meeting was facilitated by UN special representative Cyrus Vance and by yesterday government had approved UN monitoring of mass action.

It was also announced yesterday that US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen would arrive in SA next week on a routine visit.

De Klerk said last night the bosberaad was not an urgent response to the crisis, but had been planned long before the Codesa II impasse. However, the Cabinet had devoted substantial thought and discussion to the breakdown in talks.

He did not want to divulge details of the discussions, but said government believed that to continue negotiations the parties should continue to build on existing agreements arrived at earlier.

Govt, ANC meet for first time since talks suspended

Political Staff

STAT 31/7/92

The ANC and the Government held talks in Pretoria this week to discuss the release of political prisoners — the first official meeting since the ANC pulled out of all negotiations in the aftermath of the Boipatong massacre on June 17.

Release of political prisoners is one of the ANC's conditions for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disclosed yesterday that United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance — who leaves today after a 10-day mission to investigate violence and help get negotia-

tions restarted — had facilitated the meeting.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha led the Government delegation and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki headed the ANC team.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC had always been committed to ensuring the release of all political prisoners, of whom more than 440 still remained.

He said the organisation had raised the question during its presentation to the recent UN Security Council hearing. Mr Vance had therefore facilitated contact between the ANC and the Government to

ensure political prisoners' release "on the basis that the Government accepted the need for this matter to be finalised immediately".

Mr Ramaphosa said the meeting, which took place on Tuesday, would be followed by a further meeting soon.

He said the ANC had expected the remaining political prisoners to be released on Wednesday, and was yesterday expecting communication from Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. Mr Vance yesterday held talks with President de Klerk to discuss the issue.

"We expect success will be achieved," Mr Ramaphosa said.

UN watch on mass action

STAR 31/7/92

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporters

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to send representatives to monitor next week's mass action.

The move comes after UN special representative Cyrus Vance had conveyed Mr Boutros-Ghali's "serious concern", in meetings with President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, that the mass action could lead to violence.

Speaking last night on TVI's Agenda, Mr de Klerk said the constructive approach by the international community could help to some extent, but South African leaders had to negotiate the country's future.

Full text of code — Page 3
No job protection — Page 10

Although the Government accepted the right to peaceful protest, mass action in a volatile atmosphere increased the risk of violence.

After next week's events, the resumption of negotiations was still the only option, Mr de Klerk added. Areas of disagreement were "narrow and bridgeable".

He reiterated his proposal for a meeting between himself, Mr Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the violence, and said an additional delegation nominated by the National Peace Committee could be included.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night the Government had no objections to the presence of UN observers.

The State President had strongly urged observers to act in co-ordination with the National Peace Secretariat.

As mass action preparations, headed by the work stayaway on Monday and



Down the middle . . . a visitor to the Park Lane Clinic in Johannesburg leads his son between policemen and members of the National Education and Allied Workers' Union. The protesters want private hospitals to recognise their union. Picture: Gary Bernard

Tuesday went ahead, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said invitations to send monitors would, besides the UN, also be issued to the Commonwealth and Organisation of African Unity.

The decision to send observers comes after letters from Mr Boutros-Ghali expressing concern about the disruptive effects of mass action were delivered by Mr Vance to Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, which said it was convinced there was "massive" support for its "cam-

paign for peace and democracy", called on its followers to ensure the stayaway was peaceful and that there would be no intimidation.

The alliance committed itself to the "Code of Conduct for Mass Protests" devised by church leaders together with other parties including the ANC, Cosatu, and the SA Co-ordinating Committee on Labour Affairs.

The ANC has assured the National Peace Secretariat that the mass action campaign will take place within the guidelines of the National Peace Accord.

Mr Ramaphosa said it was disappointing that Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel had not issued guidelines to the police.

The ANC alliance said that after "extensive consultations" with students' and teachers' organisations, it accepted their decision to take part in the stayaway.

The PAC, Azapo, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and the National Council of Trade Unions have criticised the stayaway, and urged that students and teachers be exempted from it.

Press boycott runs into trouble

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The ANC-led boycott of two eastern Cape newspapers ran into trouble from the movement's head office in Johannesburg on its first day yesterday.

The boycott forms part of the African National Congress's mass action campaign in the eastern Cape and is aimed at the "democratisation" of the media.

The Herald and Evening Post have been accused of "driving the communities apart through false reporting", and of biased editorials.

Hundreds of protesters burnt copies of the two newspapers outside Newspaper House in central Port Elizabeth on

Wednesday, the day before the boycott started.

The boycott has been widely criticised as a contradiction of the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech.

"The ANC is against intimidation, against the burning of newspapers, against anything like that," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said on Thursday.

"We reiterate we are committed to press freedom and freedom of expression."

Mr Niehaus referred to a statement from the ANC head office earlier this week on the issue:

"The ANC has consistently stated that news-

paper editors have the right to print what they like. But it is necessary to point out that consumers have the right not to buy the product".

In Port Elizabeth, regional ANC media officer Phila Nkayi was at pains to play down the boycott controversy.

The ANC and its alliance partners, the SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions, had no further plans to burn newspapers or march on Newspaper House, Mr Nkayi said in an interview.

"We wish to emphasise we are not saying this was the best action we could have taken. We are

open to criticism.

"This campaign was not meant to intimidate anybody. Journalists should carry on with their work as normal."

He said the ANC head office in Johannesburg had been "surprised" by the boycott call. "They are not necessarily supporting the boycott. They said that in the first place we should hold talks."

Mr Nkayi confirmed the regional ANC would meet the newspapers' management today "with open minds".

"The meeting will determine the future of the boycott. If we are satisfied we will call off the boycott." — Sapa.



ANC starts boycott of EP papers

By SHADLEY NASH: Port Elizabeth
AN African National Congress boycott of two English-language daily newspapers here has evoked angry protest from the Campaign for Open Media (Com) and the Democratic Party, both of whom say the boycott runs contrary to freedom of the press.

The ANC, however, has defended the action, saying it has a right to withdraw its buying power from an unpopular product.

The boycott — of Times Media's *Eastern Province Herald* and *Evening Post* — is the fourth phase of the ANC's eastern Cape mass action programme. It began on Wednesday with the symbolic burning of old copies of the newspapers outside Newspaper House.

Com chairman Raymond Louw said the boycott contradicted the ANC's stated commitment to freedom of speech, and he condemned any activity that interfered with the free flow of information.

The DP's Dennis Worrall was more emphatic. He called the burning of newspapers "appalling". He said the boycott action threatened what is vital to democracy: "It is crucial that the freedom of the press should remain untouched."

Herald editor Derek Smith said the reaction to the boycott "was expected".

ANC spokesman Phila Nkayi said while the ANC was willing to accept criticism, it was firm in its belief that the newspapers had been waging "malicious" attacks on the organisation.

"The hostile and subtle attack on the people's organisations which has continued since the days of covert and overt repression and banning has been persistent even within this process of transition and openness," said an ANC memorandum issued at the start of the boycott.

"The media is at liberty to criticise the ANC-led alliance but we could not take the vilification and bossy stance that appears to have been adopted by the *Herald* and the *Evening Post*," it said.

The organisation demanded an end to the "continuous ANC bashing", the restructuring of the *Herald* and the *Post*, and an effort to redress imbalances on race and gender in the employment and promotion of staff.

Speaking earlier this week, Smith was adamant the *Herald* would "not become an ANC paper" nor be dictated to. He said the *Herald* had a tradition of having opposed apartheid and would strongly defend the right to uphold the principle of freedom of expression.

With the boycott into its first full day yesterday, however, management of the two newspapers had approached the ANC to meet and discuss grievances. Smith said they had yet to get a response. Nkayi said it was likely the parties would meet today.

In a reply to a letter sent by Smith to the ANC's head office in which he sought a "statement of intent" on "victimisation" of the paper, the ANC reaffirmed its support for principles of freedom of expression and the free flow of information.

However, it said, a community had the right to withdraw support for a product if that product did not satisfy its needs.

South African Union of Journalists branch co-ordinator Bob Kernohan — representing staffers on the newspapers — said the union had decided on Tuesday to discuss the boycott "with all concerned parties", and would request details of the grievances against the newspapers. No date was given. Pen

WHATEVER new constitutional concessions President FW de Klerk is about to unveil after last week's "bosberaad", one can only pray that he uses good common sense and is not swayed by the verbiage of political scientists.

One such is Professor Herman Giliomee, of the University of Cape Town, who recently justified De Klerk's rejection of the African National Congress' demand for "ordinary democracy" on the basis that whites have "little or no confidence of their rights under majority rule..."

This, Giliomee tells us, is not racist. It is only natural that whites should be afraid of a future in which they will be losing their exclusive hold on political power in a country where political power has been used crushingly to the disadvantage of those who have not had it.

That these fears need to be faced squarely and dealt with imaginatively is beyond question. But ethnic fears cannot be a fundamental guiding principle of a new constitution. They certainly cannot serve as a justification for the National Party's proposals that would keep their party in government forever in defiance of the will of the electorate.

Depriving other people of their rights in order to protect an already privileged minority is the worst way to protect that minority.

Safeguards for minorities will only work in South Africa if they do not amount to a constitutional retention of privileges.

Giliomee's task, no less than that of De Klerk — not to mention the ANC if it ever accepts such a half-baked notion of democracy — would be to persuade the people of Sebokeng, Soweto, etc, that their rights to full democracy have to be tempered because whites are scared of majority rule. He would also have to convince them this is not racist.

Both Giliomee and Oxford don RW Johnson have alluded to opinion polls that have shown that most South Africans, of all races, want power sharing. Johnson has even forwarded the ludicrous suggestion of a referendum to test whether South Africans want power sharing or majority rule.

Such a call could only be based on a misconception of what the conflict in South Africa is about, not to mention what the polls mean. We don't need polls to tell us that that most South Africans are not racists and want power-sharing between whites and blacks as opposed to white minority rule or black majority rule. Except for the parties on the extreme left and the extreme right, one cannot think of a party that opposes this conception of power-sharing.

What most South Africans would find a lot harder to stomach is permanent power-sharing between the ANC and the NP, which is what De Klerk is proposing. That is the power-sharing that is at issue.

But if there is a misconception about power-sharing, it has not been helped by the government's grotesque caricature of the ANC's position as "simple majoritarianism".

What the ANC and its allies have put forward is not the Westminster system, which has permitted Conservative governments in Britain to win four elections in

a row with well below 50 percent of the electorate, but proportional representation which forces a coalition if no party wins a majority of the votes.

Furthermore, the concept of sunset clauses, which would have the effect of forcing a period of power-sharing going well beyond the transition phase and the implementation of a final constitution, was already put forward as a suggestion by the ANC during the referendum in March.

Instead of being seized on by the government as an imaginative way to construct a gateway to democracy

that would meet the concerns of both parties, De Klerk held out for a minority NP veto. If he had not, the deadlock at Codesa II and all the misfortunes that have followed could have been avoided.

Given the government's sanctimonious claims that its proposals are in line with international norms, it was like a breath of fresh air to hear US Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen say last week that "all sides must recognise the right of the majority to govern while assuring that all South Africans have a stake in their government".

He commented that it was "not productive for one side to insist on overly complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups which will frustrate effective governance".

By holding out for the indefensible, what the NP has done is to frustrate a healthy debate on a future

constitution. As anyone who has followed the debate over a unified Europe will note, there are persuasive arguments that strong regional government is good for democracy and development in a world where the two forces threatening to undermine it are technocratic globalisation, on the one hand, and ethnic, religious or ideological fundamentalism, on the other.

What is not acceptable is that the country be divided up into fiefdoms to accord with the political ambitions of those who now realise they will never win a national election. A new South African constitution, if it is to last, cannot be shaped by such petty political cynicism.

Giliomee believes that the principle that should guide a settlement is the power relationship between the ANC and the NP, which he describes as a "balance of weakness". A mediator such as Cyrus Vance, he suggests, should go and spell this out to both parties.

What he fails to understand is that the struggle in this country has been constantly fought from a position of weakness: people without the vote, without union rights, without the right to protest. If they were to have accepted the balance of power as any kind of long-term basis for their lot in life, we would still be in the Verwoerdian era.

Besides, what we are searching for in South Africa is not a truce on a battlefield or an annual wage agreement between a trade union and an employer. We are searching for a non-racial democracy and a lasting constitution that, like the constitution of the United States, enshrines the highest ideals of the nation, acts as a unifying force and inspires the loyalty of all.

Sharing power doesn't mean keeping status quo

Debates over power-sharing are clouding the political process. President FW de Klerk must keep the ultimate goal — a democratic constitution — in mind and not be swayed by political scientists, argues PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

A TENSE BUILD-UP TO NEXT WEEK'S STAYAWAY

'Black referendum' tests the ANC

w/maif 31/7-6/8/92
 The talks will resume — and so will the week-long stayaway. If it succeeds, it will bolster the ANC position at the table.
 By PHILLIPA GARSON and GAVIN EVANS

NEXT week's week-long mass action campaign will be the decisive test of strength for the African National Congress and its allies before talks on the country's future resume in earnest.

Just as the government used the white referendum to test its support, so the two-day general strike will be a "black referendum" — giving muscle to the ANC's demands at the negotiating table if it succeeds.

Despite the lacklustre start to the mass action campaign in the past fortnight, the ANC is confidently predicting 80 percent support for the two-day stayaway which begins on Monday. The secretary general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Jay Naidoo, said the majority of workers would heed the call.

With the government and the ANC having moved a little closer to each other over the past fortnight, the week-long mass action campaign is beginning to look like a final showdown in the streets. The middle-ground position within the alliance, which views mass action as a tap to be turned on and off during negotiations, seems to have won the day over more hardline views.

ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed this week that the ANC was keen to resume negotiations and that there was no question of mass action having an insurrectionary agenda.

Similar noises are coming from Cosatu: "The ball is in the government's court right now — we are prepared to talk at any point," Naidoo told *The Weekly Mail* yesterday.

He added he was confident that the government was making its "last stand", and was under so much pressure that it could no longer ignore the ANC-Cosatu demands.

"I think the pressures building up even in its own constituency are becoming increasingly evident — even from many employers and the Dutch Reformed Church. But we are not interested in government declarations of intent or De Klerk's addresses to the



The SACP's Chris Hani leads a pro-Cuban protest in Johannesburg this week as part of the mass-action campaign. Photo: KEVIN CARTER

negotiations. We want to enter bona fide negotiations based on principles which are universally accepted."

While it is widely expected that the government will attempt to take back the initiative prior to the stayaway by announcing fresh, there is now virtually no chance of the strike being called off.

"It would have to be a drastic announcement. It is too late to call for the general strike now," said ANC representative Saki Macozoma.

NP representative Sheila Camerer said her party was optimistic that talks would soon be resumed.

"It's impossible to say exactly when, but there is a strong body of opinion within the ANC which is keen to get back to the negotiating table. That's

how we're reading Tuesday's speech by Nelson Mandela when he slapped down the hard-liners. They're the ones with a lot to lose if the stayaway doesn't live up to their expectations."

But the ANC and Cosatu believe their strategy of taking their demands to the streets will pay dividends, and that the stayaway will succeed.

"The indications we have are that there is massive support across the board. I have no doubt that the majority of workers will participate," said Naidoo.

He stressed that Cosatu was doing everything possible to ensure there was no violence.

"We are committed to having a completely peaceful and non-violent protest. In fact we are participating in

drawing up the SA Council of Churches code of conduct on this issue. We believe it must also bind the security forces, the government and employers — in fact all those who are for and against the stayaway, because we have already received indications that some hostels are planning attacks," he said.

The ANC has criticised the deployment of security force reinforcements in 14 violence-hit townships as more an act of intimidation than an attempt to safeguard the supply of essential services. "This is absolutely intended to fuel violence. We will appeal to our people not to be provoked," said Macozoma, adding that the security forces would now have licence to engage in violent acts. "We see it as an act of intimidation. And it only encourages the campaign to continue."

The ANC and its allies issued a joint statement yesterday calling on "all South Africans who cherish peace and democracy to participate in the two-day stayaway. Millions of our people will be demonstrating in the coming week and we hope this will help to move the process forward so South Africa is pulled back from the brink of the abyss the regime seems to want to keep it in."

The alliance has backed the decision of students, teachers and education bodies to participate in the general strike but is urging them to go back to school for the rest of the week.

The Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and National Council of Trade Unions have announced they will not participate in the general strike or subsequent mass action programmes because they see the campaign as designed to revive Codesa not overthrow the government.

Azapo charged the ANC and its allies for not consulting other organisations on the mass action despite undertaking to do so. Publicity secretary Srin Moodley said the organisation's members would go to work on Monday as usual, adding: "Students should be at school at this time and we're calling on them to stay at school."

Responding to reports that these organisations would not participate Macozoma said: "They have never supported mass action. It doesn't make any difference. We have no difficulty with this because we know they don't have any support."

Small black business will be hard hit

w/maif 31/7-6/8/92 (11A)
 BY BAFANA KHUMALO
OWNERS of small black businesses say that although they support next week's national stayaway, they will be forced to adopt a no work, no pay policy because they cannot afford to do otherwise.

Nelson Tshiviela, a pottery manufacturer, says he won't be getting any money for the two-day stayaway and "the people who work for me will not be getting paid either". The Daveyton businessman says he is not "trying to punish them, but there will be no money to pay them". He estimates that he will lose about R2 000 in two days, "which is a lot of money for such a small operation".

Another businessman who is worried about the effects of the stayaway is Peter Ngcamu, a former exile who owns a furniture workshop and employs two people. "This is a hand-to-mouth business, so if you lose two days it's a lot of business lost," he says.

Ngcamu is not sure whether he will join the stayaway himself: "It depends on how I do in the next few days, if I make enough to pay the guys and pay the rent."

"If my workers cannot make it to work next Monday and Tuesday, they won't get paid. They understand," he adds.

But Johannes Ntuli, a dressmaker, says he has decided that his assistant will be paid, even though they won't be working.

A worker employed by a black music shop owner, who declined to be named, says she does not expect any retribution from her employer for not going to work.

"He understands, he also comes from the township," she says. "It's not like he comes from some white area and will be able to come to work while I won't, or like having a white employer who will tell you to let Nelson Mandela pay you because you were not at work for two days."